THE UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

Disunity and Dispossession:

Nawash Ojibwa and Potawatomi in the Saugeen Territory, 1836-1865

by

Stephanie McMullen

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE

DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

CALGARY, ALBERTA

JUNE, 1997

© Stephanie McMullen 1997

National Library of Canada
Acquisitions and Bibliographic Services
395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada
Acquisitions et services bibliographiques
395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

0-612-24603-5

Canada

ABSTRACT

This study explores the dual themes of factionalism and dispossession among the Ojibwa and Potawatomi in the Saugeen Territory between 1836 and 1865. Chapter I lays the foundation of the study by briefly examining the evolution of Native-non-Native relations in southern Ontario to 1836. Chapter II focuses on the development of Ojibwa-Potawatomi factionalism in the Saugeen Territory, between 1836 and 1850. The third chapter presents the results of this division by examining the three Saugeen treaties of the 1850s. The final chapter discusses the removal of the Nawash band to Cape Croker, and the endurance of factionalism at the new reserve. This thesis offers the proposition that the differences between the Ojibwa hosts and the Potawatomi immigrants from the United States created divisions at the Newash village. The Indian Department then exploited this discord to secure the treaties required by a growing settler population.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I could not have completed this project without the encouragement and support of many people. Top marks have to go to my supervisor, Dr. Donald B. Smith. Your enthusiasm, support, and patience with this project enabled me to make some sense of the chaos. Nahnee would have approved of your endurance! I must also thank Darlene Johnston, Land Claims Research Co-Ordinator for the Chippewas of Nawash and the Chippewas of Saugeen, for her invaluable encouragement and generosity. Our "gossip" sessions afforded me the precious opportunity to understand my "characters" as the *real* people they were. Finally, I owe a great debt to Dr. Jan Grabowski. By encouraging me to look at an old family story in a new way, you provided the impetus to this thesis. Without you, I may never have written this paper.

My friends, both in Ontario and in Alberta, helped me through the difficult and frustrating times. Thanks for your listening ears, and readiness for distraction! Leann Johnston and Kiran Bhatnagar kindly offered their hospitality during my research trips to Toronto and Ottawa, respectively, and consequently had to endure my daily "discovery" reports. I'd be happy to reciprocate anytime (if you can find me!). Lesley Erickson deserves special attention for her patience and bravery. You have not only listened to my latest theories on this corner of the universe, but kindly proof-read this thesis several times. Your insights, suggestions, and yes, even criticisms, made this thesis far better than I could have ever envisioned.

Finally, I must acknowledge my family's essential role in this thesis. You have encouraged and supported my plans and endured my schemes with the patience of saints. Special thanks to my parents, whose love, encouragement, patience and stories carried me through the tough times, and accompanied me through the good. This thesis is dedicated to them, and to my nieces, Cheyanne and Alexa, the next generation.

Table of Contents

Approval Page....ii

Abstract....iii

Acknowledgements....iv

Table of Contents....v

List of Maps....vi

List of Appendices....vii

INTRODUCTION....1

Chapter One: BACKGROUND ON ABORIGINAL UPPER CANADA....8

Chapter Two: FROM ISOLATION TO CONSTERNATION....28

Chapter Three: MORE FORCED SURRENDERS....54

Chapter Four: THE SOLITUDES OF CAPE CROKER....82

CONCLUSION....96

BIBLIOGRAPHY....100

List of Maps

Map 1: Treaty 45 1/2 (1836)....................34

Map 2: Treaty 72 (1854)....................66

List of Appendices

Appendix A: Royal Proclamation of 1763....108

Appendix B: Treaty 45 1/2 (1836)....110

Appendix C: Deed of Declaration (1847)....111

Appendix D: Treaty 72 (1854)....113

Appendix E: Treaty 82 (1857)....115

Appendix F: Treaty 93 (1861)....118

Introduction

Today's quiet farmland and rustic cottages of Ontario's Grey and Bruce Counties suggest to many a calm, orderly history in which pioneers came, tamed the wilderness and created a better life for themselves and their descendants. In this "tranquil land" few non-Natives have any knowledge of the historic divisions, disputes and dispossession of the area's Native peoples. This thesis explores the hidden chapter of the Twin Counties' history.

Many Native peoples have called this area home over the centuries. On the eve of European settlement in the early nineteenth century, the Ojibwa (Chippewa) inhabited the western shore of Georgian Bay and the eastern shore of Lake Huron. The people at Georgian Bay, the Nawash, formed a winter encampment at Owen Sound, and called the site Newash.[1] The Saugeen, their neighbours on Lake Huron, named their encampment after themselves. A third settlement at Colpoy's Bay, created immediately north of Newash in the late 1830s by migrants from Coldwater, completed the Saugeen bands. Together, these Saugeen peoples prepared to face the rapid changes taking place in Upper Canada.

At Newash, the arrival of hundreds of Potawatomi from the United States exacerbated the tension and confusion. Their settlement generated intense strife in the Native community. Although a few Potawatomi moved to Saugeen, the newcomers' impact at Newash proved much greater and far more dramatic. This thesis focuses on the development and results of factionalism at Newash. The Ojibwa and Potawatomi, although long-standing allies who shared many cultural similarities, were not identical nations. This became abundantly evident at Newash, where the two communities reacted differently to the demands and pressures created by increasing contact with the settler society.

---

[1] Although the origins of this differentiation between Newash and Nawash are difficult to ascertain, the Chippewas of Nawash at Cape Croker maintain a distinction between themselves and their former village site.

The Ojibwa and John Thomas Wahbahdick, their traditional chief, believed well into the 1850s that they still had a choice as to their relationship with the non-Native authorities. They refused to co-operate in any meaningful way with the Indian Department and its officials. In contrast, the Potawatomi, also British allies in the War of 1812, had experienced on-going, horrific difficulties after the war. The Americans wanted to expel them from their traditional hunting territories to the lands west of the Mississippi. They knew how limited their options could be when settlers wanted their lands. Assisted by Charles Keeshig, a well-educated Potawatomi who served the band as official interpreter in the 1850s, they generally co-operated with the British authorities. The conflict between the Ojibwa and Potawatomi, complicated by the culture shock caused by direct contact with the immigrant society, created a situation ripe for discord. Rivalry between the Ojibwa and the Potawatomi ultimately left both factions open to exploitation and dispossession by a provincial government concerned with the demands of its non-Native electorate.

In a study of this nature, the question of terminology is an important and thorny issue. Semantics in Native history remain difficult and unresolved and cannot be concluded in this study. Native peoples are now referred to by a variety of titles, from the traditional "Indian," through to "Aboriginal" and "Native," among many others.[2] The Ojibwa have been and continue to be called by many different names, including Ojibwe Ojibway, Chippewa; and their own name for themselves, Anishinabeg (this is the plural form, the singular being Anishinabe).[3] In this paper, I have tried to use "Native" when referring to how Amerindians acted and reacted, and "Indian," when discussing non-Native perceptions of Amerindians actions.

---

[2]Arthur J. Ray, I Have Lived Here Since the World Began: An Illustrated History of Canada's Native Peoples (Toronto: Lester, 1996), p. xvii.

[3]The European newcomers distinguished four groups among the Anishinabeg in the nineteenth century: the Ojibwa, Odawa (Ottawa), Algonquins and Potawatomis. See Donald B. Smith, Sacred Feathers:The Reverend Peter Jones (Kahkewaquonaby) and the Mississauga Indians (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), footnote 1, p. 265.

In the last twenty-five years historians have begun to examine aspects of nineteenth-century Native life in southern Ontario, although a great deal more remains to be done.[4] Recently, historians such as John Leslie and John Webster Grant have emphasised the role of the Indian Department, Indian agents, missionaries of all faiths, and teachers of residential schools in reserve life in the nineteenth century. John Milloy, in particular, has completed important work on the early Indian Acts in the Canadas.[5] While many scholars acknowledge that Natives acted as agents rather than merely recipients of change; none, however, demonstrate Native agency or make it the focus of their studies. Few case studies exist.

As historians have become more sensitive to Aboriginal aspirations, they have created roles for both Native and non-Native actors to play. Both Aboriginals and Eurocanadians appear as one-dimensional actors. This trend is disturbing for it offers little justice to the complexity with which people actually lived their lives. In reference to the Nawash and Saugeen peoples, historian Peter Schmalz writes as if they all acted with the best intentions, while only self-interest motivated government agents.[6] Although Sylvia Waukey adds a little more complexity to her argument by examining and classifying the

---

[4]For references on recent studies of Native peoples in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, please consult the bibliography in Edward S. Rogers and Donald B. Smith's (eds.) Aboriginal Ontario: Historical Perspectives on the First Nations (Toronto: Dundurn, 1994), pp. 425-438.

[5]John Leslie's M. A. thesis, "Commissions of Inquiry into Indian affairs in the Canadas, 1828-1858: Evolving a corporate memory for the Indian Department," (Carleton University 1984) and John Webster Grant, Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter since 1534 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984). Also, John Milloy, "A Historical Overview of Indian-Government Relations, 1755-1940" (Prepared for the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1992) and "The Early Indian Acts: Development Strategy and Constitutional Change," in Sweet Promises: A Reader on Indian-White Relations in Canada, ed. by J. R. Miller (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), based on his D. Phil. dissertation for Oxford University (1978), "The Era of Civilization: British Policy for the Indians of Canada, 1830-1860."

[6]Peter Schmalz, The History of the Saugeen Indians (Ottawa: Ontario Historical Society, 1977) and his The Ojibwa of Southern Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991).

Indians themselves, she retains the argument that non-Native agents acted only in single-minded interest.[7] By stereotyping their cast, these authors misrepresent the real life complexities of Natives and non-Native experience alike.

The task of attempting to reveal Native points of view and motivations is difficult, made even more so because few early nineteenth century Natives left behind written documents. Yet the revelation of Native perceptions is a challenge that must be undertaken. Historians as diverse as Donald B. Smith and Carol Devens have attempted to understand how Natives interpreted the initiatives of the European newcomers, and how they interacted with the colonists.[8] Native views and responses differed greatly, not only between bands, but within them as well. Conflict arose within Indian communities over the appropriate response to non-Native initiatives. Although most Natives recognised the threat of displacement and dispossession that the European immigrants posed, responses varied, from the absolute rejection of the European enterprises, as expressed by the Ojibwa at Walpole Island, to the Credit River Mississaugas' accommodation and adaptation.[9] Even these adjustments did not meet with universal approval in the individual reserves.

Although historians have tried to enlarge the narrow focus of past works, much work remains to be written. As previously noted, especially important are community (case) studies and detailed examinations of government policy in the 1840s and 1850s, a time of great transition in Canadian politics and society. This thesis is a case study of how two Native communities, living side by side on a small reserve, responded to non-Native

---

[7]See her M.A. thesis "The Genesis of Factionalism Among the Indians of the Saugeen Territory, 1843-1857" (Carleton University, 1986).

[8]See Donald B. Smith's Sacred Feathers and Carol Devens Countering Colonization: Native American Women and Great Lakes Missions, 1630-1900 (Los Angeles and Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

[9]In 1987, a Walpole Island research group published a study of the Island's history. This work offers an excellent starting point for further, more detailed work. See Nin-da-waab-jig, Walpole Island: The Soul of Indian Territory (Walpole Island: Nin-da-waab-jig, 1987).

settlement and government initiatives. Like Claude Pariseau's thesis on Oka, which covers a slightly later period, the Nawash study looks in depth at the concrete realities of village life in the 1840s and 1850s.[10] It further explores the interactions of the Nawash Ojibwa and Potawatomi with the Indian Department. The purpose here is not to affix blame for the events of the period, but rather to discuss the perceptions and motivations of three societies in transition: Ojibwa, Potawatomi and Newcomer.

Even with a narrow focus on Nawash, the documentation is problematic. At some times and on some issues, correspondence is woefully inadequate. Although non-Natives wrote a great deal in this period, the Indian agent, Captain Thomas Anderson, visited the area but, at best, a few times a year. Local officials were concerned with non-Native issues and seldom reported on Indian problems. The literate Natives (David Sawyer, Nahneebahweequa and Charles Keeshig) had arrived only in the late 1840s. When the local leaders, Peter Kegedonce Jones and Wahbahdick, corresponded with the provincial and imperial governments, they relied on others' skills, as neither chief could read, write or speak English. The traditionalist Ojibwa merited little notice, and the traditionalist Potawatomi even less. Moreover, the Christian Potawatomi's and Ojibwa's attitudes are difficult to ascertain at times. This necessarily entails some generalisations of each faction's perceptions and actions.

Chapter I of this case study examines the Nawash peoples' initial adjustment to the British settlement. It first discusses the arrival of the Ojibwa in southern Ontario and subsequent Native-settler relations elsewhere in the colony. The influx of hundreds of thousands of Europeans following the War of 1812 severely reduced the economic power of the Natives in southern Upper Canada, who, by the 1840s were reduced to about 12 000

---

[10]Claude Pariseau, "Les Troubles de 1860-1880 à Oka: Choc de deux Cultures" (MA thesis, McGill University, 1974).

people.[11] As Native military and economic power declined, their land became the most significant thing of value to the Europeans. Disease, alcoholism and increasing indebtedness rendered many Native men and women powerless to refuse the settlers' increasingly aggressive demands for land.

The next chapter discusses the Saugeen Territory's entrance onto this complex stage of adjustment and communication. It begins with the Saugeen bands' varied response to Christianity at the end of the 1820s and concludes with the Ojibwas' reaction to the arrival of hundreds of Potawatomi and thousands of non-Native settlers in the 1840s. The chapter first focuses on the development of factionalism at Newash following the forced surrender of 1836. Secondly, it examines how the conflicts between the groups affected the band's internal relations and ties with the provincial, and to a lesser extent, the imperial government. The provincial government became especially important after the transfer of authority, begun in the late 1840s with responsible government.

Chapter 3 examines the crucial decade of the 1850s. The conflict of the 1840s bore fruit in treaties which surrendered most of the remaining land of the Saugeen peoples. By this time, discord had proved so divisive that the bands could seldom act in concert to protect their interests and, especially at Newash, the band divided against itself. The provincial government took advantage of the situation by loosely interpreting the procedures for land treaties, as outlined in the Royal Proclamation of 1763, and by playing both sides against one another. By the end of the decade the Nawash had lost their village and had to relocate elsewhere.

The fourth and final chapter chronicles the adjustments that the Nawash underwent in their settlement at Cape Croker. From the 1860s onward, the Nawash band's plight seemed of little interest to either the provincial legislature or the Indian Department - the

---

[11] Anthony J. Hall, "The Red Man's Burden: Land, Law and Lord in the Indian Affairs of Upper Canada, 1784-1858" (PhD Dissertation, University of Toronto, 1984), p. 208.

settlers having obtained all the land they needed. Plagued by death and desertion after their removal to Cape Croker, the Ojibwa lacked a formal leader. The divisions created and hardened at Newash grew deeper on the new reserve.

Between 1830 and 1860, a profound transformation occurred in the Saugeen Territory. In the span of twenty-five years, the Saugeen bands surrendered 98% of their lands. The Ojibwa's power in 1836 remained largely unchallenged. With the influx of Potawatomi, their position changed to a vocal minority. By the 1850s they had lost control completely. The government of the Union of the Canadas, formed in 1841, in its administration of Upper Canada (now Canada West) was preoccupied with the concerns of nearly one million non-Natives. Once it began to exercise control over issues that affected Indians in the 1840s, it expressed no interest in the position of 600 Indians. The provincial government sought only Nawash submission, not participation. When the Ojibwa refused to comply, the Indian Department turned to the more conciliatory Potawatomi. Culture, religion, and history influenced Native/non-Native relations in the pre-Confederation period. An examination of the events that occurred at Newash village between 1836 and 1865 unveils the complexity and diversity of Aboriginal responses to non-Native initiatives.

The Saugeen Territory, the last large tract of potential agricultural land in Upper Canada, attracted much interest among colonial government officials and colonists alike in the mid-nineteenth century. The resident Native communities, especially at Newash, were torn apart by factional conflict. The Indian Department had not created the divisions at Newash, except through their settlement invitation to the Potawatomi, but it took advantage of their opportunities. Two factors emerge to explain the Aboriginal peoples' loss of the Bruce Peninsula: the government's exploitation of the hostility at Newash between the resident Ojibwa and immigrant Potawatomi, and the intensity of the pressure of the settlement frontier.

I: Background on Aboriginal Upper Canada to the eve of the Saugeen Treaty of 1836

"But what would you say if we went to the other side of the great water to force our customs on you? When have Whites ever taken part in our dances, our celebrations, our customs and boasted about it? Black Robe... you have come to ridicule our customs right here on our own land... You mock the remains of our ancestors." Ojibwa Orator Ochaouanon[1]

Before reviewing the responses of the Saugeen peoples to British settlement from the 1830s to the 1860s, one must know the general background to the encounters. Amerindian life in Upper Canada underwent dramatic change in the first half of the nineteenth century. As the number of European settlers increased, Native power and influence with the newcomers declined. Indians who had once fought independently alongside their European allies found themselves pushed to the sidelines of life in their own homelands. By 1835 the Ojibwa of much of what is now southern Ontario had surrendered their lands and "settled" on small tracts of reserved land, where they followed the government's and the churches' strict program of Christianisation and "civilisation."

The Ojibwa and Potawatomi of the Saugeen Territory numbered among the last Indians in southern Upper Canada (Canada West) to participate in the treaty-making and "civilisation" process. Indeed, by the 1830s, the Tract remained the only large area of fertile land left open in the southern portion of the colony. By the time the government agents began to press these Indians to alienate their remaining lands in the 1850s, the communities of Saugeen, Nawash and Colpoy's Bay, living on the already small reserve plots of the Saugeen Peninsula, had fallen into a state of political paralysis due to internal

---

[1]Ochaouanon's speech to Father Dominique Du Ranquet at Walpole Island, 1844. Quoted in James Morrison's "Upper Great Lakes Settlement: The Anishinabe-Jesuit Record," in Ontario History LXXXVI, (March 1994), p. 55.

conflicts. To achieve its goal, the provincial government promoted the Ojibwas' and Potawatomis' differing needs and aspirations.

Southern Ontario's landscape altered dramatically in the first half of the nineteenth century, especially for the Aboriginals. The change required by the "civilisation" policy necessitated the full and enthusiastic participation of government agents, missionaries, and most importantly, Natives. This support was not always forthcoming. Unless coerced by force or circumstance, many Ojibwa felt no desire to abandon the customs and beliefs of their ancestors. This was certainly true for the Saugeen peoples.

By the early nineteenth century the Ojibwa in the Saugeen area felt deep ties to the land, having continuously occupied it for over a century. At the time of Champlain's voyage in the region in the early seventeenth century, Iroquoian peoples, specifically the Huron, Petun and the Neutrals, cultivated the lands of the southern Ontario area. The Huron's allies, the Petun, had occupied the area west of Huronia until the mid-seventeenth century, when the Iroquois Confederacy defeated the Huron and all of their immediate allies as well. By the 1650s the Iroquois had turned menacingly to the Ojibwa, who retreated into northern Ontario to escape the Iroquois onslaught. In the period of relative tranquility that followed, a number of Iroquois colonised the north shore of Lake Ontario. In the 1660s they established villages and planted their crops of corn, squash and beans.

By the end of the century the Iroquois had over-extended themselves at a time when epidemics sharply reduced their numbers. The Ojibwa sensed the moment of opportunity, and launched a three-pronged attack on the Iroquois, attacking at Lake St. Clair, the Trent-Severn Waterway and through the Bruce Peninsula. An Ojibwa council decided, in the words of George Copway, a mid-nineteenth century Ojibwa writer, that they must attain a clear victory at Nahtooway (Saugeen), as it was "the principal village of the Iroquois, on

the easternmost shore of Lake Huron."[2] The fierce battle which ensued, known as the Battle of Skull Mound, left so many dead that the artist Paul Kane noted the location of their remains in 1845.[3] The Ojibwa assault forced the Iroquois to leave their new settlements, and the ill-feeling caused by hostilities lasted long after the participants had died.[4] In the nineteenth century the Ojibwa and Iroquois of Upper Canada could not form a lasting alliance, partly because of residual animosity.

In the early eighteenth century, the Ojibwa began to settle southern Ontario. The more moderate climes of the new land allowed limited horticulture in the more southerly areas of their new territory, but they also continued to pursue their old lifestyle, subsisting largely by hunting and fishing. The rich fishing grounds, especially at the mouth of the Saugeen River, had long encouraged Native peoples to establish camp sites there, and the Ojibwa proved no exception to this.[5] They also built a winter village encampment at Nish-ne-beg, which became known as Newash in the mid-nineteenth century.[6] Throughout the following decades the inhabitants allied themselves with the French.

---

[2]George Copway, Traditional History and Characteristic Sketches of the Ojibway Nation (London: Charles Gilpin, 1850. Reprinted, Toronto: Coles Canadiana, 1972), p. 80.

[3]Paul Kane, Wanderings of An Artist Among the Indians of North America (Mineola, New York: Dover, 1996. Originally published London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, Roberts, 1859), p. 2. The victorious Ojibwa quickly established their own fishing village at Saugeen.

[4]For more on this subject, please see Leroy V. Eid, "The Ojibwa-Iroquois War: The War the Five Nations Did Not Win," in Ethnohistory XXVI, (Fall 1979). Some recent debate has arisen, challenging the authenticity of the Ojibwa interpretation. J. A. Brandao and William A. Starna argue that the Iroquois in fact won the Iroquois-Ojibwa War through diplomacy, achieving protection of their hunting grounds north of Lake Ontario. (Please see J. A. Brandao and William A. Starna, "The Treaty of 1701: A Triumph of Iroquois Diplomacy," in Ethnohistory LXIII, (Spring 1996)). This interpretation remains controversial and contested by those who rely on the Native oral traditions recorded in the mid-nineteenth century accounts of Peter Jones, William Warren and George Copway.

[5]Saugeen means mouth of a river.

[6]This village site has undergone many name changes through the centuries. Between 1800 and 1900, it was known variously as Nish-ne-beg, Nawash, Big Bay, La Grande Baie and Sarawak township.

Problems began for the interior Indian nations, including the Ojibwa, and the Potawatomi, with the fall of New France. After the French surrendered New France in 1760, the English refused to continue the French practice of providing gifts and annual payments to the Great Lakes Amerindians. Land encroachment also began in the Fort Niagara region. In the early 1760s, the "Western Indians," formerly French allies, complained that the British did not treat them as well as they did the Mohawks and the Indians of the St. Lawrence Valley.[7] The Great Lakes Aboriginal peoples remained fiercely independent, as one told Alexander Henry, a British trader: "Englishmen, although you have conquered the French, you have not conquered us. We are not your slaves."[8] The resulting friction contributed to a pan-Indian movement and Pontiac's Resistance in 1763. After initial Native success in the conflict, the British re-asserted control in the area.

The Proclamation of 1763 followed this conflict. It also attempted to redress the problem of the lack of a uniform colonial policy toward Amerindians.[9] The document granted the Indians the Ohio Valley as an "Indian homeland." The Proclamation set an important precedent.[10] It clearly defined the procedures to be followed in any and all surrenders of Indian land. In essence, the Royal of Proclamation of 1763 represented the first formal British recognition of Aboriginal title and rights. The British government protected the vast reserve area for only eleven years before returning it to Quebec

---

[7]Robert S. Allen, His Majesty's Indian Allies: British Indian Policy in the Defence of Canada, 1774-1815 (Toronto: Dundurn, 1992), p. 32. The Indians of Canada included those who lived on church-run reserves in the former colony of New France, especially those Mohawks living around Montreal.

[8]Minavana to Alexander Henry the Elder, quoted in Tony Hall, "The Red Man's Burden: Land, Law and Lord in the Indian Affairs of Upper Canada, 1784-1858," (PhD dissertation, University of Toronto, 1984), p. 34.

[9]Robert S. Allen, "The British Indian Department and the Frontier in North America, 1755-1830," in Canadian Historic Sites: Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History (1975), p. 16.

[10]J. S. Milloy, "A Historical Overview of Indian-Government Relations 1755-1940" (Prepared for the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1992), p. 19.

jurisdiction, but the surrender process has continued to guide the British and Canadian Indian Department since 1763.

The British applied the Proclamation to Indians in southern Ontario.[11] At the end of the American Revolution in 1783, the British government treated with the resident Ojibwa to obtain land for their Iroquois allies.[12] The Ojibwa initially resisted granting land to their former enemies, but relented when they learned that non-Native Loyalists also planned to move to British North America: at least the Iroquois were fellow Indians.[13] The initial transactions involved the Ojibwa living along the north shore of Lake Ontario, known to the British as the Mississauga. The Europeans' interest in Ojibwa land grew at an alarming rate in the decades that followed. By the mid-1830s the British exerted pressures on the Saugeen peoples for their territory.

After the conclusion of the American Revolutionary War in 1783 and the establishment of the colony of Upper Canada in 1791, the physical and social landscape of the Ojibwa homeland changed rapidly. Within a few years of the initial arrival of roughly 2 000 Iroquois and approximately 5 000 non-Native United Empire Loyalists, other immigrants moved into the area. To the growing dissatisfaction of the colonial administration, most of these colonists came from the newly independent United States. Hostility between the British Americans and Americans from the American War of

---

[11]Darlene Johnston, The Taking of Indian Lands in Canada: Consent or Coercion? (Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan Native Law Centre, 1989), p. 47. The Indians in Quebec did not receive the same scrupulous attention to the detail of the Proclamation, as the St. Lawrence Valley was exempted from its jurisdiction.

[12]The Iroquois had initially been reluctant to participate in the conflict, but by the end of the war four of the Six Nations fought alongside the British to protect their lands from American encroachment. During the treaty negotiations with the Americans in which the British surrendered Indian lands as well as Crown territory, the British agents had failed to make any arrangements for their Indian allies, the Iroquois included. To prevent attacks on their remaining North American outposts, the British quickly made provisions for the Iroquois with the southern Ojibwa.

[13]Donald B. Smith, "The Dispossession of the Mississauga Indians: a Missing Chapter in the Early History of Upper Canada," in Ontario History LXXIII, (June 1981), p. 80.

Independence remained alive. With the Napoleonic War waging in Europe, the British had few military resources to protect its remaining North American colonies; they feared American expansion and annexation into the area. Increasingly concerned by the number of Americans living in Upper Canada, the British sought to reinforce ties with their Indian allies. Indeed, after 1807 the British Indian Department increased their activity among the Indians in the colony, by maintaining Indian friendship without encouraging an attack on the United States.[14]

When the British finally completed their withdrawal in 1796 with the handing over of their forts at Niagara, Detroit and Michilimackinac, many Great Lakes Indians still refused to acknowledge American jurisdiction over their lands, control based on a treaty signed in a far-off European city, without Native consultation and representation. During these wars, newly "American" Indians often sought refuge and support in the British colony, where they had long-standing alliances with the Native peoples there. They regarded renewed British interest in their affairs around 1807 favourably, hoping that the Europeans would again join them at war, and perhaps create an Indian buffer state between the two Euroamerican territories.[15] They did not need to wait long.

The Indian warriors who fought with the British in the War of 1812 represented a wide diversity of nations: to cite several of the most prominent, Potawatomi, Ojibwa, Odawa (Ottawa), Shawnee in the western theater, and Iroquois in Upper Canada. They fought with ferocity, viewing themselves as the British monarch's allies, not his subjects. Their participation made British victories at Michilimackinac and Detroit possible. The

---

[14]G. M. Craig, Upper Canada: The Formative Years (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1963), p. 68. The British wished to retain Amerindian loyalty in case of another war with the Americans, but feared an American counter-attack if the Indians in British North America raided border communities. Although now over thirty years old, Craig's study remains the best general survey of early Upper Canada.

[15]Allen, His Majesty's Indian Allies, p. 122. In the early treaty negotiations ending the War of 1812, the British did try to include such a clause, but American refusal to yield on this subject caused the English to abandon it.

death of Tecumseh at Moraviantown in 1813 created a leadership vacuum among the eastern Native forces, but Natives continued to engage in battle with the Americans. Despite the significance of their military contribution, however, by the war's end in late 1814, the balance of power had shifted in Upper Canada, and not in the Indians' favour. The Indian alliance had been essential to the colony's survival in the early months of the war, but the end of the Napoleonic Wars signalled a change in imperial considerations and, consequently, a new Indian policy for British North America.

A population explosion occurred in the industrialising British Isles in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but the financial and practical demands of the war forced potential emigrants to postpone their departure. With Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo in 1815, the opportunity for emigration arrived. Tens of thousands of new colonists arrived in British North America in the years following the War of 1812. By 1850 the settler population numbered nearly one million, while the Amerindians numbered only 12 000. Many of these immigrants made their way to Upper Canada where they hoped to establish themselves as yeomen farmers.[16] To facilitate settlement, and to meet their obligations under the Royal Proclamation, the imperial government initiated another round of surrenders with the Native inhabitants.

Decreasing military importance and population, combined with divisions with neighbouring American Indian allies and between Ontario bands made the Natives

---

[16] In 1815 only 680 people immigrated from the British Isles to British North America, but by 1845 the number of immigrants had increased to 31 803 for that year alone. Most of Upper Canada's immigrants arrived from the British Isles at this time, and most of these went to Upper Canada. Please see Donald H. Akenson, "Ontario: Whatever Happened to the Irish?" in Immigration in Canada: Historical Perspectives, ed. by Gerald Tulchinsky (Toronto: Copp Clark Longman, 1994), pp. 106-108 for detailed tables. By 1851, 952 000 people lived in Canada West (J. M. S. Careless, The Union of the Canadas, 1841-1867: The Growth of Canadian Institutions (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967), p. 150.

particularly vulnerable to the Crown's demands.[17] As the European population increased, the Amerindian population decreased. Between 1790 and 1830, two-thirds of the Mississauga on the northwestern shore of Lake Ontario died from smallpox, tuberculosis, and measles, lowering the population from approximately five hundred in 1790 to two hundred in the 1820s.[18] Other Native communities suffered equally high mortality rates. The Amerindians found themselves increasingly separated from one another by growing settler communities.[19] Yet unlike previous negotiations, the British in the 1820s encountered increased Amerindian resistance.

