

CHAPTER 4: OCCUPATION/SETTLEMENT – HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY CONTEXTS

The context of this research project cannot exclude an understanding of the evolution of Aboriginal, and non-aboriginal occupation of the study region. This chapter reviews current research into the history of Algonquin, and to some extent Mississauga occupation of the Ottawa Valley, followed by a review of research on settler movement into the larger area (especially Clarendon Township) through a variety of settlement policies. This review explains the influence of those policies on the location, functional possession, and visibility in the landscape of the Algonquin peoples. Flowing from this historical context, a snapshot of the Ardoch region in the 1980s provides some insight into the social dynamics of the local area at the time of the conflict. This provides a local, and historical context for the Mud Lake wild rice conflict, and a base history for the development of the Ardoch community.

It must be noted that there is a dearth of research detailing the situation of the Algonquin peoples in the period from the 1920s to the 1950s. Oral testimony provides some insight into this time frame. However, the research by Huitema (2001) successfully links Harold Perry, and the Ardoch site, through genealogical and documentary research with the Algonquin peoples living in the Ottawa valley in the 1760 to 1930 time period. While this chapter does not provide a clear picture of the whole of settlement history, it situates the Algonquin people within the region, and then picks up the threads with the Perry family in the 1980s when the effects of settlement, and colonial history take their toll in the wild rice conflict.

This paper has no intention of establishing Algonquin occupation in any authoritative manner. Rather, a brief synopsis of the work of other researchers will provide a regional context of Algonquin occupation and settler movement into the

region, and Algonquin presence in the townships surrounding the case study area, as well as at the case study site in Ardoch, Ontario. This will lead to a brief discussion of the implications. For a more detailed examination of Algonquin and Mississauga occupation, and non-aboriginal settlement history see Huitema (2001), Osborne and Ripmeester (1997, 1995); Clement (1996); Holmes (1995); Trigger and Day (1994); Armstrong (1982); Osborne (1982, 1977, 1976); Taylor (1981); Nuttall (1980); Noble and Osborne (1978); and Day and Trigger (1978).

Algonquin occupation of the Ottawa Valley

There is considerable recognition that Algonquin peoples inhabited both sides of the Ottawa valley in the early 1600s (Huitema 2001; Holmes and Associates 1995; Trigger and Day 1994; Ratelle 1993). By the early 1700s they were frequenting Lake of Two Mountains for the summer months as a result of European settlement in the region, and would return in the late summer to their hunting grounds in various parts of the Ottawa watershed (Holmes 1995; Trigger and Day 1994). The 1700s were a period of considerable conflict in the St. Lawrence corridor, generally leading the Algonquin to avoid settlement in the St. Lawrence valley (Trigger and Day 1994). During this timeframe, Mississauga people expanded south from their homelands northeast of Lake Huron (Osborne and Ripmeester 1997). A group referred to as the 'Kingston Mississauga' was living throughout the Kingston region at the time of the loyalist settlement in the late 1700s (Osborne and Ripmeester 1995).

There is some speculation regarding the exact nature of the boundaries between the Mississauga and Algonquin nations (Huitema 2001). However, early petitions by the Algonquin and Nipissing peoples consistently described their territory as lands whose waters flowed into the Ottawa River, "encompassing both sides of the Ottawa

River from Long Sault (above Carillon) to Lake Nipissing” (Holmes 1995:4 - Figure 4). Despite ongoing petitions by the Algonquin peoples stating their claim to the lands in question, parts of the Ottawa valley were surrendered by Mississauga signatories (see Figure 5).

