

The following submission is made by J. Hason on behalf of himself and his family  
regarding ancestor Toussaint Laronde

**Email submission received on May 4, 2023.**

To Tribunal Committee and ANRS

I send this attachment pdf file for the 30th Algonquin Non- Status report by Joan Holms presented in Boston in 1998 for your review and consideration in determining the Historical Figures review process for our families.

As myself and my family are now all Algonquin members of Greater Golden Lake, and I would like to include all of the other Families with historical figures presently under review in the current treaty process by the AOO.

I find myself and my family members understanding more and more of the importance and responsibilities of our present Chiefs and ANR members that we have all voted in as members of the Algonquins Negotiating Representatives now reviewing present members of Greater Golden Lake AOO treaty process for criteria and benefits.

We can appreciate that this is a very difficult and important process to oversee, this Algonquian Non Status Paper pdf attached below is a good model and lays out the importance of community and organization in family structure and intermarrige connections and acceptance of each other as Algonquins living in the Province of Ontario and other provinces of Canada today.

I see that there are 508 Algonquins in the registry related to Toussaint Laronde historical figure under review Myself and my family included, my point is that we are all from Ontario and identify as Algonquins, Question - would a decision to disclude us change who we are as a Algonquin family,would it also disclude all of our Algonquin relatives who live in Ontario and other provinces today.

Question - I ask about the Belangers,Renuads, Fannons, Lortties, etc.these are some of our Algonquin relatives and family lines.Will they also all be wiped out of this AOO treaty negotiations process if Toussaint is not recognized as Algonquin.

We will all still be living in and going fishing,and picking herbs and berries hunting enjoying Ontario and seeking our part of our Algonquins Lands now being offered in this historic treaty

and reconciliation process, even if the ANRs make a decision to disclude Toussaint / us from the current treaty process based upon their Mandate of criteria and benefits qualification process of historical figures review.

Question - Would you Please consider what Mary would say Toussaints wife and bearer of all of their children,(our Algonquin relatives) as their Algonquin Mother wanting the best future for her family, in these changing and developing times, in her present homeland, now called (indigenous lands) where she lived and what she witnessed (the colonization in her time) again please ANRs, at least consider these thoughts for all of our Algonquin relatives under review for Mary's sake...

We would also, all be visiting our family's Algonquin burial sites in Ontario on the AOO treaty won lands if a treaty is completed, (our lands to for many generations).

I leave the tribunal committee and ANRs with this final quote - statement from Joan Holm's study and report on Non - Status Algonquians, as she states,

The ancestors of the current communities are traceable through census and church records. Some of the families can be traced to the late 18th century, however, the limitations of these records combined with finite memories of current informants make it nearly impossible to establish ancestors from an earlier period.

above is a quote from report pdf file below  
is the last couple of pages from this report/ study

## CONCLUSIONS

One of the distinctive features of Algonquin society is that it is fluid and shifting. Family formation, leadership structure, and use of land all shift to allow the group to survive efficiently in changing and challenging environments. This flexibility, necessary for survival in the bush, appears to have been effectively applied to surviving the influx of settlers in the Ottawa valley and their loss of lands.

While the data is very preliminary at this point, it suggests that the ancestors of the non-status communities maintained an informal leadership structure

based on a network of interconnected families, who relied upon each other and made joint decisions about the use of land and resources.

The ancestors of the current communities are traceable through census and church records. Some of the families can be traced to the late 18th century, however, the limitations of these records combined with finite memories of current informants make it nearly impossible to establish ancestors from an earlier period.

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Similarly, reliable information on subsistence patterns and identification of land use areas can be obtained from informants for the 20th century. While petitions from the late 18th and early 19th centuries provide a general description of Algonquin and Nipissing territorial claims, more precise identification of hunting territories for the intervening periods is only sporadically available from a variety of documentary sources.

Despite the limitations of the data, the compilation of available information forms a compelling picture of the non-status families as persistent communities who have used their respective areas for at least two centuries. Further research and analysis of the data remains to be done and the outstanding question remains as to whether it will be possible to document the histories of the non-status communities to the extent required to satisfy the requirements of both federal and provincial governments.