In the first round of surrenders after the American Revolutionary War, both the British and the Amerindians had been satisfied with the land cessions. Because the translations of them were poor, and to a number, the concept of what a surrender consisted of was new, not all Natives had a clear understanding these agreements. Once the Natives learned that the British believed they now possessed the land exclusively and forever, resistance to further surrenders grew.[20] As Europeans arrived by the thousands after the war, Natives began to wonder how many immigrants planned to come to settle on their land. They were not adverse to sharing their lands in exchange for tokens which would reinforce the British-Indian alliance, but it now appeared that the British were no longer interested in alliances, but in domination. As an elder noted to Peter Jones, the influential Native Methodist missionary, "[t]he strangers [the Europeans] then asked for a small piece

---

[17]Robert J. Surtees, "Indian Land Cessions in Upper Canada, 1815-1830," in As Long As The Sun Shines And Water Flows: A Reader in Canadian Native Studies, edited by Ian A. L. Getty and Antoine S. Lussier (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1983), p. 68.

[18]Donald B. Smith, Sacred Feathers: The Reverend Peter Jones (Kahkewaquonaby) and the Mississauga Indians (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), p. 30.

[19]Tony Hall, "Native Limited Identities and Newcomer Metropolitanism in Upper Canada, 1814-1867," in Old Ontario: Essays in Honour of J. M. S. Careless, ed. by David Keane and Colin Read (Toronto: Dundurn, 1990), p. 149.

[20]Smith, "The Dispossession of the Mississauga," p. 74.

of land on which they might pitch their tents; the request was cheerfully granted. By and by they begged for more, and more was given them. In this way they have continued to ask, or have obtained by force or fraud, the fairest portions of our territory."[21]

By the mid-1820s the settlers had overwhelmed the Native population of the southern part of the colony. Along the north shore of Lake Ontario in particular, the non-Natives vastly out-numbered the Amerindians. Colonial administrators had ceased to view the resident Native population as allies, and instead decided to assume responsibility for their "civilisation." From the early seventeenth century arrival of Europeans in North America, many newcomers had felt a moral duty to convert the Indians to Christianity. Both Catholic and Protestant missionaries had experienced only limited success in their endeavours, but by the 1820s the impetus existed for another attempt. It had become evident to Christian leaders, government agents, and some Native leaders that the traditional Native way of life could not compete with recent developments in the colony. In their new efforts at Christianising Natives, the missionaries also assumed the responsibility of ensuring that the Indians adopted a European, agrarian lifestyle.

This new approach to Indian conversions, particularly the Protestant variant, resulted from an important revival movement in late eighteenth century Christianity. Protestantism had cast off the pessimism of Calvinism, with its pre-ordination and introspective beliefs, and replaced it with enthusiastic expansionism. The Roman Catholic Church responded to this with an diffusion of its creed into the world.[22] The Christian

---

[21]Peter Jones, History of the Ojebway Indians; with especial reference to their conversion to Christianity (London: Houlston and Wright, 1861), p. 27.

[22]Ultramontanism particularly affected the Roman Catholic Church. Religious orders, especially the Jesuits, looked to the pope for more direction, yet bishops had more power. This movement was very conservative, distrusting all forms of liberalism. Armed with a new militancy, Catholic missionaries set out to "conquer" Indians in the name of Christ.

faiths hoped to harness this new, optimistic spirit by organising missionary societies.[23] In Britain the Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts and a non-denominational group with a strong Quaker influence - the Aborigines Protection Society - led the Protestant battle to teach the Indians the virtues of Christianity, permanent settlement and agriculture.

In Upper Canada, Catholics and Protestants established their own separate, but highly competitive, missionary spheres of influence in the 1840s. While the Protestants, in particular the Methodists, led amongst the Ojibwa in the southern portion of the province, Catholics influenced the more northerly reaches of the colony. The Anglican missionaries received the favour of the colonial administration, and Indian agents encouraged Indians to convert to that faith. Yet the Methodists alone achieved noticeable success among the southern Ojibwa. They established a formal missionary society only in 1820, but within a decade had already converted a great number of important Native leaders, including Peter Jones.[24] The Methodist doctrine held particular appeal for Natives, because of its prohibition of alcohol. The Methodists viewed alcohol as a moral and social evil, a real impediment to Christianity and "civilisation."[25] Their strict adherence to temperance attracted many Indians, including John Sunday (Shahwundais), who became one of the church's most important and influential converts.

The Methodists were acutely interested in the future of North America's Indian population. The Christian Guardian, the Methodist church's official newspaper, devoted much attention to the issues of temperance and Indian missions in its first years of publication. These concerns appeared prominently in the newspaper for decades

---

[23]Carol Devens, Countering Colonization: Native American Women and Great Lales Mission, 1630-1900 (Los Angeles and Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), p. 45.

[24]Ibid, p. 46.

[25]F. L. Barron, "Alcoholism, Indians, and the Anti-Drink Cause in the Protestant Indian Missions of Upper Canada, 1822-1850," in As Long As The Sun Shines, p. 194.

afterward.[26] Yet, despite their success and activism, their close ties to the American Methodist Conference caused the colonial establishment to frown upon the Methodists. Administrators regarded Methodists as "republicans," because the dominant branch of Methodism in Upper Canada had reached the colony from the United States. The colonial administrators viewed the openness of their services and camp-meetings with suspicion. Still, the provincial government could do little beyond protesting the Methodists' existence because they enjoyed greater initial success in missionary work among the Ojibwa than all other Protestant denominations combined.

Roman Catholic missionaries found themselves in a slightly different position. The church hierarchy knew the Protestant Upper Canadian government regarded them with ill-concealed hostility and contempt, and they expected the resistance they encountered from Crown authorities. The Jesuits had acted as Rome's envoys to the North American Indians until Catholic Europe forced the pope to suppress the order in 1773. In Canada, the British government allowed the remaining Jesuits to continue their ministries, but by 1800 the order disappeared upon the death of the last Canadian Jesuit. The pope lifted the Act of Suppression in 1814. The Jesuits eventually returned to Canada. In 1842, the Bishop of Montreal urgently requested their presence, along with the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, who were assigned to far northern locations, and in particular the Northwest.[27] The Jesuits first tried to effect their ministry at Walpole Island, but met with steadfast opposition.[28] A secular Catholic priest, J. B. Proulx, established a permanent mission at

---

[26]Craig, Upper Canada, p. 177.

[27]My thanks to Father Edward Dowling of the Archives of the Society of Jesus of Upper Canada for explaining to me the intricacies of the Jesuit position in these troubled times.

[28]The Natives at Walpole Island, south of present-day Sarnia, remained a stronghold of resistance to European initiatives throughout the nineteenth century, refusing to adopt even the most basic of non-Native customs. More upsetting to the missionaries was their rejection of Christianity. Their chief countered missionary arguments by telling the tale of an Indian woman who had converted to the Europeans' faith, and upon her death, she found the gates to the strangers' heaven closed to her, because she was an

Wikwemikong on Manitoulin Island.[29] After a brief and frustrating stay on Walpole Island in 1844-45, the Jesuits moved to Manitoulin Island. In the following years the Jesuits gained a position of influence in Native communities on Manitoulin Island and on the north shore of Lake Huron.

Many Natives, especially in those areas now dominated by Europeans, recognised the necessity of adapting themselves to the changes in their environment. Since the American Revolution, demand for European goods had only increased among the Ojibwa, making them more dependent on good trading relations.[30] The Ojibwa lost more land, power and respect in the following decades. The Ojibwa had always believed that humans were only one of many forms of life, both visible and invisible, that existed on Earth. *Munedoos*, or spirits, were omnipresent. Indeed, humans possessed very little power of their own, and depended on good relations with the *munedoos* to assist them in all areas of life. By the early nineteenth century these *munedoos* seemed to have abandoned the Ojibwa. Traditional Ojibwa religion had apparently failed to bring them the "spiritual, intellectual or material comfort" that the people needed in this time of trial.[31] In contrast, the newcomers seemed to thrive in the Ojibwas' lands, aided by their lone God.

During this time of political, economic and spiritual weakness, Christian missionaries began to see widespread conversions.[32] Some traditional spiritual leaders

---

Indian. She then went to join her friends in the Indian afterlife, but was refused entrance because she had forsaken the religion of her ancestors. The old Gije-Ogima (grand chief) remarked, "That is the fate of all who follow your religion." Quoted in Morrison's "Upper Great Lakes Settlement," p. 57.

[29]Julian Paquin, S. J., "Paquin Manuscript", (Unpublished, Archives of the Society of Jesus, Upper Canada (hereafter ASJUC), Toronto), p. 77. Paquin created his manuscript from the Wikwemikong journal before World War II. The journal itself was destroyed by fire in the early 1950s.

[30]Smith, "The Dispossession of the Mississauga," p. 71.

[31]Peter Schmalz, The Ojibwa of Southern Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), p. 155.

[32]Bruce Trigger, "Indians and Ontario's History," in Ontario History LXXIV, (December 1982), p. 253.

encouraged conversion to Christianity and accommodation to the newcomers.[33] Although men like Peter Jones moved with equal ease in both the Native and Eurocanadian worlds, those who did not have his facilities in English and familiarity with non-Native customs also began the difficult process of adjusting to a more sedentary lifestyle.

Accommodation met with resistance.[34] A number of Indians, such as those on Walpole Island, strongly opposed any accommodation to the newcomers. Even supporters of adaptation acknowledged that the European settlers did not always prove to be desirable models of "civility." Peter Jones himself pointed out that Europeans had introduced alcohol, swearing (in particular taking the name of God in vain), contagious disease, lying, cheating and deceit, and the loss of land and game for a pittance.[35] Still, with few real alternatives, the process of cultural accommodation progressed, especially among the Mississauga at the Credit River, and at Grape Island (later at Alderville, south of Rice Lake).

Life for Indian Department officials also became increasingly difficult after the end of the American hostilities. In addition to pressures from religious enthusiasts, they had to respond to other demands. The British had continued their relations with the interior nations long after the end of the American Revolution. In spite of legally granting the Americans control over these Indians' lands, the Crown, having learned their lesson at the

---

[33]Elizabeth Graham, Medicine Man to Missionary: Missionaries as Agents of Social Change among the Indians of Southern Ontario, 1784-1867 (Toronto: Peter Martin, 1975), p. 87.

[34]E. S. Rogers," Southeastern Ojibwa," in Handbook of North American Indians Volume XV: Northeast (Washington: Smithsonian Institute, 1978), p. 765. As Rogers points out, this trend marked attempts at farming in particular. Although many Natives initially tried their hand at agriculture, after the first wave of farming, its economic importance did not grow significantly and in some cases decreased, causing many Natives to abandon it. This was certainly true of the Saugeen bands, but it is equally true that their reserves are not located on particularly fertile soil.

[35]Jones, History of the Ojebway Nation, p. 168.

time of Pontiac, made annual presents to those Amerindians they regarded as their allies.[36] Such a policy had served the British well in the War of 1812, and realising this, the United States government ensured that most of the immediate post-war American Indian land treaties occurred along the Canada-U. S. border. Non-Native communities sprang up between the British colony and their American Indian allies, placing the British in a delicate position. By the 1820s and 1830s presents to "American" Indians increasingly appeared to be open interference with internal American affairs. As a result, the British began to limit their gift-giving policy.[37]

The British government found itself in a quandary over Native affairs in the 1820s. The British humanitarians, whose influence swept over English society in the early nineteenth century, demanded that Native peoples be treated benignly. Indeed, they argued that Europeans had an obligation to "civilise" the "wild" peoples of the world. Sir Peregrine Maitland, the Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, argued that the Crown owed Indians instruction in "civilisation" because the colony might have been lost to the Americans without the Natives' participation on the British side.[38] Although these views met with mixed support from a Colonial Office more interested in financial retrenchment than expansion, their concerns provided the impetus to the new "civilisation" program that sought to transform the Indians of Upper Canada into Christian farmers.

After much consideration, the imperial government and the missionary organisations believed that they had found a solution to the colony's "Indian problem." By the 1820s both annuities and specifically reserved lands were generally included in the treaties and surrenders.[39] In the late 1820s, the British government adopted the

---

[36]Traditionally in Native cultures, the chief demonstrated that he had the support of his people by giving presents to allies at councils.

[37]Surtees, "Indian Land Cessions in Upper Canada", p. 68. This process took several decades to complete however.

[38]Milloy, "A Historical Overview," p. 27.

[39]Johnston, The Taking of Indian Lands, p. 48.

"civilisation" policy which dominated, with two short interruptions, their Upper Canadian Indian policy for decades to follow.[40] In 1829 Lieutenant-Governor Sir John Colborne declared that the sale and rent of Indian lands provided the best means to pay for Indian "civilisation" projects.[41] The government stood to benefit from the change to "civilisation," making the Indians self-sufficient, assimilated subjects, and saving the Crown great expense. By making self-supporting Christian farmers of the Indians, the imperial government could be excused of the expensive gift-giving tradition. To aid in this civilisation project, the colonial legislature banned the sale of alcohol - except beer and wine - to Indians, with firm punishments to the non-Native liquors traders.[42]

By the early 1830s the imperial government and missionary agencies had established a number of experimental villages, that were modelled on the successful Credit Indian mission west of Toronto, the oldest in Upper Canada. These settlements were designed to teach Amerindians how to pray, speak, read and live like Europeans. The Methodist-sponsored Credit River village, led by the Jones and Herkimer families, transformed the remnants of a disease and alcohol-ridden band into a model Christian

---

[40]The interruptions were the short administrations of Sir Francis Bond Head (1836-37) and Lord Sydenham (1841-42), who did not believe it was feasible to transform Indian hunters and fishers into Christian farmers.

[41]L. F. S. Upton, "The Origins of Canadian Indian Policy," in Journal of Canadian Studies VIII, (1973), p. 59. A key part of Indian policy at this time focussed on relieving the Crown of the expense of Native alliances without substituting it with the cost of civilisation projects.

[42]Barron, "Alcoholism, Indians and the Anti-Drink Cause," p. 196. In spite of this formal legislation, no practical measures were created to pursue and prosecute those guilty of this new crime. Especially in the outlying areas, this act represented little more than political rumbling. Statistical evidence reveals that non-Native communities in Upper Canada also experienced problems with liquor, but the Indians' cultural and moral status in the province, combined with their poverty, caused much greater concern among humanitarians.

community by the 1830s. It was frequently used as an example to demonstrate the potential of the "civilisation" programme.[43]

Many Native leaders initially approved of these communities, particularly of the schools, as a means of adjusting to the new social environment which dominated their lands. Indeed, in the village schools Indian children received a better formal education than that available to most settlers' children. At these missionary and trade schools, boys learned masculine trades, such as carpentry, while girls pursued the "domestic values of nineteenth century womanhood."[44] The children also learned to read and write in English. European science, however, did not easily dispel traditional beliefs from children's minds.[45] In these villages, non-Native and Native missionaries, church workers and government agents kept a close watch on the Indians, to ensure their conformity to English modes of dress, housing, farming and relations. The missionaries acted as ambassadors of Eurocanadian culture to the Indians. Their beliefs about a proper society became evident in sermon and in action. These guides frowned upon buckskin, wigwams, hunting and polygamy, and worked to ensure that their flock likewise rejected them.

As Peter Jones and Egerton Ryerson established the Credit mission village, William Case, the head of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, created another model village at Grape Island, at the other end of Lake Ontario. In contrast to the Credit mission establishment, the colonial government did not allow the use of the Mississauga's annuities for the construction of this site. American and Canadian Methodists donated the

---

[43]This is not to say that this village was without its social problems. For example, although everyone in the community pledged themselves to sobriety, a number of individuals had trouble honouring that promise.

[44]Graham, Medicine Man To Missionary, p. 76 and Devens, Countering Colonization, p. 53.

[45]Smith, Sacred Feathers, p. 159.

money for the establishment of the mission at Grape Island, near Belleville.[46] This experiment demonstrated the lack of foresight by even the most ardent supporters of Indian "civilisation" projects. Grape Island measured only four hectares, while its population numbered over two hundred. Case and his followers tried expanding to other islands for pasture land and lumber, but finally moved the mission to its present location at Alderville, south of Rice Lake.

The government-sponsored model villages at Coldwater and the Narrows, led by the Indian agent Captain Thomas Gummersall Anderson, did not match the Credit's success, but allowed the provincial government and the Anglican church to exercise influence among the Ojibwa of Lake Simcoe. Anderson himself inadvertently caused many problems at these villages, for despite his concern for Indians and his experience with them as a trader and military officer, he could not yield from his authoritarian manner and view of Indians as minors.[47]

In spite of Anderson's personality conflicts with many Natives, in 1829 Ojibwa chiefs Musquakie and John Aisance convinced their people to support this project at Lake Simcoe. Initially the experiment seemed to offer promising results, and the colonial government extended funding in 1833. By 1837, however, financial problems at the villages had become so acute, and pressure to open up the land for non-Native settlement so strong, that both villages were abandoned. Many Indians from these model villages relocated to Rama and Snake Island on Lake Simcoe, as well as to Christian Island in

---

[46]Brian S. Osborne and Michael Ripmeester, "Kingston, Bedford, Grape Island, Alnwick: The Odyssey of the Kingston Mississauga," in Historic Kingston XLIII, (January 1995), p. 97.

[47]Schmalz, The Ojibwa of Southern Ontario, p. 142. Anderson did possess a decided advantage over other Indian agents, in that he could speak to the Indians in their own language. See Anderson's reference to himself and David Sawyer acting as interpreters at council meetings. Anderson to Higginson, 12 May 1846, p. 96672. National Archives of Canada (NAC), RG 10, Vol. 158, C-11498.

Georgian Bay and to the Saugeen Territory, where the settlers' presence had not yet made itself so strongly felt.

As the problems at Coldwater mounted, government officials searched for a new location for a model village, still hoping to emulate the Methodists' success, while converting the Indians to the Church of England. By 1835, the idea of creating a large, isolated reserve on Manitoulin Island found increasing favour in the highest levels of the colonial government. As a prelude to this large experiment, the Indian Department ordered Anderson to establish a model community at Manitowaning on the island. This project received proper funding, but again Anderson's attitude, lack of provincial government interest, and missionary sectarianism mitigated the experiment's success.[48]

The Natives' interest in adapting to Eurocanadian ways waxed and waned over the next few years. Such an accommodation entailed an arduous reorienting of the individual's and the community's outlook. Some simply retreated farther north to escape the influence of the settlers.[49] Beginning in the late 1820s, a number of Natives adopted extensive farming practices, but following initial enthusiasm for the projects, Native excitement for the labourious task waned. Many Natives who remained in the southern part of Upper Canada preferred, where possible, hunting, fishing, collecting maple sap and harvesting wild rice over breaking the soil.[50] In many villages, initial ambivalence or even enthusiasm for the missionaries quickly changed to suspicion as Natives feared the

---

[48]Douglas Leighton, "The Manitoulin Incident of 1863: An Indian-White Confrontation in the Province of Canada," in Ontario History LXIX, (1977), p. 115. Indeed Anderson seemed to grow concerned with his continued frustrations in leading the Indians to "civilisation." Although he despised the Jesuits at Wikwemikong, he once confided to the Jesuit Father Choné that "my attitude has brought on me much trouble and little success." ("Paquin Manuscript", p. 110).

[49]Schmalz, The Ojibwa of Southern Ontario, p. 139.

[50]Rogers, "Southeastern Ojibwa," p. 765.

missionaries to be merely government agents.[51] Many Amerindians suspected that non-Natives were more concerned about personal profit than Native welfare.

This concern was founded on their experience with Eurocanadian authorities. Most new Indian agents did not have Anderson's long experience in dealing with Native peoples. Hired to enact the Crown's new policy of "civilisation," these agents were unused to treating Indians as military allies, and regarded them instead as problems and obstacles to the smooth advance of European society into the "New World."[52] The official goals set by the colonial administration were often unrealistic, and pessimism about Indians' abilities made government agents see failure in every difficulty.[53] The Indian Department, chronically understaffed and underfunded, needed their charges to convert to "civilisation" quickly, and had little patience for setbacks.[54]

---

[51]Devens, Countering Colonization, p. 69. This was an especially serious concern for the Anglicans, who were so intricately linked to the Crown and the colonial government.

[52]John Leslie and Ron Macguire, eds. The Historical Development of the Indian Act (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs, 1978. Reprinted, 1979), p. 12. This problem was exacerbated by the fact that by the late 1830s "most Indian superintendents were overworked and, lacking support staff, were engaged solely in dealing with daily exigencies" [John Leslie, "The Bagot Commission: Developing a Corporate Memory for the Indian Department," in Canadian Historical Association Historical Papers (1982), p. 38].

[53]John L. Tobias, "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation: An Outline History of Canada's Indian Policy" in As Long As The Sun Shines, p. 42.

[54]The Indian Department itself experienced many difficulties in this period. Although Indian Affairs was one of the last imperial responsibilities to be transferred to colonial control, the change had been contemplated since the 1820s (J. E. Hodgetts, Pioneer Public Service: An Administrative History of the United Canadas, 1841-1867 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1955), p. 212. Three commissions between 1839-1858 investigated the Department's operations, and recommended changes. The 1839 MacCauley Report recommended expanding Indian Department services, while the Bagot Commission (1844) urged against the expense and seeming futility of further centralisation of operations. The Pennefather Commission (1858) concurred with MacCauley, and proposed an increase in the Department's responsibilities (John F. Leslie, "Commissions of Inquiry into Indian affairs in the Canadas, 1828-1858: Evolving a corporate memory for the Indian Department" (MA thesis, Carleton University, 1984). As a result of these changes in vision, the administrative machinery of the Department underwent frequent re-organisation in these years, making a coherent administration impossible. See also Milloy, "A Historical Overview," pp. 23-47.

Eurocanadians planned to assimilate the Natives within one or two generations. This scheme failed because of the Ojibwa's "tenacity to retain their identity."[55] This was particularly true in the areas furthest from non-Native settlement. They depended less on colonial society, and were less acculturated. A division began to develop between "back" Indians and their more acculturated "lake" cousins.[56] Slowly the Natives realised that life on the reserve could never be as free as it had been before. The newcomers were always on the reserves, telling the Indians how they should live and what they should do. Their society was under attack, and there was no place to which they could withdraw. Conflicts arose between the Ojibwa and the settlers, the various religious factions, and between the traditionalists and the assimilated. Trapped on small reserves, these groups could not handle these conflicts in the traditional manner and withdraw. Frustration and restlessness grew on the reserves. The wish began to grow, even at the Credit Mission, the showpiece of the experiment, that perhaps the Ojibwa of southern Ontario should regroup in a large area which they could control themselves, namely the Saugeen Territory to the north.

---

[55]Schmalz, The Ojibwa of Southern Ontario, p. 148.
[56]Ibid, p. 87.

II: From Isolation to Consternation:
The Immigrants' and Potawatomi arrival in the Saugeen Territory, 1836 to 1850

I have also to say (and I am sorry to be compelled to say so) that the Mosquitoes (sic) about my village begin to bite so hard that my cries now reach your ears." Chief Wahbahdick[1]

The Christian and government civilisation projects established throughout Upper Canada experienced varying degrees of success. In 1836 the Ojibwa of the Saugeen Territory had watched their kin in the more southern reaches of the colony adjust to the influx of European immigrants, but the Saugeen peoples themselves still had little direct contact with non-Natives. They had a long history of military and economic relations with the French and the British, but settlers had shown little interest in the Saugeen homeland. This changed in the mid-1830s, as fertile lands to the south filled up and immigrants continued to arrive in the colony. The forced Saugeen surrender of 1836, which reduced Saugeen lands by four-fifths, occurred immediately prior to the arrival of hundreds of Potawatomi refugees. Hardly had that loss occurred when the Indian Department pressed for more surrenders.

In 1818 the Saugeen Ojibwa had surrendered the eastern portions of what are now Wellington and Grey counties in exchange for annuities and the continued use of modern Bruce county. Apart from this brief, and seemingly fruitful, meeting with imperial government officials, the Saugeen continued their traditional way of life.[2] The band at the

---

[1]Chief Wahbahdick to Chief Superintendent of Indian Affairs, 2 August 1845. National Archives of Canada (NAC) RG 10, Volume 410, microfilm C-9616, p. 1033-1035.

[2]Not everyone in the band agreed with this surrender. In 1833 Charles Rankin arrived to survey Collingwood Township. Chief Wahbahdick confronted him, ordering the surveyor off "his land," (his family's traditional territory extended as far as modern town of Collingwood). When they ignored him, he took his case to Sir John Colborne, the colony's Lieutenant-Governor. "He departed; and within the short space of about ten days re-appeared, having been, by canoe and on foot to York (Toronto) in the meantime. The clerks at the Crown Land Office had imposed on the fiery little Chief, and giving him a paper which they asserted would cause all unauthorized trespassers to decamp, got rid of him. The paper was but a printed handbill, "Lands for Sale;" and this he had carried, carefully folded in his bosom, all the way from York. He "served it" upon Mr. Rankin

mouth of the Saugeen River fished the rich waters of Lake Huron, and hunted in the area south of the river. The abundant fishing grounds of Owen Sound and Georgian Bay, along with the ample hunting area north of the Saugeen River supported the Nawash band.[3] Hunting, fishing, maple sugaring and berry picking, traditional Ojibwa economic activities, continued. The ancestral cycle of life persisted. The Natives watched events to the south with concern, and invited their relatives to join them far from the colonists. In 1835 few indications existed of the turmoil that would strike the region with Sir Francis Bond Head's arrival.

Non-Native interference in the activities of the Saugeen and Nawash bands had begun in the late 1820s. The Native missionary Peter Jones went on a missionary tour of the Saugeen area in 1829, preaching to the local Ojibwa. The young Mississauga's sincerity and devotion influenced many Saugeen people, including Kegedonce. He represented a key convert for the Methodists, as the chief's oratorical skills were widely known and respected in the Saugeen Territory. After listening to Jones' words in the summer of 1829, Kegedonce exclaimed "I have heard from afar that all my brethren around me are turning to the service of the Great Spirit, and forsaking the old religion. I do not wish to stand alone. Brothers! I will arise and follow them. I will be a Christian."[4] After visiting the Credit settlement a year later, the Saugeen people who followed Kegedonce converted to Methodism.

---

with all due importance; but seeing no immediate effect...made peace with the party." William Wye Smith, Gazatteer and directory of the county of Grey for 1865-6 (Toronto: Globe Steamer, 1866. Canadian Index of Historical Material microfiche 48603), p. 56.

[3]Although Owen Sound is now mostly commonly known as a moderate-sized city, the community takes its name from the body of water, Owen Sound, surveyed in 1815 by Captain William Fitz-William Owen. The community was formally known as Sydenham before the establishment of a post office in 1847, when the name changed to Owen Sound.

[4]Kegedonce to Peter Jones, from Christian Advocate & Journal (5 February 1830, p. 94), quoted in Elizabeth Graham, Medicine Man to Missionary: Missionaries as Agents of Change among the Indians of Southern Ontario, 1748-1867 (Toronto: Peter Martin, 1975), p. 19.

Kegedonce perhaps became a martyr for his faith. In the fall of 1831, his lifeless body was discovered near Goderich. Chief John Aisance, of Matchedash north of Lake Simcoe, believed that the powerful orator had fallen prey to angry Natives, who disagreed with Kegedonce's Christian stand.[5] The murdered chief left behind a wife and young son, who fled to the Newash village to escape Kegedonce's enemies. Although the majority of the Saugeen band remained Methodist, even establishing a Methodist mission in 1833, the neighbouring Nawash band dealt much more cautiously with Christian representatives.[6] These developments had a profound effect on the murdered chief's son, Peter Kegedonce Jones.

In 1836 Sir Francis Bond Head arrived to take up his post as Upper Canada's new lieutenant-governor. Bond Head had lived in Argentina, and greatly admired the Jesuit reductions, or the isolated settlements of South American Indians. The new governor deemed the new civilisation projects in Upper Canada unsuccessful. The Indian people suffered undue hardships trying to adjust to a lifestyle to which he believed they were unsuited. Secondly, he felt that the rich farmland upon which they scratched a meagre living could be better used for settlement by the newcomers. To help the Indians and the poor immigrants, Bond Head advanced a new proposal, one inspired by the South American Jesuit model.[7]

---

[5]Donald B. Smith, Sacred Feathers: The Reverend Peter Jones (Kahkewaquonaby) and the Mississauga Indians (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), p. 111. John Aisance had converted to Methodist Christianity in 1828, although subsequent problems at the Coldwater settlement with Anderson caused him to convert to Catholicism in 1832. After the failure of the Coldwater village, Aisance's band relocated to Beausoleil Island, and later after his 1847 death, to Christian Island in 1856. Like Wahbahdick, non-Natives undermined his chieftainship throughout his life. For more information on Aisance, please see Anthony J. Hall's article, "John Aisance," in Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Volume VII (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), pp. 11-12.

[6]Annie M. Stephenson, One Hundred Years of Canadian Methodist Missions, 1824-1924 (Toronto: The Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, 1925), p. 74.