To some extent, this is due to the relationship between the Algonquin peoples, and the French colonial authorities at Lake of Two Mountains. Upper Canada officials assumed that the Algonquin were under French authority, which was separated from British authority, by the Ottawa River. This arbitrary line dividing Upper and Lower Canada was a colonial designation, without reference to Algonquin territorial boundaries. Because the Algonquin summer gathering place was at Lake of Two Mountains, and their access to colonial authority was through French officials, they had no government representative in their Upper Canada homelands (Holmes 1995). Algonquin peoples faced significant trouble in having their grievances heard due to the separate jurisdictions created through the *Constitutional Act of 1791*, dividing Algonquin lands between Upper and Lower Canada (Holmes and Associates 1995). Each district claimed that the other district had jurisdiction over Algonquin matters, or documentation to support Algonquin claims was located in the other jurisdiction and was unavailable for consultation (Huitema, 2001).

Thus, Crown authorities chose not to acknowledge Algonquin occupation, believing they should remove themselves from Upper Canada, and restrict their occupation to the northern side of the Ottawa River (Huitema 2001). This belief was influenced by statements expressed in an 1816 Mississauga petition stating that Algonquin claims did not cross the Ottawa River (Huitema 2001). Thus, the Crown acknowledged the

Figure 4

Figure 5

Mississauga as owners of the Ottawa territory, and treated with them in order to open the area for settlement.

Incursions into Algonquin areas became an issue following the Crawford Purchase (1783) between the Crown, and the Mississauga for a tract of land along Lake Ontario. This territory was treated for in order to settle white, and Iroquois Loyalists following the American War of Independence. The boundaries of the *Crawford Purchase* were less than clear, and it is likely that white and Iroquois trappers, squatters, and lumbermen extended the boundaries, pushing further north to hunt, trap, and harvest lumber (Huitema 2001). The result was that by 1791, and again in 1798, Algonquin petitions complained that their lands were being ‘pillaged’ by settlers, and Iroquois hunters (Holmes 1995). The colonial government was either unable, or unwilling to stop these incursions. In an effort to contain the advance, Algonquin peoples offered to cede 40 arpents of land from the Ottawa River, under the condition that they retain the backcountry for their own use (Huitema 2001).

Furthermore, in spite of ongoing Algonquin petitions, the Crown chose to treat with the Mississauga for a further tract of land in the Ottawa valley. This treaty, known as the *Rideau Purchase* (1819), took possession of a large portion of Algonquin lands in southeastern Ontario without Algonquin knowledge, or consent (Huitema 2001; Surtees 1994; Day and Trigger 1978). This included lands from the Rideau, along the Ottawa, and past the Madawaska River.

Subsequent petitions and complaints from Algonquin chiefs, and a series of letters from Indian Agents and Commissioners, supported the Algonquin claim to occupation of the contested territory. For instance, the Macaulay Report in 1839 stated that “both Provinces [Ontario and Quebec] should negotiate with the Algonquins since it appears that both areas encompassed their hunting ranges and that

the Algonquins had rightfully challenged the claim of the Mississauga Indians to land south of the Ottawa river” (quoted in Huitema 2001:190-1). Furthermore, the Bagot commission, 1842-1845, concluded that the Algonquin and Nippissing should receive a portion of the annuities that were being paid to the Mississauga for that portion of Algonquin lands ceded by them (Huitema 2001). While the Crown did entertain the claims of the Algonquin people to Mississauga annuities, direct action was never taken, and little was done to support the Algonquin people.

After the war of 1812 the government had little need for Aboriginal allies, and their focus shifted toward the settlement of lands, and the establishment of reserve communities for Aboriginal inhabitants. In the mid 1800s, reserves were set aside for Algonquin communities at Maniwaki, Quebec (1851), Temiskaming, Quebec (1851), and Golden Lake, Ontario (1865-6 enlarged in 1873-5) (Huitema 2001). However, the authorities continually stalled at resolving the issue of Algonquin claims. The end result was that Algonquin peoples living outside of the established reserve communities were ignored, and left to resolve the problem on their own.