Thanks to the ANRS and Tribunal committee members for taking the time to review all of this information on behalf of our family and our historical person Toussaint Laronde

James Hason

Greater Golden Lake Algonquin Member

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# **Hidden Communities: Research Difficulties encountered in Researching Non-Status Algonquins in the Ottawa Valley**

by Joan M. Holmes

Presented at 30th Algonquian Conference, Boston, 1998

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This paper explores some of the difficulties encountered while researching communities of non-status Algonquins/Nipissings living on the Ontario side of the Ottawa River. Three non-status communities are currently involved in documenting their history in order to obtain recognition as aboriginal communities from provincial and federal governments. This paper outlines some of the obstacles being faced in the preliminary stages of the research which depends upon archival documents, church and census records, and oral history interviews.

## **BACKGROUND**

The traditional lands of the Algonquian-speaking Algonquin and Nipissing Nations included the watershed of the Ottawa River, which drains a wide swath of land from Lake Temiskaming in the north along both sides of the Quebec-Ontario boundary south to Long Sault or Carillon, a point in the Ottawa River just above Lake of Two Mountains. The Ottawa River's tributaries on the Ontario side include the Rideau, Mississippi, Madawaska, Bonnechere, Petawawa, and Mattawa rivers.

The earliest recorded claims of Algonquin and Nipissing chiefs and leading men, clearly and consistently described the Algonquin and Nipissing territory as stretching along the Ottawa for a distance of 117 leagues, over 300 miles of canoe navigation from the Long Sault to Lake Nipissing.<sup>1</sup>

From the early 18th century onwards the Algonquin and Nipissing traveled down the Ottawa River annually to a Sulpician mission, initially located at Ile aux Tourtes and then at Lake of Two Mountains, near present day Montreal where the Ottawa River empties into the St. Lawrence River. Typically, they spent the summer months at the mission, which was also home to the Iroquois community of Kanesatake, often referred to as Oka.

Through frequent and longstanding contact at Lake of Two Mountains with French and then British officials, the Algonquin and Nipissing became identified as Lake of Two Mountains or Oka Algonquins, although they continued to spend most of their time hunting and trapping on their traditional grounds in the Ottawa Valley.

The British Crown never entered into formal treaty relations with the Algonquin and Nipissing, despite the fact that the Algonquin and Nipissing repeatedly petitioned British authorities to compensate them for the loss of their traditional lands and the destruction of the resources upon which they depended for their livelihood. On several occasions, authorities acknowledged their claims but no action was taken. Finally, under 1851

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<sup>1</sup> The background section is based on Joan Holmes and Associates, "Algonquins of Golden Lake Claim" prepared for Ontario Native Affairs Secretariat, 1993.

legislation land was set aside in Lower Canada, now Quebec, at the confluence of the River Desert and the Gatineau River and at Lake Temiskaming for the Algonquin and other tribes of the Upper Ottawa Valley.

It took another 20 years to set aside lands on the Ontario side of the Ottawa River. In 1873, years after lands along the Ottawa had been surveyed and opened to white homesteaders, the Golden Lake reserve was purchased for the use of local Algonquins.

In the last half of the 19th century, the Algonquin and Nipissing occupying lands on the Upper Canada or Ontario side of the Ottawa River were in an untenable situation. They were not eligible for the free homestead grants being offered to settlers moving into the area, because they were Indians, nor could they claim squatters' rights or exercise pre-emptory rights to lands they occupied like whites that had settled in the area. Thus, the free grants offered to whites from 1868 to 1908 were not available and lands upon which they were settled were not protected.

Once the land at Golden Lake had been purchased for the Algonquin families living around the Bonnechere River area, Algonquins who petitioned the government seeking to protect the lands where they had gardens and homes were told to move to the established reserve at Golden Lake or to move across the river to the reserve on the River Desert.

During the last decades of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, many Algonquin families moved onto the Golden Lake Reserve, at

least on a seasonal basis. The on-reserve population at Golden Lake became recognized as status Indians. Thus although they did not have a treaty with the Crown, they gained official Indian status and their reserve and every aspect of their lives, became managed under *Indian Act* legislation and federal Indian Affairs policy.