[7]One of the key issues in the Legislative Assembly's June-July 1836 election campaign was the lack of open good farm land. Bond Head directly interfered in this campaign on the side of the Tories (D. J. Bourgeois, "The Saugeen Indian Land Claim Re:

Bond Head believed Manitoulin Island, far from the settled areas of the colony was a suitable place in which to bring his project into action. He travelled to the island in 1836, first cajoling, then threatening the local Ojibwa and Odawa population into allowing other Indians from Upper Canada to settle on the island. Elsewhere, the Natives regarded his proposal with a mixture of horror and astonishment. Bond Head intended to make the island, much of it rocky, a permanent homeland for the colony's entire Indian population. He toured reserves in Upper Canada to convince the Indians to move north, and although a few complied, most recognised that they could not farm on the island. Joshua Wawanosh, a chief at Sarnia, endorsed a letter to the Christian Guardian, a Methodist newspaper, suggesting that the colony's Ojibwa population should settle together, but not on Manitoulin Island. The Saugeen Territory offered a much better opportunity for such mass settlement "because we can have roads from our settlements, the means of defence or flight in case of war at any future period...we might be encouraged to be farmers." Furthermore, "our brethren at Sawgeeng pity us, as being so scattered, and are willing we should all come and settle with them in their country, on the most liberal terms." Without additional reinforcements, the Saugeen would have to surrender the lands.[8]

At that stage, few Ojibwa responded to Wawanosh's letter or to the Saugeen invitation. They believed that they had worked too hard and progressed too far to give up their newly cultivated lands and settle on the remote island or on the Saugeens' lands. In particular, the Methodist missionaries and the Aborigines' Protection Society (APS) in Britain supported their attempt to remain in their existing mission stations.

Bond Head's schemes proved especially important for the Natives of the Saugeen Territory. By 1836 the Saugeen remained the only large open tract of Indian land left in southern Ontario. The inhabitants had no wish to surrender it. At the annual present-

Treaty # 45 1/2, 1836," Prepared for the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, 1985, p. 13). With the 1836 treaty, Bond Head succeeded in acquiring such land for settlement.

[8]Quoted in Bourgeois, "The Saugeen Indian Land Claim," p. 9-10.

giving ceremonies on Manitoulin Island, Bond Head summoned the Saugeen present to discuss a land surrender. The Royal Proclamation of 1763 categorically stated that at "a public Meeting or Assembly of the said Indians," the band must agree to surrender the land to the Crown before it could be considered a legal document.[9] However, Bond Head was unfamiliar with the terms of the Proclamation when he "negotiated" the treaty.[10] He told the Ojibwa that if they did not cede the land, settlers would come and take away all of their land. The provincial government would not be able to protect them from the squatters. Pressure mounted, and finally a small minority ceded a million and a half acres of land to the Crown, leaving only 450 000 to the Natives.[11] Although the Saugeen and Nawash bands did not have to move to Manitoulin Island, the Saugeen band lost its hunting grounds.[12] The Saugeen and Nawash retained their northern territory, the Nawash hunting grounds, and the fisheries around what remained of their reserve.

As the Saugeen bands struggled to adjust to provincial government threats and the loss of their land, humanitarians in England rallied to their defence. Initially the government ordered the Saugeen band to abandon their village site, which the Natives

---

[9]Royal Proclamation of 1763 in As Long As The Sun Shines and Water Flows: A Reader in Canadian Native Studies, ed. by Ian A. L. Getty and Antoine S. Lussier (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1983).

[10]James Givins to Lieutenant-Colonel Napier, 20 August 1836, p. 177. NAC, RG 10, Vol. 501, C-13342. "I am commanded by H.E. the L.G. to request you forthwith to transmit to me for his perusal a copy of the Proclamation of St. James of 1763 respecting the mode of acquiring land for Government from the Indian tribes." The treaty was signed on the 9th (see Appendix B).

[11]Peter Schmalz, The History of the Saugeen Indians (Ottawa: Ontario Historical Society, 1977), p. 69. In 1979 the Saugeen and Nawash bands filed a claim against this treaty, contesting its validity. Some Saugeen Natives refused to accept the treaty, and tried to organise an uprising against it. They well knew the futility of the action, but wanted to "go out fighting." (Smith, Sacred Feathers, p. 164.)

[12]The 1836 treaty was a violation of both the Royal Proclamation of 1763 and the Further Instructions of 1794. Both documents clearly state that a meeting had to be called specifically for the purpose of surrendering land. Bond Head proposed this treaty during the annual distribution of presents on Manitoulin Island. Robert J. Surtees, "Indian Land Cessions in Ontario, 1763-1862: The Evolution of a System," PhD dissertation, Carleton University, 1983, p. 218.

refused to do. At Saugeen, many Natives had converted to Christianity and had worked to cultivate the soil. Some families lived in permanent houses, and the community enjoyed the services of a resident Methodist missionary.[13] The humanitarians lobbied successfully, urging that the Christian Indians remain at Saugeen, on their lands.[14]

Unlike previous treaties, the imperial government omitted a clause providing an annuity for the surrendered lands. In June 1837 the Wesleyan Methodist Church also joined with the APS to protest the land surrender. James Evans, a Methodist missionary who had attended the negotiations and witnessed the treaty, wrote a letter to the Guardian in March 1838, charging that Bond Head had forced the Saugeen to sign the agreement.[15] With the outbreak of the 1837 Rebellion in Upper Canada and the need for Native support, as well as the humanitarians' vocal attacks against the treaty, the Indian Department made adjustments.

Humanitarian groups found the lack of an annuity provision the most serious "oversight" of the surrender. For more than a decade treaties had commonly included annuity provisions, but the Saugeen surrender lacked this important feature. Justice James Macauley, who headed a brief inquiry into Indian Affairs in 1839, recommended an annuity or other similar compensation to the Saugeen bands for the 1836 treaty.[16] In May 1838 Samuel Jarvis, Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, agreed to an annuity of £500. By January 1840 the approved annuity allotted £2.10.0 for each member of the

---

[13]Conditions at Newash were somewhat different. Traditional customs still dominated the community, although the missionary from Saugeen made frequent visits to the Owen Sound village.

[14]Bourgeois, "The Saugeen Indian Land Claim," p. 16. It seems that the Saugeen band's protests were especially vocal. The government agreed to finance Alexander Madwayosh's son at Upper Canada College in 1847-48 in order to quiet his protests (Robert Surtees,"Indian Land Cessions in Ontario, 1763-1862," p.221.

[15]Bourgeois, "The Saugeen Indian Land Claim," p. 16-17.

[16]John F. Leslie, "Commissions of Inquiry into Indian affairs in the Canadas, 1828-1858: Evolving a corporate memory for the Indian department" (MA thesis, Carleton University, 1984), p. 63.

Map 1

SUDBURY

BLIND RIVER

MANITOULIN ISLAND

GEORGIAN BAY

PARRY SOUND

LAKE HURON

UNITED STATES

CANADA

OWEN SOUND

BRUCE

GREY

TREATY # 18
1818

TREATY # 45 1/2
1836

DUFFERIN

ARTHUR

GODERICH

HURON

WELLINGTON

TREATY # 27 1/2
1825

PERTH

LEGEND

Boundaries of Treaty # 45 1/2, 1836

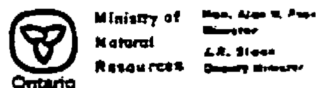
Southern Boundary of Land Reserved for Saugeen and Nawash Indian Bands, Treaty # 45 1/2, 1836.

Scale

25 0 25 Miles

20 0 20 40 Kilometres

SAUGEEN INDIAN LAND CLAIM
RE TREATY #45 1/2, 1836



MAP 47
Office of Indian Resource Policy
Drafted by Surveys and Mapping
84-12-18

tribe, to a maximum of 500 people.[17] The Executive Council still wanted the Saugeen Indians moved to Manitoulin Island, but when confronted by the British humanitarians' and the Methodists' opposition, they decided to allow them to remain.[18] Thanks to their own solidarity and the help of non-Native supporters, the Saugeen won some concessions from the government. Their lands, however, were never returned.

By the time the provincial government created the annuity in 1840, life in the Saugeen Territory had changed dramatically. The development of communities to the south heralded a new influx of settlers. The 1840s marked the integration and consolidation of non-Native communities in Canada West.[19] In the newly acquired Saugeen lands, the recently established towns of Goderich and Fergus grew quickly. Before long settlers spread from these communities north into the newly surrendered Saugeen lands.

The colonial government wanted to settle the land surrendered in 1836, as the Americans had already opened up the land on the Michigan side of Lake Huron.[20] This proved particularly worrisome for the Nawash band whose territory included the deep Owen Sound harbour. An Executive Council Minute on June 16 1840 created the Owen Sound Settlement to provide jobs for immigrants and to open up more farm land.[21] Settlement proceeded well, in part because the salmon fisheries at Owen Sound were "the

---

[17]Bourgeois, "The Saugeen Indian Land Claim," pp. 18-19.

[18]Ibid, p. 20. Most of the arrivals to the Manitoulin Island reserve were not southern Ojibwa, but rather American refugees, such as Potawatomi, Ojibwa and Odawa (James Morrison, "Upper Great Lakes Settlement: The Anishinabe-Jesuit Record," in Ontario History LXXXVI, (March 1994), p. 61). Indeed, in 1841 a number of Potawatomi and Ojibwa left Manitoulin Island partly as a result of religious and inter-tribal conflict between them (Sylvie Dussault, "L'Homme À Chapeau, Le Grand-Esprit et l'Anichenabé: Ojibwés et Jésuites dans le Canada-Ouest, 1843-1852," MA thesis, Université Laval, 1996, p. 75). Manitoulin Island never achieved any of the success that Bond Head had believed possible.

[19]J. M. S. Careless, The Union of the Canadas, 1841-1867: The Growth of Canadian Institutions (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967), p. 150.

[20]Surtees, "Indian Land Cessions in Ontario," p. 227.

[21]Footnote in The Elgin-Grey Papers, 1846-1852: Volume I, edited by Sir Arthur G. Doughty (Ottawa: J. O. Patenaude, 1937), p. 36.

most abundant" on Lake Huron.[22] In 1841, James McNab, a local land agent, reported to his superior that "all is well as the settlement, there is nine Families arived Since I went to Toronto, and none moved out except a few Blacks...You would be glad to see the Settlers building their Houses in the deep snow."[23]

The new village encountered considerable problems in these early years. The roads between Owen Sound and Arthur, the main transportation route, remained in poor repair.[24] The village's distance from the colony's commercial centres made it difficult and expensive to obtain provisions.[25] The land remained heavily forested. John McDougall, who became a noted Methodist missionary in western Canada, was born in Owen Sound in 1842. Years later he remembered that his "earliest recollections are of stumps, log heaps, great forests, corduroy roads, Indians, log and birch-bark canoes, bateaux, Mackinaw boats, etc. I have also a very vivid recollection of deep snow in winter, and very hot weather and myriad mosquitoes in summer," and of growing up and playing with his Indian neighbours.[26]

The non-Native settlers in the area appreciated the Saugeen Indians' annuity for their own reasons. As the Nawash and Saugeen Indians gathered to receive their annuities and presents, in the words of John McNab, the early Crown Land agent's son, "the harbour was dotted with small craft, owned by traders waiting to exchange their goods for the money the Indians were to receive."[27] By the early 1840s several European and

---

[22]A. M. J. Dunford to R. B. Sullivan, 31 March 1842, pp. 08843-08845. Provincial Archives of Ontario (PAO), RG 1, Vol. 15, envelope 1.

[23]James McNab to R. B. Sullivan, 5 February 1841, pp. 087799-087800. PAO, RG 1,Vol. 15, env. 1.

[24]Dunford to Sullivan, 31 March 1842, pp. 08843-08845. PAO, RG 1, Vol. 15, env. 1.

[25]Ibid, and McNab to Sullivan, 5 February 1841, pp. 087799-087800. PAO, RG 1, Vol. 15, env. 1.

[26]John McDougall, Forest, Lake, and Prairie: Twenty Years of Frontier Life in Western Canada-1842-62 (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1895. Reprint.), p. 11-12.

[27]John McNab, quoted in W. L. Smith, The Pioneers of Old Ontario (Toronto: George N. Morang, 1923), p. 263. John McNab was James McNab's son.

African-American settlers had established homes at the mouth of the Sydenham River, only a few miles from the Newash encampment.

Other newcomers came as well. The American Indian Wars continued in the Midwest. The 1831 Black Hawk War had intensified calls to remove the Potawatomi from the Lake Michigan area.[28] By 1833 the Americans had obtained the surrender of a vast area of land near present-day Chicago, forcing the local Indians, including the Potawatomi, to move west of the Mississippi. Linguistically similar to the Ojibwa and Odawa, the Potawatomi had been French, then British allies.[29]

Even as the Americans battled them, many Potawatomi in the United States continued to visit Upper Canada, where they received presents at the British posts on Manitoulin Island and Walpole Island. After the British government announced in the late 1830s that such "visiting Indians" would no longer be eligible to receive presents, the Indian Department invited them to settle permanently in Upper Canada.[30] Missionaries also supported this settlement invitation, pointing to the Saugeen Tract as an especially desirable location for the Native newcomers.[31] The American victory at Chicago caused the Potawatomi in Michigan, Illinois and Wisconsin to consider this offer, having lost their homeland, and now obliged to remove west of the Mississippi.

In spite of long-standing ties with the British and the Ojibwa, the Potawatomi had never seriously considered moving to Canada before the Treaty of Chicago. Although a few individuals may have settled in the colony before 1835, they were insignificant in

---

[28]James A. Clifton, A Place of Refuge For All Time: Migration of the American Potawatomi into Upper Canada 1830 to 1850 (Ottawa: Canadian Ethnology Service, 1975), p. 29.

[29]For more information on these respective nations, please consult E. S. Rogers, "Southeastern Ojibwa," and James Clifton, "Potawatomi," both in the Handbook of North American Indians Volume XV: Northeast, ed. by Bruce Trigger (Washington: Smithsonian Institute, 1978).

[30]Leslie, "Commissions of Inquiry into Indian affairs," p. 70.

[31]Surtees, "Indian Land Cessions in Ontario," p. 224.

terms of numbers and impact.[32] This quickly changed in the late 1830s. The Potawatomi arrived in Upper Canada via three major entry points. The Michigan and some Illinois Potawatomi entered at Windsor and Sarnia. The Wisconsin and other Illinois Potawatomi travelled to Manitoulin Island. The Potawatomi spent their first years in Upper Canada as "wandering Indians."

The Ojibwa often rejected the Potawatomi refugees. In July 1837 three hundred crossed into Canada at Sarnia, and although the local Ojibwa accepted some, they were unwilling and unprepared to accommodate all of them.[33] At Walpole Island, the Potawatomi settled on the island with the Ojibwa, but the island's original people refused to include them in their band councils. The arrival in 1846 of an additional forty Potawatomi from a former Catholic mission in Indiana added to the Ojibwas' resentment.[34] At Sarnia, some Potawatomi settled, usually only for a brief period, before the local Ojibwa literally chased them out. At Manitoulin Island, the Ojibwa and Odawa received the Potawatomi with more warmth, but many Potawatomi used the island only as an entry point and continued south to settle on more fertile soil. Historian James Clifton estimates that approximately three thousand Native newcomers stayed in Upper Canada.[35] They had an enormous impact on Ojibwa reserves.

South from Manitoulin Island and north from Windsor and Sarnia, the Potawatomi travelled to the Saugeen Territory. With their newly reduced hunting grounds, the Saugeen

---

[32]Clifton, A Place of Refuge, p. 65.

[33]Ibid, p. 67.

[34]Morrison, "Upper Great Lakes Settlement," p. 56.

[35]Clifton, A Place of Refuge, p. 81 and 34. This figure represents about one-third of the total enumerated Indian population of Upper Canada in the 1830s and is based on census reports prepared in the 1840s. In fact, so many American Indians had migrated to Upper Canada that by 1850 one-third to one-half of the colony's "Native" population had actually moved there from the United States (Tony Hall, "Native Limited Identities and Newcomer Metropolitanism in Upper Canada, 1814-1867," in Old Ontario: Essays in Honour of J. M. S. Careless, ed. by David Keane and Colin Read (Toronto: Dundurn, 1990), p. 155).

generally refused to admit the Potawatomi to their band.[36] The Nawash proved more receptive. Hoping to build a stronger Native population base in order to counteract the growing non-Native presence at the new Sydenham village, the Nawash allowed the Potawatomi to settle on their lands, and even accorded some of the early arrivals band membership.

Although some Potawatomi had travelled to the Saugeen Territory soon after the Treaty of Chicago in 1833, most did not arrive in the region until after the 1836 Saugeen treaty had been signed. The Potawatomi hoped to rebuild their lives in a peaceful land, free from military aggression. Many had chosen to travel to Upper Canada due to the geographical similarity of the area to their homeland, and also because of the common hunting and fishing way of life of their Ojibwa relatives. William Warren, a nineteenth century Ojibwa writer, noted that the Ojibwa, Potawatomi and Odawa had once been one people, and formed a "firm alliance" in the seventeenth century to combat the Iroquois.[37] The Native newcomers also perceived the British as more just than the Americans.[38]

The Potawatomi newcomers felt grateful to the colonial government, which had allowed and even encouraged them to settle in British North America. The Indian Department's insistence that these newcomers submit to civilisation projects, just as

---

[36]The Bagot Commission reported that of the 197 Indians settled at Chippewa Hill, Saugeen reserve, there were about a "score" of Potawatomi ("Report on the Affairs of the Indians of Canada," Canada Legislative Assembly Journals Session 1844-45, Vol. 4, Appendix EEE, p. 43) In later years the Saugeen relented, and by 1907 there were as many Potawatomi at Chippewa Hill as at Cape Croker.

[37]William W. Warren, History of the Ojibeway Nation (Minneapolis: Ross & Haines, 1957), p. 81 and 146. The Potawatomi kept the national fire after the nations divided, and thus won the name "Potawatomi," which means "those who make or keep the fire" (p. 82).

[38]Edward S. Rogers, "The Algonquian Farmers of Southern Ontario, 1830-1945," in Aboriginal Ontario: Historical Perspectives on the First Nations, edited by Edward S. Rogers and Donald B. Smith (Toronto: Dundurn, 1994), p. 123. The Ojibwa minister and chief Peter Jones later called the American removal policy the will of Satan and those who carried it out the "Devil's agent." (Peter Jones, History of the Ojebway Indians; With Especial Reference to Their Conversion to Christianity (London: Houlston and Wright, 1861), p. 29).

resident Indians did, came as a surprise to the Potawatomi. But they feared displeasing the British agents, because they did not wish to be deported.[39]

In contrast, their Saugeen Ojibwa hosts harboured anger against the Indian Department and the colonial government, especially after after Treaty 45 1/2. Initially some Saugeens refused to accept this treaty, and tried to organise an uprising against the unfair loss of their hunting grounds.[40] Now, in addition to adjusting to the quickly increasing non-Native population, trouble arose between the Ojibwa and the Potawatomi at the Newash settlement.

The Potawatomi immigration surprised the Indian Department. No one had expected as many to answer the government's invitation, nor had they anticipated the cost. In 1844 the Indian Department asked its agents at Sarnia and Lower St. Clair why they allowed so many Indian allies in to the colony. They replied that most were Potawatomi who had helped the British in the past, and in 1841 they had received instructions to attract as many Indians as possible.[41]

This volatile combination of conflicting beliefs and attitudes caused difficulties in the Saugeen Territory by the mid-1840s. In the past, combatants resolved conflicts by withdrawing from the source of contention. Thus, if the Potawatomi disagreed with the Ojibwa, the Potawatomi would depart for a distant location. However, now with only 450 000 acres and three bands, numbering over 600 people, the Potawatomi could not leave.[42] The land could not easily support so many hunters and fishers. Before 1836 over

---

[39]While it is true that many Potawatomi who came to Canada soon returned to the United States, they did so for personal reasons, not because the British government forced them out of the colony.

[40]Smith, Sacred Feathers, p. 164.

[41]Clifton, A Place of Refuge, p. 73.

[42]In addition to the Saugeen and Nawash bands, a small settlement of Ojibwa from Coldwater and Lake Scugog settled just north of Newash, at a village known as Colpoy's Bay.

two and a half million acres supported a little more than three hundred inhabitants.[43] By 1850, only one-fifth of that land remained to support more than twice the original population.

On the eve of a new onslaught of non-Native settlers, the Ojibwa-Potawatomi division weakened the unity of the Aboriginal community.[44] Another major division arose in the rift in religious beliefs in the community between the Ojibwa Methodists and the traditionalists.

The Methodist missionaries at Saugeen in the 1840s achieved some success at Newash, slowly converting band members. Although an important portion of the population remained traditionalist, apparently most, at least nominally, had converted to Methodism. Hostility nevertheless remained.

The Potawatomi themselves added to this diversity, they being Catholic or traditionalist. The Roman Catholic Potawatomi, in particular, represented a challenge to the Ojibwa Methodists. Protestants and Catholics in Europe shared a mutual antagonism, and they imparted this emotion along with their religious doctrines to the Native peoples. Moreover, the Methodist missionary at Saugeen and the Jesuit missionaries who visited Newash from Wikwemikong on Manitoulin Island kept these animosities alive. Each religious group charged the other with interfering with band business to further the cause of their faith.

---

[43]The Bagot Commission, instituted by Governor Sir Charles Bagot, began an inquiry into the Indian Department and Indians in 1842. The Commission noted that there were only 327 Indians living in the Saugeen Territory, not the 500 provided for in the annuity agreement. These Indians continued to fish and hunt on their lands, in spite of increasing settler encroachments. By 1851 Schmalz estimated that the Potawatomi outnumbered the Ojibwa in the area by five to one, or five hundred Potawatomi to one hundred Ojibwa (Schmalz, History of the Saugeen Indians, p. 14).

[44]For an interesting discussion of the impact of factionalism on North American Indian societies, see Robert F. Berkhofer, "The Political Context of a New Indian History" in Pacific Historical Review XL, (1971), pp. 357-382.

Chief Wahbahdick, the hereditary Ojibwa leader and a traditionalist himself, maintained that he had no desire to interfere in religious quarrels, preferring to let his people choose with their hearts. "If I will turn Methodist myself and compell all my family and the Protestant and Roman Catholic Indians who live on my land to do the same or send them away from me, I would be a good man but the great spirit says in my heart, "do not do so.""[45] He requested government assistance to control the religious societies' interference with band politics at Newash.[46] If band members chose to turn to the new non-Native religions, Wahbahdick would not interfere, but he expected missionaries to confine themselves to spiritual affairs.

Such interference, however, continued. After a brief stay at Walpole Island, the Jesuits established a mission on Manitoulin Island. They proved much more successful at Wikwemikong than at Walpole Island, in part because the new mission was located along a major canoe route to the Northwest. Also, Roman Catholic Metis had prepared the way for them. They soon ventured south to Saugeen and Georgian Bay to visit Catholic Indians in the area and to compete with the Methodists.[47]

In the fall of 1846 Father Choné visited Owen Sound, where "a solid group of bigotted Methodists form a village of their own." Forty Potawatomi Catholics lived outside the Ojibwa village, as the Methodist Indians would not permit them to live in it.[48] The Methodist missionary, Father Choné charged, spread lies about Catholics, and had told the Catholic Indians that they soon would be expelled from Owen Sound altogether. Although

---

[45]Wahbahdick to Chief Superintendent, 22 August 1845, p. 1034-5. NAC, RG 10, Vol. 410, C-9616.

[46]Ibid, p. 1034. He believed that religious discord had motivated a group of disaffected Indians to go to Toronto with charges against his chieftainship.

[47]John Webster Grant, Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter since 1534 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984. Reprinted 1992.), p. 81. They did not travel any further south than the Saugeen area to challenge the Methodists.

[48]Julian Paquin, s. j., "Paquin Manuscript I" (Unpublished, Archives of the Society of Jesus, Upper Canada (ASJUC)), pp. 131-132.

untrue, the Jesuits claimed these threats so frightened some Indians that they converted to Methodism. Choné then challenged the Methodist missionary to a debate, but he refused, arguing that, as the Jesuit priest could speak the Indian language, he had an unfair advantage.[49] After the Methodist missionary reported Choné's visit, the Indian Department severely chastised Choné for interfering with this "purely Methodist Establishment."[50]

Despite the official rebuke, the Jesuits refused to abandon the post. In July 1849 Father Hanipaux visited Owen Sound, "a large village of English, Irish, Canadians and Indians, who are mostly Methodist." He tended to the local Catholics, but also spoke to many Methodist Indians, hoping to convince them of the virtues of Catholicism over Methodism. "I even had, in the presence of all, a solemn conference with the Methodist minister. The result was to bury the poor minister in confusion." Still the Ojibwa Methodists did not convert.[51] The next year Hanipaux returned to the area, hearing that some Methodist Indians near Colpoy's Bay had become disenchanted with the Methodist minister, and were looking for a new faith. He arrived too late, as those Ojibwa who had left the Methodists had already become Congregationalists.[52] The fierce battle for souls and the castigation of other religions featured prominently in missionary Christianity.

---

[49]Ibid, pp. 131-132.

[50]Ibid, pp. 132-133.

[51]Joseph Hanipaux, s. j., to R. Père Provincial in Paris, 5 November 1849, in Lettres Des Nouvelles Missions Du Canada, 1843-1852, edited by Lorenzo Cadieux, s. j., (Montreal: Les Editions Bellarmin, 1973), pp. 599-600. "Au mois de juillet, j'ai visité Owen-Sound, un gros village, composé d'Anglais, d'Irlandais, de Canadiens et de Sauvages, qui pour la plupart sont méthodistes. Durant les six jours que j'y ai passés, outre les soins que j'ai donnés aux Catholiques qui s'y trouvent, j'ai engagés de longues conversations avec un bon nombre de sauvages de la secte dans le but de leur montrer combien peu sont solides les fondements sur lesquels ils appuient leur croyance. J'ai même eu, en presence de tous, une conférence solennelle avec le Ministre méthodiste; le resultat s'est borné à couvrir de confusion le pauvre ministre sans convertir les auditeurs." Translated by Stephanie McMullen.

[52]Hanipaux, s. j., to R. Père Provincial in Paris, 18 October 1850, in Lettres Des Nouvelles Missions Du Canada, pp. 666-667.

The Methodists worked equally hard to protect their converts and attract others from the Roman Catholic faith. Peter Jones himself once remarked that he had "never discovered any real difference between the Roman Catholic Indian and the pagan, except the wearing of crosses."[53] In 1836 the missionary at Saugeen, Reverend Thomas Hurlburt, had visited "Big Bay," where ten Ojibwa converted and expressed feelings of great devotion.[54] Ten years later one hundred and seventy six Ojibwa, Potawatomi and Odawa lived at Newash, seventy of whom attended Methodist services. James Nawash, the old chief, had been the community's first convert.[55]

Religious tempers flared, and converts did not necessarily remain loyal to the faith of their first confession. The Methodists attempted to strengthen the situation in 1849 by appointing Conrad Van Dusen, son of a prominent Cornwall United Empire Loyalist, to assist in missionary matters.[56] Disputes between the Methodist Ojibwa and Catholic Potawatomi, inflamed by their missionaries, reached new heights under the Reverend Van Dusen's leadership.

Tribal and religious factionalism divided many Potawatomi and Ojibwa in the Saugeen Territory. A difference in attitude towards the government of Upper Canada also separated them. Due to the difficulties they suffered in the United States, and the precariousness of their situation in British North America, the Potawatomi complied more

---

[53] Jones, History of the Ojebway Indians, p. 172.

[54] Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society Report for 1836-37 (hereafter WMMS), Sahgeeng Mission, p. xviii.

[55] WMMS Report for 1845-46, Owen's Sound Mission, p. xvii. David Sawyer reported that Nawash moved to Owen Sound from Coldwater, while other accounts held that the old chief was a Potawatomi. The 1851 provincial census, prepared by Charles Keeshig, listed his birthplace as "Saugeeng." NAC, RG 31, 1851 census, Derby Township (Indian Territory), C-11723.

[56] Enemikeese (Conrad Van Dusen), The Indian Chief: An Account of the Labours, Losses, Sufferings, and Oppression of Ke-Zig-Ko-E-Ne-Ne (David Sawyer), A Chief of the Ojibbeway Indians in Canada West (London, 1867. Reprinted Toronto: Coles Canadiana, 1974), p. 32. Contrary to hopes, Van Dusen's presence exacerbated religious and political tensions at Newash.

than the Ojibwa with the government's initiatives. This angered the Ojibwa, as the numbers of Potawatomi refugees continued to increase and outnumber them. The provincial government looked increasingly to the Potawatomi newcomers for support when the Ojibwa refused to agree with their plans. With the exception of a handful of Potawatomi who had been formally granted band membership, the Potawatomi had no traditional ties to the Saugeen land, and, according to the Ojibwa, no formal right to decide the future of it.

The Indian Department's housing program at Newash began in the early 1840s. It made a symbolic gesture to the Potawatomi and their Ojibwa leader, Peter Kegedonce Jones. In 1842 the colonial government had employed non-Natives to build log houses at Newash.[57] Later eight clapboard houses with brick chimneys were built, and occupied by the band's most influential members, two of whom were Potawatomi and another, their leader, Peter Kegedonce Jones.[58] Although of poor construction, the houses, built at government expense, offered visible proof of the occupants' importance, and of the government's acknowledgement of two Potawatomi leaders.[59]

Initially the local Ojibwa and the Indian Department agreed on the need to attract more Ojibwa to the area. The Indian Department wanted consolidation essentially for financial reasons - it would be easier to build an industrial school if more Natives lived in

---

[57]Smith, Gazatteer and directory for the county of Grey, p. 326. Smith, an immigrant from Scotland, was a journalist and a Congregationalist minister.

