

# **Making a Community**

## **Land Policy in the Kawartha Lakes**

A thesis submitted to McGill University in partial fulfilment of  
the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts

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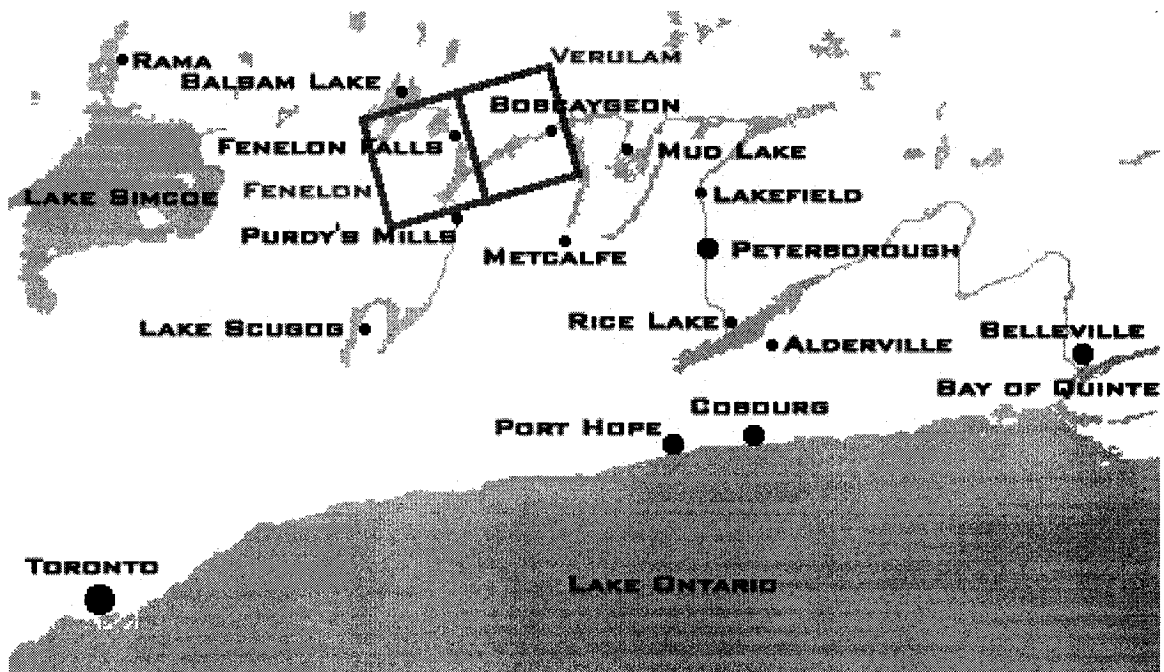
Between the mid-eighteenth and the mid-nineteenth centuries, the Crown coordinated a revolution in land usage in the Kawartha Lakes, as elsewhere in the colony, through 'civilization' and land redistribution. Attempts to change native society and build settler communities did not quite unfold the way the government intended. 'Civilization' helped the Mississauga farm and taught skills that eased interaction with colonial society, but they continued to produce much of their food by traditional means. Speculation isolated settlers and made land acquisition more difficult, though some speculators provided essential services. Most immigrants bought land privately and many were not able to establish themselves as farmers. Preferential grants were particularly poor at distributing land to settlers and Crown or Clergy Reserves sales were much more likely to transfer property directly to users. The transition to agricultural land usage occurred largely through the state's mediation of conflicting claims to access.

Entre les mi-dix-huitième et mi-dix-neuvième siècles, la Couronne a coordonné une révolution dans l'utilisation de terre dans la région des lacs Kawartha, de même qu'ailleurs dans la colonie par la « civilisation » et de la redistribution de la terre. Le gouvernement n'a pas prévu les résultats produits suite à leurs tentatives de changer les communautés indigènes de la société pour ensuite construire les communautés de colons. La « civilisation » a aidé la ferme de Mississauga et a soulagée l'interaction avec la société coloniale, mais elles ont continué à produire beaucoup de leur nourriture par des moyens traditionnels. La spéculation a isolé les colons et il a été plus difficile d'acquérir la terre, bien que quelques spéculateurs aient fourni des services essentiels. La plupart des immigrants ont acquis la terre en privé et beaucoup ne pouvaient pas s'établir comme fermiers. Les subventions préférentielles étaient particulièrement inefficaces pour distribuer la terre aux colons et les ventes de réservations de la Couronne ou du clergé étaient un moyen plus certain pour transférer une propriété aux utilisateurs. La transition à l'utilisation de région agricole s'est produite en grande partie par la médiation de l'État des réclamations contradictoires concernant les problèmes d'accès.