The Algonquin/Nipissing families who did not move onto the reserve but continued to live in other parts of the Ottawa Valley were not officially recognized as Indians nor did they hold any reserve lands. As a consequence, their ancestors do not receive any of the benefits that flow from Indian status or on-reserve status such as educational support, community infrastructure support, economic development, or aboriginal hunting and fishing rights. These families form the core of non-status communities.

Three non-status communities who are currently researching their histories traditionally occupied three separate areas on the Ontario side of the Ottawa valley. From north to south they are: the Antoine First Nation centered around Mattawa, the Bonnechere Metis Association located around the Bonnechere River near Golden Lake, and the Ardoch Algonquin First Nation who reside primarily around the Ardoch and Sharbot Lake area at the headwaters of the Mississippi and Rideau rivers.

Over the last century, some of the members of these communities have gained registered Indian status on an individual basis; the communities, however, are not officially recognized as aboriginal communities, nor do they hold any reserve lands.



## DIFFICULTIES IN RESEARCH

Typically, non-status communities were marginally associated with mainstream settler society and also had peripheral relations with reserve communities. They usually lived in isolated rural areas, often pursuing a semi-migratory mixed economy lifestyle, and were rarely recognized as distinct identifiable communities by wider society.

Unlike the case of treaty or status Indians, whose relationship with the federal government has generated volumes of documentation, non-status communities rarely attracted official attention. Thus, there are very few official records regarding these communities. Existing records tend to make reference to individuals or families and very rarely deal with non-status groups as communities.

Little scholarly attention has been paid to the non-status Algonquin communities on the Ontario side of the Ottawa valley. Day and Trigger acknowledged the existence of "an unknown number of persons of Algonquin descent scattered throughout the Ottawa valley".<sup>2</sup> Day described the historical connection between the Nipissing and the Algonquin and explained the difficulties scholars encounter when attempting to distinguish between the two groups.<sup>3</sup> Frank Speck's 1913 work noted the

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<sup>2</sup> Gordon M. Day and Bruce G. Trigger, "Algonquin" *Handbook of North American Indians* Vol. 15 p. 797.

<sup>3</sup> Gordon M. Day, "Nipising" *Handbook of North American Indians* Vol. 15 pp. 787-91.

existence of a traditional Algonquin Band at Mattawa, identified as *Matawasi'bi anicena'bi* - Mouth-of-the-river People, who were closely associated with the Algonquins at Kippawa on the Quebec side.<sup>4</sup>

More recently, M. Jean Black has written on the history of the Algonquin and Nipissing associated with Lake of Two Mountains and elaborated on the genealogical connections between the Nipissing and Algonquin, as recorded by Sulpician and Oblate missionaries. Her findings have been useful in identifying early ancestors of the non-status communities.<sup>5</sup>

Local histories provide a brief glimpse of the existence and conditions of non-status communities in the local area. As they typically focus on the stories of the early settlers, however, the aboriginal people are largely excluded. Brief references are usually to one or two individuals that seem to exist independent of the network of families that make up the aboriginal community.

Early surveys and land records contain some evidence of aboriginal occupation. They too are limited in their recognition of aboriginal settlement and land use, often merely recording settlers as "Indians", noting an "Indian shanty" on survey plans, or stating that they met an "Indian chief"

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<sup>4</sup> Frank G. Speck, "Family Hunting Territories and Social Life of Various Algonkian Bands of the Ottawa Valley", Memoir 70, No. 8 Anthropological Series. Department of Mines: Geological Survey, 1915. pp. 1-3, 9.

<sup>5</sup> M. Jean Black, "Tale of Two Ethnicities." In William Cowan, ed. The Proceedings of the 24th Algonquian Conference, 1993.

without giving further details or noting names. In one case the sugarbush of Amable du Font (Dufond) was shown on an 1847 plan as being located on Lake Kaiasquaque (Kioshkoqui).<sup>6</sup> Algonquin Park's current canoe routes map shows a farm on Manitou Lake, directly to the west of Kioshkoqui on the Amable du Fond River, which was cleared by Francis and Ignace Dufond in the 1880s and operated until Ignace's death in 1916. The Dufonds are Antoine Algonquin ancestors. Amable and Ignace appear as heads of families in the 1871 census of Nipissing District, in which they are said to be hunters born about 1801 and 1845, respectively.