[58]Thomas G. Anderson to J. M. Higginson, 6 November 1845, p. 88347. NAC, RG 10, Vol 153, C-11495. According to the 1851 colonial census, the frame houses were occupied by John T. Wahbahdick (Ojibwa), Peter J. Kegedonce (Ojibwa), John Johnston (Potawatomi), Abner Elliot (foreign Ojibwa), Moses Black (Potawatomi), Peter Sacho (Ojibwa), John Smith (foreign Ojibwa) and James Wahbahbatic (Ojibwa). It is interesting to note that four families born outside the Saugeen area (two Michigan Potawatomi and two other from elsewhere in Canada West) occupied half of these houses. Some Ojibwa no doubt complained about this development, that "foreigners" got these homes.

[59]David Sawyer complained that the plaster had been added during the winter and would crack in the spring. There were numerous other construction problems with homes which, he argued, had been built in undue haste. Sawyer to Anderson, 22 December 1845, pp. 64-65. NAC, RG 10, vol. 410, C-9615.

the area. The Bagot Commission, created in 1842 by Sir Charles Bagot, Governor-General of the Canadas, had inquired into the state of Indian affairs in the colony. It had concluded that Indian self-reliance depended to a great degree on education. Day schools were ineffective due to parental interference, irregular attendance, and lack of practical skills. In its first report, the Bagot Commission had recommended the creation of industrial schools to prepare Indian students for life in the larger society.[60] In 1845 Anderson spoke at a General Council meeting of all Indians under his direction in the Central Superintendency. He told them:

> "you are at present settled in a great many small villages...it would... be advisable that the Government for the convenience of the Missionaries and for the good of the Indians, should devise some plan by which each denomination of Christians may be concentrated and settled in one Great Village, where a Big School could be established for each settlement and the Children be Educated close by their Parents."[61]

Consolidation would save the government a great deal of money by reducing the number of visits and the amount of paperwork.

As Wawanosh had noted earlier, some local Ojibwa saw great benefits if more Ojibwa settled together. The Saugeens' offer to Wawanosh's band at Sarnia remained open for years. Anderson concluded his 1845 address by noting that the Saugeen still offered their land to all interested Indians.[62] At an 1845 General Council meeting attended by Native representatives from Lakes St. Clair, Huron, Simcoe, Ontario, Rice and Mud, the council discussed plans to reserve the Saugeen Territory "for the sole benefit of the Ojebwa Nation."[63] As late as August 1849 the Saugeen bands invited the Rama, Snake

---

[60]Leslie, "Commissions of Inquiry into Indian affairs," p. 120.

[61]The Speech of Mr Superintendent Thomas G Anderson at his first visit to the Indians under his superintendence Conveying to them by command of His Excellency the Governor-General the views and determination of the British Government with respect to their future, 16 September 1845, pp. 87249-87250. NAC, RG 10, vol. 151, C-11494.

[62]Ibid, p. 87249-87250. NAC, RG 10, vol. 151, C-11494.

[63]George Copway, The Life, Letters and Speeches of Kah-Ge-Ga-Gah-Bowh or, G. Copway, chief Ojebway Nation, A Missionary for many years in the North-West; now the projector of the concentration of the North-Western Indian Tribes, for the Better

Island and Beausoleil Island Indians to join them on the Saugeen Peninsula.[64] Few of these Indians, however, accepted the Saugeens' offer, in part because they were well established on their own reserves, and they had their own local problems with which to contend.

One small but important group of Natives did accept the Saugeen invitation. The provincial government had suggested in the early 1840s that the Credit Mission could be more wisely used as farmland for European immigrants. The Saugeen bands invited their Credit brethren to join them at Saugeen and Newash. Indeed, the population influx, coupled with the Credit residents' education and Christianity could strengthen the Saugeen bands position with the Indian Department and the local settlers. But a visiting survey crew from the Credit declared that the Saugeen lands produced more rocks than roots, and only a few band members, principally the David Sawyer and William Sutton families, moved north to Newash.[65] Most Credit Mississauga accepted the Grand River Iroquois' invitation to settle on a portion of their lands and establish the New Credit reserve.

The Credit Indians arrived at the divided Newash village in 1846-47. Wahbahdick led the Ojibwa at council meetings, and Peter Kegedonce Jones, son of the slain Kegedonce, led the Potawatomi. The two factions argued over land rights, religion and education. The arrival of David Sawyer, son of the Credit Head Chief, and the other Credit Mississauga added a new element to the mixture. Instead of strengthening the community, David Sawyer became, in time, an additional point of division.

From the moment of his arrival at Newash, David Sawyer began to act with authority. Educated at the Credit mission school, he took on the responsibilities of band

---

Promotion of their Physical Improvement (New York: S. W. Benedict, 1850), p. 132. However, according to Copway, Jacob Jackson, David Wawanosh and John Jones made the invitation to settle at Newash, not Wahbahdick or Peter Sacho, the local chiefs.

[64]Sawyer to Anderson, 10 August 1849, p. 378. NAC, RG 10, vol. 410, C-9616.

[65]Smith, Sacred Feathers, p. 205.

secretary for both Newash and Saugeen, as well as assuming the duty of evangelizing the Nawash and assisting the Methodist missionary when he visited from Saugeen. Initially both bands seemed pleased with his performance. Members of the band council wrote the Indian Department to inform the government "that Mr David Sawyer has been sent here to act in the capacities of Missionary, Schoolmaster and Interpreter," and directed them to pay him accordingly.[66] Yet Sawyer envisioned his role to be greater than that of an assistant. His ambitions soon caused great discord, especially at Newash. The Credit Indian believed that he could lead the Saugeen bands through these turbulent times; indeed he asserted that "I am not here for any other purpose than to do good to them."[67]

Sawyer's schemes did not however meet with universal approval. As soon as possible, the Saugeen band engaged one of their own band members. Moses Madwayosh, son of Alexander Madwayosh, had attended Upper Canada College, the colony's finest academic institution. Upon his return in the late 1840s, the Saugeen Council asked him to replace Sawyer, noting that they had only intended the Credit Indian to fill the post on a temporary basis.

At both Newash and Saugeen, the Potawatomis quickly came to oppose Sawyer. The Catholic and traditionalist Potawatomi objected to Sawyer's religious background, complaining that he harassed them to convert to Methodism, and interfered with their rightful voice in village politics as a result. Kegedonce Jones and Sawyer in fact shared a mutual distrust that bordered on personal hatred.[68]

A few Ojibwa at Newash became upset with Sawyer's actions. As a newcomer, many felt he was trying to direct a community which he did not understand. Chief Wahbahdick and the Credit Mississauga clashed on many occasions. Before the anticipated

---

[66]Peter Sacho, John Jones and James Nawash to Samuel Jarvis, n. d., p. 83210. NAC, RG 10, vol. 144, C-11491.

[67]Sawyer to Anderson, 28 July 1846, p. 165. NAC, RG 10, vol. 410, C-9616.

[68]This is quite plain in Van Dusen's biography of Sawyer.

arrival of the Credit Indians, Sawyer charged that Wahbahdick "is always grumbling about the Land that the Credit Indians [are] going to settle on."[69] Wahbahdick allegedly retaliated by telling Sawyer, his new band clerk, that he had no right to be there. Sawyer replied that Wahbahdick was simply angry because Anderson conducted band business through him. Wahbahdick, he added, also interfered with the advance of Christianity.[70] Most importantly, Sawyer wrote, Wahbahdick "does not mind the wishes of his people this makes continual disterbance in our otherwise peaceable village."[71] In short David Sawyer added to the existing discord between the Nawash Ojibwa Methodists and traditionalists.

The traditionalist Ojibwa at Nawash resented the machinations of the Mississauga newcomer. This irritation grew in 1846, when Sawyer's petitions and letters to the Indian Department succeeded in having their chief, Wahbahdick, chastised. The Sawyer faction also secured the appointment of Peter Sacho, seventy-three years old, as Wahbahdick's co-chief, along with David Sawyer himself.[72]

The Nawash Ojibwa opposed to Wahbahdick, had made charges before Sawyer's arrival. They argued that the chief was a drunkard who hated the missionaries.[73] Most importantly, Wahbahdick actively sought to remove from the Newash village any Indian from outside the area who wished to settle with the band. Some Odawa had lived and intermarried with the Nawash and farmed the land. Without provocation, Wahbahdick forced them to leave. Another group of Indians "who were anxious to join the Community

---

[69]Sawyer to Anderson, 19 November 1846, p. 140. NAC, RG 10, Vol. 410, C-9616.

[70]Sawyer to Anderson, 28 July 1846, p. 166. NAC, RG 10, Vol. 410, C-9616.

[71]Ibid, p. 165.

[72]Charges against Wahbahdick were not new; in both 1838 and 1844 some band members attempted to have the old chief removed. Wahbahdick argued that, as his family had been chiefs for generations, he believed that "there is no competent authority by which I can be removed from my office." Wahbahdick to Jarvis, 28 January 1845, p. 83198. NAC, RG 10, Vol. 144, C-11491.

[73]Note that Sawyer had also charged Wahbahdick with interfering with the missionaries.

at Owens Sound came to the village last year to settle and Wabitik refused to allow them to stay." The delegation ended by warning that "it is Wabitics bad conduct that has driven these people away from our villages. His temper is so bad, that the Indians can bear with him no longer, and if he remains Chief over them, they will in all probability disperse themselves and break up the Settlement altogether."[74]

In his defence, Wahbahdick had argued in 1845 that "Revd Mr Herkimer, John Jones & some few others the Leading persons in getting up these charges against me have through their Bigotry and fanaticism driven many of the most respectable and well disposed of the Indians from the villages, and compelled others through fear of being expelled to become nominal Methodists."[75] In addition to causing trouble in the village, Wahbahdick believed that they had targeted him because "I would not join with them in this [by becoming Methodist himself and compelling band members to join him in Christianity] which I believe was improper and would have a mischevous effect by creating dissintion and bad feeling amongst the Indians."[76] He nevertheless granted land to the Jesuits.[77] After further consideration, the Indian Department censured Wahbahdick for his actions and warned that a repeat of such undertakings would result in his immediate removal from office.

---

[74]Speech of Ka-ha-gaubo one of the Chippewa Chiefs of Owens Sound to the Chief Superintendent of Indian Affairs on the 18th of Dec 1844 in the pursance of Instructions from the Tribe to proceed to Toronto in company with the Chief Peter Sacho, and Mr William Hirchmer their missionary and some other Warriors and represent the misconduct of their Head Chief Wabatic, 18 December 1844, pp. 83200-4. NAC, RG 10, Vol. 144, C-11491.

[75]Wahbahdick to Samuel Jarvis, 28 January 1845, p. 83197-83198. NAC, RG 10, Vol. 144, C-11491. William Herkimer, a Mississauga from the Credit, had been appointed to serve as Methodist missionary to the Nawash and Saugeen bands. John Jones was also a newcomer to the area, having been born in Galt.

[76]Ibid, pp. 83197-83198.

[77]Sawyer to Anderson, 7 November 1845, p. 889. NAC RG 10, Vol. 409, C-9615. Sawyer noted that this had happened before, but that the band had asked him to write to the Indian Department to remedy the situation.

The Department now felt that Peter Sacho and David Sawyer should serve as co-chiefs with Wahbahdick to prevent just such a repetition.[78] The traditionalist Ojibwa were outraged. Sawyer, in his new position as co-chief, decided to keep a close eye on the Ojibwa leader. In May 1846 he pledged that, although in the past "I thought my duty was only to Interpret between you and the Indians and no more...only as Missionary Teacher and Interpreter," he would henceforth work to "deserve your (Anderson's) confidence."[79] To do this, Sawyer besieged Anderson with charges against Wahbadick, to the point that the agent ordered him to stop his attacks. Although Anderson declined to act on Sawyer's reports, the Methodist Ojibwa newcomer and the traditional Nawash chief continued to clash on a regular basis.

The Nawash worried about increasing local pressure for another surrender of their lands. Indeed, the non-Native inhabitants of Owen Sound wanted a further surrender of Indian lands to build roads and expand their settlement. Surveyors had already begun bidding for government contracts. In 1846 James McNab offered his services to survey Indian land, as he understood that one or two townships were soon to be ceded.[80] Charles Rankin, a veteran surveyor, also suggested that he could assist the Indian Department.[81]

In response to these proposals, and aided by the Credit band's impending removal, the Nawash asked for deeds to their lands. Indeed, the Credit Band had demanded "a positive and irrevokable right, to that Tract for themselves and their descendants for ever" before their removal to the Saugeen Territory.[82] The British government granted a Deed of

---

[78]Higginson to Anderson, 29 January 1846, p. 263. NAC, RG 10, Vol. 409, C-9615. Sacho was later replaced by his stepson, Peter Kegedonce Jones.

[79]Sawyer to Anderson, 21 May 1846, p. 41-42. NAC, RG 10, Vol. 410, C-9615.

[80]James McNab to Anderson, 3 June 1846, p. 716. NAC, RG 10, Vol. 409, C-9615.

[81]Charles Rankin to Anderson, 6 June 1846, p. 555-556. NAC, RG 10, Vol. 410, C-9616.

[82]Joseph Sawyer to Anderson, 26 January 1846, p. 58. NAC, RG 10, Vol. 410, C-9615.

Declaration in 1847.[83] The Methodist Ojibwa and their missionary, Conrad Van Dusen, interpreted this document as a confirmation of the rights included in the 1836 treaty, as well as recognition of the Ojibwa's ownership of the peninsula.[84] However, this deed only gave a few band members actual treaty rights.[85] In practice, it did not afford the band protection from squatters or from inquisitive surveyors.[86]

Newash was indeed a troubled community in the mid-1840s, racked by political dissent amongst Potawatomi and Ojibwa, traditionalists and Christians, Methodists and Catholics. Attempting, in a general way, to assemble the discontented at Newash into four groups, one would arrive at: the Roman Catholic Potawatomi, led by Peter Kegedonce Jones; the Ojibwa - mostly traditionalists - under Wahbahdick; and the aggressive Methodist faction led by David Sawyer and the very assertive new Methodist minister,

---

[83]Although many historical works regarding Indian demands in this period refer to Indian requests for deeds, few define exactly what it was the Indians wanted and received. The oft-used term "title deeds" was not legally accurate, and usually only reinforced Indian title. Indian deeds, granted by the bands themselves, were not recognised by non-Native governments. An Indian deed of occupation granted only the right to live on the land, but since the land was still held collectively, no portion could be sold without conforming to the measures outlined in the Proclamation of 1763. Natives were generally looking for "licences of occupation," which were given to non-Native settlers. These allowed settlers to live on Crown land, and eventually gave them outright ownership, called patents, transferring it from Crown land to private property. The Natives wished to be officially recognised as the collective private-property holders of "reserved lands." (My thanks to Darlene Johnston, Land Claims Research Co-Ordinator for the Chippewas of Nawash and the Chippewas of Saugeen, for explaining the intricacies of these terms.)

[84]Van Dusen, The Indian Chief, p. 95. "The Indians who share equally in the annuities paid to them for lands previously surrendered, and to whom is secured the peninsula by a Deed of Declaration, bearing the date June 9th, 1847."

[85]According to Van Dusen, the Deed of Declaration granted treaty rights to seventy-six Ojibwa, two Odawa and twenty-seven Potawatomi. Van Dusen, The Indian Chief, p. 95. However, although the Deed does grant such rights to "the Ojibway Indians commonly known as the Saugeen Indians," it does not list the individuals covered by the Deed. Imperial Proclamation of 1847, June 29, 1847. NAC, RG 68, Vol. Liber AG Special Grants, 1841-1854, C-4158. Perhaps Van Dusen based his assertion on the Methodist Report of 1845-46, in which David Sawyer wrote that the Nawash band numbered "in all 176: 74 children and young people, and 102 adults." WMMS Report for 1845-46, Owen's Sound Mission, p. xvii.

[86]In early 1851 McNab went to Newash to determine how the residents felt about building a road to Saugeen, and how much they would contribute to its construction. Sawyer to Anderson, 15 January 1851, p. 896. NAC, RG 10, Vol. 409, C-9615.

Conrad Van Dusen. The traditionalist Potawatomi constituted a fourth group, but the surviving documentation on them is very slight, a few references only indicating their presence.

The 1840s had been a turbulent decade for the Saugeen bands, particularly for the Nawash. They had lost much land in 1836, just before the arrival of hundreds of Potawatomi refugees from the United States. The troubled times did not allow for a comfortable adaptation of the two nations to each other, and soon the differences between them sparked conflict. Religious agents often encouraged this discord in the hopes of retaining the converts they had won, and convincing others that the path of their denomination was the correct one. Band politics had to accommodate new voices, but the hereditary chief had no desire to share his power with the newcomers. Conflict escalated, with the discontented filing complaints and petitions against the chief in the hopes of replacing him with someone of their own choosing. On the eve of the second great government offensive to acquire its remaining land base, the Nawash community could not have been more divided.

III: More Forced Surrenders: The Treaties of the 1850s

"Peter Jones Keegedonce and Charles Keezhick always support the Potawatamies and oppose the Chippawas in Council which causes the trouble"-John Wahbahdick
"This is the cause of the bad feeling, when J. T. Wahbahdick holds a council he does not ask our other chief (Kegedonce Jones) and his principal men to attend"-John Johnston[1]

The 1850s brought the most troubling and difficult times in recent memory to the Saugeen people, particularly the Nawash. During the 1840s foreigners of all descriptions made their way into the Saugeen lands, particularly to the growing port and settlement of Owen Sound. In the face of growing non-Native demands for land, the six hundred Natives themselves seemed unable to organise a unified response, a collective resistance.[2] From 1851 to 1857 the Saugeens were subjected to three new treaties, which further reduced their lands to less than two per cent of what they had been as late as 1835.

Non-Natives exacerbated and exploited the internal divisions among the Nawash people. The newcomers believed that their civilisation held the key to the future, and the Indians must make way for it. The Indians were declining in number and would not need such extensive territory. In 1851 the Indian Department convinced the Nawash to surrender a half mile strip in order to build a road between Owen Sound and Southampton. The Laurence Oliphant Treaty of 1854 provided for the surrender of the Saugeen Peninsula, excepting five small reserve areas. The 1857 Peter Kegedonce Jones Treaty reduced that number to four by ceding the Newash village site.

---

[1]Council meeting, 19-21 May 1855. Anderson Report on Complaints at Newash. National Archives Canada (NAC), RG 10, vol. 217 part 2, pp. 128947-8. Microfilm reel C-11527.

[2]313 of them lived at Newash and Colpoy's Bay. Of these, 118 were born in the United States or of American-born parents. Twenty-eight more had one U.S.-born parent. 73 came from other settlements in Upper Canada, and 28 more residents had at least one parent from another Upper Canadian village. Only 52 people were actually born in the Saugeen Territory of Saugeen parents. Fourteen non-Natives lived with them. Please refer to NAC, RG 31, 1851 census, Derby Township (Indian Territory), C-11723.

By 1850 the Nawash band council found itself mired in controversy and paralysis. The Ojibwa-Potawatomi confrontations that had marked the council meetings for years had recently been complicated by the arrival of other Native immigrants, most notably from the River Credit Mission. David Sawyer, a former Credit Mission resident, obtained Nawash band membership in 1845, and quickly involved himself in local politics.[3] This complicated life for John Thomas Wahbahdick, the hereditary Ojibwa chief, and Peter Kegedonce Jones, leader of the Potawatomi faction, as Sawyer introduced a more strident Methodist viewpoint to the Ojibwa community. The Methodist lay preacher, well-educated and highly vocal, found much to improve at Newash. By 1850 he had already dismissed several band appointed teachers, attempted to have the traditionalist Wahbahdick removed from office, exacerbated religious differences between Protestant and Catholic band members, and taken on the duties of interpreter, teacher, band secretary and even co-chief. Sawyer's machinations created great hostility among certain band members.

Both Wahbahdick and Kegedonce Jones united on one issue. They both wanted to rid the band of Sawyer. Yet the position of band secretary and interpreter was crucial, since neither Wahbahdick nor Kegedonce Jones spoke English. Sawyer had moved to the Saugeen Territory specifically to fill this role for the band, but after his political wrangling, the chiefs sought to replace him. In Charles Keeshig, they had a possible replacement.

The Keeshig family, Potawatomi immigrants from the United States, had recently settled at Newash after initially seeking refuge on Manitoulin Island. Charles, the eldest son, provided the Nawash band with an enormous potential to organise and defend itself against increasing settler incursions. For six years he had attended Upper Canada College,

---

[3]Enemikeese (Conrad Van Dusen), The Indian Chief: An Account of the Labours, Losses, Sufferings, and Oppression of Ke-Zig-Ko-E-Ne-Ne (David Sawyer), A Chief of the Ojibbeway Indians in Canada West (London, 1867. Reprint, Toronto: Coles Canadiana, 1974), pp. 30-31.

the colony's best academic institution, studying with the sons of the colony's elite.[4] A fellow Native student at the College, Francis Assiginack, an Odawa from Manitoulin Island, had become the clerk for Thomas G. Anderson, the Central Superintendent for the Indian Department with responsibility for the Saugeen peoples.[5] Keeshig won praise from a fellow student's father who, after a school holiday visit at their home, described him as "extremely gentle and mild in his manners, a most industrious student, esteemed and respected by all from our Bishop down."[6] His style of written English shows a command of idiom, with few spelling or grammar errors. In contrast, Sawyer's writing style is not that of a fluent English-speaker, and it contain numerous spelling errors.[7] Keeshig's education was far superior to that of Sawyer. Moreover, Anderson, himself a strong supporter of the established church, favoured the Anglican convert, Charles Keeshig. In 1851 Kegedonce Jones dismissed Sawyer and appointed Keeshig as band secretary.[8]

Sawyer had no wish to withdraw. He retaliated. In response to Kegedonce Jones' action, he circulated a petition to have both Kegedonce Jones and Wahbahdick removed

---

[4]He studied at Upper Canada College between 1842 and 1848, then went on to the Toronto Normal School to study teaching. G. Vardon to Rev H. Grassett, 11 June 1850, p. 312. NAC, RG 10, Vol. 513, C-13345.

[5]Assiginack, son of Jean-Baptiste Assiginack, a prominent Catholic Odawa, wanted to study medicine upon his graduation from Upper Canada College, but the Indian Department refused to sanction this. Instead, they pressured him to accept the position of clerk for Anderson, which he reluctantly did. He served in this position in 1849-1850, and 1854-1862, participating in the 1851 Saugeen treaty, and almost every other treaty in the Central Superintendency from 1854 until his death. Please consult Douglas Leighton's biography of Assiginack in "Francis Assikinack" in Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Volume IX (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), pp. 10-1.

[6]Martin Macleod to Mrs. Mary Ferguson, 22 December 1847, p. 1. Martin Macleod Letter Books, Metropolitan Toronto Public Library (Baldwin Room, Volume I). Martin Macleod was the father of James F. Macleod, the future commissioner for Treaty 7 in southern Alberta, and commissioner of the North West Mounted Police, 1876-1880. The "Bishop" was John Strachan, Bishop of Toronto, the leading member of Upper Canada's "Family Compact."

[7]This point was first noted by Sylvia Waukey in "The Genesis of Factionalism Among the Indians of the Saugeen Territory, 1843-1857" (MA thesis, Carleton University, 1986), p. 61.

[8]Ibid, p. 60.

from office.[9] Sawyer complained that "these people are always grumbling for something they no not what."[10] He attacked his opponents, noting the lack of progress toward "civilisation" at Newash. "Why is it," he wondered, "that religion and civilization are so backward it is because we think that the Chiefs are so ignorance indolent and drunken and has rendered them selves unworthy and unfit for this office for of chief...how can the Missionaries do good when one sinner can do more Mischief?"[11] The slander campaign began again. Sawyer suggested that Wahbahdick and Kegedonce Jones be replaced by George Arthur Tabegwon, a Potawatomi, and the two elderly Ojibwa chiefs, Peter Sacho and James Nawash.[12] Sawyer followed this petition with a letter, restating his faction's case. The band "disapprove[s] of the way they [Wahbahdick and Kegedonce Jones] carrion [carry on] at present."[13] As the man who controlled the band's correspondence, Sawyer proved a dangerous foe for the chiefs.

Initially Wahbahdick was a special target for Sawyer's wrath. The band secretary had previously written to Anderson to inform him of the Ojibwa chief's prolonged absence from Owen Sound. Sawyer claimed that Wahbahdick had left Owen Sound shortly after Anderson took his leave, in order to drink. The band was frustrated by this, Sawyer asserted, since "he will do no good either for him self nor for his people, we do not know

---

[9] Ibid, p. 60.

[10] Sawyer to Anderson, 15 January 1851, p. 895. NAC, RG 10, Vol. 409, C-9615.

[11] Sawyer to Anderson, 25 July 1851, p. 228. NAC, RG 10, Vol. 410, C-9616.

[12] Petition to Anderson from the principal men of Newash, 9 July 1851, p. 217. NAC, RG 10, Vol. 410, C-9616. The petition was signed by Sawyer, Nawash, Sacho, Tabegwon, John Snake (local Ojibwa), William Angus (Potawatomi), Francis Abraham(?), John Tomah (Potawatomi), Thomas Kosejah (Potawatomi), John Smith (Snake Island), Abraham Askewe (Potawatomi), Abner Elliot (Credit), and Solomon Ashkewe (Potawatomi). Four supporters were Potawatomi. In 1847 Kegedonce Jones replaced his stepfather, Peter Sacho, as chief. At about the same time, Sawyer's term as chief expired.

[13] Sawyer to Anderson, 25 July 1851, p. 230. NAC, RG 10, Vol. 410, C-9616.

what to do with him."[14] Less than a year later Sawyer again informed Anderson that Wahbahdick was unsuitable as chief, because of his "indulgence [in] intoxicating liquers." He had "frequently been convicted of falsehood," and had sold government-issued blankets for liquor.[15] Sawyer understood the Indian Department's impatience with intemperate Indians, and felt confident that such charges against Wahbahdick would result in the chief's removal from office.

Kegedonce Jones offered a different challenge. Although Sawyer's faction of Methodist Nawash Ojibwa, with a few Potawatomi allies, alleged that the eloquent Kegedonce Jones had indeed imbibed alcohol beverages, the charge was a feeble one. Kegedonce Jones' reputation as an abstainer was well known throughout the area. Sawyer argued that Kegedonce Jones was unfit for office, because he neglected his duties by leaving the area for long periods of time. He also worked to "create division among the Tribe and oppose himself to the influence of the Government." He was "indolent" as well.[16]

Keeshig and Ashquab, Kegedonce Jones' supporters, retaliated by organising a secret meeting to sign petitions in favour of the chiefs, and once again asked the Department to appoint Keeshig as band interpreter, since by 1851 Sawyer had "apparently" moved to Saugeen.[17] The Indian Department honoured their request, and in 1852 appointed Keeshig as the band's interpreter.[18] David Sawyer now responded with

---

[14]Sawyer to Anderson, 14 October 1850, p. 320. NAC, RG 10, Vol. 410, C-9616.

[15]Sawyer to Anderson, 9 July 1851, pp. 218-219. NAC, RG 10, Vol. 410, C-9616.

[16]Ibid, p. 218-219.

[17]Sawyer to Anderson, 25 July 1851, pp. 228-229. NAC, RG 10, Vol. 410, C-9616.

[18]R. Bruce to Anderson, 28 February 1852, p. 43. NAC, RG 10, Vol. 515. Clearly Sawyer had angered too many people in the Indian Department. Initially the government had been unhappy with Keeshig, since he rejected their plan to settle as a school teacher at Manitowaning. In fact, Bruce had warned him that "I should strongly disapprove of your becoming the cause of any dissension religious or otherwise in the tribe

allegations that his party wanted peace in the village, but "the oposit side are chiefly pagan and Romen Catholics...if they showed and cleared them selves from these charges we will quit taulking."[19] Sawyer's charges against Wahbahdick finally succeeded in having the chief replaced by Tabegwon, but Kegedonce Jones remained securely in his position as the first Nawash chief.

Although Ojibwa himself, Kegedonce Jones in the early 1850s had solidified his position as leader of the Potawatomi. Recognising Keeshig's abilities he, with the band council's support, gave him increasing responsibilities. Kegedonce Jones' marriage to Keeshig's sister solidified their alliance.[20] As Keeshig's esteem within the band and with Anderson grew, Sawyer and Wahbahdick increasingly found themselves on the outer edge of official developments at Newash. A key land issue arose just before a very strange alliance surfaced, that between David Sawyer - and his hitherto arch-enemy Wahbahdick.

Since the mid-1840s, non-Natives in the area had called for a road to connect Owen Sound with Southampton, beside the Saugeen village on Lake Huron. The route was only a narrow footpath. Rather than build the road on farm lots, they wanted the Indians to surrender the necessary land. The Natives were not entirely adverse to this idea, as they recognised it would link them with the Saugeen band at Chippewa Hill. Both Nawash and Saugeen, were wary, however, of the treaty negotiations. They knew well the Indian Department's history of failing to uphold their treaty responsibilities. Initially, before the Indian Department exerted its full pressure on them, the band, led by Kegedonce Jones, rejected the idea of another surrender.

---

with which you have gone to reside" (R. Bruce to Charles Keeshig, 6 June 1851, p. 224. NAC, RG 10, Vol. 514, C-13345).

[19]Ibid, p. 230.

[20]Van Dusen, The Indian Chief, p. 47. This is a very important development. In most Native cultures, alliances were confirmed by marriage. As an Ojibwa, Kegedonce Jones needed to shore up his position with the Potawatomi, if he were not to lose it to Keeshig. By marrying Keeshig's sister, Eliza, the pact between the Ojibwa chief and his Potawatomi followers gained strength.