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# Introduction

In the span of about three generations, Southern Ontario transformed from the home of the Mississauga and Chippewa to a settler colony, where the descendants of its former occupants were a very small fraction of the population and had officially recognized title, mostly in trust, to a very small fraction of the land. “The Great Land Rush,” as John Weaver termed it, was unfolding across the globe and it was “one of the greatest distributions of resources in history.”<sup>1</sup> In Fenelon and Verulam Townships, the focus of this study, the change was even more drastic. Within two generations, the Mississauga owned no land and no ‘Indians,’ as defined by the Gradual Civilization Act, lived in either township.

At the same time, the relationship between land and people changed. Weaver observes the spread of “ideas about land improvements and the possibilities for increasing income through rents and greater production” derived from the colonizers’ culture “laden with obsessions about landed property and the power or profits that it could convey.” He suggests that the “cultural ideal of improvement” and “institutionalized access to land ownership by people of modest means”<sup>2</sup> shaped the emerging communities.

Weaver characterizes “The Great Land Rush” as “a messy convergence of private impertinence and the coercive might of the state.” He emphasizes the Crown’s crucial role in mediating attempts to increase the “less-than-absolute rights [that] proliferated on frontiers.”<sup>3</sup> In Upper Canada, the state upheld rights facilitating the simultaneous transformation of land ownership and usage. The Crown asserted and justified sovereignty, though in somewhat ambiguous and questionable terms, that allowed it to mediate the process. It then began convincing native leaders to transfer land title. It tried to make the treaties seem just, but Crown officials knew from the start that the natives’ dispossession was not as ‘legitimate’ as they would have liked and became increasingly attentive to procedure.

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<sup>1</sup> John Weaver, *The Great Land Rush and the Making of the Modern World, 1650-1900*, (Kingston & Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2003), p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Weaver, *The Great Land Rush*, pp. 11, 13.

<sup>3</sup> Weaver, *The Great Land Rush*, pp. 5, 49.

While it dispossessed the natives of much of their territory, the state tried to reconstruct their society and land usage. ‘Civilization’ was intended to allow the natives to “become one with your white brethren”<sup>4</sup> by revolutionizing their economy, lifestyle, culture, language and appearance. Ideally, these changes would allow them to use land as the colonists did, each requiring less. The natives could then subsist in much smaller areas, ideally with more comfort than before, while allowing large-scale immigration. ‘Civilization’ was also an important part of the legitimization of the land redistribution because natives could not be left without a place to live or a way of subsisting. But though it was part of “The Great Land Rush,” many government and church leaders sincerely believed that it would help the natives.

Once the state could claim ‘legitimate’ land title, it turned to the task of dividing territory between settlers. The Crown tried both granting and selling land. Throughout the settlement period, land speculation was rampant in the colony and prompted many to condemn the land distribution system. The speculators varied widely. Some simply held land with the hope that its value would increase, but others were extremely influential figures in the development of their communities.

The way the state and speculators redistributed land was pivotal to the success or failure of millions of immigrants. Although some chose to bypass the system and squat, eventually occupants acquired ‘legitimate’ title for almost all of southern Ontario. For settlers, whom they had to buy land from, where it was located, and how much it cost, could determine whether they established themselves as farmers. The land distribution system also isolated many pioneers in ‘the backwoods.’ They were not truly on their own, of course, because the Mississauga were still using the land, but their distance from many essential services was inconvenient. The natives and the settlers formed a community of sorts, though they faced cultural and linguistic barriers. The state also mediated this interaction through laws on ‘Indians’ and colonists. Claiming that the natives could not care for themselves, the government managed their finances, oversaw their use of land, and considered removing them from their scattered settlements. The Crown’s framework

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<sup>4</sup> T. G. Anderson, in *Minutes of the General Council of Indians and Principal Men, Held at Orillia, Lake Simcoe Narrows, On Thursday, the 30<sup>th</sup>, and Friday, the 31<sup>st</sup>, 1846 on the Proposed Removal of the Smaller Communities and the Establishment of Manual Labour Schools*, (Montreal: Canada Gazette Office, 1846), p. 7.

for interaction, the law and government management of the Mississauga upheld settlers' claims to the region and severely curtailed the bands' land rights outside of their reserves.