Several Algonquin groups continued to live a semi-nomadic lifestyle in their home territories, choosing not to relocate to the various reserves because they were outside of their homelands, and among unrelated peoples. They continued to inhabit the southern portion of the Ottawa valley within the watersheds of the Mattawa, Bonnechere, Madawaska, Mississippi, and Rideau Rivers (Huitema 2001 – Figure 6). Some Algonquin families settled at the Golden Lake reserve but many remained in the surrounding townships of Sabine, Lawrence, Nightingale, Bedford, Oso, Palmerston, and South Sherbrooke. Other groups were dispersed throughout the watershed but

were rarely acknowledged because of their lack of affiliation with a reserve (Huitema 2001).

Some Mississauga peoples also continued to reside in the Ottawa valley, most notably in the Bedford area north of Kingston (Taylor 1981; Osborne and Ripmeester 1995; Ripmeester 1995). Despite the fact that Methodists had established a reserve for the Mississauga at Grape Island in 1826, some Mississauga refused to move to Grape Island, or returned to the area from Grape Island because of their dislike of the rigid Christianity imposed there (Ripmeester 1995). A reserve was established for these wandering Mississauga in 1832 at Bedford (at Wolfe Lake). When the surveyor went to survey the site at Bedford, he noted that there were other Indians already living there. The Mississauga settled on 2680 acres. However, parts of the reserve area were already granted, and there was a considerable presence of lumberers, and squatters (Osborne and Ripmeester 1995; Taylor 1981; Osborne 1976). After the establishment of the Alderville reserve in 1833, to replace the Grape Island reserve, an agent of the Crown required that the Bedford Mississauga move with their 'brethren' to the newly established Reserve (near Peterborough and Rice Lake) (Osborne and Ripmeester 1995). Many of the Mississauga moved, but again, some remained. A number of Mississauga who remained in the Ottawa valley are known to have intermarried with Algonquin peoples, and chose to live in the area with the Algonquin community (for example, Beavers who married into Whiteduck and Mitchell families in the Ardoch area), though some moved back and forth between the Mississauga reserve, and Algonquin communities (Huitema 2001; Holmes 1995).

The Mississauga Bedford Reserve was formally surrendered by the Mississauga in 1836 (Huitema 2001). Eight years following the removal of the Mississauga, and following a series of petitions, a licence of occupation for a tract covering portions of

Bedford, Oso, and South Sherbrooke townships was granted to an Algonquin group under Peter Shawanapenissi (Stephens, Stevens), 'during the pleasure of the Crown' (Huitema 2001:123). Their settlement was based at Clear Lake, a finger, extending southward off of Bob's Lake (see figure 7). The Algonquin families immediately began to complain about the presence of lumberers on the tract (Huitema 2001).

While the Crown had issued the license of occupation, the Department of Crown Lands had issued timber licences, apparently unaware of the license of occupation granted to the Algonquin group (Huitema 2001). T.G. Anderson visited the Algonquin Bedford settlement in 1845, and distributed annual presents at that time - the last known distribution of presents from Lake of Two Mountains. He noted that they were surrounded by lumberers, and recommended that they move to the Manitoulin reserve (Huitema 2001).

Over time, this tract was made untenable by incursions of lumbermen and squatters, forcing the group to disperse throughout their larger territory (Huitema 2001; Holmes 1995). Settlement was by now progressing throughout the Rideau tract. For instance, Clarendon Township, in the north of Frontenac County, had timber limits surveyed in 1840, and the township was opened for settlement in 1861. This influenced Algonquin movement. By the mid 1800s, many Algonquin peoples were no longer travelling to Lake of Two Mountains (Montreal). This was, in part, due to the fact that they could obtain religious instruction and supplies in the interior as a result of progressing settlement. However, depleted hunting stocks resulting from settler use of the resources left them with little resources to make the trip.

Records indicate numerous Algonquin groups dispersed throughout the Ottawa valley in the later half of the 19th century, and some were submitting claims as late as 1899 as independent groups for access to lands (Huitema 2001). The government ceased to negotiate with the Bedford/Oso Algonquin group by the 1850s. Presents to the ‘wandering tribes’ were formally withdrawn in 1852, and Algonquin claims ceased to be considered in 1899 (Huitema 2001). Records from the 1842-63 time period indicate that the ancestors of the Ardoch Algonquin community were leading a semi-nomadic life from the Ottawa River, down to the townships north of Kingston. The extended Whiteduck family were members of the Stephens group (Huitema 2001). In 1861, in response to ongoing petitions from the Stephen’s group, W.R. Bartlett, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, ordered that the group to go to Manitoulin if they were from Lake of Two Mountains, or to Alnwick if they were Mississauga (Huitema 2001).