Sawyer, so recently outcast as both Nawash secretary and interpreter, argued that this resistance resulted from the fact that "the chiefs are so stupid and not knowing for their own benefit and for the good of their Children for ever." He asked Anderson to try again, as the Indians needed firm guidance to understand their needs.[21] The agent persisted, eventually convincing the Indians to sign the surrender. But the Nawash council still did not believe this was in their best interests. "I am aware that when the proposition for this surrender was lately made to the Indians they declined, reaching (?) to it, - but I trust that circumstance will be attributed by your Department only to their childish suspiciousness and to the fact probably of their not having fully comprehended it."[22]

Their Ojibwa neighbours on the north shores of Lakes Huron and Superior had recently gone through a vicious treaty ordeal. The Robinson-Huron and Robinson-Superior Treaties of 1850 announced the dangers of treaty negotiations with the increasingly powerful responsible colonial government. Wishing to expand the non-Indian settler frontier and hoping to exploit the mineral resources of the region, the colonial administration issued land grants and mining company patents. However, the Crown had never concluded a treaty with the resident Aboriginal population, who demanded that their rights be recognised. Although the imperial authorities sympathised with the Native interpretation, the colonial politicians refused to contenance such an expensive process. Eventually the Robinson Treaties became necessary, but only after the Natives themselves forced the colonial authorities to negotiate, by forcibly disrupting mining operations at Mica Bay.[23] The obstinate refusal of the colonial government to adhere to the law

---

[21]Sawyer to Anderson, 17 March 1851, p. 264. NAC, RG 10, Vol. 410, C-9616.

[22]Charles Rankin to Colonel Bruce, 30 June 1851, p. 03509. Provincial Archives of Ontario (PAO), RG 1, A-I-7, Vol. 7, MS 892/4, env. 12.

[23]James Morrison, "The Robinson Treaties of 1850: A Case Study," (Prepared for the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1994).

foreshadowed the difficulty Aboriginals faced as the Crown transferred greater powers to the provincial legislatures.

Soon after the 1851 treaty, the Indian Department tried again to acquire more of the remaining Native lands. In the 1836 treaty, the Saugeen peoples retained control over the "Indian (now Bruce) Peninsula." As European immigration continued unabated in the late 1840s and 1850s, the colonial government grew concerned about settlement locations for the newcomers. In spite of the peninsula's rocky soil and unsuitability for agriculture, it represented the last large tract of relatively accessible unceded open land in southern Ontario. From Toronto, this land appeared to be ideal for immigrant settlement, and the provincial government developed plans to obtain it for that purpose.

All Saugeen bands - especially the Wahbahdick, Kegedonce Jones and Sawyer factions at Newash - now firmly united on one issue: they distrusted the colonial government, and were unwilling to consider another surrender. Yet the possibility of a united Saugeen Territory resistance to another land surrender was weakened by the rift between Nawash and Saugeen. At a General Council meeting at Saugeen on October 30 1852, the Saugeen, Nawash and Colpoy's Bay bands decided to meet together to discuss common business, including annuity spending, band membership and treaty negotiations, before any of the bands made decisions.[24] The Indian Department ignored this agreement. They knew that despite this show of unity, jealousy existed between the Nawash and Saugeen bands. They exploited it.[25]

By 1854, all groups at Newash shared a feeling of frustration with the provincial government, in regards to the recently surrendered "Half Mile Strip." The government still

---

[24]Van Dusen, The Indian Chief, p. 38.

[25]Lawrence Oliphant to the Earl of Elgin, 3 November 1854, "Indian Department Canada: response to an address in the House of Commons, dated 26 April 1855," microfiche 63353.

had taken no action to build the promised road.[26] When Anderson first broached the subject of another surrender in August 1854, this time of their remaining traditional hunting grounds on the Peninsula, they uniformly rejected his requests. He had used the old strategy of telling the Indians that they were getting no benefit from the land, but they would forever profit from it by ceding it.[27] Anderson argued that, with the land left to them after the surrender, they would have ample land to farm for generations to follow. Few wished to surrender this land, as most still subsisted largely on hunting and fishing, supplemented by some meagre farming. The agent reminded them that the government had "the power to act as it pleases with your reserves" and that if they refused to comply, their "children will be then left without resources."[28]

The bands still refused to yield. As the agent reported, they told him: "We want to keep it for our children," and "We expect Indians to come here to settle."[29] These arguments seemed perfectly reasonable to the Nawash. At a General Council held the year before - attended by representatives from Garden River, Alderville, Sarnia, Newash and Saugeen - Ojibwa from Rice Lake and the Credit had asked permission to settle on the

---

[26]In July 1852 the Indian Department offered the land for sale (Peter Schmalz, The History of the Saugeen Indians (Ottawa: Ontario Historical Society, 1977), p. 74). Five years later, the Owen Sound Progress, a local newspaper, noted that "the Gravel Road is still in contemplation which is to connect Owen Sound and Saugeen. We hope the next time we speak about it, it will either be in the course of construction, or completed we hope the day is not far distant, when we can visit our neighbours by crossing the now imagined road" (Owen Sound Progress, 27 February 1857, PAO, 19-4). Although the road was eventually built, construction did not begin until the Nawash band had removed to Cape Croker.

[27]Robert Surtees, "Indian Land Cessions in Upper Canada, 1815-1830," in As Long As The Sun Shines And Water Flows: A Reader in Canadian Native Studies, ed. by Ian A. L. Getty and Antoine S. Lussier (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1983), p. 76. In 1854 there were still only 343 Saugeen and Nawash Indians entitled to the £1250 annuity from the 1836 treaty (Sub-enclosure 7, 3 November 1854. "Indian Department, Canada: Return to an address in the House of Commons, dated 26 April 1856"). However, the population had increased since 1836.

[28]Anderson Address, 2 August 1854, "Indian Department Canada: response to an address in the House of Commons, dated 26 April 1855."

[29]Anderson to Oliphant, 2 August 1854, p. 119. NAC, RG 10, Vol. 541, C-13356.

Saugeen Peninsula. Alexander Madwayosh granted it, "with great pleasure."[30] The Saugeen bands anticipated the arrival of Ojibwa settlers on the eve of Anderson's treaty discussion, and felt obligated to uphold the promises made to their Native neighbours.

Frustrated by their response, Anderson believed that the Indians, unable to offer "one good argument" against the treaty, opposed the provincial government's wishes simply out of spite. He informed them that if they chose to remain obstinately opposed to their own interests, the government would not "take the trouble" to rid the reserve of squatters.[31] Anderson then left them to discuss the cession, knowing that other individuals had tried to trick the Indians into ceding land to them.[32] Indeed, this represented a major problem for the colonial government. With the rising non-Native population, the number of squatters grew, on Crown lands as well as Indian. Violence and fraud often followed.[33] By opening up more land for settlement the provincial agents hoped to avoid these conflicts.

After some debate, the band agreed to the surrender, if the government accepted their conditions. Saying that these "conditions of surrender now proposed never originated in the brain of an Indian," the agent withdrew.[34] Anderson believed that the Indians could and should farm, and that the retention of this hunting ground only retarded the process of agricultural development. Their obstinate opposition to the land cession thwarted his plans

---

[30]General Council at Saugeen, 29 August 1853. Wawanosh Family Correspondence, Box 4382, no. 7. Held at the University of Western Ontario.

[31]Address to the Owens' Sound and Saugeeng Indians at the Close of a Council held Owens Sound, 2 August 1854, pp. 118-9. NAC, RG 10, Vol. 541, C-13356.

[32]Anderson to Oliphant, 16 August 1854, p. 117. NAC, RG 10, Vol. 541, C-13356.

[33]Lillian F. Gates, Land Policies of Upper Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), p. 291.

[34]Van Dusen, The Indian Chief, p. 52.

to present an easy treaty to his supervisor, Laurence Oliphant, Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs.[35]

At this point a strange alliance was forming. The Potawatomi outnumbered Wahbahdick and the Ojibwa, but Wahbahdick, the wily old chief, believed he could turn Sawyer's ambitions to the Ojibwas' favour. The Mississauga newcomer was educated. He could write letters and petitions on the Ojibwas' behalf, without recourse to full band council meetings and Potawatomi participation. Occasionally Anderson had listened to his advice. If Wahbahdick converted from the traditional Ojibwa religion to Methodism, abstained from alcohol and fully united with the Methodist Ojibwa, perhaps the Ojibwa could regain control over their ancestors' lands.

Sawyer needed Wahbahdick as well. His latest action in getting the old chief removed from office left the Ojibwa, the traditional land-holders, without a chief in council. The traditionalist Ojibwa secured Wahbahdick's reinstatement in 1852.[36] In order to retain any power and influence with the band, Sawyer needed to work with Wahbahdick. His views differed too greatly with the Potawatomi faction and his rival Charles Keeshig, to ally with them.

Much argument and anguish preceded the treaty-signing. A visit by Laurence Oliphant, the twenty-five year old Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, who had previously been the secretary to Lord Elgin, Governor-General of Canada finally led the Indians to agree to the treaty in mid-October 1854. Again the colonial government applied unrelenting pressure and threats. Anderson had earlier proposed that the government should "assume absolute control of their affairs," arguing that even if they had deeds, the

---

[35]For background on Oliphant, please see "Laurence Oliphant," in The New Encyclopedia Britannica, Volume VII (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 1974), p. 520.
[36]Schmalz, History of the Saugeen Indians, p. 35.

government was obliged to help those who were so "ignorant" of their own interests.[37] Aware of the divisions between Saugeen and Nawash, Oliphant wisely by-passed Owen Sound and travelled directly to Saugeen to negotiate the treaty. Nawash and Colpoy's Bay band members had to hurry to Saugeen for the initial negotiations, but arrived too late.[38] Oliphant in no way was concerned about his omission to follow the requirements of the Royal Proclamation of 1763, which stated that all Indians concerned be properly represented at the discussion. Most of the treaty arrangements had been made with the Saugeen people.

Oliphant's arguments in favour of the treaty received support from local non-Natives. The Natives complained increasingly about immigrants squatting on their lands, about their timber being cut. When he travelled through the Saugeen country, Oliphant later reported that "they [the pioneers] threatened, in my presence, to settle upon the Indian reserve in defiance of the Government."[39] At the Council he first "compelled" the assembled Indians to admit "[t]hat squatters were, even then, locating themselves without permission from either themselves or the department upon the reserve." He added: "I represented the extreme difficulty, if not impossibility, of preventing such unauthorized intrusion." In contrast, if they sold their lands the proceeds would pay for farm improvements and schools.[40] Wahbahdick, James Nawash and their followers, however, continued to protest. Years later, Wahbahdick's disapproval of the surrender of the

---

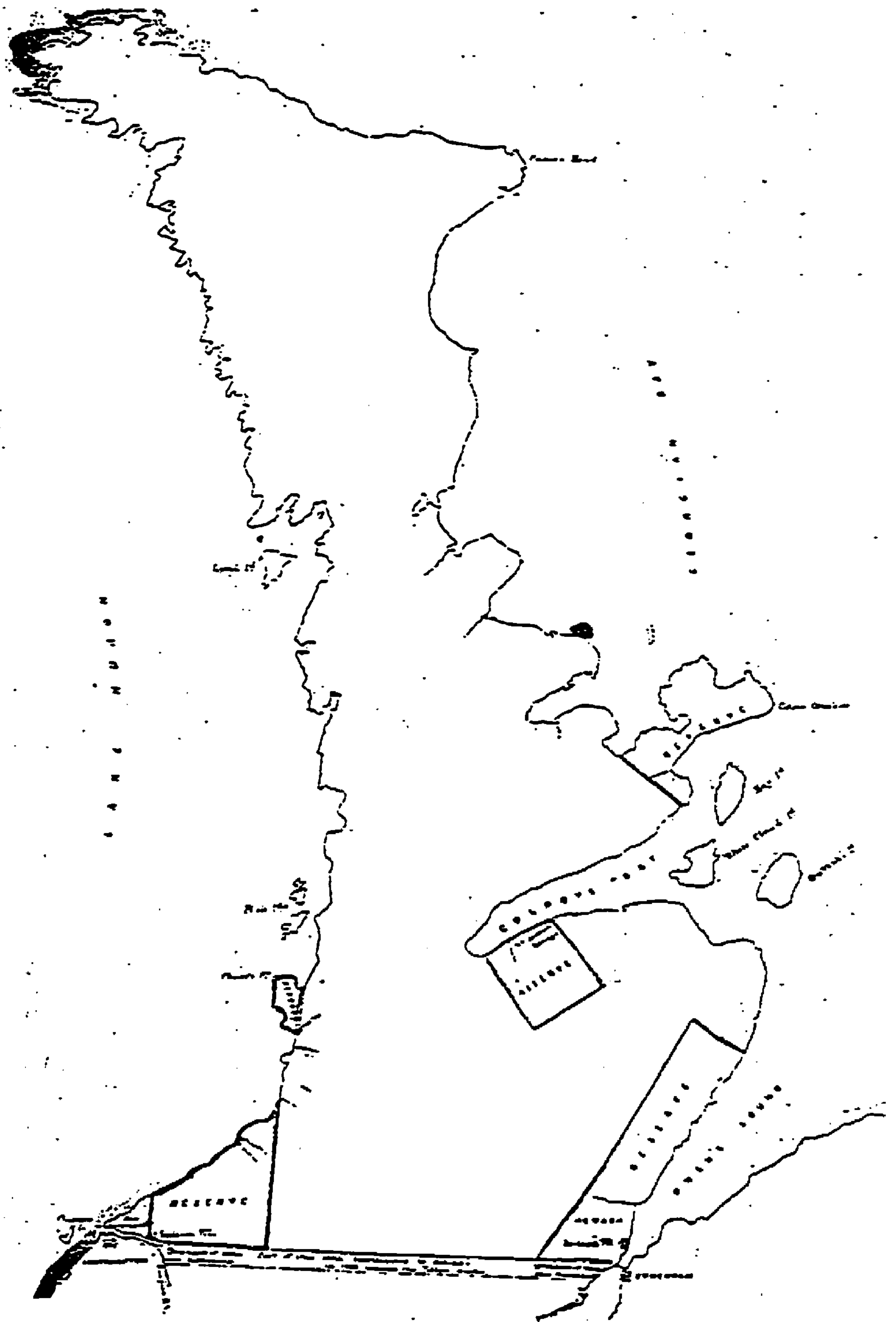
[37]Anderson to Oliphant, 16 August 1854, p. 116. NAC, RG 10, Vol. 541, C-13356.

[38]Van Dusen, The Indian Chief, p. 55.

[39]Oliphant to Elgin, 3 November 1854, "Indian Department, Canada: Return to an adress in the House of Commons, dated 26 April 1856" (Canadian Index of Historical Materials microfiche 63353), p. 3.

[40]Ibid, p. 3.

Map 2*



* Indian Department, Canada: return to an address in the House of Commons, dated 26 April 1856 (Canadian Index of Historical Materials, 63353), p. 15.

Saugeen Peninsula was still well known among locals non-Natives.[41] Yet Kegedonce Jones and Keeshig of the Potawatomi faction and Alexander Madwayosh of Saugeen, did move to accept the offer.[42] Indeed, Kegedonce Jones, Tabegwon, Sawyer, Johnston and Keeshig had been more receptive even in August.[43] Confronted with the threat of squatter dispossession and government coercion, in the end, even Wahbahdick, Nawash and the Saugeen chiefs signed the agreement.

The end of the treaty negotiations did not mark an end to the controversy surrounding the surrender of the Saugeen Peninsula. The surrender of the Peninsula left the Saugeen bands with only five small reserves, in a land that twenty years before had been their exclusive homeland. Van Dusen argued that the Indians resisted the treaty not out of sentimentality, but out of foresight. He believed that only "the most ignorant and indolent part of the tribe" were interested in the treaty negotiations, since only "the most credulous part of the tribe" would believe the government's promises of wealth.[44]

Factionalism continued. Following the treaty Ojibwa concerns rose as the Potawatomi initially received more of the annuities from the surrender than they did. Tensions grew. Some of the Natives pulled up survey posts and stakes in protest, forcing Lord Bury, Oliphant's successor as Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, to intervene and partially restore the balance.[45] Even after the annuity question was resolved, the

---

[41]William Wye Smith, Gazatteer and directory of the county of Grey for 1856-6, (Toronto: Globe Steamer, 1866. Canadian Index of Historical Materials microfiche 48603) p. 56.

[42]Anderson to Oliphant, 16 August 1854, "Indian Department, Canada: Return to an adress in the House of Commons, dated 26 April 1856." Madwayosh was in serious debt in 1854, and faced debtors' prison. To escape this fate, Schmalz argues, he agreed to the government's proposals (Schmalz, History of the Saugeen Indians, p. 86).

[43]Anderson to Oliphant, 16 August 1854, p. 115. NAC, RG 10, Vol. 541, C-13356.

[44]Van Dusen, The Indian Chief, p. 51.

[45]Schmalz, History of the Saugeen Indians, p. 95 and 89. Viscount Bury, born in 1832 as William Coutts Keppel, enjoyed a varied career in British politics. He served the Empire variously as a soldier, secretary, Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs (Canada), Member of Parliament, and as a peer. (A. F. P., "William Coutts Keppel," in

Ojibwa and Potawatomi still remained at loggerheads. Effectively, Kegedonce Jones and the Potawatomi faction ran their own council, with Charles Keeshig as secretary; the recently restored Wahbahdick and his faction kept their own council, with David Sawyer as secretary.[46] Education, not just annuities, became a major point of division at Newash in the 1850s. One point of conflict was the day school controlled by Sawyer. In frustration, Keeshig established another day school at Newash in 1853. Classes were held at Tabegwon's house.[47] But few children attended either day school, a situation that continued even after the band settled at Cape Croker.

Another point of contention was attendance at the government-approved industrial school at Alnwick near Rice Lake. Attendance there had long been poor and irregular, but the situation worsened in the 1850s. The Saugeen bands wanted their own industrial school, not the one at Alnwick.[48] All their inquiries were for nought, as the provincial government never constructed the promised school at Owen Sound. Government reports now acknowledged the failure of Alnwick, noting that it was dirty and too far from the Saugeen bands.[49] The question of education remained a difficult and divisive issue

---

Dictionary of National Biography Volume XXII, (Supplement), ed. by Sidney Lee (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1909), pp. 931-2).

[46]In 1855 the Indian Department wanted a census of the Nawash band completed by the band council. The government sent blank forms to the band. They received two sets in reply: one from Kegedonce Jones and Keeshig, and the other from Wahbahdick and Sawyer. Each group insisted only they had the authority to complete such tasks (W. R. Bartlett to Richard Pennefather, 16 August 1859. NAC, RG 10,Vol. 2877, file 177 181, C-9661).

[47]Van Dusen, The Indian Chief, p. 49. Keeshig's school provided another target for band conflict, with Sawyer's party arguing that Keeshig had opened the school only as a "rival" to the real school (p. 49).

[48]Such an institution would be a great asset to the local peoples, and attract other Natives to the area, thus building up the settled Native communities in the face of ongoing non-Native immigration.

[49]Bury to Sir Edmund Head, 5 December 1855, p. 27. "Indian Department Canada: return to an address to the House of Commons, dated 26 April 1856." CIHM 63353.

between the Nawash and the Indian Department, and the among the Nawash people themselves.

Parents continued to object to sending their children to Alnwick, hundreds of kilometres away. Although a few were willing to send their children to the school the chiefs would not consent to sign the paper to pay for this education.[50] After much pressure from Anderson and the Indian Department, the chiefs in 1849 relented, and agreed to send five children from Colpoy's Bay, seven from Owen Sound and seven from Saugeen "to the Big Indian School at Alnwick."[51] The Natives remained unhappy with this arrangement, and often the parents followed their children and set up their wigwams next to the Alnwick school. Band leaders such as John Jones, John Smith and Wahbahdick were especially notorious for this.[52] The Indian Department unsuccessfully issued numerous warnings in the early 1850s against this practice and attempted to stop it by other means, but were unsuccessful.

Reverend Conrad Van Dusen, Sawyer's friend and ally, also found himself entangled in this conflict over education. The Methodist attitudes towards their Native constituents changed in the 1850s. In 1836 the Methodists had hoped that the Saugeen Territory would remain a Native homeland and worked with Indians to get title to it. By 1850, they knew such title was meaningless, and changed their priorities. Missionaries like Van Dusen became increasingly paternalistic.[53] Many non-Native Methodists' patience with the Indians' slow progress in "civilisation" had run out.[54] Those Indians

---

[50]Sawyer to Anderson, 11 July 1849, p. 382. NAC, RG 10, Vol. 410, C-9616.

[51]Cheifs (sic) and Warriors at Saugeen and Owen Sound to Anderson, 25 September 1849. NAC, RG 10, Vol. 409, C-9616.

[52]Sawyer to Anderson, 13 January 1850, p. 406. NAC, RG 10, Vol. 410, C-9616.

[53]George Copway, Traditional History and Characteristic Sketches of the Ojibway Nation (London: Charles Gilpin, 1850. Reprinted in Toronto: Coles Canadiana, 1972), p. 201.

[54]WMMS Report for 1851-52, "Nawash Mission," p. xvii.

who did not practise agriculture found themselves increasingly censured by their missionary. Van Dusen, with his Ojibwa ally Sawyer, insisted the children leave to attend residential school.

As the battles between the Potawatomi and Ojibwa, and often between the Ojibwa themselves, continued, the Indian Department advanced its own plans. In the early 1850s, the colonial government relocated some Caughnawaga Mohawks from their crowded reserve near Montreal to the Saugeen Territory. The government decided that Newash, where so many Indians had already found a home, would be ideal for them. Local Natives rejected the plan, arguing that only they had the right to offer their lands to other Indians. Nevertheless, some Mohawks eventually moved to the area. A few other "pagans" from elsewhere in the colony visited Owen Sound, converted to Methodism and settled at Newash.[55] The Mohawks soon returned to Caughnawaga, having been neglected in the treaty negotiations, and rejected by their erstwhile Native hosts.

Episodes of conspiracy and sabotage increased in the mid-1850s. Letters and petitions from both the Kegedonce Jones/Keeshig faction and the Wahbahdick/Sawyer group, besieged Anderson and the Indian Department. By 1855 Anderson's sympathies had switched again, from Sawyer to Kegedonce Jones and Keeshig.[56]

Sawyer and Van Dusen organised a political group at Newash to protest the 1854 treaty and Anderson's actions. In March 1855, a meeting of Wahbahdick and Sawyer's supporters resolved "that in order to prevent further discord among us we will hereafter

---

[55] WMMS Report for 1854-55, "Newash and Colpoy's Bay," p. xxvii.

[56] Anderson's patience with Sawyer had long been thin. As early as 1846 Sawyer noted that "you (Anderson) speak some hard words to me which makes me feel sorry." Sawyer to Anderson, 21 May 1846, p. 41-42. NAC, RG 10, Vol. 410, C-9615. By 1855, Anderson felt that "David Sawyers party are ambitious of power and use forbidden means to acquire it." Anderson to Lord Bury, 30 May 1855, p. 128345. NAC, RG 10, Vol. 217 Part 2, C-11527.

admit no foreigners to become members of our tribe, to share in our annuities."[57] They attempted to meet with the colonial legislature in Quebec City in 1855. However, to be received by the colonial government, Indian delegations required a letter of introduction from their Indian agent. But since Anderson supplied no letter, the legislature refused to hear their complaints.[58]

The impudence of the Van Dusen delegation to Quebec (which included Sawyer, Wahbahdick, Alexander Madwayosh and John Kaduhgekwun) infuriated Anderson, and he sought to have any Indian associated with it punished. The now seventy-six year old agent travelled to Newash while the delegation was still away, although they returned just as he was finishing his report on the Nawash.[59] The meeting Anderson called to investigate Nawash factionalism was attended by nine clear supporters of Kegedonce Jones, and six who followed Wahbahdick.[60] At the inquiry, John Johnston, a Potawatomi supporter of Kegedonce Jones, remarked that Sawyer and Van Dusen caused the turmoil at Newash, and had misguided Wahbahdick into supporting them.[61] Under their influence, Wahbahdick held secret meetings with his followers, where they passed

---

[57]Van Dusen, The Indian Chief, p. 70. They excepted this if the newcomers agreed to become Christian, a very strange proviso, since all band members were already at least nominally Christian, and therefore the divisions were not as a result of traditional beliefs as such.

[58]Interestingly, later that year the Indian Department called for a Grand Council meeting at Newash. The Saugeen chiefs initially refused to attend, since the Governor-General had refused to see them when their delegation was in Quebec (Barrie Northern Examiner, 2 August 1855).

[59]Council Meeting, 19-21 May 1855, p. 128364. NAC, RG 10, Vol. 217 part 2, C-11527.

[60]Other members of the Nawash and Colpoy's Bay bands attended but were not vocal in their support for either side. Interestingly, Anderson listed Peter Sacho as a supporter of Wahbahdick, not of the stepson who took over his chieftainship, Kegedonce Jones. Although Kegedonce Jones' supporters were equally split between Ojibwa (5) and Potawatomi (4), Wahbahdick's followers were almost exclusively Ojibwa (5 of the six who supported him).

[61]John Johnston, in Council Meeting, 19-21 May 1855, p. 128348. NAC, RG 10, Vol. 217 Part 2, C-11527.

resolutions which they expected everyone to obey.[62] Wahbahdick was especially unsuitable as chief, due to his frequent drunkenness and "paganism."[63] These accusations represented very damning charges.

The Sawyer-Wahbahdick faction then defended themselves. They retaliated by accusing the Potawatomi group of responsibility for the band's misfortunes. Van Dusen later remarked that he respected Kegedonce Jones "for his energy of character," but found that as chief he acted against all best interests of the band.[64] Three years later Wahbahdick's complaints continued. He noted that "we are not treated like our new friends [the Potawatomi]...I fear the Potawatomi are a hard set."[65] The Ojibwa arguments held no sway with the angry Anderson. The Indian Department again removed Wahbahdick from office for drunkenness.[66] The old chief never regained his position, and spent the rest of his life fighting to win back his office. He continued drinking.

Sawyer and Van Dusen did not withdraw as easily. Anderson had decided by the mid-1850s that the Methodist missionary pair had fuelled most of the local conflicts, and in 1855 recommended to the Indian Department that Van Dusen be forcibly removed and Sawyer's annuities withheld until he fell into line.[67] The agent further recommended that only correspondence originating from the Kegedonce Jones party receive consideration, as they seemed wiser and more reasonable than other band representatives. Anderson

---

[62]Council Meeting, 19-21 May 1855, p. 128348. NAC, RG 10, Vol. 217 part 2, C-11527.

[63]Ibid, p. 128347.

[64]Van Dusen, The Indian Chief, p. 63.

[65]Quoted in Peter Schmalz, The Ojibwa of Southern Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), p. 202.

[66]Schmalz, History of the Saugeen Indians, p. 35. Anderson quickly reported the incident to his supervisors, noting that Wahbahdick admitted bringing a keg of whisky to Newash. Anderson "therefore dismissed him from his office, and told him, before the whole assembly he never would be chief again." Anderson to Bury, 30 May 1855, p. 128968. NAC, RG 10, vol 217 part 2, C-11527.

[67]Anderson to Bury, 22 September 1855, p. 130354. NAC, RG 10, Vol. 220, C-11528.

concluded that the "Peter Jones Kegedonce and Charles Kezhick party appear to me to have been, not only more moderate, but also, more truthful in their statements and had they not expressed their sentiments this Department might have been misled by the Statements of their opponents."[68]

The Sawyer-Wahbahdick faction did not accept Anderson's conclusions, and attacked their agent publicly. At a General Council at Saugeen on June 1 1855, they accused Anderson of drinking with Indians, illegal business transactions and fuelling band conflicts.[69] The trouble at Newash, the petition further argued, was not a sectarian issue, but rather resulted from the Kegedonce Jones faction needlessly causing trouble.[70]

Keeshig also received special attention in this latest campaign. Van Dusen and Sawyer maintained that Keeshig, a Potawatomi adopted into the Nawash band, had received the post of clerk against the wishes of the "principal Indians" of the band. As an Anglican, Keeshig, supported by the Indian agent, "did all he could to sow the seeds of discord among the Indians," by mishandling money, influencing "the young chief Kegedonce," and opening a rival school.[71] They raged against Wahbahdick's removal, noting that "the circumstance of persons not recommended by the Tribe, being appointed chiefs in the band, has caused considerable dissatisfaction, and gives mercenary and designing men an opportunity to scatter discord among us."[72] The minority Methodist Ojibwa fought to win public support, as clearly the Indian Department stood behind Kegedonce Jones and the majority Potawatomi.

---

[68]Anderson to Bury, 30 May 1855, p. 128346. NAC, RG 10, Vol. 217 part 2, C-11527.

[69]"The Indian Lands," in The Globe, 16 July 1855, p. 2.

[70]Van Dusen, The Indian Chief, p. 49-50. This petition was signed by Ojibwa and Mississauga Nawashites.

[71]Ibid, p. 47.

[72]WMMS Report for 1855-56, "Newash Mission," p. xxv. One of those "designing men" was Richard Carney, a prominent non-Native Owen Sound resident and the town's first mayor who wrote for the Kegedonce Jones faction.

The Potawatomi did not sit idly by while the Ojibwa slandered them. Kegedonce Jones, Tabegwon, Keeshig and "several of this Band of Indians" wrote to the Indian Department, alleging that Wahbahdick and Sawyer were trying to cheat the council and interfere with its business. In doing this, Sawyer "assumes the air of a chief."[73] The Potawatomi faction further complained that the Ojibwa, supported by the Saugeen chiefs, insisted that Wahbahdick was still their chief, and would not acknowledge Tabegwon.[74]

Their non-Native ally, Richard Carney, Owen Sound's first mayor, added that he believed Sawyer and Van Dusen to be the cause of the band's trouble, and that "no peace or quietness can be expected among the Indians" while they continued to reside at Newash.[75] The Ojibwa, feeling that the Indian Department had allowed the Potawatomi to usurp their rights and supported the Potawatomi in so doing, refused to co-operate. Since the provincial government did not recognise their rights and respond to their demands, many Ojibwa believed that they did not have to abide by the Indian Department's rules.

