The Huron-Wyandottes of Anderdon township a case study in native adaption, 1701-1914.

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THE HURON-WYANDOTTES OF ANDERDON TOWNSHIP:
A CASE STUDY IN NATIVE ADAPTATION, 1701-1914

by

Laurie Leclair

A Thesis
submitted to the
Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
through the Faculty of History
in Partial Fulfillment of the
requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts, History at
the University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, 1988
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ABSTRACT

This study utilizes both ethnohistorical and narrative approaches to solve a mystery of local history: What happened to the Huron-Wyandottes of Anderdon Township? The paper offers a history of this eclectic native group from its inception in the area under the French Regime until its disbandment in the early twentieth century. A discussion of their methods of adaptation under succeeding colonial governments and changing demography follows with particular attention paid to Indian Act legislation germane to the Huron-Wyandottes. While dealing with the newcomers, the Huron-Wyandottes refined their negotiation skills enabling them to conduct successful relationships with the surrounding white communities in the face of governmental changes, shrinking resources and intra-tribal factionalism.

The thesis also attempts to solve a mystery of wider importance: Why were the Huron-Wyandottes the only native group to enfranchise en masse under the Indian Act of 1880? The solution to this puzzle lay in the natives' changing conception of land tenure. Throughout their two hundred year history in the area, the Huron-Wyandottes used their land as their trump card. Reserve lands became either bargaining tools, exchanged for needed goods and services, or elements to be retained in tribal possession in order to ensure its own survival. As attitudes towards tribal ownership of resources changed within the band and subsequent Indian Act legislation appeared to conform to their demands, enfranchisement increasingly held greater appeal to the group. Ultimately, the Huron-Wyandottes of Anderdon Township used enfranchisement as a vehicle through which to attain their goal: Individual land ownership in fee simple title.
DEDICATION

This thesis is for my family, Laurette, Gerard and Richard.
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My thanks are extended towards the following individuals and institutions: The staffs at the Leddy Library, University of Windsor, the Hiram Walker Historical Museum, Windsor, the Public Archives of Ontario, Mr. Tim Dube at the National Archives, and the Windsor Municipal Archives. I would especially like to extend my gratitude to the staff at Nin-Da-Waab-Jig Research Centre, Walpole Island, who not only lent me materials for extended periods of time, but generously allowed access to their own research files.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

It all began innocently. The search for the Wyandottes of Anderdon township at first seemed a rather innocuous local history topic. My approach was simple: By narrative, the history of the Huron-Wyandottes would be traced from their beginnings with Cadillac in the early eighteenth century to their collective enfranchisement in 1880. The original premise was uncomplicated: A combination of factors stemming from constant encroachment by the surrounding white communities and intra-tribal factionalism combined with their revolutionary role in Canadian society made the Huron-Wyandottes' disappearance in Essex County inevitable. As research proceeded, the topic grew increasingly complicated. My original theories were stood on their heads. The Huron-Wyandottes were not forced to assimilate, to give up their land, nor to enfranchise. Further, they did not disappear from the area. Rather than a narrative of their disappearance, the thesis became a study in native adaptation. From their arrival into the area as refugees of the Iroquoian Wars until their enfranchisement, the Huron-Wyandottes were very successful at blending into their environment. The following chapters divide the Huron-Wyandottes' history into four interconnected periods.

The next chapter deals with the French period from the Iroquoian dispersions of the 1640's until the death of Pere Potier, the Jesuit at Assumption in 1781. The Huron-Wyandottes faced many challenges during this period of reconstruction. Once powerful trade partners, they had to accept, albeit temporarily, a lower status in their new community. Secondly, life under the French Regime meant adherence to Catholicism and a sedentary lifestyle. Although the first instances of intra-tribal fissures appeared at this time with Orontony's rebellion, a corps of Christianized natives remained unified. By the end of the era, the Hurons had resumed their role as middlemen
in the fur trade, and also began to barter lands for the services of the missions. The relationship forged between the Huron-Wyandottes and the resident missionary Potier was symbiotic. Potier supplied them with much needed spiritual, medical and domestic services and in return the Huron-Wyandottes gave the priest land which the Jesuit could sell for mission revenue. Potier's death was a sign of changes to come.

The third chapter deals with the Huron-Wyandotte adaption to life under a new administration. For nearly three decades following the Conquest, the communities along the Detroit continued much as they had under the French. The watershed came with the influx of British Loyalists following the Revolutionary and 1812-1814 wars.

Unlike the French, the English, who needed the land to accommodate the immigrants, preferred to extinguish native usurfructory title to land, settling the remainder of the Indians on reservations. Although the Huron-Wyandottes would enjoy a brief period as the military allies of Britain, when the conclusion of the border clashes brought peace and further settlement, they knew the key to their survival lay in their land. Both the third and fourth chapters illustrate the Huron-Wyandottes successful hard line bargaining, even when faced with such formidable opposition as Sir John Colborne, Sir Francis Bond-Head, area native groups and Victorian legislation. By the time the reader approaches the fourth chapter, the new premise of the paper is clear: The Huron-Wyandottes were not pawns of the white community. They negotiated successfully to achieve their desires, namely, peace, consolidation of resources and a comfortable standard of living.

The fifth chapter enhances the above concept, and concentrates on two major themes of the paper, the breakdown of solidarity within the Huron-Wyandotte band and its long courtship with the enfranchisement acts of 1857, 1869 and 1876. Here the chapter dispells a myth of local history: The en masse enfranchisement of the Huron-Wyandottes had very little to do with enfranchisement. The Huron-Wyandottes chose to accept enfranchisement, once the act had been rewritten in 1876, to suit their needs. In short, the Huron-Wyandottes used enfranchisement as a vehicle through which they could attain their goal: security of individual land tenure. Finally, although
their reserve vanished, the Wyandottes did not. No longer considered Indians in a legal sense, members of the disbanded Huron-Wyandottes continued to play integral roles in the community well into the modern era.¹

¹ Rather than use the traditional word Ojibway, I have chosen 'Chippeway' simply for clarification since the majority of citations refer to this group by the latter name. Lastly, the words 'Huron', 'Huron-Wyandotte' and 'Wyandotte' are used interchangeably throughout the paper.
Chapter II

The presence of missionaries in the Essex County area was introduced as early as 1640 or 1641 with the establishment of the small mission of St. Michael on the Canadian side of the Detroit River. The mission enjoyed only a brief life due to the Jesuit Father Lallement's concentration policy dictating that all preaching be centered in one area rather than spread over outlying missions. Although Lallement succeeded in baptizing over 3,000 Hurons between 1647 and 1649, his mission at Ste-Marie met with disaster at the hands of the Iroquois. The dispersion of the Huron people followed, with individuals fleeing to places as distant as Ancienne Lorette, Quebec and Wisconsin. Some found homes on the islands in Georgian Bay and the northern shores of Lakes Michigan and Huron. The incursions of the Iroquois moved steadily southwest, dispersing the Petuns finally to invade the lands of the Neutral and to claim all of southwestern Ontario as their domain.

The wars of the Iroquois had caused great concern but little action among the French until 1686 when the Governor of New France, Jacques Rene de Brisay de Denonville ordered built a series of forts in the remoter western areas of the colony extending from Niagara to Detroit. For Denonville, the western fur trade was at stake since the nations being attacked by the Iroquois were trading partners of the French. The Governor feared the Iroquoian invasions would give the English a decided advantage in the battle to control trade. When these fortifications failed to curtail the Iroquois, France and her Indian allies entered into a preventative war against the offenders. The combined efforts of the Hurons, Petuns, Ottawas, Potawatomies and 1,700 French soldiers were successful. A retaliatory raid into Seneca country, resulting in burnt towns, destroyed

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crops and slaughtered livestock ended the Iroquoian threat to southwestern Ontario.\(^3\)

With the return of peace, the vacant lands in Essex County, long the preserve of hostile Iroquois, opened to refugee tribes. In the seventeenth century, the area which would become the Detroit-Assumption settlement offered plentiful resources ripe for exploitation.

Cadillac, the Commandant at Fort Michilimackinac since 1694, shared Denonville’s fear that the English would infiltrate the Great Lakes. Prompted by the new Governor Frontenac, Cadillac sought a royal audience in Paris where he warned the King of the imminent danger.\(^4\)

Cadillac’s plan for maintaining French sovereignty over the Great Lake fur trade required a shift of the strategic centre of the west from Michilimackinac to the Detroit area. French supremacy could only be maintained if the new colony took on a degree of permanence. The climate, Cadillac argued, was milder than at Michilimackinac and the fertile soil promised a successful yield of corn.\(^5\)

Strategically inspired, Cadillac’s vision went beyond a garrison way station. He hoped to attract permanent settlers - both French and native - through the provision of religious, educational and medical services as well as trade. He would further augment the colony through interracial marriage. Miscegenation guaranteed the fealty of the natives through blood lines, keeping them from turning to French competitors in the fur trade. By consolidating a number of native groups at Detroit, Iroquoian and English expansion westward from New York State could be curtailed.

The area’s uninhabited lands provided Cadillac with an additional means of inducement to attract native groups, many of whom had been wandering refugees since the Iroquoian destruction of the seventeenth century. One of these groups was the Huron-Wyandottes, comprised of Huron and Petun elements. Cadillac informed his superiors that he had:


...granted lands in the name of His Majesty, according to my orders. The Chief of this tribe, with four of the most important men in accepting them shouted, 'Long live the King' three times with me; and I have myself set up the landmarks and marked out the place where I wished them to build their fort and their village. By this means I have set all the tribes on the track of asking me for lands, and for permission to settle there.6

Cadillac granted these lands, he explained, "on condition... of giving them to me if I want them afterward, or granting them others further off."7 It is rather ironic that some of the first land grants given in Southwestern Ontario were from a European to a native group.

Cadillac’s quest for the hearts and minds of the natives demonstrated one strategy for dealing with the indigenous population of North America. Its cooperative-assimilationist design forecast a future new race combining old world culture with new world conditions. This view, however, ran directly counter to the prevailing strategy of isolation practiced by the Christian missionaries. When Cadillac invited the Michilimackinac Jesuits to transfer their declining Huron mission to Detroit, the missionaries refused. Irreconcilable ideological differences existed between Cadillac and Jesuit leader Pere Etienne de Carheil, particularly over the sale of rum to the natives and miscegenation with the French.8

The controversy between Cadillac and de Carheil summarized the basic arguments of both the isolationist and the assimilationist strategies which form the basis of debate to this present day. As de Carheil speaking for churchmen and missionaries made abundantly clear, contact and assimilation were disastrous for the native people and meant their ultimate ruin. Cadillac countered with an optimistic vision of a Christianized French-speaking and civilized native population able to take their proper place in New France. His quest was almost holy:

God had raised me up like another Moses...to go and deliver this people from its captivity, or like another Caleb to bring it back to the land of its fathers and its former dwelling place, of which only feeble recollections still remained to it.9

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6 Lajeunesse, _The Windsor Border Region_, p.xxxii.
8 Lajeunesse, _The Windsor Border Region_, p.xlii.
9 Ibid., pp. 161-181.
As a result of the polemics, a Recollet rather than a Jesuit priest was appointed to Detroit. Annoyed by the stubbornness of de Carheil, Cadillac vented his animosity in his annual report to Pontchartrain: 10

This autumn [1703] I hope to tear the last feather from [de Carheil's] wing and I am convinced that the obstinate vicar will die in his parish without having a parishoner to bury him.

Unfortunately for Cadillac's dream, he was transferred in 1710 to the governorship of Louisiana. Exclusive of soldiers, Cadillac left the Detroit area with a populace of only sixty-three white men. After his departure, the command at Detroit became a rotating position of placement concerned mainly with maximizing the profits of the post. Cadillac's initial enthusiasm to colonize the area was unmatched by his successors, and European settlement at Detroit was hampered for several years. 11 Although Cadillac's efforts to establish a thriving Franco-Indigenous colony were unsuccessful, he did manage to reintroduce an Indian presence to the area which appeared to thrive in spite of his failure. For their own part, the Huron-Wyandottes realized the key to their survival lay in successful adaption to French rule. Acceptance of Christianity and a quasi-sedentary lifestyle assured a smooth transition from refugees to colonists.

Cadillac's reports provide a detailed account of the population and ethnic background of the native peoples settled around Detroit. The multiethnic makeup of native immigrants illustrated the ravages to tribal solidarity created by the Iroquoian wars of the previous century. Cadillac reported in 1702 a village of Oppenago living just left of the fort at Detroit. One-half league from the Oppenago village could be found four bands of Ottawa who had already established cornfields in the area. Also in the general vicinity were isolated groups of Seneca, Ottawa, and six large households of Kickapoos. At Detroit, Cadillac was able to convince thirty Hurons to immigrate from Michilimackinac to Detroit despite Jesuit pressure. Huron kin from Manitoulin Island also found their way to Detroit. 12 Incorporated within the Hurons were several households of

10 Ibid., p. xlii.
12 Bruce Trigger, Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660 (Montreal:
Miamis and the Ottawa and Oppenago nations had Nipisserien elements amongst them. Initial-ly successful in his recruiting, Cadillac could boast "within the space of one league, there are four forts and four hundred men bearing arms with their families, besides the garrison".

When Cadillac departed for Louisiana French settlement in the Detroit-Assumption area temporarily stagnated, but the multi-ethnic native villages flourished on the shores of the Detroit River and Lake St. Clair. From the 1720s, there existed a Chippewa-Mississauga settlement on the south side of Lake St. Clair located just twelve leagues above Fort Detroit. Within the span of thirty years Chippewa-Mississauga villages would occupy the southern shores of Lake St. Clair, the St. Clair River and Lake Huron. The villages of the Huron and Pottawatomie were south-west of the fort towards Lake Erie. A predominately Ottawa village with some Huron and Pottawatomie elements occupied property about two leagues frontage by eight arpents depth on the south side of the Detroit River. Sauters lived on three-fourths of a league frontage by fifteen arpents of depth on the south side of the river, twelve leagues from Ft. Detroit above Lake St. Clair. A 1721 census enumerated one hundred-thirty Ottawa males, one hundred-fifty Pottawatomies, one hundred-twenty Huron and one hundred men of Mississauga and Sauter heritage. Taking into account women and children, there may have been at least one thousand natives clustered around the Lake St. Clair-Detroit River region during the 1720s.

The Huron lifestyle at Detroit during the early eighteenth century has been recorded in the anonymously written, Memoire on the Indians between Lake Erie and the Mississippi. The Huron camp itself was situated one-eighth of a league from the French fort. By the early 1700's, 

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McGill-Queen's University Press, 1976), Vol. II, p. 163. The French arpent is roughly equivalent to .85 of the English acre. Additionally, the length of a league varied from 3.9 to 7.4 kilometres.


14 Ibid., Vol. XXXII, p. 137.


17 Ibid., Vol. XXXIII, pp. 679-80.
the Huron-Wyandottes had already established a reputation in the area as productive agriculturalists growing Indian corn, beans, peas, and wheat in extensive, clean and well-kept fields. They were equally as proficient in hunting. Huron lodges were sizeable structures made of bark and housed several families. Their villages were protected by an encirclement of pickets and strong gates.¹⁸

A later account sheds light on the Huron-Wyandotte hunting patterns. Their traditional hunting grounds encompassed the west end of Lake Erie with the St. Clair River as the dividing line between Huron and Ottawa territory. Winter camp was usually set up near the Sandusky River, Ohio where beaver served as the main fur resource. Families of Huron-Wyandottes left Detroit by canoe in late October, returning by the first of May. The old and infirm of the group remained at home to tend to the lodges.¹⁹

The Huron-Wyandottes, along with the French, Chippewa, Ottawa and Pottawatomie formed a loose alliance against hostile Western tribes. In 1720, the native nations divided the lands they occupied into four regions. Although each group claimed a respective range, each had the privilege of hunting in the territory of the other.²⁰

It would appear that the Huron-Wyandottes enjoyed an elevated status within this Confederacy. At their general Council, the Huron-Wyandottes acted as arbiters, deciding important questions which concerned the four tribes. Additionally, the Huron-Wyandottes kept the international archives, or Council Fire of the Confederacy tribes.²¹

Settled in the Detroit area under French rule and within an Indian alliance, the Huron-Wyandottes prospered, sharing the area's rich resources with their neighbours.²² Despite the

¹⁸ *New York Colonial Documents*, IX, 8878.


²¹ Ibid.

²² James A. Clifton, "The Re-emergent Wyandot", in *The Western District*, Papers from the West-
idylic surroundings, tension, both internal and intertribal did arise from time to time with the Huron-Wyandottes themselves often being responsible for instigating unrest.

In 1738, the Huron-Wyandottes were suspected of leaking news of a Detroit-based war party heading west toward Chickasaw country. This violation of solidarity earned the wrath of the more belligerent Detroit tribes, and it became too uncomfortable for them to remain near the fort.\textsuperscript{23}

At the same time internal stresses within the Huron band reached an explosive point and threatened the group’s solidarity and collective will. In its simplest manifestation, the band split over the religious influence of the Jesuits. A Black Robe had been requested and joined the band at Detroit in 1728. By the early thirties the Jesuit father reported that the majority of the band had been won back to Christianity, although evidently at the expense of reviving the old traditional (pagan) vs. Christian animosity. The Traditionalists also were apparently dissatisfied with the extent of French influence over their lives and sought alternative contacts with the British and Iroquois in the Ohio region. In his analysis of this schism, Professor James A. Clifton argued a pagan, pro-English faction of the Huron broke away from the Christian, pro-French Huron as early as 1739. Settling in the Ohio area, the pagan faction referring to themselves by the traditional name of Wyandot were led by the insurgent Orontony who in 1747 destroyed the Huron mission at Bois Blanc.

According to Clifton, Huron incohesivenesss may have been founded in the phratric structure of the groups. Referring to the work of Pierre Potier, the Jesuit priest and linguist stationed at Assumption at the time, Clifton noted that those members who chose to move with Orontony to the Ohio area belonged to one of the four clans of the Turtle Phratry. Those who stayed loyal were for the most part, clan members of the Deer and Wolf Phratry. Resummarized from Clifton:

The schism exhibited in 1747 represented a split between opposed Hurons and Petunies, between the younger and the elder, between the lower ranking and less influential against the better imbedded and more powerful, between those most directly threatened by French policy - the younger warrior hunters - against the

\textsuperscript{23} The Chickasaw nation occupied lands in what is now the American state of Montana.
[Great Chiefs]^{24}  

The pagan element decided to immigrate to the Sandusky area. A second, Christian faction, was relocated on Bois Blanc Island, some twenty miles downriver from Detroit.  