This study examines the redistribution of land, focusing on the communities in and around Fenelon and Verulam Townships, which are in the former Victoria County, on the upper Kawartha Lakes. The first chapter looks at land policy across the colony. Since policies differed greatly for natives and settlers, they are examined separately. It provides context for the remainder, which examines the contours of "The Great Land Rush" and the rules of interaction that facilitated it in the two townships in light of these themes. The whole Rice Lake Band is considered because their lifestyle precluded pinning people down to two townships. And, since they were confined to reserves and excluded from land redistribution in these townships, they do not figure in the largely quantitative analysis of land distribution.

The Kawartha Lakes are northeast of Toronto, surrounding Peterborough, Lindsay, Bobcaygeon and Fenelon Falls. They form a waterway to the interior and many early settlers thought they could be profitably developed. Improvements began in 1833 when businessman James Bethune built a lock at Bobcaygeon on a government tender. Work on the route continued throughout the century and it eventually became the Trent-Severn waterway, linking Trenton on Lake Ontario with Port Severn on Georgian Bay via Lake Simcoe and Rice Lake. But it was not a commercial success.

The Mississauga lived north of Lake Erie and Lake Ontario. They are also called Ojibwa, Anishinabeg or even Chippewa, although this term usually refers to people further north or west. They migrated from around Lake Superior near the end of the seventeenth century.<sup>5</sup> The Mississauga in the Kawartha Lakes region were generally known as the Rice Lake Band, even though they also frequently camped on Mud (Chemong) Lake and Lake Scugog. They took advantage of local geography through hunting, fishing and gathering. Rice Lake is named for the wild rice growing like "fields of wheat" in it and some nearby lakes.<sup>6</sup> It fed the Mississauga and abundant waterfowl.

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<sup>5</sup> George Copway, *The Traditional History and Characteristic Sketches of the Ojibway Nation*, (Toronto: Prospero, 2001 [1850]), pp. 68-85; Leroy V. Eid, "The Ojibwa-Iroquois War: The War the Five Nations Did Not Win," *Ethnohistory* 26, no. 4, (Autumn 1979), p. 299; Paudash, "The Coming of the Mississaugas," transcribed by J. Hamton Burnham, *Valley of the Trent*, ed. Edwin Guillet, (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1957), p. 9.

<sup>6</sup> George Copway, *The Life, History, and Travels, of Kah-Ge-Ga-Gah-Bowh (George Copway)...*, (Albany: Weed and Parsons, 1847), p. 65.



These lakes are on limestone, increasing the concentration of dissolved minerals and making fish much more plentiful than in lakes on the Canadian Shield.

The immigrants similarly had to work with the area's geography. The Canadian Shield starts near the northern end of the waterway. Its boundary runs through Bexley, Sommerville and Burleigh Townships. Because the soil is thin with plenty of exposed rock on the shield, agriculture is often practically impossible there, although there are some workable pockets. Further south, the soil is generally more suitable. Fenelon and Verulam are in the last row of generally arable townships. Parts of both are quite rocky, but they are not nearly as bad as Harvey, which is east of Verulam. Swamps were quite common in these areas and many parts flooded seasonally, including a large region off the southwest arm of Sturgeon Lake. But most of the land is arable to some degree, though a considerable portion is best suited to pasture.

The waterway runs along the northern and eastern edges of Fenelon Township. Prior to its development, it flowed over a series of rapids from Balsam to Cameron Lake, at the site of Rosedale. It then descended over another rapid and a twenty-three foot waterfall, now called Fenelon Falls, on the way to Sturgeon Lake. Much of the soil in the southwest part of the township was well suited to agriculture and two villages, Cameron and Cambray, developed there. Lindsay, then called Purdy's Mills, is quite close to the southern boundary of the township. The government built the Victoria Road on the western edge to open settlement to the north.

Verulam Township straddles Sturgeon Lake and Bobcaygeon developed on the rapid to Pigeon Lake, which is quite close to the eastern boundary. The Crown built the Bobcaygeon Road north from the village. Mossom Boyd operated a lumber business in Bobcaygeon, exporting down the Trent and St. Lawrence Rivers and employing more villagers in the nineteenth century than anyone else. South of the lake, land is generally better. Dunsford is on a creek about three miles from the southwest corner.

Some squatters and traders moved north of Rice Lake prior to the cession in November 1818. 'Legitimate' colonists and businessmen started developing the Peterborough area and Emily Township almost immediately after the treaty. In 1825, Peter Robinson coordinated the Crown's assisted emigration to Peterborough, also settling in nearby townships, including Ops and Emily. Peterborough became the regional

centre and was on the route that many colonists took to the upper Kawartha Lakes. Some also came from Eldon, west of Fenelon, which also received settlers in the 1820s. The first known colonists in Fenelon and Verulam arrived in 1833.