By 1856 tensions at Newash had reached the breaking point. Oliphant concluded his report on the 1854 treaty with a warning, that "the immediate vicinity of these large towns to the Indian villages, will render a further surrender necessary, in which they must be included."[76] Two years later pressure for another surrender was building. The non-

---

[73]Richard Carney to Anderson, 17 September 1855, p. 130356. NAC, RG 10, Vol. 220, C-11528.This stemmed from another meeting at Saugeen, held under Van Dusen's auspices, where Kegedonce Jones was deposed as chief and replaced by Sawyer, who also took on the responsibilities of band clerk.

[74]In this transitional era, this should hardly have been surprising. Traditionally, leaders were expected to be humble, generous and intelligent individuals, whose personal example and charisma attracted followers. Their main role was as an advisor, at best first among equals. They had no greater authority to enforce their decisions (Charles E. Cleland, Rites of Conquest: The History and Culture of Michigan's Native Americans (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), pp. 59-60). Although the Indian Department had removed Wahbahdick and made Tabegwon chief, this did not necessarily mean the Potawatomi leader possessed the appropriate qualities for the Nawash band to recognise him as a leader.

[75]Ibid, p. 130358.

[76]Oliphant to Elgin, 3 November 1854, "Indian Department Canada: response to an address in the House of Commons, dated 26 April 1855." He misjudged the situation

Native residents at Owen Sound knew well the difficulties experienced by their Indian neighbours, but they had their own concerns. The village population had reached nearly two thousand. In January 1857 the settlement was incorporated as a town. As Oliphant had predicted in 1854, the townspeople wanted room to expand, and felt the land across the Potawatomi River represented the best and most practical acreage available. Attitudes towards Indians had changed as well. The initial enthusiasm for "civilisation" policies had declined. Settlers now wanted their neighbours' land which, from their vantage-point, was hardly being used.

Progress and success seemed tangible in the Canadas in the 1850s, demonstrated in the changes in the physical landscape. Agriculture diversified in Upper Canada, regionalism developed, and colonial institutions appeared.[77] The economy prospered, as British and American demand for Canadian grains and lumber exploded in the 1850s. For Indians to stand in the way of this progress through the retention of their lands and culture would have been "immoral" to mid-nineteenth century Canadians.[78] Some called for the removal of this "obstruction to improvement."[79] Others reasoned that such a surrender would benefit the Indians as well, and local pressure mounted to obtain the Nawash lands. Colonial legislators supported the idea, and ordered W. R. Bartlett, the new Indian agent, to procure such a surrender.[80] Again the Indian Department subjected the Nawash to

---

however, believing that such negotiations would not be necessary "for some time to come." The time actually came less than three years after the Peninsula surrender.

[77]J.M.S. Careless, Union of the Canadas, 1841-1867: The Growth of Canadian Institutions (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967), p. 152.

[78]John Leonard Taylor, Canada's Indian Policy During the Inter-War Years, 1918-1939 (Ottawa: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, 1983), p. 208. Even the supporters of Indians felt that their absorption into the dominant culture was inevitable and desirable.

[79]Owen Sound Times, quoted in The Globe, 18 February 1857, p. 2.

[80]By this time Anderson was seventy-seven years old. He was ill and uninterested in battling the Nawash Ojibwa over his reputation at this time. However, he did not formally retire until June 30 1858. Tragically, his wife died the same day. (T. R. Millman, "Thomas Gummersall Anderson," in Dictionary of Canadian Biography Volume X, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), p. 12.)

intense pressure and threats to surrender their village plots at Newash, opposite Owen Sound.

The Newash village had undergone many physical changes in the last fifteen years. Several permanent houses had been built and occupied, fields had been plowed, docks and wharfs constructed, and public buildings raised.[81] The Indians could not understand why, after so much effort to conform to the newcomers' expectations, the non-Natives wanted them to abandon their cultural adaptation. They knew Cape Croker, the proposed new village site, could support neither agriculture nor hunting. To move there meant they would have to find another means to sustain themselves.[82] The Ojibwa in particular, refused the idea of another surrender. Neither promise nor threat could move them to sign away their ancestors' lands.

Bartlett soon realised the futility of pursuing the Ojibwa on this issue. The Potawatomi initially proved more susceptible to government pressures. The American Indian refugees owed their settlement in Canada West to an imperial invitation, and had long feared that the provincial government would withdraw its support. On many reserves, only government support allowed the Potawatomi to exercise any authority in their new communities.[83]

In spite of such government leverage, the Potawatomi did not yield easily. After months of coercion, the Indian Department was no closer to a surrender. Non-Native demands to obtain the land grew louder. The colonial government finally realised that such

---

[81] Peter A. Russell, "Forest Into Farmland: Upper Canadian Clearing Rates, 1822-1839," in Change and Continuity: A Reader on Pre-Confederation Canada, ed. by Carol Wilton (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1992), p. 250.

[82] The solution was commercial fishing, but problems loomed ahead in this venture as well, in the form of further treaties, agreements and the growth of a non-Native commercial fishing industry.

[83] Walpole Island was particularly well known for the constant conflict between the Ojibwa and Potawatomi. At Newash, Kegedonce Jones, Keeshig and their followers benefitted from Anderson's support in the 1850s.

a cession could never be achieved in Nawash band council meetings. Keeshig suggested to the Indian Department that January 1857 would be an ideal time to discuss a further surrender of land "not necessary for their own use."[84] The Natives remained intransigent. The Department issued further warnings to the Nawash people, and in early 1857, convinced a few to agree to the surrender.[85] The Indian Department also arranged to have them visit Toronto to sign the surrender, which they did in February 1857. This treaty was in clear violation of the Royal Proclamation of 1763, which stated that all treaties and surrenders must be debated and signed at "some public Meeting or Assembly of the said Indians to be held for that purpose."[86]

The provincial government's attempt to win over the Potawatomi in spite of overwhelming Ojibwa resistance had succeeded. Kegedonce Jones, Keeshig and George Arthur Tabegwon, all members of the Potawatomi faction, had agreed to the treaty. Abner Elliot was a recent arrival to Newash from elsewhere in Upper Canada while John Johnston had also arrived from the United States. John Snake, born at Newash, also signed the treaty. The only true Ojibwa representative was Wahbahdick. However, Anderson had removed him from office before the treaty, and he therefore had no voice in the band's official business. It seems likely that he believed that if he signed the treaty he would be re-instated. As noted above, this did not happen, and turned some of his people against him. The colonial government may have hoped that with Wahbahdick's signature,

---

[84]S. Y. Chesley to Keeshig, 29 December 1856, p. 485. NAC, RG 10, Vol. 517, C-13347.

[85]Non-Natives also believed that the "discontented" Indians trusted that their annuities would be increased by the surrender. William Wye Smith, Gazatteer and directory of the county of Grey, p. 280.

[86]Royal Proclamation of 1763, in As Long As The Sun Shines And Water Flows: A Reader in Canadian Native Studies, ed. by Ian A. L. Getty and Antoine S. Lussier (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1983), p. 35. Toronto was far from Newash. The government's tenacity was remarkable, given that Owen Sound was not serviced by a railroad at this time, meaning the Natives had to travel first to Collingwood in the dead of winter to take the train to the colonial capital.

the Ojibwa would resign themselves to the surrender. Sawyer was at the Grand River during the negotiations.[87]

The Nawash received the news of the surrender with great dismay. The Ojibwa in particular were outraged. Kegedonce Jones, a Methodist and total abstainer from alcohol, argued that the treaty protected his people from the harmful effects of the liquor trade by removing them from the whisky barons' reach. Much disease and death had occurred at Newash.[88] Remembering that in the United States the government had posted rewards for killing Indians, the Potawatomi were also not adverse to settling away from non-Natives.[89] Had not the government promised to build houses for the Indians after they moved to Cape Croker?[90] Soon after his return to Newash, Kegedonce Jones and his followers departed for the Cape.

The Potawatomi enjoyed the promised treaty benefits first, as they had arrived at the reserve soon after the cession. The colonial government believed that the Potawatomi had done more to improve their land at Newash than the Ojibwa, and as a result, more Potawatomi obtained compensation for the improvements made to their surrendered Newash homes.[91] Very few Ojibwa received any money at all for their work.

The Ojibwa, apart from Wahbahdick, who was apparently bewildered by first his dispossession by the Potawatomi and Methodist Ojibwa, and now by the non-Native settlers, refused to accept this treaty. He returned to his heavy drinking. Most Ojibwa, however, remained at Newash, even though they were supposed to move to Cape Croker

---

[87]Van Dusen, The Indian Chief, p. 114.

[88]The typhus epidemic had originated with the Irish who came to Canada in 1847. The disease quickly spread throughout the Canadas. Tuberculosis was a threat to all in the nineteenth century. Perhaps some at Newash wished to leave the village where they had lost loved ones to these diseases.

[89]R. M. Vanderburgh, I Am Nokomis Too: The Biography of Verna Patronella Johnston (Don Mills: General Publishing, 1977), p. 20.

[90]"Surrender of Newash Reserve," in The Globe, 18 February 1857, p. 2.

[91]Schmalz, The Ojibwa of Southern Ontario, p. 201.

by June 1858.[92] They repudiated the surrender, and they refused to vacate their lands.[93] The Methodist Missionary Report for 1856-57 noticed that "the Indians appear more unsettled than before, and we have not been able to induce but very few of them to plant or sow anything this spring. The principal part of the Ojibwas, composing this band, are unwilling to settle at Cape Croker."[94] They had not acceded to the Indian Department's demands, had not agreed to this 1857 "treaty," and were not going to leave their village and ancestral lands based on government tricks and Potawatomi signatures.

Despite the Ojibwa stance, the newly surrendered Newash lands went on auction in September 1857. The Ojibwa attended the sale, where "from representations and statements made by Mrs. William Sutton [Nahneebahweequa] and other Indians an excitment was got up in their favour and the public would not bid against them."[95] Noting that location tickets were being offered at Cape Croker, and that homes would be constructed for the band in due time, the Indian Department refused to recognise these purchases.[96] The sole exception to this was Charles Keeshig, the educated Potawatomi interpreter.[97] The Ojibwa refused to yield, and in April 1858 they composed a letter to J. S. Hogan, the Member of the Legislative Assembly for Grey County, reiterating their complaints against the injustice of the surrender and the auction.[98] A motion in the

---

[92]Smith, Gazatteer and directory of the county of Grey, p. 327.

[93]Van Dusen, The Indian Chief, p. 115.

[94]WMMS Report for 1856-57, "Newash Mission," p. xxiii.

[95]Bennett to Cape Croker Chiefs and Councillors, 9 August 1858, p. 23. NAC, RG 10, Vol. 544, C-13357.

[96]They were legally correct, since Indians were considered minors by law, and unless enfranchised, could not enjoy citizen rights such as the ownership of property.

[97]Bartlett to Rankin, 24 September 1870, p. 445. NAC, RG 10, Vol. 553, C-13361. Even before the auction, Charles Keeshig had been permitted to buy 50 or 100 acres at Owen Sound (Bury to Anderson, 19 January 1856, p. 131. NAC, RG 10, Vol. 517, C-13347). In 1840 some Oneida had moved from New York to the Grand River, where they purchased 5 400 acres upon which to settle (Tony Hall, "Native Limited Identities and Newcomer Metropolitanism in Upper Canada, 1814-1867" in Old Ontario: Essays in Honour of J. M. S. Careless, ed. by David Keane and Colin Read (Toronto: Dundurn, 1990), p. 151).

[98]Van Dusen, The Indian Chief, p. 128.

colonial legislature was raised to look into the auction, but was struck down.[99] Redress of their grievances clearly would not come from colonial sources. The Ojibwa chose instead to send an envoy to England to lay their case before Queen Victoria. After meeting in July 1859 with other Ojibwa at Rama, they chose Nahneebahweequa to carry their message about their land claims across the sea.[100] She seemed a logical choice to the Ojibwa. She was well-educated and well-connected, both in the Native and non-Native communities. She had been raised mostly by her uncle Peter Jones, and had accompanied him to England in 1837. She had also been absent from Newash during the political controversy in the mid-1850s, and had returned from missionary work in Michigan to find her land surrendered along with the others. Her sufferings and education suited her to the task, and, although several months pregnant at the outset of her journey, she accepted the responsibility.

The 1850s had been a turbulent decade for the Nawash people. The conflicts that had appeared between the Ojibwa and the Potawatomi had hardened into factional fighting. Political deadlock ruled. Neither side could reach a compromise or discussion on any issue. In this politically charged atmosphere, the band split into two councils. The Kegedonce Jones-Keeshig council received the support of most Potawatomi and some Ojibwa. The Indian Department acknowledged their authority in the community. The Wahbahdick-Sawyer council, consisting mainly of Ojibwa and a few Potawatomi, had fallen out of favour with the provincial government. They remained the most obstinate in their refusal to contenance further treaties and surrenders. However, the Indian Department no longer felt the need to negotiate with this faction. They worked with the Kegedonce

---

[99] "The rights of Indians to purchase their own surrendered lands," in The Globe, 8 July 1858, p. 3.

[100] For further reference on Nahneebahweequa, please see Donald B. Smith's article, "Nahnebahwequay," in Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Volume IX (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), pp. 590-1.

Jones-Keeshig group, who while not initially inclined to cede more land, were more conciliatory. Thanks to their desire to co-operate, the colonial government won the concessions it sought.

By 1857 the Nawash band had to remove to Cape Croker. Government's interest in the area soon waned, but it left behind a legacy of division in the community. The confused traditional Ojibwa chief, Wahbahdick, left his new Methodist faith, and sought refuge in alcohol, wandering in the early 1860s from non-Native settlement to settlement.

IV: The Solitudes of Cape Croker in the late 1850s to the mid-1860s

"In the Year 1857 Insp. Pennefather S.G.I.A. and S. Y. Chesley Agent came and wished the Indians to Surrender the land they Reserved after Giving up the whole Peninsula, at that time are Refused to do so never the less we would give up a part of it, and they said the Governor General must have the whole, and express hard words to us"-Chiefs, Warriors and Principal Men formerly of Owen Sound[1]

The conflict over the 1857 treaty continued unabated at Newash throughout 1858 and 1859. The majority of the Nawash band had opposed all three of the treaties proposed in the 1850s, but the Indian Department held fast and insisted on the necessity of the surrenders. In each case, the Potawatomi party, led by Peter Kegedonce Jones and Charles Keeshig, broke under intense pressure, and agreed to the treaties. The Ojibwa, led by the traditionalist Wahbahdick and Methodist David Sawyer, resisted all such government initiatives but finally relented in 1851 and 1854. In 1857 the Potawatomi surrendered the Newash village site. Since they had never agreed to the surrender, the Ojibwa refused to comply with the treaty's demands.[2] The Ojibwa's small numbers prevented any meaningful resistance against the settler population at Owen Sound, which was more than seven times its number.

Although local non-Natives often had many years of experience with the Nawash band, they were unprepared for the Indians' reaction to the treaty. They demanded access to the newly surrendered Nawash lands, now known as the town plot of Brooke and the township of Sarawak. Progress and development had to proceed even if the Indians seemed unable or unwilling to understand the needs of "civilised" society. Charles Rankin

---

[1]Draft of a petition to Queen Victoria, no date, written in "Sutton Journal I" (Unpublished, County of Grey-Owen Sound Museum), p. 68.

[2]According to the 1868 survey, 340 people lived at Cape Croker. Only 139 were Ojibwa. The agent identified the remaining 201 as Potawatomi. "Schedule of Authorized Occupants of Lands belonging in the Ojibway Band of Indians in the Cape Croker Reserve Saugeen Peninsula Township of Albemarle," NAC, RG 10, Vol. 416, C-9620.

surveyed the lands, and non-Native agricultural development was ready to proceed. The only problem that remained was the Ojibwas' resolute refusal to accede to the treaty.

The Ojibwas' anger over both the content of the surrender, as well as the manner in which it was signed, caused a physical separation of the Ojibwa and Potawatomi. Under intense pressure, the Potawatomi had finally agreed to the treaty, and quickly moved to Cape Croker, an isolated, rocky outcrop of the Bruce Peninsula.

The Ojibwa believed that they had been betrayed and sought justice. After their participation in the September 1857 auction of their lands, however, the Ojibwa soon learned they must retire to Cape Croker. The Indian Department insisted they move, and would not protect them. The Nawash Ojibwa now had no land to farm, no forests in which to hunt, and no access to waters to fish. Hungry and poor, they had to withdraw to Cape Croker. But they continued to formulate a scheme by which they could make their protests against the surrender heard. They boldly planned to send an envoy to England so that Queen Victoria herself might hear their complaints, without the interference of Indian agents or governors-general. After a General Council meetings at Rama on Lake Simcoe in July 1859, the Ojibwa of Lake Simcoe and Huron, who also had land claims to advance, selected Nahneebahweequa as their voice to England.

Nahneebahweequa and her sponsors immediately encountered a problem with their plan. Having no money on which to survive at Cape Croker, the Ojibwa could not afford to fund an overseas mission. With little capital, Nahneebahweequa depended on charitable donations to fund her trip. Her task required sacrifice and support by everyone.[3] It was a difficult duty, made more so by her pregnancy, but in New York she met a group of

---

[3]"The Mission of Nah-Nee-Bah-Wee-Quay, Or The Upright Woman," in Friends Review, 3 November 1860, p. 140. Before she left, Wahbahdick gave her "a gold chain,which he had long cherished as a gift," and told her to sell it if she had no other money for food.

Quakers who supplied the necessary money to finance her voyage to London.[4] Not everyone supported her trip, and some opponents, including the Toronto Globe, argued that she was simply trying to defraud the Quakers.[5] They feared that the Ojibwa woman wanted only to embarrass the Indian Department and profit personally from slander and lies.

Her supporters felt differently. They arranged for her to stay with the Alsops, a prominent and well-connected Quaker family. She spoke to the Aborigines' Protection Society in London, telling them that "she had rather suffer with her people than enjoy the pleasures of this life." Her strong statements won their support.[6] Through them she met John Bright, an important reformer in the British Parliament. His efforts secured her an audience with the British monarch in June 1860, where she briefly laid her problems before the Queen. At the meeting, Queen Victoria promised her "aid and protection," adding that the matter would receive greater attention in September, when the Prince of Wales toured British North America.[7] Nahneebahweequa withdrew, soon writing home of her promising royal encounter. When she returned to Canada, she believed that the Natives in general, and the Nawash Ojibwa in particular, had every reason to hope for proper redress of their grievances.

In late summer the Prince toured the colony, and the Nawash Ojibwa sent a delegation to follow up the discussion begun by Nahneebahweequa. Such disturbances met with a frosty reception from colonial administrators, and the Nawash group obtained only a five minute audience with the Duke of Newcastle, the colonial secretary. They

---

[4]J. G., Christian Guardian, 8 November 1865, n. p.

[5]"The Indian imposter," in The Globe, 23 May 1860, p. 2. The Globe, a Toronto newspaper, called her an "imposter," and published "evidence" to support their claim. They did this, they asserted, so that "the Indian Department may take some action to undeceive the good people who have been deceived by Mrs. Sutton."

[6]"The Aborigines' Protection Society," in The Globe, 11 June 1860, p. 3.

[7]Nahneebahweequa to her uncle and grandfather, Brantford Courier, 3 August 1860.

contended that the prince ought to have had the time to speak with them at length, since such a promise had been made by Queen Victoria herself. They understood why the meeting had been kept short, however. In the words of William Sutton, the English husband of Nahneebahweequa and a member of the delegation, they were "well aware that such an arangement would not be congenial to the feelings & wishes of the Governor-General, Mr Penefather & others connected with the Indian Department, for they were aware that their system of whole-sale Robbery and corruption would have been exposed & prooved beyond suckessful contradiction."[8] In spite of the brevity of the interview, the party learned of a significant change in Indian policy. The Nawash delegation discovered that the Imperial government had recently transferred complete control of Indian Affairs to the colonial administration.

At the same time as the Indian Department had been negotiating the Newash surrender, another royal commission into Indian affairs had been called, headed by Richard Pennefather.[9] The Commission had noted that Indian interests had often been ignored in favour of other concerns, yet despite this observation, the Commission stood clearly on the side of "progress." It argued that "the period has arrived when the Government should exercise authority; and in cases where the Indians obstinately refuse to accede to any terms of surrender, that gentle means of *coercion* be applied."[10]

---

[8]Draft of a letter from William Sutton to Robert Alsop, 17 March 1861, "Sutton Journal I," p. 146. Unfortunately for the Nawash delegation, George Brown of The Globe introduced them to the prince.

[9]Pennefather was an earnest, solitary and socially awkward man from an Anglo-Irish family of soldiers and clerics. He served for years as Sir Edmund Head's secretary; Head trusted him but never liked nor understood him. He left Canada in 1861 with Head, going on to serve in Ceylon until his death in 1865 (Douglas Leighton, "Richard Theodore Pennefather," in Dictionary of Canadian Biography Volume IX, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), p. 627).

[10]The Pennefather Report, cited in Enemikeese (Conrad Van Dusen), The Indian Chief: An Account of the Labours, Losses, Sufferings, and Oppression of Ke-Zig-Ko-E-Ne-Ne (David Sawyer), A Chief of the Ojibbeway Indians in Canada West (London, 1867. Reprinted in Toronto: Coles Canadiana, 1974), p. 108. Emphasis Van Dusen's.

The report also recommended increasingly centralisation of Indian affairs. The administration reacted quickly to this suggestion, with the July 1 1860 "Act respecting the Management of the Indian Lands and Property." This document formally transferred control of the Indian Department to the colonial government.[11] The British justified the transfer, noting that Canadians were only transplanted Britons, and hence, naturally imbued with the British sense of fair play, would not exploit the Indians.[12]

These changes in Indian administration, important as they were, represented only one of the many challenges confronting the Nawash peoples. The Ojibwa faced many difficulties during these years. They had to rebuild their lives at a new location, where they felt they had been coerced into moving. They needed to build houses, schools and churches, to try to fish and farm enough to provide food for their families, and to adjust to new physical restrictions on hunting. They shared these tasks with the Potawatomi, although in these early years at Cape Croker, it was one of the few areas where the Ojibwa and Potawatomi found common ground.

The Nawash had to leave Newash by June 1 1858, but having no wish to move, many of the people, especially the Ojibwa, had "made no preparations for spring crops at Cape Croker."[13] Money promised to the Nawash arrived only in spring 1859, two full years after the surrender.[14] As late as 1861, some Nawash had not moved to their new

---

[11]J. E. Hodgetts, Pioneer Public Service: An Administrative History of the United Canadas, 1841-1867 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1955), p. 211. This transfer had been long in coming. The imperial government had long desired to shift responsibility for this expensive department to colonial authorities, who equally wished to avoid the chore. It was one of the last imperial responsibilities to be so transferred before Confederation.

[12]J. S. Milloy, "A Historical Overview of Indian-Government Relations, 1755-1940" (Prepared for the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1992), p. 60.

[13]Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (WMMS) Report for 1857-58, "Newash Mission," p. xx.

[14]Memorandum by Father George Laufhuber, s.j., n. d. Laufhuber visited the reserve in 1859 from Berlin, Ontario. Cape Croker/Saugeen-Tobermory Files, C-420, Archives of the Society of Jesus of Upper Canada (ASJUC).

reserve, choosing instead to remain in their own homes until forced out, and then joining other bands.[15] The Cape was large enough to allow for a physical separation of the two groups. For generations after their arrival, they stayed apart.

By the fall of 1857, the Indian Department wished to have affairs at Cape Croker settled. E. J. Chesley, an Indian Department official, had asked for the opinions of Charles Keeshig, the band's interpreter, and George Tabegwon, the second chief, on a village site, but they refused to reply, seemingly "desirous of having the opinion of Chief Kegedoma before expressing their own." Kegedonce Jones chose the village site, at McGregor's Harbour.[16] When pressed, they confessed to a certain dissatisfaction with the chief's choice, but refused to argue because they wanted to live "with the rest in a body."[17] Kegedonce Jones remained the government-supported leader of the new reserve. With the absence of Wahbahdick and his supporters, Kegedonce Jones, the leader of the Indian Department's favoured group, carried out band business unopposed.

Chesley rapidly discovered that new land did not entail new peace. He remarked that the best land, close to the proposed village site, had been chosen by some of Wahbahdick's followers but they had abandoned this land to locate near their old chief and "the rest of the Vandusen Party."[18] Kegedonce Jones did point out to the government agent that Wahbahdick, Nawash and their supporters wanted the village to be located at the

---

[15]Nahneebahweequa, quoted in "Lo! The Poor Indian!" Friends' Review, 27 April 1861, p. 539.

[16]E. J. Chesley to Richard Pennefather, 7 September 1857, p. 2. Cape Croker/Saugeen-Tobermory Files, C-420, ASJUC.

[17]Ibid, pp. 1-2. Chesley remarked that Keeshig was "feeble from the effects of a severe illness." The interpreter was dead by August 1859.

[18]Ibid, p. 2. John Snake, James Snake, James Black, Thomas Kosejah, George Moses and Peter Elliot had initially laid claim to these lands, then moved. Of the six listed by Chesley, four were Ojibwa, and only Thomas Kosejah was Potawatomi. George Moses was not listed on either the Keeshig census, nor the 1868 survey. Please see "Schedule of Authorized Occupants of Lands belonging to the Ojibway Band of Indians in the Cape Croker Reserve Saugeen Peninsula Township of Albemarle, 1868." National Archives of Canada (NAC), RG 10, Vol. 416, C-9620.

site the Ojibwa selected, but Chesley "did not consider it necessary to examine the locality."[19] The Kegedonce Jones faction enjoyed all the official power on the reserve. Neither Chesley nor the Indian Department considered it necessary to inquire into the Ojibwas' concerns.

The Ojibwa, however, continued to cause problems for the Indian Department. They were determined to seek redress for the 1857 treaty, and refused to yield to pressure to abandon this requirement. They sent petitions to the colonial legislature, wrote letters to newspapers to gain support for their cause, and pressured traditional allies for assistance.[20]

The colonial legislature turned a blind eye to their demands, as did the Indian Department. As far as they were concerned, non-Native settlement on the old Newash village site was proceeding smoothly, and neither the elected officials nor the appointed civil servants wished to disturb this process. By 1865, the population of Brooke, where the main Newash settlement had been, numbered one hundred.[21]

Missionary societies, once the most ardent protector of Native interests, had also lost their enthusiasm for the cause. In Canada West, many Methodists had achieved a secure position in society, and no longer gave much attention to Native issues. They now had many non-Native church members who required their services. The exotic excitement

---

[19]Chesley to Pennefather, 7 September 1857, p. 2. Cape Croker/Saugeen-Tobermory Files, C-420, ASJUC.

[20]Please see Peter Schmalz, The History of Saugeen Indians (Ottawa: Ontario Historical Society, 1977) for more information on this topic.

[21]William Wye Smith, Gazatteer and directory of the county of Grey, 1865-6 (Toronto: Globe Steamer, 1866. Canadian Index of Historical Materials, microfiche 48603), p. 327. This was despite the fact that most of the town plots were held by absentees.

attached to Methodist conversions lay in the Northwest, and soon extended to China and Japan.[22]

Canada West had progressed rapidly in the last thirty years. Methodists felt the Indians must submit to these developments. The Methodists had introduced Christianity to the Ojibwa, and now expected the Indians to conform to an agrarian lifestyle. The conventional wisdom in Methodist church circles was that their loss of hunting grounds was a blessing, for it would force them to till the soil. Since most Nawash Ojibwa were Methodist or Congregationalist, this lack of Methodist support was demoralising.

Although the missionaries no longer ardently supported the protection of Indian rights, nor interested themselves in local Indian affairs, they still believed evangelisation to be a worthy goal. The Christian churches guarded their converts even more closely at Cape Croker than at Newash. Aided by the reserve's layout, the missionaries encouraged Catholic and Protestant Indians to stay separate.[23] The Methodists continued to complain of Jesuit interference on the reserve.[24] They kept up their attack on Catholic Indians, and the "folly" of their ways, making special mention of the conversions from the Roman faith.[25] In a community wrought by tension, the Methodist missionaries contributed to even greater disunity.

---

[22]John Webster Grant, Moon Of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter since 1534 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984. Reprinted 1992), p. 92.

[23]R. M. Vanderburgh, I Am Nokomis Too: The Biography of Verna Patronella Johnston (Don Mills: General Publishing, 1977), p. 27. As noted earlier, many Potawatomi were Catholic, while the Ojibwa were Protestant. Of course, there were important exceptions, such as Kegedonce Jones, a Methodist, and many members of Wahbahdick's family, who were Catholic.

[24]WMMS Report for 1861-2, "Cape Croker and Colpoy's Bay Mission."

[25]"One poor woman, a Roman Catholic, when she came to die, found as she herself said, "that was not the religion to die with,"" so the Methodist missionary then worked successfully to secure her conversion to the Protestant faith. WMMS Report for 1867-68, "Cape Crocker Mission," p. xxv.

The Catholic missionaries were no more supportive of peace accords. In 1857, with the support of the Jesuits, the Catholic Nawash built a church at Cape Croker, something they had been unable to do at Newash. Although it burned down, they rebuilt it in 1859.[26] Father Ferard noted that there were eighty-three Catholics at the newly established Cape Croker, and an equal number of Protestants, "who seemed to have the upper hand in all things."[27] In the late nineteenth century, under Father Nadeau, the Jesuits claimed two hundred Catholic converts at Cape Croker and Saugeen.[28] As at Newash, Protestants and Catholics exacerbated the conflicts already occurring.