The Huron move to Bois Blanc and the adjacent shore had been a compromise reached between the Indians and the French. Originally, Governor Beauharnois tried to convince the Huron-Wyandottes to relocate in Quebec where some other Huron groups had settled. Father LaRichardie, the Jesuit at Detroit, wanted Grosse Isle set aside as a Huron-Wyandotte preserve, but the Governor refused. Ultimately, Bois Blanc Island was chosen as the Huron-Wyandottes' place of refuge.^{25} The mission was established on October 13, 1742 and within five years grew to be a thriving colony of over 550 individuals occupying fifteen lodges.^{26}  

This island was distant enough from the local neighbouring tribes to minimize unrest but still near enough to be kept under French influence. It was a constant worry that the English, now in the process of exploiting the Ohio area, would gain the loyalty of the dissatisfied Sandusky faction.^{27} By October 13, 1742, the Huron mission, now purged of its pagan, rebellious faction had been completely transferred to Bois Blanc Island under the Jesuit father Pierre Potier.^{28}  

The peace brought about by a homogeneous Christian village did not last. Just five years after the resettlement, the Bois Blanc mission was destroyed by the rebel Hurons from Sandusky who were now in league with Iroquoian and British forces.^{29} The refugees from the Huron mission and its resident prelate were recalled to the protection of Detroit.

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^{24} Clifton, "The Re-emergent Wyandot", pp.1-17.  


^{29} Ibid.
The returning Hurons were greeted with a certain amount of suspicion and distrust. As a result, they were moved across the river to the south shore where the mission was given a tract of land seven arpents wide by forty arpents deep within which natives were to cultivate their corn and pursue a Christian lifestyle under the auspices of Potier and within clear sight of the French fort at Detroit.\(^{30}\)

Throughout the early part of the eighteenth century, the French government was not committed fully to its fledgling colony on the shores of Detroit. Cadillac complained that his annual stipend of 1000 livres was not enough to entertain his officers - an act of protocol which was dearly needed in order to keep high spirits in the colony.\(^{31}\) Furthermore, the twenty or thirty families that Cadillac managed to bring to the area during the settlement's first year had to pay their own transportation costs. After Cadillac, the French government disregarded his colonial pretensions and treated the area as an outpost for the fur trade.\(^{32}\) Within six years Cadillac's enemies at court had succeeded in voiding all the land grants he had issued to settlers along the Detroit River. Farmers and homesteaders, insecure and discouraged, deserted the area and stationed officers thought of destroying the fort.\(^{33}\) Even when settlement began to pick up in the 1720's, the government remained hesitant to delegate authority to local officials. Only the Governor-General and the Intendant had the power to dispose of land.\(^{34}\)

French strategic planning changed at mid-century. Because of the English threat in the Ohio country, Governor de la Galissoni\'ere sent Celeron de Blainville and a corps of 250 men to take formal possession of the northwest by establishing forts along the main water routes. The key to maintaining French control lay in strengthening the post at Detroit, making it the "bulwark

\(^{30}\) Lajeunesse, *The Windsor Border Region*, p.46.


\(^{33}\) Ibid.

\(^{34}\) Ibid.
and grainery” of the outposts.³⁵ To encourage settlement, a proclamation detailing government inducements was read in every parish along the St. Lawrence River. Twenty-two families had accepted the offer by August 1749.³⁶ At the time of the Conquest, Petite Cote stretching downriver from the Huron Church Reserve, resembled a section of the St. Lawrence with its narrow farms strung out along the river and represented the oldest continuous French settlement in Ontario. Ultimately, the French local policy to strengthen Detroit had little bearing on the success of French policy on a larger scale. From 1756 to 1763 France steadily lost her hold on North America.

The capitulation of Montreal in 1760 terminated the long struggle between Britain and France for North America. Control over native affairs shifted from French to British hands and the legal basis for procedures such as land surrenders were set down in the Proclamation of 1763. Viewed by some as the Magna Carta of native rights in Canada,³⁷ the Proclamation acknowledged the important role the natives played in eighteenth century North America. Although many native groups fought beside the British in the recently concluded Seven Years War, they were hardly pawns in the hands of the British. When the British displayed an arrogant indifference toward their Western Indian allies many native groups joined in protest with Pontiac. Superintendent-General Sir William Johnson theorized that Pontiac’s uprising was a protest against the inadequate distribution of Indian presents by both the French and English, thus the amount of annual presents increased.³⁸ The Proclamation itself was in part a response to this instance of native unrest and in effect, created an assurance of aboriginal title to the land.³⁹

³⁵ Ibid., p. lii.

³⁶ Ibid., p. liii. Each man who wished to settle on the Detroit River was given a spade, an axe, one ploughshare, three augers and other assorted tools. Families were each given a cow, a sow, and a year’s supply of seed. In addition, the King of France would support the women and children of Detroit for one year.

³⁷ Patterson, The Canadian Indian, p. lii3.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 74.

³⁹ An 1888 Privy Council ruling would interpret native title to land as set down in the Royal Proclamation to be merely usurious, a right of occupancy which did not necessarily mean
It was noted as reasonable and essential to the interests and security of the 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 lands not yet purchased by the government and therefore still reserved for natives.40

The Governors and Commanders-in-Chief of the colonies were prohibited from issuing surveys, or passing any patent beyond the perimeters of their respective governments. Through this clause, the Proclamation defined what remained legally native property, including:

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 for the Said Indians.41

Lands not included within the colony of Quebec or within the territory of the Hudson Bay Company were considered native lands. Those white individuals who had taken possession of any of the aforementioned lands without the Government's "especial leave and licence" were ordered to leave.42

The Proclamation also outlined the procedures for extinguishing native title to the land. Individuals or private citizens were strictly prohibited from purchasing lands from the natives, only the government was authorized to purchase them. When Indians were prepared to sell their lands, such transactions were conducted publically at a meeting or an assembly between the Indians involved and the Governor or Commander-in-Chief of the colony.43

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41 Ibid., p. 34.

42 Ibid., p. 35.

43 Ibid.
Lastly, the Proclamation dealt with matters of trade with the natives which was open to all of His Majesty's subjects who held licences issued by the Governor or Commander-in-Chief.\textsuperscript{44}

Where the Proclamation of 1763 confirmed the legal status of Indian lands, the Treaty of Fort Stanwix of 1768 reaffirmed the status of Indians themselves. According to British law, "The Indians were a free people, subject to no power upon earth...they were the faithful allies of the King of England but not his subjects."\textsuperscript{45} The importance of this treaty was that it gave Indians quasi-national rights. Certainly, those natives who were allies of Britain were not considered conquered. Because of the rising colonial unrest in the south, and the necessity of subduing a newly conquered colony, it became mandatory to recognize indigenous tribes as allies. Collectively, the Proclamation and the Treaty of Fort Stanwix formed the basis for Indian status in the post-Conquest period. For the Huron-Wyandottes, a military alliance with the British government became a new method of adaptation, one which they would practice for several decades.

Although the procedures outlined for land cessions in the Proclamation of 1763 were precise, clearing title with the Crown was often the exception rather than the rule. Following his abortive conspiracy, Pontiac and the Ottawa deserted their village above the Huron Reserve and took up residence on the Maumee River in Ohio. Before leaving permanently, he took the opportunity to grant or deed land to a number of Detroiteras as free gifts. More in keeping with regulations, he gave to the Crown at a public meeting the land lying on the south side of the Detroit River:

\begin{quote}
...beginning at the east side or point of land now granted to Lieutenant Edward Abbot of the Royal Artillery from thence running up the river the length of four acres towards or into the Woods, eighty acres keeping in every part the Breadth of four acres all French measure.\textsuperscript{46}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{44} Ibid., p. 36.

\textsuperscript{45} Haldimand Papers, \textit{Michigan Pioneer Collections}, Vol. XX, p. 119.

\textsuperscript{46} Lajeunesse, \textit{The Windsor Border Region}, p. 62.

\textsuperscript{47} Ibid., p. lxii.
Originally, Pontiac had deeded the land to several Detroit families. But, in 1771, it was pointed out by General T. Gage, Commander-in-Chief of British Forces in America, that Pontiac's grants to these families were null and void unless authorized by the Crown. Nevertheless, the original titles to Pontiac's land were cleared since the deeds were signed in the presence of the Deputy Superintendent.\(^{48}\)

The problem of existing French title to lands required attention. In some cases, French grants were rendered invalid unless they met with the approval of the Governor-General.\(^{49}\)

The 1770's marked the beginning of the development of the Lake St. Clair area. By 1773, lots running eastward along the shore of Lake St. Clair from the Huron Reserve were home to 494 white settlers.\(^{50}\) Although the colony appeared to thrive, there was still a lack of consistent enforcement of British policy. Often, as witnessed by the number of existing French land titles,\(^{51}\) efforts wavered when dealing with fraudulent land grants. Bitter colonial land rivalry and native discontent also plagued the early seventies and exacerbated the problem of law enforcement.\(^{52}\) By March 1774, it was necessary to issue a reinstatement of the original 1763 Proclamation, particularly stressing those laws which forbade unauthorized individuals from purchasing lands from the Indians.\(^{53}\)

\(^{48}\) Ibid., p. lxiii.


\(^{50}\) Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 649.

\(^{51}\) For an example of a land grant deemed fraudulent under British rule but never contested see Ottawa Totem Signature deed to Antoine Langlois, February 15, 1787. Langlois Family Papers. Municipal Archives, Windsor Public Library. As noted in text, deeds of this sort were abundant. The reader can find further examples with the Pottawatomie grant to Thomas Williams, 1780. (\textit{John Askin Papers, 1747-1820}, Vol. I, Milo M. Quaife ed., Detroit, 1928, 1931, p. 177.) also, Ottawa gift to C. Reaume, 1776, (\textit{Lajeunesse,The Windsor Border Region,}, pp.lxiv, 66.) also, grant to M. Belestre, 1760, (\textit{Michigan Pioneer Collections}, Vol. VIII, pp. 468-69).


By the end of the Revolutionary War, white settlement on the north side of the Detroit River numbered 1,500 individuals and spread out thirteen miles at the shoreline. The Petite Cote settlement stretched eight miles along the edges of the Detroit River and Lake St. Clair, surrounding the Huron Church lands.\textsuperscript{54} Two years later, overpopulation became a problem on farm lands. Concerned citizens of the Detroit area feared for the future of their youths:

\begin{quote}
[Since the] restraint laid upon the granting of land to settlers at this place whose farms are small and families numerous, the consequence has been young men growing to age engage as Canoemen, go off to distant settlements and in general become vagabonds.\textsuperscript{55}
\end{quote}

Spiritually, the colony thrived. The mission at Assumption was greatly attended by both Hurons and French settlers. As further evidence of increasing population, the community outgrew the mission house. When the sixty French families who lived on the south shore of the Detroit River petitioned Potier, a chapel was built to replace the earlier mission. It would appear that from this point onwards, Potier was constantly in debt, even though the Bishop had given the priest consent to sell original mission lands in order to provide for his own living expenses.\textsuperscript{56} The experimental farm and mission store had been abandoned. Since the Conquest, Detroit area trade was handled exclusively by the British with the exception of stores kept by Jacques Duperon Baby.\textsuperscript{57}

The financial situation at Assumption was far from comfortable. Although the mission was able to generate income through stipends paid to the Church for services such as indulgences, rental of pews and collections, it simply was not enough to get by. Further, most of the mission lands had been sold cutting off an alternate means of revenue.


\textsuperscript{55} Ibid., Vol. LX, p. 433.

\textsuperscript{56} Ibid., p. xciii.

\textsuperscript{57} Lajeunesse, \textit{The Windsor Border Region}, pp. xc-xcl.
The Huron-Wyandottes came to the aid of the mission by giving lands to the priests as tokens of their esteem. With the death of Potier and the subsequent arrival of Pere Jean-Francois Hubert in 1781, the Assumption mission had been granted and subsequently parcelled out over 760 square arpents of land.\textsuperscript{58} The first of such cessions was given by the Turtle clan of the Huron-Wyandottes to Father Potier. It involved a two arpent wide tract fronting the Detroit River:

Adjoining on the east northeast the land of Francois Gaudet and on the west southwest the lands of [the Huron Village] and in depth up to Grand Marais.\textsuperscript{59}

On March 4, 1782 the Huron-Wyandottes gave the Church a 6 x 40 arpent tract of land adjoining on the east the 1780 gift (which had since been sold to Francis Pratt). Again, this cession was a gift, jointly addressed to Father Hubert and the Sisters of the Congregations of Notre Dame of Montreal in an attempt to persuade the sisters to establish a school at Assumption.\textsuperscript{60} Additionally, in this deed the Huron-Wyandottes gave a sixty-foot wide strip of land running west southwest along Pratt's property from a small Creek to the Detroit River in order to build a road.\textsuperscript{61} A further cession of 4 x 40 arpents on May 1, 1787 to the Church was sold within two weeks for 7,600 pounds of flour.\textsuperscript{62}

The Huron, giving part of their reserve for the needs and requirements of the Church, initiated a process of surrender that culminated in the cession and sale of the Sandwich property. Although the land alienations were done through gift, and certainly did not constitute a forced resignation of property, they eventually brought about the same result: The sale of remaining parts of the Huron Reserve for the creation of Sandwich in 1800.\textsuperscript{63}

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\textsuperscript{58} Ibid, p.xcvi.

\textsuperscript{59} Ibid., p. 120. See also Detroit Notarial Records, Liber C, pp. 79-80.

\textsuperscript{60} Ibid., Liber C, pp. 158-160.

\textsuperscript{61} Ibid., Liber C, pp. 158-160.

\textsuperscript{62} Lajeunesse, The Windsor Border Region, p. xcvii. Appendix IV.

\textsuperscript{63} Only a small port of land was retained as a token to maintain an alliance between the Hurons and Assumption Church.
Where lands were given to the Crown or to other citizens, the natives ceding the lands gained material possessions. Whether it was just an allotment of rum or large shipments of sundry items, natives used land as a bargaining tool with which to receive coveted European goods. Indeed, even religious and educational instruction and the maintenance of a Huron section in the church were forms of services and manifestations of new levels of prestige within the White-Huron community. This symbiotic relationship existed up until the late 1780's. In 1781, a letter mourning the death of Pere Potier, their spiritual leader and ally for over forty years suggests the amity and respect shared between the Hurons and the Catholic priest:

The loss of Pere Potier has plunged our village into a general grief which will not cease until he is replaced by another...[W]hat will become of us now? The souls of our warriors will tremble henceforth at the thought of the death that awaits them at every moment; the blood of our old men and of our women runs cold at the approach of the last moment of their lingering lives; the mothers are distressed at the fate of their children.64

Potier's guidance would be sorely missed in the era of Loyalist migrations which lie ahead. Moreover, Potier's passing marked the end of the French period of influence characterized by spiritual and secular advisors who played an important role in helping the Wyandottes adapt to their environment.

Chapter III

The King's Instructions of 1783 gave Loyalists generous allotments of Crown wastelands. Providing that land was settled upon within a year of its granting, the Crown was willing to give provisions and tools to aid the settlers. Such lands in Southwestern Ontario could not be granted until cleared of native title.

Indian officers were among the first to take advantage of native land grants. A group of officers closely associated with the Indians during the war including such individuals as Alexander McKee and Matthew Elliot of the British Indian Department, William Caldwell of Butler's Rangers and Col. Henry Bird of the King's Forces procured from the Indians a seven square mile tract on the south shore of the Detroit River directly opposite Bois Blanc Island. Though illegal under existing regulations, Haldimand was eager to place a quasi-military settlement on the shore of the Detroit. Through his intervention, the Indian Officers were able to gain official recognition of their land titles.

In pursuit of Haldimand's goal, William Caldwell invited ex-members of Butler's Rangers to settle near the Indian Officers grant. Veterans of the Revolutionary War, many of Butler's Rangers served at Detroit before being disbanded at Niagara. At the same time, Loyalists taking advantage of the promise of Crown land grants flooded over the border from the newly-created Amer-

68 Mostly through Haldimand's intervention, the Indian Officers were able to overthrow a previous Ottawa deed to the former Secretary of the Indian Department at Detroit Jacob Scheiffelin, for the same land. See Haldimand Papers, *Michigan Pioneer Collections*, Vol.XX, pp. 246-47.
can Republic.

Both Rangers and other Loyalists were disappointed with the situation they found at Detroit. By the time government officials, military officers and important local notables secured land for themselves, little additional land in the Detroit River - Lake St. Clair area was available for settlement by the newcomers. 69

William Caldwell used his status among the Indians to acquire a parcel of land on Lake Erie, fronting its northern shore and situated "between a creek four miles from the mouth of the Detroit River to a small Creek [Mill Creek] about a mile and a half east of Cedar Creek." 70 Caldwell gave the land to the Crown in 1787 and ninety-seven lots were surveyed. In the survey, lots sixty-eight through seventy were reserved for the first town plot in Essex County. In the future, the town of Colchester would be founded upon these reserved lots.

In an attempt to accommodate the large influx of immigrants, the government ran a second concession to the rear of Caldwell's land. 71 This New Settlement represented an eighteen mile stretch of white territory which would later form the nucleus of Gosfield and Colchester townships. Just westward near the mouth of the Detroit River, the township of Malden was established from the Indian officers' grant. Thus, with the formation of these three townships and plans for a fort and district town, area native communities became increasingly circumscribed by the steadily growing white settlements.

Prior to 1783, Petite Cote and its environs experienced only modest growth and development. Informal arrangements were often countenanced by both native peoples and the Crown because of the moderate pace of settlement and an ample supply of waste lands. The need to accommodate a large influx of Loyalists and to facilitate their development required the introduction of a stricter system of land granting.

69 Lajeunesse, The Windsor Border Region, p.cvii.
70 Ibid.
71 Ibid., p. cvii-cviii.
As early as February 1789, district land boards were created to direct the process of settlement on a local scale.\textsuperscript{72} On April 2, 1789, a land board was created for the District of Hesse which comprised the land lying between Long Point of Lake Erie and Detroit.\textsuperscript{73} By May, Lord Dorchester had appointed the members of the Hesse Board, including William Drummer Powell, Duperon Baby, Alexander McKee, and Alexander Grant.\textsuperscript{74} Unfortunately for the land board and immigrants wanting to settle near Detroit, there was little unclaimed land left around the periphery of Essex County.

One of the first tasks of the board was to deal with the question of official land cessions. What was hardly surprising, however, was the fact that settlement had moved in advance of Crown-approved land surrenders. At the time of the lands board's inception, most of the choice lands on the British side of the Detroit River and as far east as the Thames Valley already had been settled.\textsuperscript{75} A great percentage of this territory was comprised of squatter settlements on native lands.

Alexander McKee as both a member of the land board and an Indian agent, was pressed to settle with the natives so that Loyalist grants could be honoured.\textsuperscript{76} In an attempt to expedite settlement, McKee called an Indian Council at Detroit in May 1790. Applying the legal processes set down in the Proclamation of 1763, the McKenzie Treaty of May 19, 1790 extinguished native title to southwestern Ontario. For European goods valued at £1200 Quebec currency, principal village and war chiefs of the Ottawa, Chippewa, Potawatomi and Huron nations ceded 1,344,000 acres of land to the British Crown.\textsuperscript{77}

\textsuperscript{72} Fraser, ed., Third Report of the Bureau of Archives, p. lxx.
\textsuperscript{73} Fred Coyne Hamil, The Valley of the Lower Thames, 1650-1850 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1951, 1973), p.16.
\textsuperscript{74} Fraser, ed., Third Report of the Bureau of Archives, p. xcii.
\textsuperscript{75} Surtees, Indian Land Surrenders in Ontario, 1763-1867, pp. 50-51.
\textsuperscript{77} 3 Dean Jacobs, "Indian Land Surrenders", in The Western District, p. 64.
Within this huge land cession, which ran from Long Point on Lake Erie to the mouth of the St. Clair River, two native reserves on the Detroit River were established with the subsequent creation of a third at Chenail Ecarte. The first reserve was a tract beginning at the Indian Officers land and running up the Detroit River to the beginning of the French settlement above Turkey Island. This tract ran east seven miles, and then south until it intersected another line running east from the head of Bois Blanc Island.  