Patent plans rarely show aboriginal occupation and must be used with caution as the names were periodically added to the plans and therefore the date of occupation is not certain. For example, Ardoch ancestors Joseph Whiteduck and Peter Clement (Clemo) are shown on an 1861 Palmerston Township patent plan at Cross (Crotch) Lake and at Mud Lake, respectively. Peter Clemo, who claimed to have received presents with Chief Peter Shawanipinessi at Bob's Lake in the 1840s, was listed in the 1861 census for Palmerston Township as living with his family in a log house that had been built around 1851. Joseph Whiteduck, however, did not appear in the 1861 census of Palmerston but was recorded in the 1871 census as living in adjacent Clarendon Township. In 1861 the Palmerston census enumerator noted that it was impossible to properly list all the residents because the roads were poor and the people were very scattered. It is therefore unclear where the Whiteduck family was located in 1861.

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<sup>6</sup> "Plan of part of the Mattawan and Amable du Fonts Rivers" by Duncan Sinclair. Archives of Ontario, Special Collections R-A.

From time to time, a non-status community came to the notice of government officials and as a result there are some in-depth accounts of their situation at particular points in time. Most importantly for the researcher, the identification of community leaders and the location of their hunting grounds leads to additional sources which verify the existence of Algonquin communities.

For example, in the mid-19th century, the ancestors of the Ardoch Algonquins petitioned the government for the protection of their lands in Bedford, Oso and South Sherbrooke townships around the headwaters of the Rideau and Mississippi rivers.<sup>7</sup> This petition stated that a group of Algonquin under the leadership of Peter Shawanipinessi (Pierre Chawenipinesi), also known as Peter Stevens, were accustomed to hunting over these lands and were raising corn and potatoes in their gardens.

Additional documents showed that Shawanipinessi had been known at both nearby Perth and at Lake of Two Mountains from early in the century, establishing a link between this local group of Algonquin and the Algonquin and Nipissing who had been seeking protection of their traditional lands in the Ottawa valley since the late 18th century.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Petition of Peter Shawanipinessi, July 17, 1842. NAC RG 10 Vol. 186 pt. 2.

<sup>8</sup> "List of Houses in both villages, Lake of Two Mountains", 1823 and affidavit of M. Morris, Perth, July 1842 saying he has known as Stevens since at least 1817. NAC RG 10 Vol. 15 p. 12315 and Vol. 186 pt. 2 respectively. Pierre Chawenipinesi appears in Sulpician Lake of Two Mountains records as having been born in 1790.

Peter Shawanipinessi's group succeeded in getting a license of occupation for a small tract in Bedford Township where Algonquin families settled for a short period until loggers cut the area, ruining their livelihood and driving them off their land.<sup>9</sup>

The identification of family heads and the location of their hunting grounds led researchers to Canada census and local church registries which together demonstrated the interconnections of the Algonquin families and their continued occupation of the area. Canada Census data from 1861 demonstrates that Peter Stevens and associated Algonquin families lived in Bedford, Oso and Palmerston Townships. By 1871 these same families were recorded in Bedford, Oso, and Clarendon. Ten years later they show up in the census of Clarendon and Oso. Roman Catholic church registers from Perth, Westport and Ardoch recorded the baptisms, marriages and deaths of many of the Algonquin families from 1840. With time and patience the descendants of the Algonquins led by Peter Shawanipinessi can be traced through church and census records from the late 19th century to the present.