The 1861 census lists many Algonquins as French (because of ties to Lake of Two Mountains), or half-breeds (because of intermarriage) (Huitema 2001). The 1871, and 1881 census shows a Whiteduck family at Ardoch. At this time the Whiteduck family are consistently occupying Oso, Bedford, Clarendon, Palmerston, and South Sherbrooke. The 1891-1909 records also show the Whiteduck family in possession of lands in the Clarendon and Oso district (Holmes 1995; Huitema 2001). While Algonquin families were clearly present throughout the Ottawa valley throughout this timeframe, they became marginalized through a lack of recognition, and through the mechanisms of settlement, which failed to record their continuing occupation of the region. For example, municipal, and church records often illustrate Algonquin possession of territory in the area, while Provincial land records do not (Huitema 2001). These Provincial records are themselves often inaccurate due to the

absence of information. Furthermore, it is unlikely that Aboriginal families would have applied for a location ticket on lands that they considered to be their traditional territory, nor is it clear that they would have been granted locations if they had (Huitema 2001). Without an application for a location ticket, their presence would not have been noted in Provincial/colonial land patent plans, or land registry books. Since Aboriginal homesteads were not recognized as valid, and the Crown considered itself to possess full authority over the lands through the Crawford (1783), and Rideau (1819) treaties, lands were granted to non-aboriginal settlers, regardless of an ongoing Algonquin presence in the area.

As a result, Algonquin families became invisible in their homelands. They were dispossessed from their authority over their lands through the settlement process. This dispossession was not so much through physical removal, though they certainly would have been pushed off of lands by the new owners. Rather, the dispossession of Algonquin families was accomplished through the authority of settlers over the lands patented to them. As Huitema states, “what is significant is that two societies and two cultures, Indian and Euro-Canadian, continued to exist in close proximity even though official records suggested that the Indian people were no longer involved in the history of the area” (Huitema 2001:187).

Huitema concludes that a kinship group of the Whiteduck lineage continued to occupy the territory in and around Clarendon Township from the mid 1800s to the present day (Huitema 2001). The Whiteduck family has an ongoing presence in church records in Perth and Westport. They also show an active presence in the larger region with Clarendon Township in the centre. Evidence suggests that their hunting territory included all of the Mississippi and Rideau watersheds, and part of the Madawaska watershed (Huitema 2001).

Settler movement into the region

Settler activity began in Clarendon Township in the 1840s with the timber survey, and subsequent granting of logging permits. Though it was not granted, the first request for a patent of land was recorded in 1841, and early records and survey notes give reference to squatters already in the area at the time of survey (Nuttall 1980; Armstrong 1982). Settler movement into the northern reaches of Frontenac County were well underway by 1850 (Osborne 1977, 1976). Timber limits in the Mississippi River system were surveyed in 1847 (Armstrong 1976), and the Frontenac Colonization Road was surveyed, and laid in 1856-7 as a result of the 1853 Colonization Roads policy (or *Public Lands Act*), facilitating the ready migration of settlers into the region. J.A. Snow's Clarendon land survey, carried out in 1861, described the northern two thirds of the township as 'suitable for settlement' (Nuttall 1980). However, the area was very rocky, and the best areas for agriculture were not necessarily readily apparent. Many sites initially occupied by settlers were later abandoned in favour of better locations (Nuttall 1980; Osborne 1976).