78 The second, or Huron Church reserve, began at the mouth of Gervais Creek and ran along the river until it met with Assumption Church property. The reserve continued east to a depth of 120 arpents.  

[See Map A]  

It has been suggested by Robert Surtees that part of the reason why natives were agreeable to such a large cession stemmed from the fact that the majority of Pottawatomie and Hurons lived on the north side of the Detroit River and thus would not be seriously affected by the cession. Secondly, Surtees claimed that natives expected an American invasion of their territory in Ohio and Michigan and ceded the land to the Crown as an attempt to consolidate their position with the British. 

80 The large populations of loyalists immigrating to British North America forced the British government to reconsider its land policies.  

81 By 1791, when Quebec was separated into Upper and Lower Canada almost 25,000 Loyalists had immigrated west of the Ottawa River to take advantage of the British government's relocation offer of land grants in common socage free

78 Lajeunesse, *The Windsor Border Region*, p. cv. McKee estimated that two to three thousand natives might have taken advantage of the King's 1786 invitation to native Loyalists. He expected Ottawas from the River Raisin, Pottawatomies from Swan Creek and Shawnees and Ottawas from the Miami River. Ideally, this migration would enable the British to secure a sizable body of warriors in the event of a clash with the southern republic. In order to accommodate the expected influx of British natives, McKee arranged for a surrender by the Chippe was of a twelve-mile square tract of the St. Clair River. This land near the Chenail Ecarte would become more important as Indian land cessions continued in the area. See Ibid., pp. 171-172.


from all expenses including patent and survey fees.82

Land hungry settlers, including those individuals who were holding location certificates yet to be honoured, were angered by Alexander McKee's creation of the two native reserves. Although the lands involved were insignificant in light of the vast acreage surrendered as Crown and Clergy reserves, area whites viewed the reserves as not only impeding settlement, but as disrupting communication between white communities. Even those individuals who were securely settled complained bitterly. From their very inception as Indian reserves, the lands at Huron Church and Riviere aux Canards were considered by most white settlers as either a nuisance, or at best a temporary shelter until native populations could be relocated beyond the pale of white settlement. By the fall of 1791, settlers' dissatisfaction and unrest prompted a full investigation of the land board's activities.83

In a report prepared by the Land Committee for the newly established government of Upper Canada, entitled, "Causes of Difficulties and Impediments which appear to have obstructed the Progress of Settlement on the Important Frontier of Detroit", many grievances were aired. According to the committee, the problem was threefold. First and of most immediate concern, the land board could not grant location certificates until the land had been properly surveyed, and the board had not yet been able to obtain a proper survey return for a single township! Secondly, settlers were opposed to the establishment of Crown reserves which had been mandated under the Constitution of 1791 since these additional blocks of unoccupied land would prevent compact settlement and preserve additional wild lands between farms. Further, it would be impossible to establish Crown and Clergy reserves in the Detroit area without displacing many of the older inhabitants who had settled the land under French or Indian grants. The third problem cited was the existence of the reserve at the Riviere aux Canards, an obstacle which would "prove a great


annoyance to the inhabitants of the intended county town opposite the Isle of Bois Blanc [Amherstburg], where a military base was planned by the authorities. 84

The committee also suggested the method to remove the difficulties and impediments. It was hoped that the McKee purchase which opened up huge amounts of land would provide the means to honour all outstanding location certificates once proper surveys were prepared. The committee placed the onus of tardy survey reports on Patrick McNiff, the Deputy Surveyor, and claimed that he was unfit for the position, being drawn more to commerce than surveying. 85 It also discounted McNiff’s opinion that:

The Indians may be induced to quit claims totally for a trifling consideration, seeing they may well be provided with land at Chenail Ecarte on the north east shore near the entrance of the Lake St. Clair. 86

The committee was more realistic, and concluded that it would be too difficult to remove the natives from the Riviere aux Canard reserve, but believed that the land board could “probably coerce the nations into surrendering a piece of land of sufficient size upon which to plot a town.” 87

The Huron-Wyandottes at Riviere aux Canards having only acquired their reserve the previous year were unflinching in their determination to hold the land. Petitions sent to the land board by their chiefs made it clear that the natives had no intention of surrendering it and relocating to Chenail Ecarte. Duyenty, a Huron Chief, reaffirmed as much in an emotional plea to Sir John Johnson, the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs:

We now inform you of a matter of importance to us- When our forefathers were living they were always at war and fighting with different Nations of Indians and were drove-sic- from place to place until at last they came to the River Kanard- sic- and other places about it, where there Sastarech fixed his seat, and said, 'this ground I appoint for the present Generation and the Posterity that is to come after them. I have made it known to all nations around me that this Ground I intend to stand upon', and here we must parish -sic- before any other power disposes us of

84 Ibid., p. 178.
85 Ibid., pp. 174-175.
86 Ibid., p 176.
The Wyandottes not only had to protect their reserve from land boards and disgruntled whites but between 1790-1801 the Ottawa, Chippewa and Pottawatomie laid claims to their proportional part of the Huron Reserve under the Treaty of 1790. The British Commissioner Sir William Johnson called the four groups together to resolve the matter. At the general council the Wyandottes reminded the other nations of the pre-1790 decision that the Wyandottes by right of occupancy were given the exclusive ownership of the entire reserve.

What mean you in your persistency to deprive us of our land and homes, for you seem to claim from what you assert now, not only a part, but the whole reserve? Here...you have already disposed of lands around us, besides receiving your shares of the proceeds from our surrender to the King of the vast tract of land, under the last treaty -1790- we signed together and which tract of land had been set apart for the Wyandotts by your fathers many years ago and now here is all that is left of the lands and you want to take that from us.89

Yet, the opposing natives persisted, arguing that "the land we have ceded to the French and English belonged to our fathers long before you ever came here." They then offered to give the Hurons lands in Michigan, warning, "...it would be useless for us Indians to think of preventing the whole of their society from passing into the hands of the white man. If he wants it - he will have it."90

When Quebec was divided into two provinces by the Constitutional Act of 1791, the authority to grant waste lands of the Crown passed over to the provinces. The new Lieutenant-Governor, John Graves Simcoe was eager to populate Upper Canada, and as a testament to his efforts, thirty-two townships were assigned for settlement between the period of October 6, 1792 and July 24, 1793. On the Detroit frontier, deep, narrow lots, reflecting original French settlement patterns had been laid out from East Sandwich to Gosfield along the shores of the Detroit River and Lake Erie.91 By the spring of 1791, inhabitants from the north boundary as far upriver as Peche Island


90 Ibid.
in Lake St. Clair had petitioned the land board for more land. Subsequently, the second, third and forth concessions in the area were opened.92

In Upper Canada, the average size of a farm lot became 200 acres. Farms could be given to anyone who would take an oath of allegiance to Britain. Although the government still reserved the rights to specific timber and mineral resources, grantees could receive additional patents of up to 1,000 acres.93

A further proclamation on July 16, 1792, divided the province of Upper Canada into nineteen counties, thereby exchanging the district land boards for county boards. By October, the district of Hesse became the Western District, comprised of Essex and Kent counties.94 Land lots within the counties were divided according to the chequered plan. In this system, two-sevenths of the land was reserved for the Crown and the Clergy by holding back seven lots per concession.

Because of its long period of continued settlement, the Detroit area could not be worked into the chequered plan. Instead, Clergy and Crown reserves were set aside in other townships further inland.95 the necessity of establishing extra reserves as a remedial measure for lack of such in the older settled townships made the system particularly burdensome since it prohibited compact settlement. The government's delay in opening up Crown reserves to auction increased the disapproval expressed by the area whites towards the retention of the Huron Church and Riviere aux Canards reserves.

In an attempt to bring order and regularity into the settlement process, as early as March 31, 1792, the land board for the district of Hesse requested that individuals holding claims or occupying lands on Lake St. Clair, between the Riviere aux Canards reserve and the entrance to the Rivi-

91 Gates, Land Policies in Upper Canada, p. 27.
94 Hamil, The Valley of the Lower Thames, p. 20.
ere la Tranche register their deeds of titles for such land at the office of the citadel of Detroit before May 1793. Until the terms of the Jay Treaty came into effect in 1794, Detroit remained the administrative centre of the Western District. This process settled once and for all the validity of land titles made under a variety of circumstances during the frontier period.

Townships were established, not for purposes of local self government, but to aid in clarifying land titles. The old mission of L'Assomption became the Township of Sandwich. By 1793, the land board instructed the deputy surveyor to demarcate the boundaries of the Huron Church reserve in order that a second concession in that township be opened to settlement. Thus, by the mid-1790's, land at Riviere aux Canards was practically surrounded by white settlement. To exacerbate tensions which ultimately were vented against the native reserves, the land board sorely noted the scarcity of arable land.

With survey and settlement accomplished within the counties, the land boards were dissolved. Within the six year period of its existence, the land board of Hesse had instituted a process of settlement in Essex County which would only be completed with the cession of the remaining native lands.

The transfer of land granting to the Province of Upper Canada did not end the Crown's authority over native land alienations. The pressure of settlement forced the issue of Indian reserves into prominence. The additional instructions given by Lord Dorchester to John Johnson, the Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, in December 1794, facilitated the treaty making process with local natives. It was viewed in the King's interest that the Superintendent-General, or his deputy should be the only individuals authorized to purchase Indian land. A sketch of the

97 Ibid., pp. 217-220.
required tract would be submitted to both the Commander-in-Chief and the Superintendent-General by the Lieutenant Governor of the province, together with an estimate of cost required for the purchase. Official purchases had to be conducted in a public forum and according to native custom. An assembly of principal chiefs and leading men of the nations concerned and the Lieutenant-Governor or two of his representatives, the Superintendent or Deputy Superintendent and military officers from the local garrison also had to be present. Interpreters speaking the language of treating natives translated while the whole ceremony was conducted in an atmosphere of civility and temperance.

Once the negotiations were complete, triplicates of the deeds of conveyance marked the official transfer of land and were delivered to the office of the Superintendent-General, the Lieutenant-Governor, and to the native parties. Lastly, treaty goods would be delivered in public council to the natives with the delivery certified and witnessed to assure good faith.101

Land at Riviere aux Canards offered a perfect area for settlement. The Deputy Surveyor, McNiff reported that although a large percentage of the reserve was covered with beaver ponds and marsh, "from ten to fifteen acres into the second concession good land may be had. Prime settlement land occupied by a native community prompted concerned whites to petition Lord Dorchester shortly after McKee's Treaty in 1790.102

Members from the surrounding white communities complained that the reserve was hardly desirous to the Ottawa and Chippewa nations. This was, "obvious from the fact that they neither hunt, plant or encamp on the Tract." The petitioners suggested that the natives' misuse of the land offended even the most altruistic intentions of the Crown.

100 With John Johnson's continued absence from the country, it was necessary to create the office of Deputy Superintendent General in 1794. See Elizabeth Graham, From Medicine Man to Missionary. Missionaries as Agents of Change among the Indians of Southwestern Ontario, 1784-1867 (Toronto: Peter Martin Assoc., Ltd., 1975), p. 10.


Neither the honour nor humanity of the King's Government is interested to favor that People by such a sacrifice of its own conveyance...because in the first place that Tribe is the most unfriendly and troublesome to us and otherwise, the situation is unfavorable to savage life; being surrounded by white People and would be the choice of no tribe who did not depend upon support from foreign aid or the arts of social life.\textsuperscript{103}

The reserves had been a sore point since their inception. Originally piqued at McKee's failure to consult them over the establishment of the two reserves, the land board for the district of Hesse supported the petition.\textsuperscript{104} McKee rebutted the complaints of the land board with the explanation that:

I found it impracticable to obtain so extensive a Tract without paying some attention to the claims of the Indians and in complying with the express orders of his Majesty the Governor -sic- "That all possible regard shall be had to their ease and comfort", which would have been materially affected had not this reserve been made.\textsuperscript{105}

The land board charged that McKee's actions were motivated by his own desire to petition for the land himself.\textsuperscript{106}

For its part, the land board recognized only one legitimate reason for any reserve lands for the natives and that could be accommodated with three of four acres of the Huron Church reserve.

For part of the reserve there is sufficient cause; the Hurons being practical Christians and using the remains of their abandoned village as retreats when they come up to attend divine services at the church built on the reserve.\textsuperscript{107}

Such a solution would leave the extensive land between the church and the settlement beyond the Riviere au Gervais free for white habitation. The land board refused to consider the use of wild lands at either reserve by the Chippewas and Ottawas who still practiced some degree of traditional seasonal nomadism. According to the land board, these pagan nations were becoming disinterested with the reserves since ultimately, the land was designed for general settlement by

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{103} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{104} Ibid., p. 81.
\item \textsuperscript{105} Ibid., pp. 9-10.
\item \textsuperscript{106} Ibid., p. 124.
\item \textsuperscript{107} Ibid.
\end{itemize}
the more assimilated Huron-Wyandottes. Deputy Surveyor McNiff was equally disapproving of the reserves. He saw no agricultural use in the lands at the Huron Church since most of it fell on a barren, sandy plain, but felt the lands at Riviere aux Canards were being wasted. According to McNiff, "there was no land in this country which would get inhabited so soon as the reserve at River Canard."

Along with the underused resources, the reserve was condemned for its obstruction of white settlement around its periphery. Additionally, the native practice of stealing livestock from area whites was not to be ignored. But perhaps the main source of aggravation was the fact that little effort had been expended on the part of the non-Huron natives to settle the land in the British fashion. McNiff lamented, "there are but two or three families settled there constantly, but many more resort there during the summer season for the purpose of raising Indian corn and beans." With this observation, McNiff concluded that since the death of the principal chief Dewentatee, who supposedly had the greatest claim to the land, other natives might have been induced to move away from the reserve.

Another set of factors which placed extra pressure upon freeing up lands at Huron Church and Riviere aux Canards, was the phenomena of land jobbers, squatters and speculators who collectively were at their height from 1790 to 1800. Ironically, land treaties made between white individuals and Indian groups which were contrary to the laws set down in the Proclamation of 1763 were at the base of the proliferation of such groups. It can be argued that the government's laxity in fulfilling location tickets prompted many individuals to make illegal treaties with area natives. For many Loyalist families, squatting on wild land was the only alternative to starvation. Although squatters did monopolize vast amounts of land in a technically illegal fashion, especially along the Riviere la Tranche (Thames River), they made definite improvements on the land.

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108 Ibid.
109 Ibid., p. xcvi.
110 Ibid.
111 Ibid., p. xciii.
For many, it was just a matter of time before the government would grant them legal titles to the land. For others, such as Sally Ainse, all would be lost when Indian land grants were contested by the land board.112

On a wider sphere, the presence of squatters caused fewer problems than the acquisition of land by land jobbers and speculators. The first variety capitalized on the dire situation of homeless Loyalists by selling them land acquired rather nefariously through native grants. It would appear that the spring seasons of the years 1795 and 1796, were boom periods for land jobbing in the Detroit area. In April of 1796, Mr. Prideau Selby wrote to the Indian Agent, Mr. Chew:

The Indians are at present numerous in Detroit—owing to the land jobbers sending them speeches of invitation in order to obtain sales of the Indian Country some millions of acres have been sold to them for little more than a keg of rum.113

In view of the fact that natives were hesitant to negotiate a treaty with McKee without the presence of all principal chiefs in 1798, perhaps native participation was aware that the activities of the jobbers were highly illegal, and thus, the treaties carried out would never receive government approval. A completed treaty with a land jobber, however illegal, would result in a boon of sorts which always included liquor, an article which by law never appeared among the Crown’s treaty goods. Perhaps area natives used the practice of treating with land jobbers, being aware of the unlawful nature of the agreement, as a means to acquire luxury goods such as rum.

Land speculating was certainly as injurious to the growth of white settlement in Upper Canada. Basically, the philosophy behind land speculation was to acquire massive amounts of land, either legally, through Loyalist land grants, or illegally through treaties with area natives. Once the land had been acquired, the speculator would withhold the land from settlement until the immigrant population began to grow in the area and land prices rose. When the cost of land was at a suitable high, the speculator would begin to sell off lots. Unfortunately for the surrounding

112 See Hamil, "Sally Ainse, Fur Trader", in Algonquin Club, Historical Bulletin, no. 3, (Detroit, 1939)

community, this process was notorious for isolating homesteaders. Often, the desperate immigrant fell victim. Major Robert Matthews described the dismal consequences of land speculation in the Detroit area in 1787. Once land was purchased from the natives, land speculators would:

...sell it out in detail to poor wretches for L100 for three acres in front and forty deep for which the farm is at the same time mortgaged. The settler labours for a few years with only half his vigor, paying and starving all the time, and ultimately for debts on every head is obliged to give up his land.\textsuperscript{114}

John Akin was one of the more notorious individuals involved in Western District speculation. By spring 1796, Akin and his tactics became a vexation to native leader Joseph Brant, who complained to land board member D.W. Smith:

I am sorry to find by repeated information during the winter from Detroit, that Mr. Askins-sic- and some other merchants have been seducing several Indians to make over the lands to them...If the English government do-sic- not take some measure to put a stop to these proceedings of their subjects, I am apprehensive it may occasion some confusion amongst the Indian natives.\textsuperscript{115}

Perhaps, when Brant mentioned other merchants he referred to the Baby family, who together with Akin held title to 23,000 acres of land in Essex county alone.\textsuperscript{116}

It has been suggested that the British government countenanced the activities of speculators, despite the adverse affects land holding may have had on the surrounding community. Both Georgina Nammack and Lillian Gates in their respective works, Fraud, Politics and the Dispossession of the Indians: The Development of Imperial Indian Policy, and Land Policies of Upper Canada, agree that the Crown viewed acquiring land with the acquisition of power. Land holding coupled with political representation to create a class of landed gentry. The evolution of this new class could counter the wave of Republicanism and democracy which emanated from the United States.\textsuperscript{117}

\textsuperscript{114} Gates,\textit{Land Policies of Upper Canada}, p.43.


\textsuperscript{117} See Georgina C. Nammack, \textit{Fraud, Politics and the Dispossession of the Indians: The Devel-
To guard against such deleterious American influences as well as compensate for the surrender of Detroit to the American forces, it was necessary that Britain create a new military centre in the southernmost part of its colony. Lord Dorchester had remarked to Simcoe that, after the St. Lawrence River region, fortification of the Detroit area was uppermost for the protection of the King's subjects.118

Lord Dorchester wanted to build a fort and plot out a town opposite Bois Blanc Island in the vicinity of the Riviere aux Canards reserve. He was concerned at the same time:

That no portion of the township was to be disposed of previous to the satisfaction of the Indians for such claims as they might have to any part of the tract.