The sources, however, are imperfect, frustrating researchers with incomplete identification of individuals, and are often difficult to follow because of gaps in time. Some of the most common problems encountered in documenting family connections are the frequent recording of "inconnu" for father, women being noted only by their first name, and the constant repetition of

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<sup>9</sup> Letter from Superintendent James Hughes dated October 8, 1843. NAC RG 10 Vol. 135 pp 77014-5.

favourite first names. Aside from census information that lists most of the Algonquins as "hunters" and/or "Indians" there is little to information on their occupation and rarely any precise identification of tribal or linguistic affiliation. Interestingly, most of the families identified as Ardoch and Antoine ancestors are listed as Roman Catholics in the census, suggesting their 18th and early 19th century connections to the Sulpician mission at Lake of Two Mountains. Indeed, the church register dating from the mid 19th century often recorded the Ardoch ancestors as "Indians of Lake of Two Mountains" demonstrating the perception of these people as "belonging" to that mission.

The interconnections between families are demonstrated mostly by the degree to which they sponsor each others' children at baptism and stand as witnesses to marriage. There is also a high degree of intermarriage between families. Further connections sometimes appear in census roles that show two families living in a single cabin or where the enumerator has noted the proximity of two or more homes.

Unfortunately, the earliest national census records for the area date from 1861, so the time depth is limited. The Indian Department published population statistics from 1867. This census contains numbers of "Indians" or "Algonquins" by county. The figures from the late 19th and early 20th centuries indicate that the federal government was aware that there were many Algonquins living off-reserve. The numbers, however, must be viewed with caution as they are clearly very approximate, the same number being repeated without change for years. In addition, the census shows that large numbers of people disappeared from the attention of the Department in

particular years. There is no nominal list so it is not possible to compare the departmental statistics with national census data to discover who was being counted and who was being left out.

For example, the number of off-reserve Algonquins in the counties of Nipissing (387) and Renfrew (176) remained exactly the same from 1871 to 1880. No "Indians" were shown in Frontenac County where the Ardoch families were documented in the national census. A small number were recorded in nearby Carleton (26) and Lanark (30) counties during that time period. For the period ranging from 1883 to 1891, the small population in Carleton county remained at a steady 26 individuals while other locations disappeared from the census and the number of Algonquins in Renfrew county suddenly jumped to 673 people. This figure seems to combine the population previously listed in Renfrew, Nipissing and Lanark counties with the addition of 80 people. The on-reserve population at Golden Lake fluctuated between 80 and 91 people during the 1879 to 1891 time period.

From 1892 to 1901 the on-reserve population climbs slowly from 87 to 97 people. The off-reserve population of Algonquins, said to be living in Renfrew County in 1892 suddenly dropped to 286 people from the previous years count of 673. The figure of 286 was repeated annually until 1901. No other Indians or Algonquins were shown on the Ontario side of the Ottawa. There was a temporary rise in the number of "Algonquins" counted on the Quebec side during those years but the increase does not account for all those "lost" on the Ontario side, nor was it sustained. In 1902 there was a further dramatic drop in the number of off-reserve Algonquins from 286 to 198. That number was repeated yearly up to and including 1917. During

the 1902 to 1917 period the on-reserve population increased steadily from a 1902 low of 98 to a 1913 high of 153 people. While the increase of on-reserve population may have included some off-reserve people migrating onto the Golden Lake Reserve, the gradual increase at Golden Lake does not support the sudden decline of the off-reserve population. The off-reserve population was last recorded in 1924 as 49 people living in Renfrew County.

The major limitation of the census data and church records is that they provide information on individual families but give only glimpses of these people as communities. While the national census records often describe their occupation as hunters, trappers or farmers, little can be learned about what lands they used other than the location of their homestead. Church records reveal what church these families used for baptisms, marriages and burials and what time of year they were in the area, giving some suggestion of how far and in what direction the families ranged. In cases where it is possible to trace families over a few generations, we can see their movement within a particular area, in a few cases they shifted from one township to a neighbouring township over a few generations.

Another example of a rare body of official records yields valuable information about the Antoine First Nation. In the closing years of the 19th century, an ancestor of the Antoine family made a claim to treaty annuities. The correspondence related to this claim is important because it documents the early family tree of one of the original Antoine First Nation families and identifies their land use patterns in the later half of the nineteenth century. This correspondence is also noteworthy because Indian Affairs officials



recognized that they were aboriginal people, although their eligibility to be recognized as status Indians was questioned.<sup>10</sup>

The family was claimed annuities as part of the Nipissing Band, an Ojibwa community who signed the 1850 Robinson-Huron treaty and held a reserve on the north shore of Lake Nipissing. Their claim was based upon the fact that their father had resided on that reserve for a number of years after his sister married the chief. The family normally resided at Mattawa and hunted to the westward as far as the height of land, principally at Trout Lake, which is located just east of the height of land and the eastern end of Lake Nipissing. This placed their usual residence and hunting grounds in the Mattawa River watershed, immediately to the east of the Robinson-Huron treaty area.