The *Free Grants and Homesteads Act of 1868* offered Clarendon Township as a Free Grant area (Nuttall 1980). Settlers could apply to the Crown Land Agent, and obtain a location ticket within the township. They would receive title to the land after five years if a number of required land improvements were completed. This designation of Clarendon Township as a Free Grant area was followed by a surge of settlers, each receiving one lot approximately 100 acres, usually containing very little arable land. Few, however, lasted the year due to the poor land quality for agricultural purposes, and this initial surge was followed by a rapid decrease (Nuttall 1980; Osborne 1977). Peak years for the issuance of location tickets are 1877-89 (see

Figure 8). In spite of the poor success rate of new settlers, settlement did gradually move away from Frontenac Road (Nuttall 1980). By 1900, much of the upper two thirds of the township was in private hands (Nuttall 1980). Lumbering and mining interests had significant freedom in the northern portions of Frontenac County (Nuttall 1980). Figure 9 clearly shows the extent of lumbering and mining interests in Clarendon Township prior to 1900, while figure 10 illustrates land ownership and patents prior to 1900, clearly illustrating the overwhelming influx of settler peoples into the region in a relatively short time frame.

This significant influx of settlers led to considerable hardship for the Aboriginal inhabitants in the area (Algonquin, and Mississauga). As Huitema states “it is clear that the activities of the early settlers ... would come in conflict with the ability of the Indian people to maintain their level of self-sufficiency” (2001:155-6). Both settler, and Aboriginal peoples made use of hunting and trapping, leading to competition for increasingly scarce resources. Because settlers were recognized as legitimate inhabitants of the area, Aboriginal inhabitants were pushed further to the margins for survival, and forced into adaptive strategies such as travelling further north to hunt, working in the timber and lumber industries, and selling what products they could (i.e. moccasins made from tanned hides). When men went north to work on timber drives, or to hunt, women remained in the area, subsisting by gathering natural resources, and by doing menial chores for settler families. This was a period of considerable hardship for Aboriginal peoples in the region, and survival often depended on the good will of the settler families.

The village of Ardoch is located in the upper third of Clarendon Township, was originally named Millburn, Milltown or Melbourne. It was recorded as Ardoch when the first post office was established in 1865 (Armstrong 1976). A major product of the area was lumber, which was floated down the rivers and streams to market (Armstrong 1976). Aboriginal people in the area were known to work in the lumber industry, and helped to develop the infant communities. By the 1880s, the population of Ardoch had increased to roughly 75-100 residents. The area functioned as a regional centre along with the town of Buckshot (now Plevna). They offered many services including two general stores, carpentering, blacksmithing, shoemaking, tanning and saw milling (Nuttall 1980).

Local texts based on oral testimony state that Indian names remembered in the area include Mitchell, Perry, Buckshot, Beaver, and Whiteduck (Armstrong 1982). These names can be found in the various church and municipal records. The Whiteduck family was recorded in the 1871, 1881, 1891, and 1901 manuscript census, and the 1895 and 1900 municipal assessment rolls, as residing on lots in the community of Ardoch – though the lot designation and size was not consistent (Huitema 2001 – Figure 11). They were also variously listed as owners or freeholders. Clearly, these documents (census and assessment rolls) are inconsistent, and unreliable. However, they do record ongoing occupation of land by the Whiteduck family. According to Huitema (2001), it is likely that the Whiteduck family had their main camp at concession V, lot 26, but utilized a much larger area, and were merely noted as residing at various locations by different officials at different times. To confuse the issue, a settler, John Henderson was also recorded at

Lot 26 NER where he operated a tannery producing materials for shoes and horse tackle (Armstrong 1976). It is likely that Mr. Henderson applied for, and was granted a location ticket, for an area of land that was not registered as belonging to the Whiteduck family, or any other family, and thus took ownership of this lot. Whether the Whiteduck family worked at the tannery is unknown. However, Algonquin residents were recognized for their skills in tanning deer hides, and in the production of gloves, jackets, moccasins, and other items (Armstrong 1976).