Fortunately for the designs of the Governor, land opposite Bois Blanc had been given by the natives to Indian agents and Rangers who served with them in earlier military campaigns. From that plot just south of the Riviere aux Canards reserve, the government claimed sufficient land for a settlement, which would include the rudiments of a fort.119 [See Map B]

By the end of the century, Amherstburg was a growing town with military and naval elements making heavy demands upon local timber resources. Indeed, neighbouring Wyandottes complained repeatedly about the garrison's encroachments upon their woodlots.120 By March 21, 1799, Hector Maclean, the Commanding Officer at Fort Malden reported the scarcity of timber and suggested that the government purchase vacant native lands in the area.121 Far from obstructing the flow of progress, the natives would comply with the wishes of the garrison and forfeit a strip of land five hundred yards wide and seven miles long.122

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122 Canada, *Indian Treaties and Surrenders from 1690-1890*, no. 12, pp. 30-31. See also footnote
Although Amherstburg thrived as a military centre, commercially it faltered. The town's location at the mouth of the Detroit River, viewed as a prime strategic spot, was unacceptable for Montreal merchants. They complained that the town was situated too far downriver and would "entic[e] even British settlers on the river above Detroit and those on the Thames as well as Indians to go to American merchants at Detroit. It made greater economic sense to establish a competitive commercial centre directly across from Detroit. To do so without a major displacement of settlers along the south shore called for the acquisition of more native owned land. Thus, the barren, sandy plain at the Huron Church reserve took on new appeal.

Following instructions from Simcoe and pressure from the Detroit merchants, Colonel McKee initiated negotiations leading to the purchase of the gore of land near the Huron Church. In December of 1794, McKee reported that the purchase could be made for £1200 or so York currency worth of trade goods. McKee also suggested that since there was a paucity of goods at the Indian store, local merchants could provide the presents, mentioning in particular the coffers of the Baby family.

Dorchester's successor, Robert Prescott was originally hesitant about the purchase of the Huron Church reserve. Along with the fact that his position as Commander-in-Chief did not give him jurisdiction over civil matters, he also believed that lands located south of Amherstburg in Malden should be settled first before acquiring further land from the Huron-Wyandottes.

Yet, despite initial hesitance on the part of British officials to sanction the purchase, a burgeoning immigrant population required additional land. When Peter Russel finally agreed to the Huron Church purchase in May 1797, he laid the groundwork for future land purchases. Colonel

130.


125 Prescott to Russel, Correspondence of the Honourable Peter Russel, Vol I, Cruickshank, Hunter eds., p. 191.
McKee was also involved as he set out the General Orders for the Government of the Indian Department:

When Indian territory shall be wanted by any of the King's provinces, the Governor or person administering the Government of the respective Province will make his requisition to the Commander-in-Chief and also to the Superintendent General... accompanied with a sketch of the Tract required who -sic- will endeavor to find out the probable price to be paid therefore in Goods... and report the same that measure may be taken to get them out from England by the first opportunity. 126

The Huron reserve in question was a triangular tract of land containing 1,078 acres and affording a two mile stretch of river frontage running from La Riviere au Gervais to the Huron Church [See Map B]. One side of the triangle ran two miles inland along church property and met with an opposite line drawn from its apex to the Riviere au Gervais... Notably, sixty-one acres running along the river and adjacent to the church lands were reserved for the Hurons.

Settlement of the new town of Sandwich preceded the official completion of the treaty. By August 1797, lots were being drawn for the town's inhabitation, 127 and local merchants had expressed their pleasure with the new locale. 128

As late as autumn 1798, and in spite of the presence of a town plot, the Huron Church reserve was still technically under native ownership. Alexander McKee explained on October 17 that his original intention was to formalize the treaty when migrating Indians came to the area to receive their annual presents. The Huron Nation declined to treat with McKee due to the absence of several principal chiefs. 129 According to British colonial law, the completion of the treaty had to wait until all principal chiefs and sachems were present. For anxious white settlers, as well as disgruntled natives who remained uncompensated for lands used to create Sandwich, another year of waiting lay ahead. As a consequence, the town of Sandwich was slow to develop because lot hold-


129 Ibid., p. 253.
ers were reluctant to improve land until their titles had been cleared.

Despite the de facto settlements at Sandwich and Amherstburg, area whites still had to deal with the wild lands separating the two communities. On August 10, 1799 the Wyandottes gave Thomas McKee:

...an additional space of five hundred yards, which was the former boundary between the said garrison and the Huron Reserve; then east the whole depth thereof; and from thence South until it intersects the East Line of the said former boundary; And also a space of sixty feet wide for a road of communication as aforesaid, to be laid out in such parts of the said Huron Reserve, as shall or may be thought most convenient by any person or persons acting under the authority of His Majesty's Government...130

Even with the construction of the communication road running through the Riviere aux Canards reserve and active sod-breaking in Sandwich, the pressure placed upon the natives to relinquish their reserve at Riviere aux Canards was only temporarily lowered.

The following decades would be tumultuous for the Huron-Wyandottes, as both land speculators and settlers coveted native reserves, hoping either to hold it for speculation or open the remaining wild land for settlement. Two points must be raised. The availability of vacant lots located in Malden township questions the existence of true land hunger in Essex County. Further, with the Huron-Wyandottes' ready surrender of a five hundred yard strip of reserve land to the military, a subsequent cession for the construction of a communication road through their reserve, as well as their willingness to negotiate a further cession of Huron lands at Sandwich, it can be argued that the Huron-Wyandottes did not obstruct white settlement. The belief that the native presence in Essex County impeded progress may have represented the perceptions entertained by the surrounding white population.

The British government continued to support the native presence in Essex County, ostensibly as part of its paternal duty, but also because of the strategic necessity of keeping an available fighting force in an area where international tensions would soon erupt into war. Since the Sandwich cession awaited the approval of absent principal men the Huron-Wyandotte could rely on British Indian policy to support their right to reserve lands in the face of community hostility.

Chapter IV

From 1800 to 1829, the Wyandottes held their reserves in Canada with little disruption. Preparation for war after 1806 meant that the government was reluctant to push for further land surrenders from their native allies. The war itself, 1812-1815, was not conducive to either negotiations nor settlement, and the return to peacetime conditions was hampered by a postwar depression. By 1818 or 19 however, conditions were again ripe for expansion. Governor Lewis Cass in Michigan Territory negotiated Indian surrenders with local tribes, many of whom crossed back and forth between Canada and the United States with regularity. Eighteen-seventeen marked the beginning of 'Michigan Fever' when thousands of settlers made the trek into Michigan and Ohio. Pottawatomie and Chippewa bands were particularly active in negotiating surrenders.

British officials on the Canadian frontier prepared for the expected settlement boom by seeking lands along the Thames where between 1818 and 1827 the Chippewas surrendered large areas and established reserves. All this activity made the Wyandottes nervous. They reported to their Indian Agent John Askin, fearing that the Pottawatomie and Chippewa "who shared the tract with the Wyandottes might sell it without their assent" But government interests were directed further to the north where the Chippewa held huge tracts of land along the Thames and the Wyandottes were left to hold their reserve in peace.131

In 1829, Charloe, an enterprising Ottawa Chief from Ohio surprised the Wyandottes by claiming a part of the Huron Reserve at Riviere aux Caards. Soon other Chippewa and Pottawatomie chiefs joined with Charloe in reviving the old four nation claims which challenged the exclusive ownership rights of the Wyandottes. These claims were laid before Lieutenant-Governor Sir John Colborne at York and he agreed to meet with the contending tribes at

Amherstburg during his western tour of the province. As a result, the Wyandottes were invited to meet the Lieutenant-Governor and the other three nations in a general council to investigate each nation's claim to the disputed tract of land. 132

This council, held on the common between the Fort and the town of Amherstburg, was reminiscent of an earlier meeting in Detroit when the same three nations met with the Wyandottes for a similar purpose. There, the Wyandottes contended that their exclusive right to the Huron Reserve was settled forever. Now the validity of that decision was to be tested. Only the Wyandottes produced written documents as evidence on behalf of their claims. Colborne listened to the claimants' arguments through interpreters and on August 29, 1829, declared in favour of the Wyandottes. 133

Colborne had been appointed Lieutenant-Governor in 1828 and proved to be a progressive and able man. He advised a change in policy from the existing military-based approach, now made meaningless by peace and white settlement, to an organized effort to assimilate the native peoples. His approach corresponded to the new phase of 'cultural imperialism' beginning to be applied elsewhere in the British Empire through the influence of humanitarians and evangelicals. Under Colborne's direction, several experimental Indian communities emerged to test the new policy. European-style houses were built, schools established, agricultural implements purchased and farm instructors appointed - all paid out of monies either formerly given as presents or coming from land surrender payments. 134

Building upon his cordial relationship with the Wyandottes as arbitrator in their ownership dispute and in pursuit of his policy of assimilation, Colborne in 1833 concluded a treaty of surrender with the Wyandottes of Anderdon which he hoped would persuade them to take up farms on individualized plots of land. Monies for seed, agricultural equipment, housing and education would come from annuities established from sales of excess reserve lands. By this treaty, each

132 Ibid.

133 Ibid.

134 Ibid., p. 128.
male member of the Wyandotte band was to have set aside for him 200 acres of land and the balance of the reserve was to be sold at public sale by the government for their benefit.

The Wyandotte band numbered about 150. It was led by Splitlog and Warrow, warrior chiefs with good war records. Both served not only locally, but had continued to fight in the Niagara region after the American invasion of southwestern Ontario. The bond forged between these two chiefs through military necessity was shattered by negotiations over the Colborne treaty. The 'consenting party' was led by Chief Joseph Warrow and constituted a reasonable cross-section of the principal men of the band. Splitlog and his 'party' were opposed to the surrender of any part of their lands, contending that the band should maintain the entire reserve.135

When surveyors arrived to lay out the reserve in lots in pursuance of the agreement, Chief Splitlog and his party harassed them and pulled up the surveyor's stakes and corner posts. Twice the stakes were replaced and pulled up! The exasperated surveyor complained that Splitlog personally stepped on his chain and pulled up his stakes in a provocative manner. He requested military aid from the fort, but the commanding officer refused to take any action without direct orders from the Governor. Colborne was unwilling to use military coercion to implement the treaty and instead appointed a commissioner to negotiate. Splitlog and his 'party' rejected all propositions from Colborne and in December 1835 appealed to the Governor-General in Quebec to annul the treaty concluded between the Lieutenant-Governor and the consenting Wyandottes.136

Negotiations were still incomplete when Colborne left office in 1835 to be replaced by Sir Francis Bond Head. Head rejected the idea of assimilation and claimed that native people were not disposed to agriculture and therefore were doomed to extinction. Contact with the whites introduced many more vices than it eradicated. Head suggested relocating the natives as far as possible from the whites where natives could live out the "twilight of their civilization".137

135 Ibid.
Head, the greatest kindness they could perform towards these "intelligent simple-minded people [was] to remove and fortify them as much as possible from all communications with the whites".\textsuperscript{138}

Throughout his term as Lieutenant-Governor, Head was convinced that time would solve the Indian problem. In keeping with his pessimistic outlook, Head told Lord Glenelg, "We have only to bear patiently with them for a short time, and with a few exceptions, principally half-castes, their unhappy race beyond our power of redemption, will be extinct."\textsuperscript{139} To relieve the constraints this dying race of indigenous peoples placed upon white settlement, and to allow them to live the remainder of their lives together, Head proposed relocating the natives to Manitoulin Island.\textsuperscript{140}

Though little interested in the assimilationist aspirations of his predecessor, Head was anxious to complete negotiations begun under Colborne to open lands of the Riviere aux Canards reserve to settlement. On February 2, 1836, the Wyandottes surrendered 9,674 acres of their lands mainly along the southern boundary of the reserve bordering Malden township. The lands were to be sold by the government for, "the benefit of the said Huron or Wyandotte tribe of Indians in such manner and form and at such prices as shall deem best..."\textsuperscript{141} [See Map C]

\textsuperscript{138} Britain, "British Parliamentary Papers", Vol. XII, p. 129.

\textsuperscript{139} Ibid., p.127.

\textsuperscript{140} Jacobs, \textit{Claim}, p.II.

\textsuperscript{141} Canada, \textit{Indian Treaties and Surrenders from 1690-1890}, Vol.I, Treaty no. 42, p.104. Included in treaty is a list of lots of lands surrendered to the Crown in trust by the Huron-Wyandotte Tribe of Indians, the second day of February, 1836:

- East parts of Lots nos. 1 and 2, and Lots Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7, in the first concession.
- Lots Nos. 30, 31, and 32 fronting on the River Canard.
- Lots Nos. 33, and 34, fronting on the main travelled road.
- Lots Nos. 37, 39 and 42, fronting on the River Detroit, all in the first concession.
- Lots Nos. 1 and 2, in the second concession.
Apparently, the February 1836 treaty caused a great deal of confusion. According to the travel-journalist Mrs. Jameson, natives complained that land had been taken away from them without their acquiescence, and that whites and those of mixed blood were encroaching on their remaining lands.\textsuperscript{142} [See Map C]

Apparently, the February 1836 treaty caused a great deal of confusion. According to the travel-journalist Mrs. Jameson, natives complained that land had been taken away from them without their acquiescence, and that whites and those of mixed blood were encroaching on their remaining lands.\textsuperscript{143} Sensing an opportunity, the three nations renewed their claims to a portion of the Huron Reserve. Local Chippewa and Pottawatomie chiefs Naadte, Newatena and Chepens asked Head to allow members of their tribes to remain on the reserve and to share in its bounty:

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
Lots Nos. 1, 2, and 3, in the third concession. \\
Lots Nos. 1, 2, and 4 in the fourth concession. \\
Lots Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9 in the fifth concession. \\
Lots Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 9 and 10 in the sixth concession. \\
Lots Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9 in the eighth concession [NB. In the body of the treaty, lots nos. 1-9 and the south half of lot 10 in concession seven were also included.]
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\begin{center}
\textbf{TOTAL ACREAGE CEDED BY CONCESSION}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
Concession & Acreage ceded \\
1 & 987 \\
2 & 387.5 \\
3 & 600 \\
4 & 600 \\
5 & 1800 \\
6 & 1600 \\
7 & 1900 \\
8 & 1800 \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}


Father, when it is shown that this is the deed by which you enjoy possession [1790 McKee Purchase]; when it is shown that our Great Father had once emphatically confirmed the united claim of the four nations by formally purchasing of them all; when it is shown, that this same deed by which you have equally purchased of the four nations had expressly retained the Indian reserve in dispute for the common use of those said four nations...we do think Father that you will not oppose the right of the three former tribes to any part of the reserve. 144

The petitioners reminded Head that they too had fought along side of the British 145 and requested that the remaining native lands at the Huron Reserve be divided into four shares with the Wyandottes receiving only one-quarter of the lands they claimed exclusively theirs. Anticipating Head's plans for settlement, these more migratory tribes offered to sell off any portion of the reserve so granted. 146

Head responded to the confusion, complaints, petitions and appeals by personally taking part. He agreed to meet the contending groups in Amherstburg on his western tour. When Head rode into town on horseback in September 1836, he was an imposing figure. Five feet, nine inches tall, he wore dark pants, a light vest, blue swallowtail coat with gilt buttons and a white hat. He stayed at Anderson's Coffee House in Amherstburg while the tribes gathered nearby for a General Council, or so they thought. 147 On the eve of the council, Head requested the Wyandotte chiefs to come to his quarters where he presented them with his plan of surrender for a portion of the reserve, already mapped out for signature.

The reserve which constituted 23,000 acres of land was divided into three parts designated A, B and C. Section A, the northern third of the reserve and constituting 7,500 acres was to be sold by the government with proceeds to go exclusively to the Hurons, "Without any deductions whatever." Section C, approximately 7,000 acres of the southernmost third of the reserve was to be sold by the government for the benefit of all the western tribes. This decision gave some con-

144 P.A.O., Typewritten copy of Petition to H.E. Sir Francis Bond Head, Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Upper Canada, n.d. Box 2, Misc. coll. #78. MV 2096., p. 2. The Ottawa were the fourth nation mentioned in the petition.

145 Ibid., pp. 1-2.

146 Ibid., p. 2.

147 Clarke, The Origins and Traditional History of the Wyandottes, pp. 124-25.
sideration to the claims of the Chippewa, Pottawatomie and Ottawa although it was assumed that the Huron would also share in it. Section B, the middle third of approximately 7,000 acres would remain in Wyandotte hands and constitute the reserve. 148

Whether Head's proposition was an ultimatum or just the basis for negotiations, Chief Splitlog took exception to it. The old Chief had already by-passed Head in sending a delegation to the Governor-General in Quebec in 1835 to protest the Colborne-Head surrender proposals. Dressed in an old fashioned scarlet military frock coat, carrying an antiquated sword and wearing a cocked hat which had been given to his deceased brother, Chief Roundhead by Lieutenant-Colonel St. George at Amherstburg in 1812, Splitlog, who towered over Head by several inches, was not to be intimidated. 149

When Splitlog refused to sign, Head censured him for sending a delegation to Quebec instead of Toronto to consult him. He told Splitlog that the British Conquest had rendered nominal the Indians' rights to the land. When Splitlog remained intransigent, Head ordered Captain Ironsides, the local Indian officer, to stop the payment of Wyandotte annual presents and threatened that if there was a son of the late Chief Warrow present, he would close the treaty with him and his followers at once. 150

After making these threats, Head again asked Splitlog to sign. Unintimidated, the Wyandotte chief stomped his foot and said, "I will not sell my land, I am determined to hold it; the day is now far advanced, and I am getting hungry; I am going home." He then retired, followed by his party. 151

With the other tribes waiting nearby to be called in, Joseph Warrow consulted with his party and concluded that they had no alternative but to sign, lest the other three nations take it upon themselves to 'surrender' the reserve to Head. Before signing, however, they demanded important

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148 Ibid., p. 128.
149 Ibid., pp. 124-125.
150 Ibid.
151 Ibid.
modifications to Head's proposal. One of Splitlog's party who joined the consenting group, Thomas Clarke, discovered that the Wyandotte's stone quarry was included in Block C the section of the reserve to be sold for the benefit of the Indians in general. The Governor was requested to reserve the stone quarry exclusively for the Wyandottes. Head complied, promising also to address the issue of trespass against the reserve's lands and resources - a pledge he honoured with a proclamation forbidding trespass upon any part of the reservation, "for any purpose whatsoever, without our special leave and licence." Satisfied with Head's modifications and promises, the Warrow party signed. By concluding this surrender, the Wyandottes eliminated the other three tribes from any further claims to the reserve.

Head's surrender was not popular with Splitlog who kept up the pressure to annul the treaty with petitions citing the historical claims of his band. But the surrender was final, and shortly before Splitlog's death in 1838, the cessioned lands were surveyed, offered for sale and the township of Anderdon established.