The history of the family and their hunting grounds was investigated by Indian Affairs. A departmental official interviewed elders and other Algonquins, the Nipissing Band chief, as well as the Hudson's Bay Company Mattawa post trader. These informants identified the family members and verified the hunting grounds of the family from at least the mid-19th century.

Initially, the Department ruled that the family did not have a claim to Robinson-Huron treaty benefits. This decision was based on the location of their hunting grounds to the east and northeast of Lake Nipissing (outside of the Robinson Treaty area) and their brief stay on the Lake Nipissing reserve.

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<sup>10</sup> This material can be found at NAC RG 10 Vol. 2929 File 192,533.

Ten years later in 1908, the Antoine family claim was reconsidered, mainly because the Department had re-interpreted the territory covered by the Robinson-Huron Treaty as including the region occupied by the claimants. Noting that there was no doubt that the family was Indian within the meaning of the *Indian Act*, the Antoine descendants were paid arrears of treaty money. The payment of arrears led to further investigations of the descendants which has yielded valuable genealogical information. The investigations outlined the process by which departmental policy allowed or denied Indian status to the various members of the family thus accounting for a mixture of registered status Indians and non-status people amongst the Antoine family descendants. The Antoine family was not given membership in the Nipissing Band, however, as they were not recognized as members by that Ojibwa community.

Like Peter Shawanipinessi's petition outlined above, the Antoine family's interaction with Crown authorities has provided a documentary foundation upon which to build. Further examination of Canada Census data and church registry records has yielded much information on the ensuing generations. Again the data is imperfect and incomplete but does provide a valuable framework for describing and following the growth and spread of this family and other interrelated Algonquin families. Interviews with community members have been most helpful in verifying written records, filling in missing pieces, and making sense of confusing or contradictory data.

The historical documentation and census data is limited in that it reveals little about how these non-status families were organized into communities, the nature of their organization and leadership, their ceremonial and spiritual practices, language use, economic practices or land use patterns. The investigation of these topics relies heavily on oral history information provided by community members. Most of the information that people have given in interviews relates to the nature of the community in the twentieth century.

While informants often have difficulty in describing how and why they consider themselves a community, their recollections and dialogue reveal important hallmarks of community standing. Current community members consistently name the same families and individuals when asked to identify other members of their community. Their answers to the reasons they are considered members are because they have always been so, their family has always been here, and because we've always known them to be Indians like us.

In addition, they distinguish themselves from other aboriginal communities both status and non-status, naming individuals who have married into their community from some other place, who visit periodically from another location, or who have joined another community through marriage.

Similarly, they distinguish themselves from non-Native families and the non-Native community in which they live. Typically informants have experienced themselves as outsiders, relying uncomfortably on key non-Native institutions, particularly schools. Most informants recalled incidents

of racial discrimination and being considered separate from the non-Native society in which they lived.

The sense of community was most vividly illustrated by informants who recounted inter-family hunting and fishing excursions, berry picking and community social activities, most frequently those that involved picnicking and socializing at favourite locations on the many lakes and waterways in the area.

The informants were also consistent in naming particular places where they lived or gathered, sometimes for economic reasons, such as living close to a saw mill that provided wage labour opportunities, good fishing, hunting or trapping areas, or particular locations that were placed conveniently along the river. Some of these places shifted over time as development of the area pushed people out of their homes. A good example is the destruction of a Mattawa housing area by the construction of the LaCabe dam on the Ottawa River.