This history provides a picture of transformation from Aboriginal authority and occupation of hunting territories to a mapped and charted landscape where Algonquin presence is marginalized. It illustrates a process through which the lands of the Algonquin people were appropriated through treaty with Mississauga signatories, and by settler families and industries as a result of the pre-settlement policy advanced by the *Public Lands Act* and the *Free Grant and Homestead Act*. These treaties and policies had a significant effect on the dispossession of Aboriginal peoples within their territories, and led to a drastically altered political, social, cultural, and physical landscape.

Ardoch and the region: 1980

While the settlement period had brought large numbers of people to the region, the lands did not readily support agriculture. Mine closures in the 1920s and 1930s, significantly influenced the population numbers of the region (Respondent 2). Railroad closures in the post-war period furthered this decline leading to the collapse of many towns (Respondents 2, and 6). By 1980, the united townships of Clarendon-Miller were generally economically poor, with much of the economy based on tourism and the cottage industry. According to the 1981 Canada census, there were

445 permanent residents in the larger area of Clarendon-Miller, with 33 people living at Ardoch – this compared to the 75-100 residents in 1880.

Interviews with township officials and residents indicated that the population of the region tripled, or quadrupled during the summer months due to the presence of cottage residents. The bulk of permanent residents were employed in cottage, and tourism related employment (Respondents 1, 2, 4, and 6, and the Clarendon-Miller Township office). During the summer months, the cottagers, and their ways, significantly altered the nature of the community. Interviews indicated that local residents felt some resentment towards seasonal residents, as well as officials from outside of the area (Respondents 1, 2, 4, and 6). While seasonal residents brought jobs, they also brought ideas about development that were not necessarily in the interest of local residents. They also had considerable power to influence local planning (Respondents 1, and 6). Local residents also felt that government officials, and their policies were responsible for several adverse effects on the local community (Document 2). These factors resulted in a certain amount of resentment against outsiders generally (Respondents 1, and 2).

The 1981 average income for Clarendon-Miller is listed as \$6278, while the greater Kingston area has an average income of \$12,197, roughly double the Clarendon-Miller figure (1981 census). An interview with a community social worker from the 1980 period suggested that less than 10% of households existed without transfer payments of some kind (government employment income: teachers, township offices, etc. or other transfers: unemployment insurance, social services, old age benefits) (Respondent 6). The 1981 census lists 210 of 345 residents as having an income from employment. The average income from employment at \$5733 is even lower than the income average for the region. The local grocery store was known to

give credit through the winter months, for residents to pay off during the summer months of employment (Respondents 2, and 6). Only 75 of Clarendon-Miller residents had obtained a secondary certificate in 1981, and only ten had any education beyond that level. Roughly half of the residents of Clarendon Miller were in the labour force, but only 45 of those described their employment as ‘mostly full time’ (1981 census).

Relations between the settler population, and the Aboriginal people were not always on good terms. An informant stated that Aboriginal people were generally accepted so long as they ‘behaved themselves’, and did not ‘talk back’ (Respondent 1). Clearly there existed some animosity between Aboriginal and settler populations. However, the local Aboriginal people were seen as ‘insiders’ and residents. Harold Perry, a descendent of the Whiteduck family, was a relatively successful, and respected businessman in the area. He possessed trade certificates in a number of fields and operated as a building contractor, often employing local residents.

In 1957, Mr. Perry had applied for a patent to concession V, lot 27 - known as ‘The Point’¹ - the same area occupied by his ancestors since the mid 1800s. He was granted that land as a free grant patent, reflecting the continuity of Algonquin occupation in the region (Huitema 2000). Many people knew that Harold Perry was a descendant of the Whiteduck family. The 1981 hearing document records Robert Lovelace stating that some residents thought ‘The Point’ was an unofficial reserve (Document 2, 1981).

¹ ‘The point’ is the local terminology for the location of the Perry homestead noted as concession V, lot 27 (see figure 11).