Head's heavy-handed tactics did not escape criticism. In an independent assessment of the Indian situation, commissioners sent to evaluate the condition of Indian Affairs in Canada denounced the Lieutenant-Governor's terms as unfair:

I think it unreasonable that the Indians should give up one half of those lands in consideration of receiving the amount which one half of that moiety may sell for. It would seem more just to allow them the new proceeds of the whole. I look upon this and other small reserves in the light of equitable estates in fee and entitled to be scrupulously regarded as the exclusive private property of the several Indian communities to whom they have been assigned.

152 Ibid., pp. 126-127.

153 Lord Glenelg to Francis Bond Head, October 5, 1836, Britain, British Parliamentary Papers (1839), p. 230.

154 Clarke, The Origins and Traditional History of the Wyandotes, p. 129.

155 P.A.O., Sir Aemilius Irving Papers. Report of the Commissioners G. Vidal and T.G. Anderson, 1849. MV 1464 26/30/14, p. 46. It should be noted here that the commissioner is referring to lands in Blocks A and B of the reserve, since C Block had been marked for sale with the proceeds going to natives who were not Huron-Wyandottes.
But Head had won, at least temporarily. His hard line position on annuities and presents also had impact on the Anderdon reserve. Head convinced a willing government seeking retrenchment and savings that it was beyond its duty to continue to subsidize Indians residing outside of Canada:

According to common law among nations, there appears to be no reason why, having lost all Dominion over and interest in the United States, we should continue to make annual payments to any portion of its inhabitants...that it amounts almost to an act of Hostility to give United States Indians guns and ammunition with whom that People are at this moment engaged in Civil War.156

As a result, the issuing of annuities and presents was discontinued at Amherstburg after May of 1837 and the various tribes who sought annual presents from the colonial government had to meet at distant Manitoulin Island.

Head’s policies effected the local situation at two levels. By transferring the ceremony of presents, the large influx of Indians into Anderdon to receive their annual gifts ended and with it an important element of native solidarity and tradition was lost. Sworn of this wider responsibility, Amherstburg ceased to be the western Indian capital and the duties of the Superintendent were reduced to the more mundane tasks of:

...promoting the civilization of the resident Indians... and attending to their interests relative to the sale of wood and stone from off their reserve, as well as to the sale of their lands.157

While Head’s policies initially were greeted by the colonial and imperial governments with enthusiasm,158 missionaries throughout Canada rejected his extinction theory from the outset. Wesleyan Methodist missionaries claimed Head’s policies forestalled settlement since the natives, feeling threatened, were hesitant to adopt progress. Civilization, in Head’s terms, would mean ultimate removal of the natives to Manitoulin Island or some other equally remote and isolated outpost. The Aborigines Protection Society was aghast at his policy of removal, "which had seen the

156 Britain, British Parliamentary Papers, Dispatches from Sir Francis Bond Head, Vol. XI, p. 141.

157 Ibid.

158 Lord Glenelg to Francis Bond Head, October 5, 1836, ibid. p. 290.
exchange of three million acres of rich land for 23,000 barren islands".\textsuperscript{159} Increasingly, missionary accounts attesting to the natives' ability to read, write and cultivate the land reached Colonial Secretary Glenelg. According to the missionaries, apartheid was not the answer. It would simply feed the flames of animism which had to be extinguished since native religion was integrated with the old lifeways of nomadism, hunting and gathering.\textsuperscript{160} Opulent and substantial citizens could be made out of the natives by Christianizing them. A solid knowledge of Christianity would teach the natives to appreciate a fixed homestead which inevitably led to interest in agriculture and mechanics. The missionaries and other philanthropic groups convinced Glenelg that Bond Head's policies must be stopped.

Shelving Head's policy of removal and isolation, Glenelg submitted a series of recommendations for the future improvement of Christian Indian reserves in Upper Canada. Reserves were to be secured by grant against creditors and ruled inalienable by tribe or individual without the communal consent of the Lieutenant-Governor, the principal chiefs of the settlements, and the resident missionaries. Such grants were necessary to provide security and to regain the trust of the natives. "The Indians believe," Glenelg wrote:

...that until the British Government grants such a title deed, the lands of which they commenced making improvements may be taken from them at any time the government may think proper to remove them to any other locality.\textsuperscript{161}

Glenelg recommended that once the natives were firmly entrenched in Christianity, and possessed other positive attributes of white society, such as property ownership, literacy and white Anglo-Saxon morals, they could be given the additional rights and privileges of other British subjects. These rights and privileges included the franchise, the right to serve as jurors or to hold municipal offices.\textsuperscript{162} Glenelg's solution to the Indian problem would be solved through

\textsuperscript{159} Lord Glenelg to George Arthur, 26 September 1837, \textit{ibid.}, Vol. XII, p. 93[321].

\textsuperscript{160} \textit{ibid.}, pp. 93-94.

\textsuperscript{161} Lord Glenelg to Sir George Arthur, August 22, 1838, \textit{ibid.}, pp. 308-317.

assimilation and the granting of full citizenship rights.

The key to the success of Glenelg's plan lay in training the young. Promising children would be boarded away from the reserve and gratuitously fed, clothed and educated.

By such an arrangement, the children would be removed from their imperfectly civilized parents and placed under the exclusive direction of their religious and secular instructors.¹⁶³

Under Glenelg's policy of assimilation the natives were to be encouraged to become farmers. Money from the sales of their hunting lands was to be returned to them in order to establish farms on secure reserves. Eventually, Glenelg hoped, the Indians would become self-sufficient and annuities would no longer be necessary, but in the meantime, he ordered their content switched from traditional articles to monies or agriculturally oriented implements.¹⁶⁴ The Governor demanded the enforcement of a provincial statute which made it illegal for any individual to sell spirituous liquors to natives and in accordance with the desires of the missionaries, the conversion of pagan natives became governmental policy.¹⁶⁵ Glenelg's recommendations issued in reaction to Bond Head's efforts began the shift in Indian policy from removal to assimilation.

In order to assist the native people in the process of assimilation, an assessment of the socio-economic situation at the Riviere aux Canards reserve was undertaken. The level of progress of the reserve was evaluated in order to ascertain how much more 'civilizing' was needed. Inquiries into the lifestyles of the Hurons and the subsequent responses between the years 1839-1847 reveal a great deal of information about the exploitation of reserve lands during the 1840's.

Chief Superintendent Samuel Jarvis gave an account of local natives to Lord Durham for his Report, published in the British Parliamentary Papers. In 1839, there were 197 Hurons, Chippewas, Shawnees, and Munsees residing near Amherstburg. Pottawatomies, Ottawas and Menomies living in Michigan, but receiving annual presents from the British, amounted to from 1,800 to


¹⁶⁴ Lord Glenelg to George Arthur, 26 September 1837, British Parliamentary Papers, Vol. XII, pp. 94-95.

¹⁶⁵ Surtees, Indian Reserve Policy in Upper Canada, p. 15.
2,000 individuals. In J.B. Macaulay's Report to Sir George Arthur, the number of aggregate Indians living at the Chenail Ecarte numbered 194, and another 217 natives inhabited the River au Sable. Confirming Jarvis' statistics, Macaulay reported that 214 Hurons, Chippewa, Shawnees and Munsees resided at Amherstburg. By 1842, Superintendent George Ironsides produced a report detailing the lifestyles of the natives residing at both the Huron Reserve and Pt. Pelee. His descriptions of Chippewa practices provide a glimpse of more traditional habitation patterns practiced by local native groups. The contrast between the lives of the Christianized and sedentary Huron-Wyandottes and the pagan and nomadic Chippewa, and the ensuing disapproval extended towards Chippewa lifeways were dramatic. By 1842, as a result of band agreements, each Huron family was settled on its own 200 acre farm. Most Huron families had from twenty to thirty acres under cultivation. Ironsides' report presents the Hurons as successful farmers whose varied crops included Indian corn, potatoes, cabbages, beans, peas, pumpkins, and grains such as wheat, oats and buckwheat. The Chippewas grew only Indian corn and very few families had farms. The rare Chippewa who did, exploited only three to four acres, preferring to hunt and fish for his sustenance.

The Hurons had erected thirty-four dwelling houses, thirty-three of which were log houses. They also owned a two-storey frame building, erected at the cost of $1,000 which served as a community meeting place and council house. The Chippewa, with the exception of the Chief who resided on Pt. Pelee, still lived in wigwams.

As a testament to their success at animal husbandry, the Huron-Wyandottes had built four frame and six log barns, along with twenty-three stables. Ironsides reported a count of five yokes of oxen, eighteen cows, fourteen heifers, two bulls, four steers, eighty horses and one hundred-ninety pigs. Hay was also raised for the animals. Sixteen ploughs, seven harrows, forty hoes, six fanning mills, one wagon, seven carts, six sleighs, one caleche and two carioles were attributed to


167 Ibid., Appendix to Report, p. 10.
the property of the Hurons. In contrast, the Chippewa used only hoes for tillage.

Rules of inheritance were lineal with children inheriting their parents' lands. If there were no heirs, the land in question would escheat to the Chiefs. Considering the division of labour between the sexes, Huron males carried out the majority of the field work, with their wives assisting them. The Chippewa still clung to traditional roles, where women were the principal agriculturalists and men were hunters, while the Hurons were mainly farmers, they were also skilled craftsmen. The males excelled in carpentry, fashioning their own wooden tools, while the women were very adept at basketry and needlework.

In terms of their religiosity, Ironsides reported that all Hurons on the reserve had been Christianized, with the majority of them embracing the Methodist faith, and a lesser number practicing Roman Catholicism. There were an estimated 280 Chippewa in the area, who remained unbaptized and the Christianizing process proceeded very slowly with baptisms carried out at an annual rate of about five, including both Catholic and Methodist converts. Because of economic factors, Pelee Island did not have a church, but Methodist preachers accompanied by an interpreter visited the island every Sunday. Catholic natives attended services at Amherstburg. Akin to their faith, the Hurons considered illegitimacy as immoral while the Chippewa still accepted it.

Ironsides also discussed the prevailing diseases on the reserve. It appeared that natives were susceptible to inflammation and nervous complaints, rheumatism and scrofula. The Chippewa were more prone to the latter disease than the Hurons, perhaps due to their lower standard of living; scrofula being an ailment related to tuberculosis. Ironsides believed that because of prolonged exposure to exterior conditions, poverty and intemperance, the Chippewa also had a higher mortality rate than the Hurons. The Hurons enjoyed both a birth rate and standard of living comparable to the whites at the time, with the mortality rate highest in children four years old and younger. Inflammatory diseases and convulsions claimed the most young victims.

Perhaps because Ironsides himself was the product of miscegenation, he was particularly sensitive to the issue of mixed marriages on the reserve. Five men and two women had chosen
white spouses. The offspring from these mixed marriages generated the most pressure towards assimilation, Ironsides reported, because "their wish to imitate the whites appears greater than with the native Indians...and laziness is looked upon by them as disgraceful". He also added, "in cases where intermarriage takes place, the condition of the Indians is usually improved." 168

It would appear that the Wyandottes of Anderdon possessed the potential to become British subjects in the full sense of the term. Ironsides himself affirmed that not only were the Wyandottes thoroughly Christianized, but they showed promise as agriculturalists. Their relatively high standard of living and health reflected their temperate and hygienic lifeways. The degree of their assimilation could best be illustrated when contrasted with the habitation pattern of their Chippewa neighbours. Yet, despite his positive assessment, the Chief Superintendent concluded that save for a few exceptions among the Hurons and those of mixed blood, he did "not think them yet in a fit state for the full enjoyment of the civil rights of British subjects". 169 Perhaps Ironsides' hesitance stemmed from the fact that if full citizenship were conferred upon the Wyandotte, the Indian Department officials linked directly with the Huron Reserve faced immediate unemployment. Instituting a prolonged process of assimilation made much more sense to officials who already felt their positions threatened by tighter purse strings and redundancy. Enfranchisement and full citizenship would remain a future but temporarily unattainable goal.

Despite the surrender of two-thirds of the Anderdon Reserve in 1836 and the assimilative progress demonstrated in the Indian Department's reports of the 'thirties and 'forties the surrounding white communities still wanted the Huron-Wyandottes' land. In her Winter Journal, Mrs. Jameson noted that Anderdon afforded both fine agricultural opportunities and a strategic location opposite Bois Blanc Island. She echoed the sentiments of the local white inhabitants when she wrote that the Anderdon Reserve presented "a stumbling block in the way of white settlement, diminishing very considerably the value and eligibility of the lands around." 170 Indian reserves

168 Canada, Sessional Papers, 1843, pp. 125-126. All above references to Ironsides report refer to this citation.

169 Ibid., p. 126.
were still grouped along with Crown and Clergy reserves as barriers to settlements and responsible for perpetuating isolation and retarding progress.171

In 1839 legislation created to protect native land rights within secure reserves proved impotent in the face of settler opinion and opportunities:

The Wyandottes of Anderdon hold large blocks of land, generally of the most valuable description which they can neither occupy nor protect against the encroachments of white settlers, with whom in the vain attempt to guard their lands, they are brought into a state of constant hostility and collision...and become objects of jealousy and dislike to their neighbours.172

The attitudes of whites and the policies of the government and missionaries set the stage for the next round of land cessions. In accordance with the policy of concentrating scattered tribes into larger communities where services and supervision could more easily take place, during the mid-1840's the Indian Superintendent J.B. Clench tried to persuade the remaining three Chippewa families to sell their Anderdon land and relocate to Walpole Island. By January 1848, his insistence and the rumblings of area settlers succeeded in bringing about this further surrender of lands in Anderdon. In cession number 66 1/4, the Chippewa Chiefs John Natty and Federick Fisher relinquished some three hundred acres straddling the Indian Reserve boundary,[Block C]173

[See Map D]

The entire acreage was purchased by Joseph Ward for an estimated price of £377.10.0174

The Chippewa families requested that monies from the sale be used to build eight houses for their removal to Walpole Island.175 This surrender, although small in itself is of symbolic importance because it marks the end of the remaining traditional, semi-nomadic elements on the reserve. Pre-

172 Nin-Da-Waab-Jig, Files on Anderdon Township. Probably taken from Sessional Papers, (1859), pp. 52-55.
175 Ibid., p. 14.
paring the Huron-Wyandottes for the amenities of assimilation would be greatly facilitated by the absence of the more traditional influence of the Chippewa.

The other remaining reserve in Essex County was also fast approaching a critical phase in its existence. The Huron Church Reserve had long since ceased to provide essential residential, agricultural or even spiritual services for the natives, but the sixty-one acre reserve did generate revenue in rents through informal arrangements with encroaching whites. These lands suddenly increased in value and interest with the area boom in Windsor and Sandwich fueled by the coming of the railway in the early 1850’s.

The reserve, situated between Detroit Street and Huron Church Line was in the process of being secularized and formally thrown open for settlement. When speculators Charles Baby and Arthur Rankin sought to intervene and purchase the Indian rights to the property the Huron-Wyandottes secured the legal services of John Prince, MP. The fact that Baby and Rankin were political rivals of Prince added to the drama.\textsuperscript{176}

Two cessions were ultimately necessary to extinguish all remaining native claims in the old Huron Church reserve. The first of these cessions was ratified on July 19, 1853, between the Crown and the principal men of the Wyandotte residing in Anderdon. This treaty relinquished the triangular tract of land reserved for the use of the natives in the 11 September, 1800 treaty which established the town of Sandwich.\textsuperscript{177}

A more detailed treaty dated April 20, 1854 clarified the total amount of acreage as 60 1/4 and detailed in surveyors language the proper lines and markers.\textsuperscript{178} [See Map E] As with earlier surrenders, the proceed from land sales were to be allocated for the use and benefit of the Wyandottes at Anderdon.


\textsuperscript{178} Ibid., pp. 200-201.
The issue of possessory rights of the islands also emerged during the 1850's. On many occasions when the British negotiated treaties to gain a very specific parcel of land, the legalities did not cover all possible contingencies. The ownership of islands lying adjacent to the shoreline of cessioned areas often fell into this grey category. After 1850, all new treaties included adjacent islands within the terms of agreement, in order to prevent future controversies over ownership between the Crown and the natives;¹⁷⁹ But the cession of most islands in Lakes St. Clair and Erie and the Detroit River had to be negotiated under separate treaties.

From 1857 through 1874, local natives ceded several islands to the Crown. In Treaty Number 85: e Chippewa of Walpole Island gave up Peach Island on July 21, 1857, the proceeds of the sale to be used for the benefit of the Chippewa.¹⁸⁰ On February 1863, the Huron-Wyandottes relinquished Fighting Island in the Detroit River. The proceeds of that sale were to be held in trust with semi-annual interest payments made to treating Wyandottes and their descendants.¹⁸¹ A larger cession, concluded by the Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawatomie involved several islands in Lake Erie. On January 20, 1870, Middle Island, Middle and East Sister Island, the Hen and Chicken Islands, and North Harbour Island were given to the Crown.¹⁸² [See Map G] Lastly, the surrender of Little Turkey Island by the Wyandotte marked the final island in the area to be ceded under separate treaty.¹⁸³

The exclusion of the Wyandottes from the sale of several of these islands illustrated the strained relationship between the traditional four tribes. But with the treaties completed, non-Wyandotte Indian presence in the area virtually was extinguished.

¹⁷⁹ Surtees, Indian Land Surrenders in Ontario, 1763-1867 (Canada - Indian and Northern Affairs, Canada, Research Branch Corporate Policy, Ottawa, 1983), pp. 119-120.


¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² Ibid., Treaty no. 121, p. 278.

In the 1860’s the Wyandotte of Anderdon lived in what British officials considered a state of "comparative affluence. They, together with the remaining Chippewa at Point Pelee numbered 368 individuals. Shared revenue from lands sold in Block C of the reserve amounted to L219.16 by 1860, and since the Wyandottes still retained the rights to the stone quarry, an annual revenue of L615 was generated from rental fees. *Ibid.*, pp. 4-6. The sale of reserve timber gave the band a further $6,000. Moreover, for the Bond-Head cessions, the natives relied on annual presents as their sole source of government revenue. Annuities generated from the sale of two-thirds of their reserve and an additional $7,000 from the sale of Turkey Island, established a trust account which was held and invested for them by the Indian Department. From this nest egg, the Wyandottes received semi-annual interest payments.

At the end of the 1860’s, laws protecting reserve lands allowed for the common use of the land by its members. Individual allotments could be made by Chiefs or appropriated by other band members, but this form of alienation was not recognized by the Crown. As will be discussed in the following chapter, natives were still hesitant to make improvements on the land, since it could be taken from their individual grasp at any time, either for the purpose of the band as a whole, or surrendered to the government, for the benefit of the band. Thus, Indian land policy had created a paradox wherein natives were reluctant to develop their land until they could hold inalienable title to it, yet the government refused to grant natives land in fee simple title until improvements were made upon the land. This policy was not only frustrating to area natives, but ironically hampered the process of assimilation. These rather ephemeral land titles could either be passed lineally or be given by bequest to another band member, but the land could not pass out of native hands.