Much of the trapping, hunting and fishing activity was hidden from authorities, as members rarely held registered trap lines and often considered that such activities were their natural heritage which they should be free to continue as their forefathers. Consequently, the male informants could describe being introduced to particular areas by their older male relatives. Female informants were aware of the on-going hunting, trapping and fishing activities within the community and participated in some aspects including small game hunting. They sold their furs on the black market accepting

lower prices as they did not possess licenses. Consequently, there are no official records of their trapping grounds.

The prejudice of non-Native society was cited as a primary reason for the loss of aboriginal language. Several informants recalled older relatives who switch from their native tongue to English when the children were present believing that their children needed to speak English in order to make their way in the wider society.

Currently each of the three non-status communities have a formal council or circle led by a chief that represents them in discussions and negotiations with outside governments. In recent history, prior to the advent of elected chiefs and formal councils, particular family heads have led the communities in responding to specific crisis. Others are known for fulfilling the role of elders and influential members of their communities.

For example, in the early 1980s, Harold Perry, an Ardoch Algonquin who had inherited the guardianship of the wild rice bed on Mud Lake, led a successful protest against an attempt by a commercial enterprise to mechanically harvest the wild rice on Mud Lake. According to oral tradition, one of Mr. Perry's ancestors had planted the rice in Mud Lake and responsibility for protecting and managing that resource was passed down through her family. This stewardship was recognized not only by the Ardoch Algonquins but also by neighbouring communities such as the

Mississaugas from the Alderville reserve who joined the harvest in the 1920s.<sup>11</sup>

Historically, requests to government for protection of lands, such as the late-18th century and early-19th century petitions by Algonquin and Nipissing chiefs and the mid-19th century petitions from Peter Shawanipinesi were presented by chiefs or leading men on behalf of families they represented. Other official communications, such as the Antoine's requests for treaty annuities, were specific to a particular family. There are very few records illustrating leadership patterns among the non-status groups from the late-19th and 20th centuries. The dearth of documentation is most likely a result of the absence of formal recognition of the communities and consequent lack of official correspondence between community leaders and government officials.

Informants, however, frequently refer to family heads holding meetings to discuss family and community business, such as organizing hunting and fishing excursions. The most apparent marker of community organization is in the informal network of mutual aid and assistance. Informants most often recalled helping each other with fish and game in times of scarcity, providing midwife services, attending the dead, and the community care of children.

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<sup>11</sup> Petr Cizek, "Guardians of Manomin: A Case Study of Indigenous Resource Management of Wild Rice." Thesis, University of Guelph, 1992. See also, Thomas Pawlick, "The Siege of Mud Lake." *Harrowsmith*. No. 40 Vol. VI, 1982 pp 32-41.

Additional research will probe the existence of connections between the three non-status communities and the status community, both on a familial and inter-community basis. This aspect of the research awaits further investigation of the Bonnechere community which is located closest to the reserve community at Golden Lake and is situated geographically between the Ardoch and Antoine communities.

## CONCLUSIONS

One of the distinctive features of Algonquin society is that it is fluid and shifting. Family formation, leadership structure, and use of land all shift to allow the group to survive efficiently in changing and challenging environments. This flexibility, necessary for survival in the bush, appears to have been effectively applied to surviving the influx of settlers in the Ottawa valley and their loss of lands.

While the data is very preliminary at this point, it suggests that the ancestors of the non-status communities maintained an informal leadership structure based on a network of interconnected families, who relied upon each other and made joint decisions about the use of land and resources.

The ancestors of the current communities are traceable through census and church records. Some of the families can be traced to the late 18th century, however, the limitations of these records combined with finite memories of current informants make it nearly impossible to establish ancestors from an earlier period.

Similarly, reliable information on subsistence patterns and identification of land use areas can be obtained from informants for the 20th century. While petitions from the late 18th and early 19th centuries provide a general description of Algonquin and Nipissing territorial claims, more precise identification of hunting territories for the intervening periods is only sporadically available from a variety of documentary sources.

Despite the limitations of the data, the compilation of available information forms a compelling picture of the non-status families as persistent communities who have used their respective areas for at least two centuries. Further research and analysis of the data remains to be done and the outstanding question remains as to whether it will be possible to document the histories of the non-status communities to the extent required to satisfy the requirements of both federal and provincial governments.



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