There was, in fact, some pride in the continuation of the *Manomin* harvest each year (Respondents 2, and 4). Local non-status Algonquin residents gathered with Mississauga relatives, largely from the Alderville reserve, but also Curve Lake, to harvest *Manomin* annually. Some non-native families also participated in the annual harvest. Several documents record Harold Perry's testimony that this rice was shared with local, non-aboriginal residents, especially during the great depression (Document 1, 1980; Document 2, 1981; Document 4, 1980; Document 6, 1980). Mr. Perry states, "I wouldn't be as healthy as I am today if not for the rice... and some settlers too" (Document 2, 1981).

Thus, while some factionalism existed, there was a general feeling of collective struggle in the area. Mr. Perry was known to be the rice steward. Local oral history acknowledges the planting of the rice some time around the 1900s by one of Harold Perry's grandmothers. She brought the rice from Rice Lake, at Alderville, in balls of mud so that it would not dry out (Document 1, 1981). This fact is now generally accepted, since testing on the rice verified that it was of the same type as that at Rice Lake, rather than the type known to exist in the Rideau river system (Respondent 1).

Several Alderville Mississauga residents related to Mr. Perry through his mother's side, as well as Algonquin people from the area came to harvest the *Manomin* annually (Document 1, 1981). Indeed, Harold Perry reported that the predominant number of *Manomin* harvesters were relatives from the Alderville reserve. However, the crop has been seen as a Perry family tradition. Harold's father, Richard Perry who was of Algonquin descent, tended the crop throughout his lifetime, and Harold took over the task upon his father's death.

Harold Perry remembers ricing activities when he was very young:

I have recollections starting about six years old and remember then and until war time 1939 of the Indians coming from other areas for the rice harvest, more so than at any other time, many from Alderville. I remember the smoke house, tanning of hides, moccasins, learning things from Ross and Bill Beaver, my father and others, and dancing the rice. Those were the very hard times of the depression and the wild rice was a major factor in pulling the Indians, the local settlers and ourselves through (Document 1, 1981).

He states that little ricing took place during the war because of the lack of men to do the work. Being too young to go to war, Harold Perry continued to care for the rice. Mr. Perry also remembers a period in the mid-1950s when the rice was diminishing. The river was noted to have a green slime on the bottom. While there is some speculation as to the cause there is no definitive evidence. Harold Perry states, "Indians came, monitored and took very little or none" (Document 1, 1981). There was also spraying of the foliage around the hydro lines at that time and Mr. Perry notes that he spoke with Hydro workers, and was told that they were spraying 2-4D, and 2-45T (agent orange) to control the vegetation (Document 2, 1981). Since the Hydro line runs parallel to the Mississippi, about one mile distant, it was speculated that the chemicals were brought to the lake through natural stream movement, and may have affected the *Manomin* plants.

Throughout the late 1960s, and early 1970s, Harold Perry and his father Richard Perry, re-seeded the lake as is commonly practiced by Aboriginal peoples in other regions where *Manomin* is grown. When the rice is sparse it is left to rest and rejuvenate (Moodie 1991; Peers 1996; Ratkoff-Rojnoff 1980). Harold states that after several years of monitoring, resting, and reseeded the rice bed they were finally able to harvest a small crop (30 lbs) in the early 1970s before his father's death in 1974. The crop began to thrive in 1978, and the Aboriginal users began to cautiously take rice again (Document 1, 1981; Document 4, 1981). Harold recalls his father

talking of resting, and reseeded the rice in the 1920s. It is not known whether this represents a cycle in the life of the rice bed, or if each period reflected environmental influences such as water levels, toxins, or disruptions to the growing crop (i.e. timber drives).

As we can see, the structure of the Ardoch community, and the larger region in 1980, flows from the evolution of events relative to Aboriginal Peoples generally in the Province. The evolution of occupation and settlement, as well as the evolution of Aboriginal access and authority over natural resources like wild rice creates an environment where Algonquin peoples are marginalized, and their authority over the resources within their homeland is eroded. Thus, while the Mud Lake wild rice conflict started in 1979 with the issuance of the commercial harvesting licence, this is not where the story begins – it begins with the history of exclusion illustrated in these context chapters.