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Although existing law prohibited sale of unceded Indian lands as well as white squatters on the reserve, it did not curtail petitions from the surrounding municipalities. On June 15, 1866, the municipality of Anderdon petitioned the Legislative Assembly "representing that the improvement of the township [was] greatly retarded in consequence of a third of its extent being set apart as Indian Reserve... The goal of local white residents was the cession of the remaining reserve lands which could be achieved in either of two ways. The government could convince the band to surrender their remaining lands through a treaty giving them the right to sell them at public auction or the government could relax its protective policy refusing the issue of fee simple title to individual Indians which would allow for the alienation and sale of reserve lands on the open real estate market.

More importantly, the personal development of the individual Wyandottes such as those found in the White family, demanded an elevated status within both the reserve and surrounding white communities. These forces would come together in the enfranchisement controversy of the late nineteenth century.

186 Canada, Journals of the Legislative Assembly of Canada, 1866, p. 31.
Chapter V

The latter decades of the nineteenth century bring to a close the era of a native presence in Essex County. The beginning of the end commenced in 1857 with the passage of legislation offering enfranchisement to native peoples, the purpose of which was to "encourage Indians to become Canadian citizens, or at least, no longer regard themselves as Indians". Concurrently, the native right to hold individual title to parcels of their reserve lands was pushed by government officials and interested individuals, both white and native, accelerating the final disposition of communally-held lands in Anderdon Township. Indicative of the stressful times, the Wyandottes of Anderdon fell victim to factionalism which further undermined their solidarity.

In 1839, Colonial Secretary Macaulay's letter to George Arthur suggested native families be encouraged to settle on separate farms and apply for fee simple title to their lands. To aid natives in their advancement toward civilization, the responsibilities and rights of British citizenship had to be bestowed upon them. But before natives could reap the benefits, a dramatic change was required in the concept of Indian land ownership. Reserve lands had always been held in common, with a land tenure viewed by the courts of the day as collective rather than individual. A collective system of land ownership meant that the band as a group held usufructuary title to the land. The band council granted use of a parcel of reserve land to each member but held the power of repossession. Eager to grant individual land ownership to the Indians, Macaulay requested legislative changes to the existing Indian Act to facilitate transfer of property.


In 1847, a report on the status of Indian Affairs in Canada supported Macaulay in suggesting that native individuals be given their own real estate, since the concept of separate property was inherent to the process of assimilation. Private property entailed certain responsibilities such as the payment of taxes and personal debts, but government officials considered these obligations a small price to pay for full citizenship in a colonial society where land holding meant wealth and power. Also, individuals having a stake in their own lands would be less likely to countenance squatters - a continuous vexation to the government.\textsuperscript{189}

The major advantage to be gained by individual land ownership was security of land tenure. In their report, the commissioners noted the uneasiness expressed by natives over land tenure:

They apprehend that as the tide of settlement flows on, and the pressure of the whites to possess their land increases, they may at some future day be dispossessed or forced to surrender their lands on disadvantageous terms because they can show no title deed for their reserves...experience has taught them that while the lands are held in common and an individual may at any time be deprived of his farm and be forced to abandon his improvements perhaps without any compensation by a decision by the majority of the Tribe to surrender their lands to the Government, there is no real security for property and no encouragement for industry.\textsuperscript{190}

It was recommended that the several tribes remaining on reserves be encouraged to divide their land into individual or family plots not exceeding 100 acres and to sell outright any surplus land after the natives received their shares, with the proceeds retained for the benefit of the entire group. Individual natives had the right to apply for additional patents of land to increase their holdings to 200 acres. But if such patents were granted, the beneficiaries were to eschew all rights to annuities or other tribal properties.\textsuperscript{191} The 1857 Act was more cautious and less generous, but essentially, it gave legislative recognition to the 1847 report.

\textsuperscript{189} William Henderson, \textit{Canada's Indian Reserves: Pre Confederation}, p.i2.


\textsuperscript{191} Ibid., n.p.
"An Act to Encourage the Gradual Civilization of the Indian Tribes in this Province, and to Amend the Laws Respecting Indians" was passed on June 10, 1857. To begin the process of enfranchisement within a certain band, the Visiting Superintendent of each native group or the resident missionary would be appointed as a Commissioner for the examination of individuals within the group who wished to apply. Eligibility included any:

Indian of the male sex, and not under twenty-one years of age,... able to speak, read and write either the English or French language readily and well, and...sufficiently advanced in the elementary branches of education...of good moral character and free from debt. 192

The Act of Enfranchisement meant an end to legal status as an Indian and a cessation of all rights derived from, and obligations owed to the band. Since civil as well as political rights were tied to land or property, the seventh clause of the act detailed a system of land division within the reserve. Every enfranchised Indian was entitled to a piece of land not exceeding fifty acres out of the band's reserve lands. He was also to share in the monies of the band, a sum equal to the principle of his share of annuities and to the yearly revenues received by the band. Such sum of money became his "absolute property", subject to the provisions "hereinafter made". The "hereinafter" provision was the restriction of a life estate title to the land preventing the Indian from selling or otherwise alienating the land, which upon his death reverted to the band. 193

Yet, the price of full citizenship was costly. In accepting enfranchisement, the person would, "forego all claim to any further share in the lands or monies then belonging to or reserved for the use of his tribe, and shall cease to have a voice in the proceedings thereof." Moreover, the lands allotted under this act became subject to taxes and all other obligations and duties under municipal and school laws, and the estate would be liable for any bonafide debts incurred by the owner. 194 Individual enfranchisement meant loss of tribal affiliation and Indian status; for the band it meant alienation of band lands to the extent of the act and a portion of the tribal monies from


193 Ibid., p. 52.

194 Ibid., p. 54.
their capital account as well as the loss of special protection extended to native peoples.

In 1857, Thomas Worthington, a special commissioner of Indian Affairs, met the Wyandotte band of Anderdon in council and laid before them the government's proposition. Enfranchisement and fifty acres secured by a life interest deed were offered, but there was little interest.¹⁹⁵ The Band Council had won a concession of 200 acres per man in an abortive negotiation with Lieutenant-Governor John Colborne in 1833 and the 1847 Report had suggested 100 acres with the right to seek an additional patent raising allotments to 200. The 1857 Act's maximum of fifty acres seemed paltry by comparison. A decade would pass before the issue was again taken up in earnest.

Rather than enfranchisement itself, interest in surplus Anderdon Reserve lands reappeared just after the conclusion of the American Civil War. In spite of band progress demonstrated by government reports and the census of 1861, part of the rear portion of the reserve remained wild lands. Such undeveloped lands traditionally had been targeted by neighbouring settlers and land speculators as deplorable. Since the 1790's, petition after petition sought to demonstrate the barrier to progress and communications which such undeveloped portions of reserves provided. As had been shown however, in the past the Wyandottes always cooperated with timely surrenders of their lands nearest white settlement areas, allowing for communication and military needs such as road allowances, timber lots, etc. Further, the supposed scarcity of land seemed exaggerated when one of the Wyandotte grievances over the years was government retention of unsold portions of surrendered reserve lands combined with a healthy suspicion of land speculators.

The municipality of Anderdon Township, which had come into existence as a result of the 1836 surrender and sale of reserve lands (Blocks A and C), petitioned the government to negotiate the sale of surplus lands in Block B in anticipation of the expected boom brought on by renewed railroad speculation.¹⁹⁶ Col. Arthur Rankin, Member of Parliament for Essex, one of

¹⁹⁵ P.A.C., Red (Eastern) Series, Vol. 1911, np. Taken from Nin-Da-Waab-Jig Files.

the leading figures in the railway speculations of the 1850's, came to Anderdon with Indian Super-
tendenti Mackenzie from the Sarnia station and called a band council.197

After debate, the band council decided that before surrendering any further reserve lands, a
deputation of three be sent to Ottawa to settle their grievances (referred to as the 'old score'), with
the Head of the Indian Department. The major grievance was that the band had not received their
one-quarter share of the monies from the sale of land in Block C estimated at $10,000. Another
'unsettled score' was the fact that 14,374 acres of previously surrendered land estimated to be
worth $28,539.51 remained unsold and unsettled.198

The delegation never materialized, but in March 1867, Chief Superintendent of the Indian
Department William Spragge authorized Peter D. Clarke to call another band council ascertaining
the number of Wyandottes desirous of surrendering surplus reserve lands. Clarke reported that a
majority approved the sale:

Your petitioners concur in the prayer of the petition...respecting the sale of por-
tion [sic] of the Indian Reserve as they are aware of the fact that the material
prosperity of the township is retarded by the non-settlement of the said
reserve...Your petitioners are therefore willing and desirous that the rear portion
of the said Reserve should be sold and thrown open to intending settlers.199

Correspondence from the Indian Office dated December 16, 1868, reported that the Secretary
of State was interested in inducing a surrender of surplus Anderdon lands. In a letter dated
November 27, 1868, Robert MacKenzie, the Superintendent at the River St. Clair, responded with
a report that the Wyandottes had assembled a council. Unfortunately for the designs of the Secre-
tary of State, the Wyandottes refused to sanction the further sale of their lands until a few ques-

Windsor, 1982. Rankin was not unknown to the Wyandottes, having played a leading role in
agitation for the Southern Railway in the mid-1850's. Indians from the area knew of his Wild
West Show in 1840's when he took a group of Ojibway from Walpole Island to England.
Rankin was also involved in the final surrender of the Huron Church Reserve lands in Sand-
dwich and ultimately purchased from the government Bois Blanc Island.

198 Canada, Legislative Assembly of Canada, Sessional Papers, no. 23 (187 ), p. 6. Revenues
from that section were to be used for all the western Indians but it was expected that only the
four indigenous tribes would be considered and in similar cases the entire revenues were
often turned over to the band who had held the land previously.

199 P.A.C., Red (Eastern) Series, Vol. 1911, n.p. Taken from Nin-Da-Waab-Jig Files.
tions were addressed by the government. Referring to a petition sent to the Secretary of State in August 1866, the Wyandottes still had not been fully compensated for land given away in past cessions. They also questioned ownership rights to Peach Island as well as fishing rights on Turkey Island.

William MacGregor, a Liberal politician and Warden of Essex County, sent a petition on behalf of the County Council of Essex to expedite the sale of rear reserve lands. The Wyandottes themselves appeared interested in the same venture, having initiated a similar petition dated June 24, 1870 to the Governor-General. Quick to take up the Wyandottes’ crusade, MacGregor sent a second petition the following day praying that action be taken to dispose of a portion of the Anderdon Reserve by public sale. In the opinion of the petitioners, the sale of surplus reserve lands:

will greatly benefit the inhabitants of the said Township of Anderdon and the County at large by opening up and settling a large portion of the township which had hitherto remained in a wild and uncultivated state.

It is interesting to note with the above petition that the Wyandottes and the surrounding white community were in collusion; working together to achieve a desired end.

By September, the Governor-General’s office had replied to the petitions, stating that negotiations with the Wyandottes would be opened intending to receive from the natives a conveyance of the rear part of the reserve.

For inexplicable reasons, the promised negotiations did not materialize. An agreement may have been confounded by the federal elections of 1872, the ensuing Pacific Scandal and the fall of the Conservative government in 1873.

200 Ibid.
201 P.A.C., Red (Eastern) Series, Vol. 1911, n.p. Taken from Nin-Da-Waab-Jig Files.
202 Ibid.
203 Ibid.
Yet, pressure from the Southern Railway which opened in 1873, guaranteed the question of unceded rear reserve lands would not remain a dormant issue. Petitions from the County Council of Essex and the Municipal Council of the Corporation of the Township of Anderdon reappeared during the late winter and early fall of the same year.\(^{205}\)

Although both the surrounding white communities and railroad companies exerted pressures upon the Wyandottes, ruffles within the band itself took a heavier toll. Through the course of events, heated factionalism developed between the pro-collective enfranchisement group led by the White family and the gradual enfranchisement faction headed by the Warrow and Clark families. Documentation found in the Nin-Da-Waab-Jig files revealed that the Warrow-White schism had been deeply seeded. In a short narrative written by Peter Clarke, and sent to the Minister of the Interior on May 2, 1871, Clarke contested Chief Joseph White's native ancestry and right to the chieftainship. He claimed that Joseph Warrow was the rightful heir to the highest position within the band. According to the author, Joseph Warrow's father was the principle chief of the Wyandottes at the time of the Bond Head purchases of 1836. In 1838 or 1839, George Ironsides was elected head chief and succeeded by Thomas A Clark, who was then elected chief for life. When Thomas died in 1849, William Clark was elected to replace him, with Joseph White raised to the ranks of minor chief on a temporary basis. Clarke contested White's position because of the ephemeral nature of his original appointment, and on the grounds that Joseph, "[had] been a troublesome [chief] to this Band as well as an annoying one to the Indian Department ever since."\(^{206}\)

Moreover, White's heritage was called into question. Clarke claimed that Joseph White was the son of a white American who had been adopted into the Wyandotte band from infancy. During the War of 1812, White sided with the Americans, whereas Warrow remained a loyal warrior of the King. Clarke also spoke of the White family's megalomania. He wrote that "with an eye to

\(^{205}\) William MacGregor to Governor-General, January 30, 1873, P.A.C., Red (Eastern) Series, Vol. 1911, n.p. see also Ibid., Petition to Governor-General Earl of Dufferin from the Municipal Council of the Corporation of the Township of Anderdon, County of Essex, September 18, 1873, np. Taken from Nin-Da-Waab-Jig Files.

\(^{206}\) Ibid., manuscript by Peter Clarke sent to the Minister of the Interior, dated Anderdon, May 23, 1871, p.2.
their own interest, it has always been the sole aim of Joseph White and Sons to have the whole control of our tribal affairs." 207

Along with the habit of referring to tribal annuities as his own money, White apparently was rather cavalier with the band's timber resources. In the early 1860's, White pressed the band to sell off their walnut and oak timber for the sum of $730. Chief Superintendent William Sprague intervened and opening the reserves' timber lands to the highest bidder, sold them for the more lucrative sum of $3000 in 1863. Besides the lump sum, an additional $3000 was placed to the credit of the band. With nefarious business dealings, a questionable native ancestry and a palpable thirst for power in his past, Joseph White's eagerness to have the band enfranchised 'en bloc' understandably evoked disconcerting remarks from other band members. 208

Peter D. Clarke himself held questionable status within the band. Having left the Anderdon reserve in 1841 or 1842, Clarke was affiliated with the Wyandottes of the Sandusky area. In 1842 when the band relinquished the Ohio lands for property in Kansas, disbanding thirteen years later, Clarke received monies and land in the ensuing government negotiations. 209 When Clarke and his Cherokee wife returned to Anderdon in 1865, ostensibly to care for an ailing mother, Clarke found that his membership within the Anderdon band had been terminated. Existing Indian Act legislation determined that after an absence of five years an individual could only be reinstated within the band by approval of the band and the appropriate powers at the Indian Department. 210 As a testament to his waning popularity, Clark's readmission had been twice rejected by a majority of the band in 1866-67. Fortunately for Clarke, the Superintendent General William Spragge intervened and ordered Clarke's name added to the band list. 211

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207 Ibid., p. 3.
208 Ibid., pp. 2-3.
210 Ibid.
211 Ibid.
Perhaps Spragge was anxious to reinstate Clarke because of his stand on the rear concession land sales. Unlike the White group who pressed for a settlement of 'old score' issues before entering into further sales, Clarke and his faction pressed for immediate action. The sale of rear lands, Clarke argued, would save the band's resources from theft and add to the band's capital. Further, he charged that the 'old score' was irrelevant to the sale.212 Confident that Spragge was on his side, Clarke promised that should the Superintendent-General accept their delegation to Ottawa, Clarke's team would not come, "with the intention of taking you back a century to help us dig up old claims, or overhaul parchments—we cannot now undo what our forefathers have done."213

The friction exhibited throughout the sixties finally came to a head when Peter D. Clarke attempted to usurp Joseph White's postion as head chief. Claiming to have the support of other band members, Clarke challenged White's, "one man power", accusing the chief of dishonesty, theft and greed.214 In addition to the claims that Joseph Warrow was the rightful heir to the chieftanship, petitioners against White took issue with him over a particular allotment of land. Lot 20 in the first concession apparently belonged to the sons of Joseph Warrow, Jr. Yet, White had misappropriated it to his own son, Alex.215 Angered band members felt White failed to consult them, thus negating the communal ruling at band councils.216 Indeed, if White had acted dishonestly his dismissal was called for even within existing Indian Act legislation. In December 1867, the petitioners suggested remedial action be taken:

...it is now our wish and decided purpose to have Chief Joseph White deposed, and that it is our honest conviction that he is not fit to be a chief of our band.217

212 Ibid.
213 Ibid.
214 Peter D. Clarke to William Spragge, Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs, 20 December, 1866, ibid.
215 Ibid.
Clarke overestimated Spragge's support. When the Superintendent-General heard of the open revolt in Anderdon, he called for stronger legislative control over the activities of the reserve. Surprised and perhaps frightened by Clarke's bravado, Spragge no longer worked directly with Clarke, demanding that the Wyandottes solve their grievances through the local agent Mackenzie and the existing council system.\textsuperscript{218}

Although the coup attempt was eventually abortive, it more importantly shed light on the internal dynamics of the band. The communal trust of the band had been called into question by the weakening of traditional checks and balances. Combining the polemics over the sale of rear lands, the factionalism and the attempted coup, a sense of insecurity was evident. For the Wyandottes of the 1860's, new tests to their solidarity were presented as private rights began to challenge traditional, communal ones.

Although Clarke was unsuccessful in topping White's authority, he and his faction maintained Spragge's attention over the land question. In a letter dated February 22, 1867, Clarke informed Spragge that a majority of the band was willing to surrender the three rear concessions \{6,7,8,\} containing 2,700 acres, if the selling price was left to the discretion of the band.\textsuperscript{219} Clarke discarded the Whites' insistence upon the settlement of the 'old score' as the machinations of the brothers Solomon and Thomas who used the delay to exploit the resources of the lands in question:

[Solomon and Thomas B were] engaged very extensively in the cord work, besides the stone business, and they have been taking wood off the unoccupied lots of the Reserve within the last three years for their own personal benefit.\textsuperscript{220}

Clarke complained that this action was illegal and would seriously depreciate the value of reserve lands. Ignoring Clarke's accusations, Chief Joseph White rebutted by telling his people he would never give his consent to selling any of the reserve, as long as the government refused to settle the

\textsuperscript{217} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{218} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{219} Ibid., Clarke to Spragge, February 22, 1867.
\textsuperscript{220} Ibid.
'old score'. By contrast, Clarke informed Spragge:

After distributing the remainder of our reserve amongst us, we can then adopt the plan which you suggested to me in Ottawa,...let everyone have his allotment secured to him by a location paper from the department.