At the same time that they protested the Indian Department's injustice against them, the Nawash Ojibwa followed events on neighbouring Manitoulin Island. The Manitoulin people faced the same pressures as the Saugeen people in the 1850s. The provincial government had decided that the Indians must surrender their lands to make way for non-Natives settlers, despite Bond Head's promise that the island would be theirs forever. The Nawash noted that the same tactics that the government had used on them were being employed on Manitoulin peoples. In 1862 William McDougall, the Superintendant-General of Indian Affairs, told the Manitoulin Island bands that it was best for them to surrender, because the non-Natives would come and settle on the island anyway and, at least with a surrender, they would benefit from it.[29] Most accepted but one group, the Wikwemikong band, refused the treaty. They rejected their Native neighbours who had complied. Unlike at Newash, the colonial government eventually relented and allowed the Wikwemikong

---

[26]Julian Paquin, s. j., "Paquin Manuscript Volume I" (Unpublished, ASJUC), p. 206. They were aided by Father Ferard, a Jesuit who spent the winter at Cape Croker learning Ojibwa.

[27]Ibid, p. 206.

[28]Julian Paquin, s. j., "Paquin Manuscript Volume II" (Unpublished, ASJUC), p. 18.

[29]"Paquin I," p. 214.

band to retain their lands. Further troubles on the island antagonised non-Natives, causing a colonial uproar over Native reactions to government initiatives.[30]

Manitoulin Island remained a Nawash concern, but troubles remained at Cape Croker itself. The government-favoured Potawatomi received the best choice of land at the new site, and the first payments for improvements made to their ceded properties at Newash. When the Ojibwa protested, charging that the Potawatomi had received favourable treatment in return for bowing to government pressure, Kegedonce Jones replied that the Ojibwa enjoyed the same opportunities as the Potawatomi, and if they did not seize them, they had only their own recalcitrance to blame. Yet, the Ojibwa pointed out that, at Cape Croker, the Potawatomi had received government houses first, because they had been the first to arrive at the new reserve.[31] As at Newash, the houses were of poor construction; many Ojibwa, however, continued to grumble that they had not been provided with the housing promised to them in 1857.[32] Shelter, so important at windswept Cape Croker, was an enduring problem for the Nawash.

Adjusting to the landscape at Cape Croker required great effort, but the Nawash did not receive much support or sympathy from the Indian Department. The Pennefather Commission reported that "as a whole those Indians are squalid, thriftless and much addicted to intemperance."[33] However, as the Methodist missionary reported, the Nawash problems were not all of their own making. "The land here [at Cape Croker] is very poor,

---

[30]On the east end of Manitoulin Island Indians continued to claim exclusive fishing rights, and when non-Natives tried to interfere, violence broke out. (Edward S. Rogers, "The Algonquian Farmers of Southern Ontario, 1830-1945," in Aboriginal Ontario: Historical Perspectives on the First Nations, edited by Edward S. Rogers and Donald B. Smith (Toronto: Ontario Historical Studies, 1994), p. 150.)

[31]Peter S. Schmalz, The Ojibwa of Southern Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), p. 202.

[32]Peter S. Schmalz, The History of the Saugeen Indians, p. 52.

[33]Quoted in M. E. Gilchrist, Report for the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch (1958), p. 4.

and exceedingly hard to labour."[34] The small reserve, with its rocky land, could not support agricultural endeavours. The Indians had to find other means of survival, often leaving the reserve for parts of the year, as they "found it a difficult matter to subsist."[35] The isolation compounded the subsistence problems. In 1866, another outbreak of disease swept the new community, making the year "one of severe trial and family affliction, in an isolated place where no medical assistance could be obtained."[36] Ten years after the surrender of Newash, life remained difficult at Cape Croker.

Non-Native allies grew frustrated, however, by the Indians' problems, and began to criticise the Nawash. Indians elsewhere had surrendered their lands and did not seem to suffer as the Nawash did. Therefore, the Indians' "wandering" was to blame for their poverty, not the unsuitability of the reserve to support such a large population.[37]

The new Methodist missionary at Cape Croker, John Doel, was right about the Nawash poverty; in 1869, the band depended almost entirely upon on their annuities to survive.[38] If the Indian Department had hoped that the treaty would encourage the Nawash band to become economically self-sufficient, they could not have chosen a more difficult setting for this development to occur. The band could not survive by farming or hunting at Cape Croker, and it was too isolated to support any kind of commercial enterprise at this time.

The Indian Department disagreed with the missionaries' assessment. Two years after the 1857 treaty, Bartlett confidently reported to his superior that the Indians of Cape

---

[34]WMMS Report for 1859-60, "Cape Crocker and Colpoy's Bay Mission," p. xvii.

[35]WMMS Report for 1860-61, "Cape Crocker and Colpoy's Bay Mission," p. xxi. This continued well into the 1860s.

[36]WMMS Report for 1866-67, "Cape Crocker Mission," p. xxviii.

[37]WMMS Report for 1867-68, "Cape Crocker Mission," p. xxv. Doel also argued that these "wandering habits" brought the Indians into contact with all the vices of non-Native society, and thus weakened them spiritually.

[38]Schmalz, History of the Saugeen Indians, p. 120.

Croker had reformed their Newash ways. Formally, they were irresolute alcoholics, but now at the new reserve, no one drank a drop. The Indian agent concluded that these results demonstrate "most conclusively the advantage to the Indians of being removed from the vicinity of the Towns."[39]

Many band members began to reconsider their options. Wahbahdick planned to leave Cape Croker, and twenty other families intended to return to Michigan.[40] Troubles at Cape Croker expanded in 1861, when the Colpoy's Bay Indians ceded their 6 000 acre reserve, a surrender for which the Indian Department had pressured the Colpoy's Bay band since 1859.[41] Many of them moved to Christian Island and Rama, but a few joined relatives at Cape Croker.[42] A fire and insect plague devastated Cape Croker in 1864, leaving many Indians with "nothing left."[43] In 1867 William Sutton was still trying to get farming supplies to Cape Croker.[44] Even as the community suffered through these hardships, tribal divisions, hardened by experience, divided the community. In 1892, John Akiwenzie, a Potawatomi, moved that the government decide ownership of annuity interest money, "on account of divisions taking place in the band."[45] Different issues, but the same divisions, continued to tear at the community for generations after the surrenders of the 1850s, and their removal to Cape Croker.

---

[39]Bartlett to Pennefather, 27 October 1859, p. 325. NAC, RG 10, Vol. 544, C-13358.

[40]Nahneebahweequa to a New York friend, 3 March 1861, Friends' Review, p. 538. Wahbahdick never followed through on his threat, although he did frequently travel to non-Native communities in the area.

[41]Bartlett to Pennefather, 28 October 1859, pp. 329-330. NAC, RG 10, Vol. 544, C-13358.

[42]As at Newash, the Colpoy's Bay settlement was quickly transformed into the non-Native village of Oxenden.

[43]Draft of a letter from Nahneebahweequa to English friends, n. d., "Sutton Journal II," pp. 16-17.

[44]John Ray to William Sutton, 11 February 1867, "Sutton Journal II," p. 32.

[45]Council Meeting, 11 April 1892. PAO, RG 52, F1418, MS 108, Reel 1.

Leadership at Cape Croker soon became the sole province of Kegedonce Jones. The Potawatomi party, with Indian Department support, had won. Kegedonce Jones headed the council, with no one to protest. Charles Keeshig had died shortly after the move to Cape Croker.[46] Wahbahdick had never been reinstated as chief, and after the signing of the 1857 treaty, he seemed to lose some of his support among the Ojibwa. He spent many years wandering between regional trading centres. Indeed, while conducting his research for the county Gazatteer, William Wye Smith spoke to Wahbahdick. Asking the old chief where he had been, Wahbahdick replied, "Fergus." Smith then asked him "Drink?" Wahbahdick smiled and answered, "Yes-all time-*ten year*."[47] Within three years of this interview, Wahbahdick was dead.[48]

What happened to the Sawyer-Van Dusen party? Conrad Van Dusen, the Methodist missionary who had encouraged and supported so much of the Ojibwa resistance to colonial government demands, had been superannuated by the Methodist Church in 1859, and left the region.[49] By this time, he had lost whatever band support he had enjoyed. Remarking that "it is the Policy of Mr vandusen to take the Indian (David Sawyer) with him for the purpose of working on the simpathies of the people for his own benefit," Nahneebahweequa warned her friends of the band's former missionary.[50] David Sawyer

---

[46]William Wye Smith reported Keeshig's unhappiness with the Nawash rate of improvement. Smith felt that "the poor fellow, who died a year or two afterwards [the 1857 treaty], just pined away with disappointed hopes (Rev. William Wye Smith, "Canadian Reminiscences," marked on title page, "Toronto William Briggs 29-33 Richmond St W 1900." Manuscript in PAO MU 2124, Misc. Collection 1900 #6, Folder 1 and 2.

[47]Smith, Gazatteer and directory of the county of Grey, p. 326. Emphasis Smith's.

[48]On the 1868 survey, his wife was listed as "John Thomas Wahbahdick's widow." NAC, RG 10, Vol. 416.

[49]G. S. French, "Conrad Van Dusen," Dictionary of Canadian Biography Volume X, p. 692. He continued to preach occasionally in the 1860s, mostly in the Toronto area, but concentrated increasingly on his writing.

[50]Draft of a letter from Nahneebahweequa to a friend in Rochester, New York, "Sutton Journal I," p. 66.

left Newash as soon as it became clear he would neither be allowed to retain his properties nor receive satisfactory compensation. He returned to New Credit.[51]

Peter Sacho died in 1864, and although James Nawash lived to a very old age, he was by now blind and infirm.[52] Alexander Madwayosh, a chief at Saugeen and an ardent support of the Nawash Ojibwa, died shortly after the Newash surrender.[53]

Nahneebahweequa, the woman behind the English mission, could not move to Cape Croker. She told her Quaker friends that unhappy Nawash Indians could join other bands, "but I am not allowed this small privilege."[54] Although invited by the people at the Cape to join the new community, the Indian Department, on account of her marriage to a non-Indian, William Sutton, refused to recognise her as an Indian.[55] Through her marriage, as a female, she must follow and adopt her husband's identity. She continued to protest on behalf of the Ojibwa, however, because "her large heart would not allow her to remain quietly in the enjoyment of privileges [in] which her people could not partake."[56] She remained on the Sutton family farm, near Presqu'ile, ten miles north of Owen Sound. She died in 1865.

---

[51]Despite the fact he worked with the Nawash for nearly fifteen years, filling nearly all important positions in the band, his obituary never specifically mentioned his presence at Newash. Please see his obituary by T. S., Howard in the Christian Guardian, 19 March 1890, p. 187.

[52]Smith, Gazatteer and directory of the county of Grey, p. 326.

[53]WMMS Report for 1858-59, Saugeen Mission, p. xv. Interestingly, the 1868 government survey tended to describe former Wahbahdick supporters as being of "bad character," and "fond of drink."

[54]Quoted in "Lo! The Poor Indian," Friends' Review, 27 April 1861, p. 539. She never lived at Cape Croker, because she lost her Indian status upon her marriage to William Sutton, an Englishman. The Suttons were eventually allowed to purchase two of the lots upon which she bid at the 1857 auction due to the intercession of John Bright on her behalf. She did not live to see the patent for these purchases (granted in 1873), dying in 1865. She spent her remaining days travelling between Sarawak township and Cape Croker. Please see the Sutton Journals for drafts of council minutes.

[55]Bartlett to Anderson, 8 July 1859, p. 247-8. NAC, RG 10, Vol. 544, C-13357.

[56]M., Friends' Review, 30 April 1860, p. 588.

Conclusion

This case study reveals the complexity of the Nawash peoples' dilemma between 1836 and 1865. The divided community faced a non-Native society which, in 1850s Upper Canada, outnumbered the Indian population by 100 to one. As European immigration to Ontario increased, Amerindian power declined. For centuries, the Native peoples of northeastern North America had fought and traded with European representatives; yet, despite this contact, they had maintained their independence and internal integrity. Nineteenth century immigrants found this relationship undesirable. When the balance of power shifted totally in their favour, assimilation rather than alliance became the order of the day.

With the transfer of political power and its attending responsibilities from the imperial government to the colonial administration in the late 1840s and 1850s, Indian concerns received less attention. The local government, confident in the colony's expansion and capitalist development, felt greater responsibility to the non-Native population. Believing that its foremost goal must be the economic development of the province for the benefit of non-Natives, the provincial administration neglected its responsibilities to the colony's Aboriginal inhabitants.

The Ojibwa and Potawatomi of the Saugeen Territory were among the last Natives in southern Ontario to be affected by this changing power relationship. By the time non-Native immigrants wanted to farm the Saugeen land, the resident Ojibwa communities, especially at Newash, had already experienced the arrival of hundreds of Potawatomi refugees, who quickly outnumbered them. Great numbers of Native immigrants, invited by the colonial administration, and sometimes by the Nawash, taxed the patience and resources of the Ojibwa. When compounded by the increasing pressure of the colonists' settlement expansion, conflict between hosts and immigrants erupted.

The Ojibwa and Potawatomi, historic allies, found almost no common ground at Newash in the 1840s and 1850s. They disputed over religion, education, agriculture, immigration and politics. With different languages, historical experiences, priorities and expectations, the two peoples seemed bound for conflict. Ultimately, they battled for power. As the traditional occupants of the land, the Ojibwa felt neither a need nor a desire to share this resource with the Potawatomi. Indeed, they had not invited these American Indians to settle on their lands.

The Potawatomi found this situation unacceptable. They had been invited to come and settle in freedom. They came to live with the Ojibwa and the British, both traditional allies. They did not anticipate the chilly reception they received; the Ojibwa did not welcome them, and the British treated them as minors. The Potawatomi had suffered through the hardships of the American Indian Wars, and because of this, as newcomers, seemed prepared to be more conciliatory to the British.

As the hereditary occupants of the land, the Ojibwa felt no urgent need to negotiate with the provincial or imperial governments. In the 1850s, the Indian Department began demanding more surrenders from the Saugeen bands. The Ojibwa considered the initial treaty of 1836 unjust, and initially rejected subsequent agreements. The Indian Department grew frustrated by their obstinance, and turned to the Potawatomi. More co-operative, perhaps because of their vulnerable status in a British colony, the Potawatomi from the United States reluctantly listened to the government's plans. After threats and manipulation, the Potawatomi accepted the surrenders of 1854 and 1857. Although not necessarily happier with the treaties than the Ojibwa, they did at least receive some compensation for the lands in which they had recently sought refuge. In return for their support of Indian Department actions, the colonial government apparently then promoted the Potawatomi faction at Newash.

The Nawash Ojibwa could accept neither the treaties nor the provincial government's support of the Potawatomi. The Nawash and Saugeen lands had been reduced from over two million acres in 1835 to less than 30 000 in 1865. They vigorously opposed both, although they had to do so through outside agencies.

In the early 1860s they saw the Manitoulin peoples subjected to the same outside forces. Nahneebahweequa, now banished by the Indian Department from the Nawash band, wrote in 1862 of those same Manitoulin troubles, of the "pale faces" who "act as though their ideas of justice are that 'might makes right.'" She thundered against "the wholesale robbery and treachery," and "the shameful injustice."[1]

Shut out of band power, and rejected by the Indian Department, the Nawash Ojibwa had turned to the Methodist church. Their Methodist ties strengthened them, providing powerful non-Native and Native Methodist allies, but it also weakened them. The Methodist Ojibwa frequently quarrelled with the traditionalist Ojibwa over religion, government and education.

By the time the Newash village site was surrendered in 1857, the Methodists showed a declining interest in defending the Indians' retention of large tracts of open land. Nahneebahweequa's voyage to England in 1860 to speak to the British monarch provided little more than words of comfort and actions of betrayal. The Ojibwa had to move to the new reserve site, Cape Croker, where the Potawatomi controlled the politics, the land, and the development of the community. Although small in size, the Ojibwa managed to find another site at Cape Croker upon which to settle, and thereby isolate themselves from the Potawatomi band members. This isolation could not last, and conflict, confrontation and dispute continued to plague the reserve for years to follow.[2] The discord between the

---

[1]Nahneebahweequa to editor, Christian Guardian, 2 April 1862.

[2]This hostility was shared by most band members and supported by both Catholic and Protestant missionaries, and government agents. However, even in a community as

Catholic and traditionalist Potawatomi and the Ojibwa, by now largely Methodist, was exacerbated by outside influences such as the Indian Department and the Methodist and Roman Catholic churches.

To summarize, much more work must be done on the crucial decade of the 1850s when the provincial government gradually took over absolute control (accomplished in 1860) of Indian affairs in the Canadas. More case studies of Indian communities in southern Ontario in the mid-nineteenth century are also needed.[3] These monographs will reveal other responses to the arrival of the Potawatomis, the repercussions of the Christian missionaries' work, and the impact of non-Native settlers' policies on Native peoples in Upper Canada (Canada West).

---

rife with conflict as this, individuals could and did become friends, marry and live as neighbours, even as political turmoil raged around them.

[3]There are general studies of Walpole Island (Nin-da-waab-jig, Walpole Island: The Soul of Indian Territory (Walpole Island: Nin-da-waab-jib, 1987)) and Parry Island (Franz Koennecke, The Wasoksiwunini: A History of the Anishinawbeg of Parry Island from 1850-1920" (MA thesis, University of Waterloo, 1984)), but not in-depth monographs on the mid-nineteenth century.

Bibliography

PRIMARY SOURCES

MANUSCRIPT MATERIAL

Archives of the Society of Jesus, Upper Canada, Toronto

Cape Croker/Saugeen-Tobermory Files.

County of Grey-Owen Sound Museum, Owen Sound

Sutton Journals.

Metropolitan Toronto Public Library (Baldwin Room), Toronto

Martin Macleod, Letter Books, vol. 1.

National Archives of Canada, Ottawa

Indian Affairs, RG 10, Correspondence, 1844-1861, vols. 144, 148-9, 151, 153, 158, 217, 220.

Correspondence, 1845-1879, vols. 408-410, 416.

Chief Superintendent's Office Letterbook, 1835-1837, vol. 501.

Letterbooks, 1844-1861, vols. 513-515, 517.

Letterbooks, 1845-1883, vol. 538, 541, 544, 553.

RG 31, 1851 census, Derby Township (Indian Territory).

Royal Commissions, RG 68, Vol. Liber AG Special Grants, 1841-1854.

Report on the Affairs of the Indians of Canada (Bagot Commission), Canadian Legislative Assembly Journals, Session 1844-45, vol. 4, Appendix EEE.

Ontario Archives, Toronto

Crown Lands, RG 1, Series A-I-7, Indian Lands, 1793-1867, vol. 7, MS 892/4, env. 12.

Indian Lands, 1784-1924, vol. 8, MS 892/4, env. 3.

Owen Sound and Garafraxa, 1837-1854, vol. 15, MS 892/9, env. 1.

Royal Commissions, RG 18-9, Special Commission to Investigate Indian Affairs (1858), box 1.

Colonization Roads, RG 52, Cape Croker Indian Reserve Papers, 1856-1958, MS 108.

Toronto William Briggs 29-33 Richmond St. W. 1900. MU 2124, Misc. Coll. 1900 #6, Folder 1 and 2.

University of Western Ontario, London

Wawanosh Family Correspondence.

PUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

Cadieux, Lorenzo, s. j., ed. Lettres des Nouvelles Missions du Canada. Montréal: Les Editions Bellarmin, 1973.

Canada. Indian Treaties and Surrenders. Volume I: Treaties 1-138. Otawa: Brown Chamberlin, 1891. Reprint, Saskatoon: Fifth House, 1992.

Doughty, Sir Arthur G., ed. The Elgin-Grey Papers, 1846-1852. Volume I. Ottawa: J. O. Patenaude, 1937.

Getty, Ian A. L. and Antoine S. Lussier, eds. "Royal Proclamation of 1763," in As Long As The Sun Shine And Water Flows: A Reader in Canadian Native Studies. Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1983.

BOOKS

Britain. Indian Department Canada: return to an address, House of Commons, dated 26 April 1856. Canadian Historical Index Material, microfiche 63353.

Copway, George. The Life, Letters and Speeches of Kah-Ge-Ga-Gah-Bowh or, George Copway, chief Ojibway Nation, A Missionary for many years in the North-West; now the projector of the concentration of the North-Western Indian Tribes, for the Better Promotion of their Physical Improvement. New York: S. W. Benedict, 1850.

Copway, George. Traditional History and Characteristic Sketches of the Ojibway Nation. London: Charles Gilpin, 1850. Reprinted in Toronto: Coles Canadiana, 1972.

Enemikeese (Conrad Van Dusen). The Indian Chief: An Account of the Labours, Losses, Sufferings, and Oppression of Ke-Zig-Ko-E-Ne-Ne (David Sawyer), A Chief of the Ojibbeway Indians in Canada West. London: 1867. Reprinted in Toronto: Coles Canadiana, 1974.

Jones, Peter. History of the Ojebway Indians; with especial reference to their conversion to Christianity. London: Houlston and Wright, 1861.

Kane, Paul. Wanderings of An Artist Among the Indians of North America. London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans and Roberts, 1859. Reprinted in Mineola, New York: Dover, 1996.

McDougall, John. Forest, Lake, and Prairie: Twenty Years of Frontier Life in Western Canada-1842-62. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1895. Reprinted, no date.

Smith, William Wye. Gazatteer (sic) and directory of the county of Grey for 1865-6. Toronto: Globe Steamer, 1866. Canadian Index of Historical Material, microfiche 48603.

Warren, William W. History of the Ojibeway Nation. 1885. Reprinted, Minneapolis: Ross & Haines, 1957.

PERIODICALS

Selected issues of the:

Barrie Northern Examiner (Barrie), 1855.

Brantford Courier (Brantford), 1860.

Christian Guardian (Toronto), 1865, 1890.

Friends Review (Philadelpia), 1860-1861.

The Globe (Toronto), 1855, 1857-1858, 1860.

Liverpool Courier (Liverpool), 1860.

Owen Sound Progress (Owen Sound), 1857.

Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society Report (Toronto), 1836-1868.

SECONDARY SOURCES

UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPTS

Bourgeois, D. J. "The Saugeen Indian Land Claim Re Treaty # 45 1/2, 1836." Prepared for the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, 1985.

Gilchrist, M. E. Report for the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, 1958.

Milloy, J. S. "A Historical Overview of Indian-Government Relations, 1755-1940." Prepared for the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1992.

Morrison, James. "The Robinson Treaties of 1850: A Case Study." Prepared for the Royal Commission on Abroiginal Peoples, 1994.

Paquin, Julian, s.j. "Paquin Manuscripts." Archives of the Society of Jesus, Upper Canada.

UNPUBLISHED THESES AND DISSERTATIONS

Dussault, Sylvie. "L'Homme À Chapeau, Le Grand-Espirit et l'Anichenabé: Ojibwés et Jésuites dans le Canada-Ouest, 1843-1852." MA thesis, Université Laval, 1996.

Hall, Tony. "The Red Man's Burden: Land, Law and Lord in the Indian Affairs of Upper Canada, 1784-1858." PhD thesis, University of Toronto, 1984.

Koennecke, Franz. "The Wasoksiwunini: A History of the Anishinawbeg of Parry Island from 1850-1920." MA thesis, University of Waterloo, 1984.

Leslie, John F. "Commissions of Inquiry into Indian affairs in the Canadas, 1828-1858: Evolving a corporate memory for the Indian Department." MA thesis, Carleton University, 1984.

Milloy, John S. "The Era of Civilization: British Policy for the Indians of Canada, 1830-1860." D. Phil. dissertation, Oxford University, 1978.

Pariseau, Claude. "Les Troubles De 1860-1880 À Oka: Choc De Deux Cultures." MA thesis, McGill University, 1974.

Surtees, Robert J. "Indian Land Cessions in Ontario, 1763-1862: The Evolution of a System." PhD dissertation, Carleton University, 1983.

Waukey, Sylvia. "The Genesis of Factionalism Among the Indians of the Saugeen Territory, 1843-1857." MA thesis, Carleton University, 1986.

BOOKS

Allen, Robert S. His Majesty's Indian Allies: British Indian Policy in the Defence of Canada, 1774-1815. Toronto: Dundurn, 1992.

Careless, J. M. S. The Union of the Canadas, 1841-1867: The Growth of Canadian Institutions. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967.

Cleland, Charles E. Rites of Conquest: The History and Culture of Michiagn's Native Americans. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992.

Clifton, James A. A Place of Refuge For All Time: Migration of the American Potawatomi into Upper Canada 1830 to 1850. Ottawa: Canadian Ethnology Service, 1975.

Craig, G. M. Upper Canada: The Formative Years. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1963.

Devens, Carol. Countering Colonization: Native American Women and Great Lakes Missions, 1630-1900. Los Angeles and Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.

Dickason, Olive P. Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1992. Reprint, 1993.

Dickason, Olive P. The Native Imprint: The Contribution of First Peoples to Canada's Character Vol. 1: To 1815. Athabasca, Alberta: Athabasca University Press, 1995.

Francis, Daniel. The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture. Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp, 1992.

Gates, Lillian F. Land Policies of Upper Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968.

Graham, Elizabeth. Medicine Man to Missionary: Missionaries as Agents of Social Change among the Indians of Southern Ontario, 1784-1867. Toronto: Peter Martin, 1975.

Grant, John Webster. Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter since 1534. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984. Reprinted 1992.

Hodgetts, J. E. Pioneer Public Service: An Administrative History of the United Canadas, 1841-1867. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1955.

Johnston, Darlene. The Taking of Indian Lands in Canada: Consent or Coercion? Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan Native Law Centre, 1989.

Leslie, John F. and Ron Macguire, eds. The Historical Development of the Indian Act. Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs, 1978. Reprinted, 1979.

Miller, J. R. Skyscrapers Hide The Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989. Second edition 1991.

Nin-da-waab-jig. Walpole Island: The Soul of Indian Territory. Walpole Island: Nin-da-waab-jig, 1987.

Price, A. Grenfell. White Settlers and Native Peoples: A Historical Study of Racial Contacts between English-speaking Whites and Aboriginal Peoples in the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1950.

Ray, Arthur J. I Have Lived Here Since the World Began: An Illustrated History of Canada's Native Peoples. Toronto: Lester, 1996.

Rogers, Edward S. and Donald B. Smith, eds. Aboriginal Ontario: Historical Perspectives on the First Nations. Toronto: Dundurn, 1994.

Schmalz, Peter. The History of the Saugeen Indians. Ottawa: Ontario Historical Society, 1977.

Schmalz, Peter. The Ojibwa of Southern Ontario. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.

Semple, Neil. The Lord's Dominion: The History of Canadian Methodism. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's Press, 1996.

Smith, Donald B. Sacred Feathers: The Reverend Peter Jones (Kahkewaquonaby) and the Mississauga Indians. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987.

Smith, Theresa S. The Island of the Anishnaabeg: Thunderers and Water Monsters in the Traditional Ojibwe Life-World. Moscow, Idaho: University of Idaho Press, 1990.

Smith, W. L. The Pioneers of Old Ontario. Toronto: George N. Morang, 1923.

Stephenson, Annie M. One Hundred Years of Canadian Methodist Missions, 1824-1924. Toronto: The Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, 1925.

Taylor, John Leonard. Canadian Indian Policy During the Inter-War Years, 1918-1939. Ottawa: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, 1983.

White, Richard. The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Vanderburgh, R. M. I Am Nokomis Too: The Biography of Verna Patronella Johnston. Don Mills: General Publishing, 1977.

ARTICLES

Akenson, Donald H. "Ontario: Whatever Happened to the Irish?" in Immigration in Canada: Historical Perspectives, ed. by Gerald Tulchinsky, pp. 86-134. Toronto: Copp Clark Longman, 1994.

Allen, Robert S. "The British Indian Department and the Frontier in North America, 1755-1830," in Canadian Historic Sites: Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History, (1975): 5-126.

Barron, F. L. "Alcoholism, Indians, and the Anti-Drink Cause in the Protestant Indian Missions of Upper Canada, 1822-1850, in As Long As The Sun Shines And Water Flows: A Reader in Canadian Native Studies, ed. by Ian A. L. Getty and Antoine S. Lussier, pp. 191-202. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1983.

Berkhofer, Robert F. The Political Context of a New Indian History," in Pacific Historical Review XL, (1971): 357-382.

Brandao, J. A. and William A. Starna. "The Treaty of 1701: A Triumph of Iroquois Diplomacy," in Ethnohistory XLIII, (Spring 1996): 209-244.

Clifton, James. "Potawatomi," in Handbook of North American Indians, Volume XV, Northeast, ed. by Bruce Trigger, pp. 725-742. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1978.

Cornell, P. G. "The Alignment of Political Groups in the United Provinces of Canada, 1854-1864," in Upper Canadian Politics in the 1850s, ed. by Ramsay Cook, Craig Brown and Carl Berger, pp. 64-88. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967.

Eccles, W. J. "Sovereignty Association, 1500-1783," in Essays on New France, pp. 156-181. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1987.

Eid, Leroy V. "The Ojibwa-Iroquois War: The War the Five Nations Did Not Win," in Ethnohistory XXVI, (Fall 1979): 297-324.

French, G. S. "Conrad Van Dusen," in Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Volume X, pp. 692-693. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976.

Hall, Anthony J. "John Aisance," in Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Volume VII, pp. 11-12. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988.