In the above negotiations, it was apparent that the Wyandottes were not preoccupied with the question of enfranchisement. The debate over land tenure was foremost on the minds of both factions. According to Peter D. Clarke, the state of land tenure on the reserve had been set down as early as the 1830's during Colborne's time. In a legal memo dated 1848, band members agreed to individual allotments of 200 acres. This document was now in the hands of the Whites, who, Clarke accused, interpreted the memo to their own benefit. Calling for justice, Clarke requested on February 28, 1867, that Spragge send an official blank form which the Wyandottes would complete under two headings - those for the sale and those opposed to it. Unrelenting in his incriminations against the White family, Clarke informed Spragge that Thomas and Solomon the 'Indian Lawyer' continued nefarious dealing in stone and oak timber, with the intent to secure for themselves sole claim to the stone quarry. Clarke, continued in his usual hyperbole:

I am now standing on the soil of my forefathers to watch the informal machinations of the White family--What had my people come to? Beset by an avaricious and selfish set-- trying to take advantage of them....Serpents and Scorpions....

The dispute over the sales of rear lands culminated in a council debate dated March 23, 1867. Witnessed by Charles W. Thomas, a resolution signed by eleven out of eighteen principal chiefs gave the band the option of surrendering three or four rear concessions. The residue of the reserve would:

...be secured to each member of the Band-- according to their allotted share of lands, as the whole band may arrange among themselves-- satisfactory to all, after the said surrender, by a location paper to each person in his or her own

221 Ibid.
222 Ibid.
223 Ibid.
224 Ibid.
225 Ibid., Clarke to Spragge, March 8, 1867.
rights to the same....And to have it specified in the Treaty, when regularly made and signed by both parties thereto, that it shall be, thereafter, left optional to each member of the Band as to his or her allotted share of said lands...to have their location paper made null and void, by procuring a Bonafide Deed in lieu thereof from the government, whenever said member, if considered competent by the Government may conclude to do so, and withdrawing at the same time from the Wyandotte Band, and receiving his or her equal portion of the principal in funds, belonging to the Band at the time of withdrawing.226

The above resolution represents a very important stage in the Wyandotte negotiations. In the resolutions, the Wyandottes appear to be advocating enfranchisement, stressing security of land tenure and equal capital shares as its prerequisites. Moreover, they set terms of the agreement which were much more beneficial to the Wyandottes than those listed in the existing 1857 Indian Act legislation. While the act stipulated that individuals receive no more than fifty acres of land, the Wyandottes were adamant that they receive an equal share of the entire reserve not allotted for sale.227 In spite of the deleterious affects of factionalism, the Wyandottes adopted a sophisticated bargaining style and a hardline stance on the security of band lands and capital sharing. Also, the resolution illustrated a transition in Wyandotte adaption. Once land tenure was secured, the band no longer cared if those individuals wanting to leave did so - even at the expense of land sales and incursions into old reserve boundaries. In a sense, the Wyandottes ceased to depend upon communal ownership for their survival, but on strength in individual and family land tenure.

Negotiations leading to enfranchisement were stalled by band politics. The seven principal men who refused to sign the aforementioned resolution all hailed from the White faction. In his own defense, Solomon White condemned Clarke's resolution saying that the successful completion of it would have, "Yielded in one sweep the whole of the Huron Reserve, leaving not so much as enough ground for those who refused to sign to pitch their wigwams." To complicate matters, the Visiting Superintendent Alexander MacKenzie aligned himself with the Whites, suggesting they boycott the March 23 council, thus throwing serious doubt upon the authority of Clarke to call a council.228

226 Resolution adopted by majority of band, enclosed in Clarke to Spragge, March 23, 1867, ibid.
227 Ibid. Clarke to Secretary of State, November 19, 1868.
Clark became incensed. In a letter to Spragge dated March 26, 1867, the de facto chief claimed Joseph White's failure to accept the resolution violated Wyandotte custom, which dictated that the head chief be guided by the majority of the principal men. White had overstepped his authority. However, as time dragged on, a majority of members who had originally signed the resolution withdrew their names—possibly due to effective lobbying on White's part.\(^{229}\) Confederation and the subsequent departmental shuffling prolonged the negotiations as the Indian Department became a branch of the Office of the Secretary of State.

Correspondence between Spragge and Clarke resumed in October, yet nothing appeared to have taken shape throughout fall and spring 1868. But by August 24, the Wyandottes prepared to send a delegation to Ottawa.\(^{230}\) The proposed delegation slated for fall was a mix of both White and Clarke elements. Unfortunately, the delegation never materialized, leaving Solomon White to make a solo trek to Ottawa to discuss the matters on hand.\(^{231}\)

The improved communication between the warring factions may have been due to the death of Joseph Warrow, Sr. Further, Warrow's death combined with interaction between the two groups gave the White faction a chance to regain influence among the Wyandottes.\(^{232}\)

As evident from the minutes of the Anderdon Band Council dated November 27, 1868, the majority of opinion seemed to be slanted towards the platform of the White party. In a memorial previously submitted to the Commissioner of Crown Lands the Wyandottes reiterated:

> Previous to agreeing to a further surrender of their lands for sale, the Band desired information to be furnished on several points detailed at length in that memorial, touching the receipt and the application of monies for land already surrendered in the Township of Anderdon, and their right of property or interest in, certain other lands and Islands, etc... to all which no reply had yet been given...The Band are not indisposed to execute a further surrender of their unoccu-

\(^{228}\) Ibid.

\(^{229}\) Ibid., March 26, 1867, Clarke to Spragge, see also Clarke to Spragge, July 9, 1867.

\(^{230}\) P.A.C. Red (Eastern Series), Vol. 1911. Taken from Nin-Da-Waab-Jig Files. August 24, 1868, Clarke to Secretary of State.

\(^{231}\) Ibid.

\(^{232}\) Minutes of Anderdon Band Council, November 27, 1868, ibid.
pied lands for sale for their benefit, but meanwhile respectfully request a reply to
the above mentioned memorial as a preliminary condition, or otherwise the grant-
ing of an interview to a deputation to express the mind of the Band fully in regard
to all the subjects contained in the said Memorial likewise the dispute in refer-
ence to the Fishery on Turkey Island, and the right of ownership of Peach
Island...233

Once again, the surrounding white communities quickly upheld the desires of the Wyandotte
petitioners. Surpassing the Secretary of State, the County Council of Essex petitioned directly to
Sir John Young the Governor General.234 A second petition dated eight days later on February
19, 1869 and signed by Thomas B. White235 the Reeve of the Township of Anderdon echoed ver-
batim the words of the Council:

That the occupation of one third of the Township of Anderdon as are [sic] Indian
Reserve operates most injuriously to the interests of that Township gener-
ally...That the Reserve located as it is, being a strip of land running completely
throughout the township from East to West thereby dividing the Inhabitants into
two separated and distinct settlements, making a division of interests and pre-
venting any united action being taken for the improvement of roads, or for the
proper drainage of the lands at present settled is detrimental...That the Indians for
whose benefit this portion of Anderdon was set apart are so far advanced in civil-
ization as to enter the learned professions, and to engage in all the occupations
and pursuits followed by their white brethren...That the Indians are willing and
agree to give up a part of their Reserve on condition that a settlement be made
with them of past accounts and a certain amount of land deeded to each of them.236

The plea for roads and proper drainage networks demonstrated cooperation between the Wyandotte
and other residents of Anderdon.

Petitions on behalf of the three interested parties continued throughout 1870.237 Remarks on
the cover of the Governor General's statement revealed that the Wyandottes had agreed to a sur-
render, "on condition that their claims were satisfied."238

233 Ibid.
234 County Council of Essex petition to Sir J. Young, February 11, 1869, Ibid.
235 Thomas B. White, Township of Anderdon Petition to Governor-General, dated February 19,
1869, ibid.
236 Ibid.
237 County Council of Essex petition to Sir J. Young, February 11, 1869, ibid.
238 Correspondence of the Governor-General's Office dated 23 September, 1870, ibid.
While local governments continued to issue petitions calling for the sale of rear reserve lands, the federal government revamped the existing 1857 Indian Act, in an attempt to make enfranchisement acceptable to the natives. Two important changes present in the 1869 Indian Act certainly brought the Wyandottes closer to enfranchisement. Unlike the previous act, enfranchised Indians would be given letters patent to their allocated lands. If the native passed his land down to his descendants, his children would gain fee simple title to the land. The holder of a deed in fee simple had the right to dispose of his land as he/she so wished. There was no mention of fee simple title for the Indian or his descendants in the 1857 Act. Second, the previous act stipulated that an enfranchised Indian would be allotted not more than fifty acres of reserve land. This ruling was absent from the 1869 legislations. In fact, an enfranchised native had legal claim to an equal share of the entire reserve lands once divided by the total number of family heads. Moreover, in the antiquated act, those lands allotted to the Indians became subject to taxes as well as liability for any bonafide debt. Conversely, the 1869 act removed all taxes and seizures under the legal process from those individuals holding land in life estate.

Despite the alterations, the 1869 Enfranchisement Act was not accepted wholeheartedly by the Wyandottes. Throughout 1873, several councils were held amounting to a further delegation to Ottawa to settle all outstanding issues and to debate further the terms of enfranchisement. Although the petitioners received the support of their white neighbours, a written protest against collective enfranchisement brought out pertinent points. It was argued that those individu-

239 Smith, Canadian Indians and the Law, 32 and 33 Vic 1869 Cap.6., p.75.
240 Ibid., 20 Vic 1857, Cap. 26, p.50.
241 Ibid., p. 77.
242 Ibid., p. 54.
243 Ibid., p. 59.
244 Agent Mackenzie to Minister of Interior, enclosing Band decision of September 16, 1873. Sent October 6, 1873. Petition for the Wyandottes to Governor-General Dufferin, dated September 16, 1873. Nin-Da-Waab-Jig Files.
245 Township of Anderdon petition to the Governor-General, September 18, 1873, ibid.
als considered "dissipated and reckless" at least had a collective home to which to retreat. If such persons were allowed to own land in fee simple, "most if not all of them would sell to designing persons, both within and outside of the band in less than six months, and become homeless and destitute".246

By September 22, 1873, the anxieties of James Clark, Joseph Warrow, William Hunt and James Leslie247 reached the Minister of the Interior. They argued that the Wyandottes of Anderdon as a single body were not ready to be enfranchised. Some individuals were incapable of managing their own affairs, and should they be enfranchised, would become a burden upon their more responsible band members. The protesting members did agree however, to the sale of the stone quarry and the rear concessions of their reserve containing 3,600 acres, with the monies to be deposited into the band fund to increase its semi-annual payments. Their protest was renewed on February 16, 1874 and again on February 22, 1875. Fifteen principal men supported collective enfranchisement and four, probably the authors of the aforementioned petitions, were against it.248

Now that the 'old score' had been considered, Solomon and Joseph White and Alexander Clark were keen in their attempts to introduce collective enfranchisement to the Wyandottes. While the Warrow-Clark group tried to convince officials that collective enfranchisement was inappropriate for the band, the White-Clark faction sought an interview with the minister to make arrangements for a surrender of the surplus lands within the reserve.249

By November 5, 1873, the Wyandottes met at the Anderdon Council house to decide their future. Past land cessions had opened all but 8,000 acres of the reserve and 200 acres of quarry to outside settlement. The seventy-five band members agreed to divide their remaining land into

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246 Joseph Warrow, et. al. to Spragge, DSIA, February 16, 1874, Ibid.

247 In 1870, P.D. Clarke followed his wife to Oklahoma. Although he would return periodically, the leadership of the Warrow-Clark faction fell upon Joseph Warrow, Jr.


249 To the Minister of the Interior, September 22, 1874, ibid.
individual lots. Residual lands were to be sold for the benefit of band members with the principle and other monies divided evenly among them. Members of both factions, including Joseph White, Solomon White, Alexander Clarke, Joseph Clark, Thomas B. White, Lewis Warrow, Thomas Warrow and John Clark took part in this decision. Following the petition, Superintendent Robert MacKenzie informed the Minister of the Interior that the Wyandotte band was capable of being enfranchised en masse.

Sensing that the 1869 Indian Act legislation would not meet the demands of the Wyandottes, MacGregor, the Warden of Essex, petitioned the Governor General, praying for amendments to the act which would meet with Wyandotte approval. Meanwhile, the opponents of band enfranchisement continued their petitions throughout the year 1874. In part, the Warrow-Clarke faction protested against the more miscegenated members of the group:

We are against any such disposition being made of this remnant of our inheritance which we now hold from our Fathers - both land and monies - often surrendering a portion of our reserve as we propose and which lands and funds we consider according to the Act of 1869...is reserved for Indians only and not for the nearly all white of our Band, born since the passage of the said Act.

In an interesting twist of loyalties, the process of enfranchisement was deferred by the Warden himself. Possibly because Solomon and Thomas B. White had successfully worked against MacGregor's Liberal politics in the recent past, the Warden reported to the Minister of the Interior that the Wyandottes as a group were not ready to enfranchise:

Their social and moral condition is not in any way in advance of the larger portion of the Indians of the Province of Ontario. True, one of their number studied law and is now a vine grower and wine producer [Solomon White]-but he can obtain individual enfranchisement under current law.

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251 Ibid.

252 MacGregor to Governor-General, February 5, 1874. Forwarding petition of County Council of Essex, ibid.

253 Warrow et. al. to Spragge February 16, 1874, ibid.

254 Ibid., dated April 10, 1874, np.
The protests and petitions of 1874 led all parties concerned to push for a special act allowing for immediate enfranchisement of those individuals who so wished, as well as gradual enfranchisement for the band members who were not ready to submit to the act.\textsuperscript{255} With this, Solomon White cautioned that governmental delay was costly, both to the popularity of enfranchisement, and to the band members themselves.\textsuperscript{256}

Factionalism remained within the band. White's plea for a revamped enfranchisement act was ridiculed by Peter D. Clarke:

All, all their craft and cunning finally shaped itself into one grand scheme for the disintegration of our little Empire- the Huron Reserve...It would be a nice thing indeed for them if their scheme could be carried out.\textsuperscript{257}

The government had also reached an impasse in the enfranchisement talks, with the 1874 session ending without action.

A portion of the delay was caused by the natives' reluctance to accept the unamended terms of the enfranchisement act. The White-Clark faction wanted the law changed incorporating a clause which would allow reserved lands, "allotted and patented to them respectively in such proportion as may appear [illegible] in fee simple."\textsuperscript{258} In order to expedite matters, the Wyandottes were willing to make a compromise. If the government granted individuals within the band the freedom to choose the enfranchisement method they wished, the Wyandottes would begin selling off unallotted reserve lands with the proceeds as well as the capital to be divided equally among the members of the band as they became enfranchised.\textsuperscript{259}

\textsuperscript{255} Agent Mackenzie to Minister of Interior, January 5, 1873, ibid.

\textsuperscript{256} Ibid., February 16, 1874.

\textsuperscript{257} P.D. Clarke to Minister of the Interior, May 2, 1874, ibid.

\textsuperscript{258} Wyandotte Petition to His Excellency the Earl of Dufferin, dated January 27, 1875, n. cit. Taken from Nin-Da-Waab-Jig file 10-B. See also, "Act for the Gradual Enfranchisement of Indians, the Better Management of Indian Affairs, etc.,", 31 Vic. Cap.42 (1869) in Smith, \textit{Canadian Indians and the Law: Selected Documents, 1663-1973}, pp. 73-78.

\textsuperscript{259} MacGregor to the Minister of the Interior, 5 January 1875, ibid.
The succeeding year would be the watershed. The native factions grew further apart as enfranchisement became a reality and the White-Clark group triumphed over the Warrow-Clarks.

This is not to say that Joseph Warrow and his lot readily acquiesced. On February 16, 1875, Warrow and John Clark addressed Minister of the Interior, David Laird, with additional demands. Although they still countenanced the sale of the rear portion of their reserve at public auction, and agreed that deeds in fee simple eventually be given to the band's homesteaders, Warrow and Clark demanded special protection. They wanted the lots to remain free of taxation as long as they remained in native possession. Warrow and Clark steadfastly opposed collective enfranchisement and continued to petition the government, demanding that each individual be allowed to make his own decision.

To act as a check against the wrongful enfranchisement of less capable individuals, Clark and Warrow argued that the band be given time to form proof against an individual's qualifications. They believed that the incompetent, unindustrious and intemperate were easy prey for enterprising people, and needed their lands retained in common for their own benefit. Lastly, the Warrow faction agreed with the enfranchisement act's stipulation that enfranchised Indians relinquish all band rights.260

For his part, Robert MacKenzie pressed for an amendment to the enfranchisement act that would allow hesitant Wyandottes, "to stay the same with privileges of accepting free titles and enfranchisement...as they may afterward choose".261 Conversely, in a petition dated March 16, 1875, Chief Joseph White and Alexander Clarke echoed a former petition by informing the Deputy Minister of the Interior, E.A. Meredith that they would sell surplus lands if their efforts would bring them closer to enfranchisement.262 Not only would enfranchisement give them fee simple title to land, but also the chance to hold any municipal office. In the future, Solomon White

260 Joseph Warrow and John Clark to D. Laird, Minister of the Interior, dated Anderdon, February 16, 1875. Taken from Nin-Da-Waab-Jig File 10-8, no. cit.

261 Ibid.

262 Petition from Anderdon, March 16, 1875 to E.A. Meredith, Esq., Dept. Hon. Minister of the Interior, ibid.
would capitalize on his enfranchised status by becoming the mayor of Windsor for the year 1890, and as a member of the Ontario Legislature.263

By late March, 1875, a further cession of native property in Anderdon occurred, and with it a rekindled interest in collective enfranchisement. Again, in a petition to David Laird, Joseph Warrow and John Clark prayed for a change in legislation allowing for gradual enfranchisement. They added that even if a person was temperate and very competent, he should still be allowed the choice.

The petition reiterated the fact that people from within and outside the band may have been abusing the privilege of enfranchisement. The wary petitioners noted, "we...fear that it is only to [sic] true that there are others of the Band who do not really want to sell except they can see their way clear to obtain the lion's share". Additionally, the presence of the Minister of the Interior at the upcoming cession was heartedly requested by the Essex County Warden. Over his feud with the Whites, MacGregor was afraid the natives would not agree to a surrender without David Laird. He wrote, "It would be a great benefit to this county as well as to me politically to have this matter closed. Be persuaded to come and I will take it as a personal favor..."264

The Warrow faction shared the Whites' desire to sell surplus land for the benefit of the band, despite its unwillingness to accept a common route to enfranchisement. On August 20, 1875, a further cession of 2,700 acres took place.265 Lands were to be sold for the benefit of the Wyandottes, and also subject to the condition that each band member receive a bonus of 100 dollars out of the first monies to be received from the sale of the lands.266 [See map D ]

263 Frederick Neal, The Township of Sandwich, Past and Present (Windsor: The Record Printing Co., Ltd., 1909, Reprinted by the Essex County Historical Association and the Windsor Public Library Board, 1979), p.141.

264 Joseph Warrow to David Laird, dated Amherstburg, P.O., March 29, 1875. Taken from Nin-Da-Waab-Jig File 10-08, n.cit. see also Ibid., William McGregor to David Laird, dated Windsor, August 5, 1875.


266 Ibid., p. 10.
The purpose of the $100 bonus was to help relieve band members of past debts. On August 31, Robert MacKenzie informed David Laird that certain unspoken promises existed within the terms of the August 20th cession. It was with these tacit stipulations that the concept of enfranchisement was brought to the reserve in full force. With the treaty, unceded lands were allocated to male band members in 100 acre lots. Female members would receive fifty acre parcels. Both allotments would be in fee simple. The remaining lands were to be disposed of in a manner agreeable to both the band and the Department of Indian Affairs. Secondly, a bill providing for the immediate enfranchisement of all members of the Band, "who appear competent and worthy of the privilege", and for the gradual enfranchisement of the remaining Wyandottes was brought into Parliament. Lastly, in confirmation of the Warrow faction's suspicions, the quarry lot, receiving an annual revenue of $500 was granted to Thomas B. White.267

In a tabular statement of various tribes of Indians in the different Provinces of the Dominion of Canada for the year 1875, it was recorded that only 7,600 acres remained in the possession of the Anderdon Wyandottes. Thirty-four males and forty-two females remained at the reserve, and collectively had made $19,600 worth of improvements on their lands. Included in these improvements were twenty-five personal dwellings, twelve log and thirteen frame houses. Eight-hundred acres of their land were under cultivation; 500 under pasture and 6,000 still consisted of wood lot. The reserve land was valued at $30/acre, which save for the lands owned by the Mississaugas of Scugog, was considered top price. In 1875, surrendered lands disposable for the benefit of the band amounted to 300 acres at a value of $17/acre. The total worth of the reserve in 1875 was estimated at $233,100.

This tabular statement also included agricultural statistics. The Wyandottes owned twenty-five ploughs, fifteen harrows, twenty wagons and fifteen fanning mills. Included in their livestock count were thirty horses, fifty cows, seventy-three sheep, one-hundred-fifty pigs and two hundred 'young stock'. Annual crops included 1,200 bushels of corn, six hundred bushels of wheat, two

hundred bushels of peas, eighty bushels of potatoes, 1,000 bushels of oats and two hundred tons of hay. Apparently, trapping muskrat and the raising of mink were also practiced at the reserve, bringing in a yearly revenue of 300 dollars, and was noted as the only industry on the reserve.\textsuperscript{268}

In another return filed the same year, Robert MacKenzie described the Wyandotte of Anderson as possessing, "good moral standing", but also noted that they had intermarried to the point where pure native ancestry was almost eliminated.\textsuperscript{269} True to their promise to relinquish the rear lands, the Wyandottes sold most of the three rear concessions, receiving a profit of $41,718.25, for a yielded acreage of 2,479.5.\textsuperscript{270}

On April 21, 1876, the government passed, "An Act to Amend and Consolidate the Laws Respecting Indians [The Indian Act]". Although meant for all Indian tribes east of Lake Superior, the amendments found within the new act seem to have been written exclusively for the Wyandottes. The new act allowed for any unmarried woman over the age of twenty-one to be enfranchised and hold land in fee simple title. Also probationary tickets for individual allotments of land would be issued to each Indian. After a period of three years the location ticket became a letter patent granting the native fee simple title to the land. Children who reached twenty-one years while their parents were under the probationary period would, at the discretion of the Governor in Council, receive letters patent to their share of band lands. Further, the amount of acreage each individual received was determined by the band, provided that each female of any age, and each male under the age of fourteen received at least fifty percent of the total quantity allotted to each adult male.\textsuperscript{271} The new act also gave the Wyandottes the power to allow outside or non-treaty Indians to share in land allotments and fee simple title.\textsuperscript{272} Lastly, after a further period of three

\textsuperscript{268} Canada, Legislative Assembly of Canada, \textit{Sessional Papers} (1876), Return H, Tabular Statement showing census, progress in agriculture, fish and Furs taken, etc., for the year 1875, p. 89.

\textsuperscript{269} Return for the year ended 30 June 1874, Vol. VIII, no. 7. np.


\textsuperscript{271} Smith, \textit{Canadian Indians and the Law}, p. lll.

\textsuperscript{272} Ibid., pp. lll-ll2.
years, enfranchised Indians could separate from the band, claiming their share in the capital funds, principal annuities of the band, claiming also for their wives and children.²⁷³

Following the introduction of the new Indian Act, the enfranchisement of the Wyandottes continued at an accelerated pace. At the end of 1876, the Wyandottes of Anderdon collectively gave up an estimated 217 acres of marsh and arable land for the sum of one Canadian dollar. [See map D] These lands were given fee simple title and parcelled out to various members of the White family. Solomon White would gain fee simple title to the 167 acres. His wife Mary, received a fifty acre parcel. Lastly, Chief Joseph White gained the ceded marsh lands.²⁷⁴

By the following year, the Wyandottes had already served one-half of the probationary period required for enfranchisement.²⁷⁵ Also, land, timber and stone sales had generated a revenue of $2,975.95 by June 30, 1878.²⁷⁶ Together, the push towards enfranchisement and the desire for increased revenues led to further surrenders.

A surrender of May 7, 1879 was unique in that it provided for the allotment of certain lands in fee simple to female members of the band, namely Victoria Maguire, Almira Clark, Christine Ramon, Catherine Bernard and Charlotte March. [See Map G] By providing for women who had married white men, the treaty transgressed contemporary Indian Act legislation of 1876. Under

²⁷³ Ibid., p. 114.

²⁷⁴ *Canada, Indian Treaties and Surrenders from 1690-1890*, Vol. II, no. 167, pp. 66-67. The treaty included the, "southerly two-thirds part of lot number thirteen, in the first concession of the said Township of Anderdon, containing sixty-seven acres, more or less, and the south half of the south half of lot number eight, in the third concession...containing one hundred acres, more or less. Secondly: the south half of the south half of lot number seven, in the third concession...containing fifty acres, more or less. And Thirdly: the Indian marsh....Commencing at the point where the westerly boundary line of lot number thirty-three, in the first concession...is intersected by the channel bank or centre of the River Canard; thence south-westerly following the said channel bank...to its mouth at a point intersecting the westerly boundary line of lot number twenty-two, in the first concession...thence on the course of the said last mentioned westerly boundary line...produced, to the channel bank of the River Detroit to a point intersecting the westerly boundary line of the said lot number thirty-three...thence following the said last-mentioned boundary line eastwardly to the place of beginning.


²⁷⁶ *Canada, Legislative Assembly of Canada, Sessional Papers* (1878) np..
the Indian Act, once a woman married a non-Indian, she immediately lost all rights and privileges of her band, except the right to share in annuities. Since all of the reserve lands had been allotted to individual members by 1879, parcels of land given to band members who had married non-Indians had to be given out by gift, as was the situation in this treaty.\textsuperscript{277}

In an additional treaty made on the same day, Solomon White was given fee simple title to the water lot in front of the southerly two-thirds of lot thirteen in the first concession.\textsuperscript{278} The fact that Joseph Warrow signed the December 21, 1877 and the May 7, 1879 treaties is rather puzzling. One possible answer may have been a willingness to give members of the White faction fee simple title to additional lands, hoping to hasten that group’s enfranchisement. By doing so, enfranchised members relinquished all band privileges. Thus, upon enfranchisement, Joseph White would cease to be the Chief of the Wyandottes, and the influence of the White-Clark faction on the rest of the band would dissipate.

The land surrenders continued throughout the early eighties. On April 27, 1880, the water lot fronting lot eighteen in the first concession was given to the government along with a tract referred to as ‘Grass Island’.\textsuperscript{279} With this last surrender, the Wyandottes were well on their way to relinquishing their native status. In fact, E. Watson of the Western Superintendency at Sarnia remarked to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs:

\begin{quote}
Of the tribes within this Superintendency, the farthest advanced is doubtless the Wyandottes of Anderdon. This tribe having nearly completed their probationary term, expects to be enfranchised during the ensuing year.\textsuperscript{280}
\end{quote}

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\textsuperscript{277} Ibid., Return B., np.
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\textsuperscript{278} Canada, \textit{Indian Treaties and Surrenders from 1690-1890}, Vol. I, no. 216, p. 156.
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\textsuperscript{279} Ibid.
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The year ending June 30, 1880 generated land sales amounting to $3,997.08 in revenue to be shared by the ninety individuals still residing on the reserve. By 1881, the Wyandottes had completed the three year probationary period for enfranchisement, and under the provisions of the 1880 Indian Act were entitled to letters patent for their property and to have the band's capital amounting to $69,827.59 divided among them upon completing a second three year probationary period.281

By June 1886, only 344.25 acres, roughly the size of four entire lots, remained in reserve possession.282 On December 16 of the same year, a further cession of fifty acres occurred. As a sign of dwindling band membership, only James Clark and William Hunt left their legal


282 Ibid., p. iii. Taken from Nin-Da-Waab-Jig file 10-07.

283 P.A.C., RG 10 Red (Eastern) Series, Vol. 19I, Ext. 43370. Surrender from the Wyandotte Indians to Her Majesty the Queen dated May 16, 1883. Taken from Nin-Da-Waab-Jig Files. On April 25, 1882 the Wyandottes ceded the gore in the south half of lot nineteen in the first concession, a total of 627/100 acres. Entitlement in fee simple was granted to Lewis Warrrow.

Again for the price of one dollar, one of the last large cessions commenced on May 16, 1883. This eleven part treaty ceded an estimated 495 acres of land to be held in trust until deed in fee simple could be conveyed upon the mentioned parties. The first cession comprised of sixty-eight acres in lot twenty-eight in the first concession, located immediately east of the Queen's highway, also known as the front road and running in an easterly direction for the whole of the lot. This land would be held in trust for Lewis Warrrow. The second allotment of fifty acres lay in the southwest part of lot number six in the fifth concession, and was reserved for a Wyandotte widow. Third, title to fifty acres in the north eastern quarter of lot seven, concession three would be held in trust for an unmarried woman named Mary McKee. Fourth, twenty-five acres in the east half of the northeast quarter of lot twenty-three in the first concession was held in trust to be granted to Israel Splitlog. The fifth allotment of land was to be held for Joseph White, Jr., who residing in Windsor, worked as a wine merchant. It comprised twenty-five acres in the west half of the northeast corner of lot twenty-three in the first concession. The sixth cession was to be held in trust for Solomon White who also resided in Windsor. The parcel contained seventy-nine acres, located in lot twenty-seven of concession one, and the western part of lot twenty-eight, which fronted the Queen's highway in the same concession. Also, fifty acres in lot eight in the fifth concession was to be held for Mr. White. Additionally, the south-east quarter of lot ten in the second cession was allotted to Solomon on behalf of Mary Corrine White, the only daughter of the deceased Peter White, one of the principle men of the band. The eighth portion of land, located in the east half of the northeast quarter of lot six in concession five was given to George G. Clark. Alexander White received the ninth portion comprised of twenty-five acres in the
In 1888, the total acreage of the Anderdon reserve was reduced to 145.61. Six years later, the final treaty ceding all unsurrendered and undisposed lands in the Anderdon Reserve was signed on November 2, 1892.

Census returns provided the conclusion of the Wyandotte Reserve's three hundred year history. From 1880 until 1890, there were 98 members of the Wyandotte band at Anderdon. Two years after the final surrender of undisposed lands, the population plummeted to ten. Those individuals remaining at Anderdon were regarded as stragglers, and ultimately disappeared from census records by the early twentieth century.

The final chapter of the Wyandottes' history as a band closed in 1914 with the last payment of band capital funds and the termination of the band's account with the Indian Department. Yet, if the Wyandottes of Anderdon legally ceased to exist as a native community, they continued to play an integral part in the life of the town and surrounding area as individuals. A "Statement submitted in connection with the Final Report of Wyandotte Funds" dated March 3, 1914, revealed that the majority of the enfranchised Wyandottes enjoyed a comfortable standard of living and assimilated into the general population of the Windsor-Detroit area, both by intermarriage and commercial relationships.

western half of the northwest quarter of lot six, concession five. The east half of the southwest quarter of lot number seven in concession two, containing twenty-five acres was given to Louis Warrow. Lastly, according to the agreements made on May 16, 1883, Thomas Warrow would receive title in fee simple to twenty-five acres in the west half of the southwest quarter of lot seven in concession two. [See Map G] See also Canada, Indian Treaties and Surrenders, 1690-1890, Vol. II, no. 236, p. 192.

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Chapter VI
CONCLUSION

It was the intent of this paper to focus on the Huron-Wyandotte's ability to adapt to their environment throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Perhaps due to their experience as middlemen in the fur trade of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Huron-Wyandottes were amenable to Cadillac and the Roman Catholic mission set up in the Detroit River area. Following their dispersion by the Iroquois in 1647 and relocation to the Detroit area, the Huron-Wyandottes grew from refugees to successful colonists, regrouping into a cohesive, Christian sedentary and highly agricultural group. Although traditional agriculturalists, the transition from war refugees to comfortable farmers required certain adaptive measures which at times challenged the solidarity of the band. For instance, the shift from an independent and commercially successful Huronia to a French outpost not only meant a devolution in political status, but required a modification of their spirituality.

The Hurons, immersed in the doctrines of Catholicism since the advent of the first missionaries, held a distinct advantage at Detroit over other war refugees like the Petuns and Neutrals who were still practising traditional religion at the onset of the Iroquoian wars. Yet solidarity was threatened among Hurons by Orontony and his rebellious group of traditionalists who broke away from the Catholic faction to re-emerge as the Wendot of Ohio.

The Huron-Wyandottes of the Detroit area were not pawns of the French. True to their past roll as middlemen, the band traded furs and land originally given to them by Cadillac for religious, medical and domestic services offered by the Huron mission at Detroit. Soon the Huron-Wyandotte cultivated a symbiotic relationship with the first resident missionary, Pere Potier.
After the Conquest the Huron-Wyandottes adjusted to a large influx of Loyalists who sought refuge in British North America, but the bellicose conditions on the Great Lakes between 1763 and 1814 strengthened the Huron-Wyandottes military ties with Britain. Since border relations were tenuous, the governments need for a loyal fighting force assured the natives of their autonomy and importance within the community.

Yet, affinity with Britain came at a price. Unlike the French system of miscegenation, the Britons preferred to settle natives on reserves. These were sometimes elastic and often shrunk in size to accommodate the influx of white settlers.

Peace on the Great Lakes frontier, combined with the end of the fur trade, ushered the Huron-Wyandottes into a 'period of irrelevance' when natives no longer were needed for their trading or fighting prowess. A consolidation of land holdings became necessary since their ability to grant land to the Crown became the key to their survival within the community. Out of this necessity, the Huron-Wyandottes not only developed a sophisticated bargaining skill but also a keen sense of foresight. In an attempt to maintain peace within the growing white community, the Huron-Wyandottes willingly granted land for church purposes, road ways, and timber supplies. Yet, when the proposal of land cessions threatened their survival, as in the abortive 1833 treaty and the ensuing Bond Head talks, the Huron-Wyandottes stood firm in their demands. In the latter half of the nineteenth century they held on to their lands as security and also as important bargaining tools in which to change Indian legislation.

From the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Wyandottes consolidated within Anderson, a reserve which had been set up for their use since the McKee purchase of 1990. Further, by the 1830's the Wyandottes not only proved their agility at hard-line bargaining, but also their supremacy over indigenous tribes such as the Chippewa, Pottawatomie and Ottawa.

By the 1850's internal stresses, unmatched since the Orontony rebellion began to change the internal dynamics of the Wyandotte band. Factionalism between traditionalists and progressives, and miscegenation not only changed the Wyandotte outlook on the surrounding white society, but

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288 See E. Palmer Patterson, The Canadian Indian, (Don Mills: 1972)
also, it redefined how the Wyandottes viewed themselves. Squabbles over authority and inheritance rights made it difficult for the band to act as a cohesive group when dealing with the government and outside communities. Moreover, the fissures in group solidarity revealed deeper flaws in the tribal structure.

Many Wyandottes, like Solomon and Thomas B. White played integral roles both within and outside the reserve. As a European lifestyle gained more acceptance among the band, communal living - most importantly group ownership of land - held less attraction. Increasingly cynical over dealings with the government, as well as tribal leadership, the security of individual land tenure preoccupied the Wyandottes throughout the last decades of the nineteenth century.

A series of enfranchisement acts were introduced to the Anderdon natives between 1857 and 1876 offering individual land security at the price of band membership. Yet for the Wyandottes, enfranchisement itself was superfluous to the acts' promise of fee simple land title. An enfranchised Indian would cease to be an Indian in a legal sense. In exchange, the enfranchised individual would share in all the benefits and responsibilities of the white community.

The implications of enfranchisement must also be considered. Legally, when the majority of Wyandottes completed their three year probationary period and were enfranchised in 1880, they ceased to be Indian. Although their names did not appear on the record books as a native group after the band's account was closed in March 1914, many Wyandottes continued to be active in the life of the township. But the question remains, how much 'Indianess' was left in them at the point of enfranchisement? In a recent article, J.R. Miller bemoaned the lack of scholarship in Canadian native miscegenation.289 Utilizing Miller's definition, the Huron-Wyandottes of Anderdon can be classified as a Metis group. This begs a further question. To what degree did miscegenation and assimilation affect the band? Neither Thomas B. nor Solomon White elected to have their native heritage printed in biographies published in a 1881 atlas.290


ing from 1861 to 1891 revealed that the majority of Anderdon men married white women.\textsuperscript{291} A 1914 report noted that the seventy-four year old Mary McKee remained "the only person with the exception of Harriet Lafoire that shows any trace of Indian blood".\textsuperscript{292}

Lastly, throughout the decades, the natives had chosen such diverse European-style occupations as lawyers, vineculturalists, music teachers, authors, quarry operators and athletes.\textsuperscript{293} The more traditional roles had been disregarded, especially by the elite of the band. Thus, in language, occupation and physical appearance the Huron-Wyandottes ceased to be Indian in the traditional sense.

The story of the Wyandottes is not a tragedy. After they disbanded, the majority of them lived a comfortable, often wealthy existence. Men like Joseph Warrow and Solomon White who had been principal men within the band continued their political careers in Sandwich and Windsor respectively.

This thesis was undertaken in an attempt to solve a mystery of local history - What happened to the Wyandottes? It evolved into a much larger question - Why had the Indian Act of 1876 succeeded in attracting only one band to enfranchise en masse? In the process of research a third, perhaps emotional and certainly germane question to today's native historians must be asked - What does it mean to be Indian? If a conclusion can be drawn over this question, it is that the history of the Huron-Wyandottes of Anderdon Township called for a new definition of the term.

\textsuperscript{291} For census documentation see Canada Census Records 1861 (reel C-1020, 1021), 1871 (9888), 1881 (13280), 1891 (T6335)


\textsuperscript{293} Ibid.


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Appendix B

MCKEE PURCHASE, MAY 19, 1790
Appendix C

MALDEN - CROWN RESERVES
Appendix D

ANDERDON - 1836 TREATIES
Appendix E

ANDERDON - SURRENDER, 1848-1877
Appendix G

LAKE ERIE AND ISLAND SESSIONS, JANUARY 20, 1870
Appendix H

ANDERDON SESSIONS, 1879-1886
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