Hall, Anthony J. "Native Limited Identities and Newcomer Metropolitanism in Upper Canada, 1814-1867," in Old Ontario: Essays in Honour of J. M. S. Careless, ed. by David Keane and Colin Read, pp. 148-173. Toronto: Dundurn, 1990.

Leighton, Douglas. "Francis Assikinack," in Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Volume IX, pp. 10-11. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976.

Leighton, Douglas. "Richard Theodore Pennefather," in Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Volume X, pp. 627-628. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976.

Leighton, Douglas. "The Manitoulin Incident of 1863: An Indian-White Confrontation in the Province of Canada," in Ontario History LXIX, (1977): 113-124.

Leslie, John. "The Bagot Commission: Developing A Corporate Memory for the Indian Department," in Canadian Historical Association Historical Papers (1982): 31-52.

Millman, T. R. "Thomas Gummersall Anderson," in Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Volume X, pp. 11-13. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976.

Milloy, John S. "The Early Indian Acts: Developmental Strategy and Constitutional Change," in Sweet Promises: A Reader on Indian-White Relations in Canada, ed. by J. R. Miller, pp. 145-154. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.

Morrison, James. "Upper Great Lakes Settlement: The Anishinabe-Jesuit Record," in Ontario History LXXXVI, (March 1994): 53-71.

No Author. "Laurence Oliphant," in The New Encyclopedia Britannica Volume VII, p. 520. Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 1974.

Osborne, Brian S. and Michael Ripmeester. "Kingston, Bedford, Grape Island, Alnwick: The Odyssey of the Kingston Mississauga," in Historic Kingston XLIII, (January 1995): 84-111.

P., A. F. "William Coutts Keppel," in Dictionary of National Biography Volume XXII (Supplement), ed.by Sidney Lee, pp. 931-932. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1909.

Rogers, E. S. "Southeastern Ojibwa," in Handbook of North American Indians, Volume XV, Northeast, ed. by Bruce Trigger, pp. 760-771. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1978.

Rogers, Edward S. "The Algonquian Farmers of Southern Ontario, 1830-1945," in Aboriginal Ontario: Historical Perspective on the First Nations, ed. by Edward S. Rogers and Donald B. Smith, pp. 122-166. Toronto: Dundurn, 1994.

Russell, Peter A. "Forest Into Farmland: Upper Canadian Clearing Rates, 1822-1839," in Change and Continuity: A Reader on Pre-Confederation, ed. by Carol Wilton, pp. 249-254. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1992.

Smith, Donald B. "Nahnebahwequay," in Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Volume IX, p. 590-591. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976.

Smith, Donald B. "The Dispossession of the Mississauga Indians: a Missing Chapter in the Early History of Upper Canada," in Ontario History LXXII, (June 1981): 67-87.

Surtees, Robert J. "Indian Land Cessions in Upper Canada, 1815-1830," in As Long As The Sun Shines And Water Flows: A Reader in Canadian Native Studies, ed. by Ian A. L. Getty and Antoine S. Lussier, pp. 65-84. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1983.

Tobias, John L. "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation: An Outline History of Canada's Indian Policy," in As Long As The Sun Shines And Water Flows: A Reader in Canadian Native Studies, ed. by Ian A. L. Getty and Antoine S. Lussier, pp. 39-55. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1983.

Trigger, Bruce. "Indians and Ontario's History," in Ontario History LXXIV, (December 1982): 246-257.

Upton, L. F. S. "The Origins of Canadian Indian Policy," in Journal of Canadian Studies VIII, (1973): 51-61.

Appendix A*

Excerpts from the Royal Proclamation of 1763

And whereas it is just and reasonable, and essential to our Interest, and the security of our Colonies, that the several Nations or Tribes of Indians with whom We are connected, and who live under our protection, should not be molested or disturbed in the Possession of such Parts of Our Dominions and Territories as, not having been ceded to or purchased by Us, are reserved to them or any of them, as their Hunting Grounds—We do therefore, with the Advice of our Privy Council, declare it to be our Royal Will and Pleasure, that no Governor or Commander in Chief in any of our Colonies of Quebec, East Florida, or West Florida, do presume, upon any Pretence whatever, to grant Warrants of Survey, or pass any Patents for Lands beyond the Bounds of their respective Governments, as described in their Commissions; as also that no Governor or Commander in Chief in any of our other Colonies or Plantations in America do presume for the present, and until our further Pleasure be Known, to grant Warrants of Survey, or pass Patents for any Lands beyond the Heads or Sources of any of the Rivers which fall into the Atlantic Ocean from the West and North West, or upon any Lands whatever, which, not having been ceded to or purchased by Us as aforesaid, are reserved to the said Indians, or any of them.

And We do further declare it to be Our Royal Will and Pleasure, for the present as aforesaid, to reserve under our Sovereignty, Protection, and Dominion, for the use of the said Indians, all the Lands and Territories not included within the Limits of Our Said Three New Governments, or within the Limits of the Territory granted to the Hudson's Bay Company, as also all the Lands and Territories lying to the Westward of the Sources of the Rivers which fall into the Sea from the West and North West as aforesaid;

And We do hereby strictly forbid, on Pain of our Displeasure, all our loving Subjects from making any Purchases or Settlements whatever, or taking Possession of any of the Lands above reserved, without our especial leave and Licence for the Purpose first obtained.

And, We do further strictly enjoin and require all Persons whatever who have either wilfully or inadvertently seated themselves upon any Lands within the Countries above described, or upon any other Lands which, not having been ceded to or purchased by Us, are still reserved to the said Indians as aforesaid, forthwith to remove themselves from such Settlements.

And Whereas Great Frauds and Abuses have been committed in purchasing Lands of the Indians, to the Great Prejudice of our Interests, and to the Great Dissatisfaction of the said Indians; In order, therefore, to prevent such Irregularities for the future, and to the End that the Indians may be convinced of our Justice and determined Resolution to remove all reasonable Cause of Discontent, We do, with the Advice of our Privy Council strictly enjoin and require, that no private Person do presume to make any Purchase from the said Indians of any Lands reserved to the said

---

* From The Native Imprint: The Contribution of First Peoples to Canada's Character, Volume I: To 1815, ed. by Olive P. Dickason. Athabasca, Alberta: Athabasca University, 1995, pp. 467-468.

Indians, within those parts of our Colonies where, We have thought proper to allow Settlement; but that, if at any Time any of the said Indians should be inclined to dispose of the said Lands, the same shall be Purchased only for Us, in our Name, at some public Meeting or Assembly of the said Indians, to be held for the Purpose by the Governor or Commander in Chief of our Colony respectively within which they shall lie; and in case they shall lie within the limits of any Proprietary Government, they shall be purchased only for the Use and in the name of such Proprietaries, conformable to such Directions and Instructions as We or they shall think proper to give for the Purpose; And We do, by the Advice of our Privy Council, declare and enjoin, that the Trade with the said Indians shall be free and open to all our Subjects whatever, provided that every Person who may incline to Trade with the said Indians do take out a Licence for carrying on such Trade from the Governor or Commander in Chief of any of our Colonies respectively where such Person shall reside, and also give Security to observe such Regulations as We shall at any Time think fit, by ourselves or by our Commissaries to be appointed for this Purpose, to direct and appoint for the Benefit of the said Trade:

And We do hereby authorize, enjoin, and require the Governors and Commanders in Chief of all our Colonies respectively, as well those under Our immediate Government as those under the Government and Direction of Proprietaries, to grant such Licences without Fee or Regard, taking especial care to insert therein a Condition, that such Licence shall be void, and the Security forfeited in case the Person to whom the same is granted shall refuse or neglect to observe such Regulations as We shall think proper to prescribe as aforesaid.

And We do further expressly enjoin and require all Officers whatever, as well Military as those Employed in the Management and Direction of Indian Affairs, within the Territories reserved as aforesaid for the Use of the said Indians, to seize and apprehend all Persons whatever, who standing charged with Treason, Misprisions of Treason, Murders, or other Felonies or Misdemeanors, shall fly from Justice and take Refuge in the said Territory, and to send them under a proper Guard to the Colony where the Crime was committed of which they stand accused, in order to take their Trial for the same.

Given at our Court at
St. James's the 7th Day
of October 1763, in the
Third Year of our Reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING

Appendix B*

No. 45½.

To the Saukings:

MY CHILDREN,

You have heard the proposal I have just made to the Chippewas and Ottawas, by which it has been agreed between them and your Great Father that these islands (Manatoulin), on which we are now assembled, should be made, in Council, the property (under your Great Father's control) of all Indians whom he shall allow to reside on them.

I now propose to you that you should surrender to your Great Father the Sauking Territory you at present occupy, and that you should repair either to this island or to that part of your territory which lies on the north of Owen Sound, upon which proper houses shall be built for you, and proper assistance given to enable you to become civilized and to cultivate land, which your Great Father engages for ever to protect for you from the encroachments of the whites.

Are you therefore, the Sauking Indians, willing to accede to this arrangement; if so, affix your marks to this my proposal.

MANITOWANING, 9th August. 1836.

Witness:

T. G. ANDERSON, *S.I.A.*,
JOSEPH STINSON, *Genl. Supt. of Wesleyan Missions*,
ADAM ELLIOT,
JAMES EVANS,
F. L. INGALL, *Lieut. 15th Regt. Commandg. Detacht.*,
TALFOURD W. FIELD, *Dist. Agent.*

F. B. HEAD,
METIEWABE (totem),
ALEXANDER (totem) KAQUTA BUNEVAIREAR,
KOWGISAWIS (totem),
METTAWANSH (totem),

*Canada, Indian Treaties and Surrenders, Volume I: Treaties 1-138 (Ottawa: Brown Chamberlin, 1891. Reprint, Saskatoon: Fifth House, 1992), p. 113.

Appendix C*

Imperial Proclamation of 1847

Victoria by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Queen Defender of the Faith. . .To all to whom these Presents shall come...Greeting.

Declaration by Her Majesty in favor of the Ojibway Indians respecting certain Lands on Lake Huron

Whereas the Ojibway Indians commonly known as the Saugeen Indians with our permission and with the permission of our Royal Predecessors have for a long time enjoyed and possessed and still do enjoy and possess all that tract of land lying on the shore of Lake Huron and which is butted and bounded or otherwise known as follows; Commencing at the mouth of the River Saugeen, thence following North bank thereof about five miles to the boundary lines surveyed by Deputy Provincial Surveyor Charles Rankin in the year one thousand eight hundred and forty six, thence along the said line North seventy six degrees fifteen minutes East one thousand four hundred and Eighty three chains sixty one links to the North West angle of the Town plot of Sydenham, thence along the North West outline of the said town Plot thirty nine degrees East fifty nine chains forty five links to the South bank of the Pottowattami River, thence across the River and along the North bank thereof with the stream to Owen's Sound, Bounded on the East, North and West by Lake Huron, including any Islands in Lake Huron within seven miles of that part of the mainland comprized within the hereinbefore described Tract of Land.
And Whereas it is our Royal Will and pleasure that the said Ojibway Indians and their posterity should continue to Enjoy the said above described Tact of land in such manner as may be most to the advantage of the said Ojibway Indians and posterity...
And Whereas the said Ojibway Indians have caused it to be represented to us that it would be greatly to their advantage if We would cause our Royal Will in the premises to be so declared that it may at all times hereafter be fully and certainly Known by our Heirs and Successors and all others whom the same may concern: And We being willing and desirous to accede to the wishes of the said Ojibway Indians of our especial grace, certain Knowledge and mere motion do hereby declare and make known that it is our Royal Will and pleasure that the said Ojibway Indians and their Posterity for ever shall possess and enjoy and at all times hereafter continue to possess and enjoy the said above described Tract of land or the proceeds of the sale thereof (if sold as hereinafter provided for) and the rents, issues and profits of the said Tract of land or the proceeds of the sale thereof (if sold as aforesaid) without any hindrance whatever on our part or on the part of our Heirs and Successors or of Our or their servants or officers. Provided always and We do hereby declare our Royal Will and mind to be, and these Presents are made upon the express condition that it shall at all times hereafter be in the power of the said Ojibway Indians to surrender and yield up all their rights in or out of the Tract of land or lands or any part

* Imperial Proclamation of 1847, June 29, 1847, National Archives of Canada, RG 68, vol. Liber AG Special Grants, 1841-1854, Micrfilm Reel C-4158.

thereof to Us or to Our Heirs or Successors, to receive the same in order and to the intent and purpose that the said Tract of land or any part thereof concerning which any such Surrender may be made, may be sold by us or Our Heirs and Successors or by any person or persons appointed for that purpose by Us or by Our Heirs and Successors and the proceeds thereof applied to and for the use and benefit of the said Ojibway Indians and their posterity; Provided Always and We do further declare Our Royal Will and mind to be that no such Surrender shall be approved of or acted upon unless resolved on or approved at a meeting of the Sachems Chiefs or principal men of the said Ojibway Indians held in the presence of some officer appointed to superintend or to assist in superintending Indian Affairs; And it is our Royal Will and pleasure that such Surrender when so resolved on may be made from time to time and that the parcels of land to which such Surrender may refer shall and may with all convenient speed be sold by Us and Our Heirs and Successors and the proceeds thereof applied to and for the use and benefit of the said Ojibway Indians and their Posterity.

In Testimony Whereof We have cause these Our Letters to be made Patent and the Great Seal of our said Province to be hereto affixed.
Witness our Right Trusty and Right Well Beloved Cousin James, Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, Governor General of British North America and Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and the Island of Prince Edward and Vice Admiral of the same.
& & &
At Montreal this twenty ninth day of June in the Year of our Lord one thousand Eight hundred and forty seven and in the Eleventh Year of Our Reign.

D Daly
Secy

Appendix D*

CROWN LAND DEPARTMENT,
TORONTO, 20th February, 1857.

Entered upon the records of this Department on L. W. No. 30.

No. 72.

SURRENDER OF THE SAUGEEN PENINSULA.

We, the Chiefs, Sachems and Principal Men of the Indian Tribes resident at Saugeen, Owen Sound, confiding in the wisdom and protecting care of our Great Mother across the Big Lake, and believing that our Good Father, His Excellency the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, Governor General of Canada, is anxiously desirous to promote those interests which will most largely conduce to the welfare of His red children, have now, being in full Council assembled, in presence of the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, and of the young men of both tribes, agreed that it will be highly desirable for us to make a full and complete surrender unto the Crown of that Peninsula known as the Saugeen and Owen Sound Indian Reserve, subject to certain restrictions and reservations to be hereinafter set forth. We have therefore set our marks to this document, after having heard the same read to us, and do hereby surrender the whole of the above named tract of country, bounded on the south by a straight line drawn from the Indian village of Saugeen to the Indian village of Nawash, in continuation of the northern limits of the narrow strip recently surrendered by us to the Crown; and bounded on the north-east and west by Georgian Bay and Lake Huron, with the following reservations, to wit: 1st. For the benefit of the Saugeen Indians we reserve all that block of land bounded on the west by a straight line running due north from the River Saugeen, at the spot where it is entered by a ravine, immediately to the west of the village, and over which a bridge has recently been constructed, to the shore of Lake Huron; on the south by the aforesaid northern limit of the lately surrendered strip; on the east by a line drawn from a spot upon the coast at a distance of about (9½) nine miles and a half from the western boundary aforesaid, and running parallel thereto until it touches the aforementioned northern limits of the recently surrendered strip; and we wish it to be clearly understood that we wish the Peninsula at the mouth of the Saugeen River to the west of the western boundary aforesaid to be laid out in townpark lots and sold for our benefit without delay; and we also wish it to be understood that our surrender includes that parcel of land which is in continuation of the strip recently surrendered to the Saugeen River

We do also reserve to ourselves that tract of land called Chief's Point, bounded on the east by a line drawn from a spot half a mile up the Sable River, and continued in a northerly direction to the bay, and upon all other sides by the lake.

2nd. We reserve for the benefit of the Owen Sound Indians all that tract bounded on the south by the northern limit of the continuation of the strip recently surrendered; on the north-west by a line drawn from the north easterly angle of the aforesaid strip (as it was surrendered in 1851, in a north easterly direction); on the south-east by the sound extending to the southern limit of the Caughnawaga Settlement; on the north by a line two miles in length and forming the said southern limit. And we also reserve to ourselves all that tract of land called Cape Crocker, bounded on three sides by Georgian Bay, on the south-west side by a line drawn from the bottom of Nochemowenning Bay to the mouth of Sucker River, and we include in the aforesaid surrender the parcel of land contained in the continuation to Owen's Sound of the recently surrendered strip aforesaid.

3rd. We do reserve for the benefit of the Colpoy's Bay Indians, in the presence and with the concurrence of John Beattie, who represents the tribe at this Council, a block of land containing 6,000 acres, and including their village, and bounded on the north by Colpoy's Bay.

13½*

---

*Canada, Indian Treaties and Surrenders, Volume I: Treaties 1-138 (Ottawa: Brown Chamberlin, 1891. Reprint, Saskatoon: Fifth House, 1992), pp. 195-6.

All which reserves we hereby retain to ourselves and our children in perpetuity, and it is agreed that the interest of the principal sum arising out of the sale of our lands be regularly paid to them so long as there are Indians left to represent our tribe without diminution at half yearly periods.

And we hereby request the sanction of our Great Father the Governor General to this surrender, which we consider highly conducive to our general interests.

Done in Council, at Saugeen, this thirteenth day of October, 1854.

It is understood that no islands are included in this surrender.

Signed and sealed:
L. Oliphant,
Supt. Genl. Indian Affairs.

Peter Jacobs,
Missionary.

Witnesses:
Jas. Ross, *M.P.P.*,
C. Rankin, *P.L.S.*,
A. McNabb,
Crown Land Agent.

John (totem) Kadugegwun, [L.S.]
Alex. (totem) Madwayosh, [L.S.]
John (totem) Manedowab, [L.S.]
Jno. Thos. (totem) Wahbuadick, [L.S.]
Peter (totem) Jones, [L.S.]
David Sawyer, [L.S.]
John H. Beatty, [L.S.]
Thomas (totem) Pabahmosh, [L.S.]
John (totem) Madwashemind, [L.S.]
John (totem) Johnston, [L.S.]
John Aunjegahbowh, [L.S.]
James Newash, [L.S.]
Thomas (totem) Wahbuadick, [L.S.]
Charles Keeshick. [L.S.]

Copy *of a Report of a Committee of the Honorable the Executive Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 27th September*, 1855.

On a memorandum dated 12th instant, from the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, submitting certain proposed changes, as shown in two certain plans, in the shape of the Indian reserves in the tract commonly called the Saugeen Peninsula, lately surrendered to the Crown, both changes having been assented to by the Indians in Council, and recommending:

1st. That the reserve known as the Saugeen Reserve, now bounded on the west by a straight line running due north from the River Saugeen at the spot where it is entered by a ravine immediately to the west of the village, be bounded instead by the Indian path called the Copway Road, which takes a north-westerly direction, as shown by the red line in the plan. This change will give the Saugeen Indians a small increase of frontage on Lake Huron, and will not interfere with the town plot now laid out on the tongue of land contained between that lake and the River Saugeen.

2nd. That the south-western boundary of the Cape Crocker Reserve, now formed by a line drawn from the bottom of Nochemowenaing Bay to the mouth of Sucker River, start instead from the south shore of Hope Bay, at a small point about a mile from its head, and strike Lake Huron two miles south of Sucker River, as shown by the plan. This change would cut off from the Indians one mile of frontage on Hope Bay, giving them in compensation two miles extra frontage on the Georgian Bay. The head of Hope Bay has been recommended by Mr. Dennis, the surveyor of the tract, as the site for a town, and the present position of the south-western boundary of the reserve would render it impossible to carry out his suggestion.

The Committee recommend that the proposed changes be affected.

Certified.

Wm. H. Lee,
C.E.C.

To all to whom these presents shall come:

We, the undersigned Chiefs and Warriors, on behalf of the people of the Newash Band of Chippewa Indians residing at Owen Sound, send greeting.

Whereas we and our people having the fullest confidence in the paternal care and good intentions of our kind Father the Governor General towards all his Indian children, and foreseeing the great benefits that we and our posterity are likely to derive from the surrender of a large portion of our reserve, in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty-four, we have, after mature consideration, in several full councils held at our village of Newash, arrived at the conclusion that it will be to our advantage to place at the disposal of Our Father the Governor General the land upon which we now reside, commonly known as the Newash or Owen Sound Reserve, in order that he may cause the same to be sold for our benefit. Be it therefore known that we, Peter Jones Kegedonce and George A. Tabegwun, Sachem Chiefs, John Thomas Wabatick, John Snake, Abner Elliot, John Johnson and Charles Keeshick, Interpreter, Councillors and Principal Men of the Newash Band, for and on behalf of our said tribe, do hereby surrender, make over and convey to Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, Her heirs and successors, all and singular that certain tract or parcel of land and premises situate, lying and being on the westerly side of the Owen Sound in the Georgian Bay, known as the Newash Reserve, and containing about ten thousand acres of land, be the same, more or less, which tract of land is butted and bounded and otherwise known and described as follows, viz: On the north-east by the water of Owen Sound, on the north-west by the head line road between the seventeenth and eighteenth concessions of the Township of Keppel and the southerly boundary of the lands lately occupied by the Caughnawaga Indians, on the south-west by a straight line as represented by Mr. Rankin's plan of survey, being the boundary between said reserve and the said Township of Keppel, and on the south-east by the head line between concession A of Keppel and the strip of land surrendered in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-one.

To have and to hold the said land and premises, with all and singular its hereditaments and appurtenances, to Her said Majesty Queen Victoria, Her heirs and successors forever, to the intent and purpose that Her said Majesty, her heirs and

---

*Canada, Indian Treaties and Surrenders, Volume I: Treaties 1-138 (Ottawa: Brown Chamberlin, 1891, Reprint, Saskatoon: Fifth House, 1992), pp. 213-215.

successors, may sell and dispose of the same for the sole use and benefit and behoof of us, the aforesaid Newash Band of Indians and our posterity forever, subject, however, to such deductions for defraying the expense of survey and the subsequent management of the sale of the land as are incidental by a general rule to all other Indian lands, and also to the following conditions, viz.:—

1st. That so soon as the above named reserve shall be sold and we are required to remove from it there shall be assigned to each Indian family, constituted as such before the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty, a lot of twenty-five acres, surveyed for the purpose, in our reserve at Cape Croker, exclusive occupation and right of cultivation of such lot is thus assigned to each Indian family, so long as the unity of the family is retained, but upon the breaking up of any such family or the extinction of its males or its separation from the tribe by migration it will be competent for the Governor General to re-assign or reserve any lot so vacated for the best advantage of the tribe at large.

2nd. That the sum of one thousand pounds shall be advanced from the proceeds of the first sale of the aforesaid tract for the erection of frame dwelling houses at Cape Croker, of dimensions similar to those we now occupy at Newash, to be built under the direction of the Indian Department, and that afterwards from three to five houses shall be erected annually at said place until each individual having a right to a house shall be supplied, the expense of these last mentioned to be borne from our annuity or interest funds.

3rd. That each individual of the tribe now participating in our annuity shall receive ten pounds from the proceeds of the first instalment paid on the land to be sold, and the tribe shall further be entitled hereafter to receive from the principal arising from such sale (should circumstances render it necessary) a sum sufficient to build a church or for such other permanent improvement as the Governor General may approve of.

4th. That one acre be reserved and set apart for a burying ground.

The foregoing arrangement must be and remain null and void to all intents and purposes, unless it receive the assent of His Excellency the Governor General in Council.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, we, the aforesaid Chiefs and Councillors, have hereunto affixed our names and totems in signification of our assent and concurrence to the foregoing surrender, at the City of Toronto, this ninth day February, in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty-seven.

Read, explained through the interpreter, signed, sealed and delivered in presence of us
MICHAEL TRAVOR,
W. R. BARTLETT,
E. J. CHESLEY.

R. T. PENNEFATHER, *Supt. Genl.*, [L.S.]
S. Y. CHESLEY, [L.S.]
PETER JONES KEGEDONCE, (totem) [L.S.]
GEORGE ARTHUR TABEGWUN, (totem) [L.S.]
JOHN THOMAS WABATICK, (totem) [L.S.]
JOHN SNAKE, (totem) [L.S.]
ABNER ELLIOTT, [L.S.]
JOHN x JOHNSON, [L.S.]
CHARLES KEESHICK, [L.S.]

Copy of a Report of a Committee of the Honorable the Executive Council, dated the 18th February, 1857, approved by His Excellency the Governor General in Council on the same day.

On a report of the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs submitting for ratification by Your Excellency in Council a surrender to the Crown dated 9th February, 1857, from the Chiefs and Councillors of the Newash Band of Chippewa Indians residing at Owen Sound, in the Georgian Bay, of the tract or parcel of land

and premises situate on the westerly side of the Owen Sound, known as the Newash Reserve, and containing about ten thousand acres of land, upon certain conditions set forth in the deed of surrender.

The Superintendent General submits for the reasons stated in his report that it would be for the advantage both of the Indians themselves and the country at large to accept this surrender, with a view to the tract being immediately surveyed and laid open for settlement.

The Committee recommend that the surrender be accepted and enrolled in the offices of the Commissioner of Crown Lands and of the Provincial Registrar, with a view to the tract being immediately surveyed and laid open for settlement, as submitted by the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs.

Certified,

WM. H. LEE,
C. E. C.

To the Honorable,
The Provincial Registrar,
&c., &c., &c.

PROVINCIAL REGISTRAR'S OFFICE,
TORONTO, 20th February, 1857.

I hereby certify that the within surrender, together with the Minute in Council hereto annexed, have been entered upon the records of this office in Lib. C. S., Fols. 164, 165, 166, 167.

THO. AMIOT,
Deputy Registrar.

CROWN LAND DEPARTMENT,
TORONTO, 10th March, 1857.

Entered upon the records of this Department in L. W. No. 39.

No. 93.

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS that we, the undersigned Chiefs and principal men of the band of Indians known as the Colpoy's Bay Band, now residing at Colpoy's Bay in the County of Grey and Province of Canada, for certain good reasons us thereunto moving, have, for ourselves as well as for every member of our said band, ceded and by these presents do cede, relinquish, surrender and yield up to Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria and Her successors all our right, title, interest and claim whatsoever that we now have or may hereafter pretend to have to a certain tract of land containing six thousand acres situate lying and being on the south-east side of Colpoy's Bay, in the Township of Keppel, County of Grey and Province of Canada, which said tract of land was set apart for us and reserved to our sole use by the Chippewa Indians of Saugeen and Owen Sound.

NOW KNOW YE that we have been moved to make the surrender above alluded to with the view of removing from our present place of residence to join our brethren, the Chippewas of Lakes Huron and Simcoe on the Christian Island.

We do therefore with the advice and consent of our said band in council assembled hereby surrender in trust to be sold for our benefit the aforementioned six thousand acres of land upon the following conditions, that is to say:—

1st. The land to be sold by auction without conditions of settlement, the terms of sale to be one-fourth of the purchase money down and the remainder in six equal annual instalments, bearing interest at six per cent, but no timber to be cut except by actual settlers, on the condition on which timber on Crown lands may now be cut, until purchase money is paid up in full, and the proceeds, after deducting cost of survey, sale and other incidental expenses, to be funded for the benefit of the Colpoy's Bay Band of Indians.

2nd. The value of the individual and public improvements to be required of the purchaser at the time of sale, in order that the amount may be paid over to the Indians.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF we have hereunto set our hands and seals with our totems at Colpoy's Bay this sixteenth day of August, in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one.

Signed, sealed and delivered in our presence, being first read, interpreted and explained:—
W. R. BARTLETT, *S.I.A.*,
F. T. WILKES, *J., C. Crt. of Grey.*

JOSEPH JONES, *Chief*, [L.S.]
JOHN SMITH (totem), *Chief*, [L.S.]
WALKER SMITH (totem), *Councillor*, [L.S.]
Warriors:
THOS. JONES (totem),
ISAAC WAHBEGENEES (totem),
WILLIAM SAHGEWEBE (totem),
JAMES BARREL,
CHAS. MEGIS (totem),
LUKE SNAKE (totem).

We do hereby certify that the foregoing surrender of the tract called Colpoy's Bay Reserve, containing six thousand acres, has been assented to by the Chiefs of the band of Indians known as the Colpoy's Bay Band at a meeting of their council this day assembled on the said reserve, summoned for that purpose according to their rules and in our presence.

Dated this seventeenth day of August, A.D., 1861.

F. T. WILKES,
Judge, County Crt., County of Grey.

W. R. BARTLETT, *S.I.A.*

COPY *of a Report of the Committee of the Honorable the Executive Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General in Council on the 10th September, 1861.*

On a memorandum dated 28th August, 1861, from the Honorable the Commissioner of Crown Lands, submitting for acceptance by Your Excellency in in Council, under the Act 23rd Vic., Cap. 151, Sec. 4, Art. 2, a surrender bearing date 16th August, 1861, by the Colpoy's Bay Indians, of six thousand acres of land, situate in the Township of Keppel, in the County of Grey, U.C.

The Committee advise that the surrender be accepted and enrolled in the usual manner in the offices of the Provincial Registrar and Commissioner of Crown Lands.

Certified,

WM. H. LEE, *C.E.C.*

To the Honorable,
The Commissioner of Crown Lands,
&c., &c., &c.

PROVINCIAL REGISTRAR'S OFFICE,
QUEBEC, 12th September, 1861.

I hereby certify that this surrender has been entered on the records of this office in Lib. C.S., Folio 221.

WM. KENT,
Deputy Registrar.

---

*Canada, Indian Treaties and Surrenders, Volume I: Treaties 1-138 (Ottawa: Brown Chamberlin, 1891. Reprinted, Saskatoon: Fifth House, 1992), pp. 233-4.