This study uses personal and autobiographical accounts very extensively, particularly to examine the evolving native communities. George Copway and Peter Jones, Methodist missionaries from Mississauga communities, are very important sources. Copway was born into the Rice Lake Band in 1818. His father was a chief. Methodist missionaries arrived in the mid-1820s, converted him, and he became a missionary in 1834. In the mid-1840s, Copway was accused of fraud and embezzlement several times, prompting his expulsion from the Methodist conference. He remains an indispensable source since he was the band's most prolific writer. His most important works are his autobiography, *The Life, History, and Travels, of Kah-Ge-Ga-Gah-Bowh*, and *The Traditional History and Characteristic Sketches of the Ojibway Nation*.

Peter Jones' parents were Deputy Provincial Land Surveyor Augustus Jones and Tuhbenahneequay of the Credit River Band. He lived with his mother for fourteen years before his father sent him to an English school in Saltfleet Township. He was baptized in 1820, but said that he lacked conviction until he converted at a camp meeting near Ancaster. Jones worked as a brick maker in 1822 and became an exhorter in the Methodist church.<sup>7</sup> He helped the Methodists convert much of his band between 1823 and 1825 and became central in Mississauga religious, social and political affairs.

Peter Jones experienced both societies and left little doubt which lifestyle he preferred. He defended the Mississauga's interests, but when he could choose, lived more like the settlers. As a traveling missionary, he generally stayed with colonists rather than the local band.<sup>8</sup> He tried to convince the nation to embrace Christianity and adjust to the norms of colonial society through 'civilization,' but wanted the Mississauga to retain a political voice.

He was the Mississauga's most recognized advocate in relations with the Crown and settlers and often spoke for them, but he was not *the* voice of the nation. Many

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<sup>7</sup> Peter Jones, *Life and journals of Kah-ke-wa-quo-na-by*, (Toronto: Anson Green, 1860), pp. 1-16.

<sup>8</sup> Jones, *Life and journals*.

natives, even within the Credit River Band, opposed his ideas.<sup>9</sup> At the 1846 General Council, he eagerly supported removal, but most other chiefs hesitated, realizing the implications of abandoning their locations.<sup>10</sup> Jones' *Life and journals of Kah-ke-wa-quo-na-by* contains the journal from his career as a travelling Methodist missionary and provides much of the available detail on the conversion and 'civilization' of the Rice Lake Band. His *History of the Ojebway Indians*, like Copway's work, outlines the contours of Mississauga society in the early nineteenth century.

The settlers' accounts are also studied intensively. Thomas Need moved to Bobcaygeon (Rokeby) in 1833, owned half of the village and was the largest land speculator around it in the first decade of settlement. He provided many services to early residents. He arrived when the population on these lakes was overwhelmingly native and recorded his experiences in *Six Years in the Bush*. John Langton settled further up Sturgeon Lake the same year. He was also a major land speculator and local leader before he left to pursue a political career. *Early Days in Upper Canada* is a collection of excerpts from his letters. His parents, aunt and sister, Anne, arrived in 1837 and Anne later wrote *The Story of Our Family. A Gentlewoman in Upper Canada* and *The Langton Records* are selected correspondence from the family, but mostly from Anne.

Samuel Strickland worked as an agent for the Canada Company, then settled near Lakefield, which is east of Verulam Township. His sisters, Catherine Parr Traill and Susanna Moodie, soon followed with their husbands and were close friends with Frances Stewart, one of the earliest settlers at Peterborough. This study uses their accounts primarily to examine native-settler relations and for their observations of native society.

These residents' accounts fit several different genres. Some are monographs written specifically for publication and are relatively homogenous in their content. Others incorporate disparate sections in vastly different styles, that were apparently written several decades apart and for dissimilar audiences. Several are posthumous selections of letters home. Some historians debate how these sources can be used critically and several authors have written extensively on the usual contents of immigrants' letters, proposing

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<sup>9</sup> Donald B. Smith, *Sacred Feathers: The Reverend Peter Jones (Kahkewaquaonaby) & the Mississauga Indians*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), p. 184.

<sup>10</sup> *Minutes of the General Council... 1846.*

several common motives for writing.<sup>11</sup> But, common patterns may not hold in particular cases. As with almost all passages in primary documents, it is not reasonable to claim with any precision an ability to infer how the author shaped statements. For this study, literature on autobiographical accounts and information on each account's composition was considered, but critical use of these sources often relied on careful contextualization of individual documents and statements.

The chapters on land distribution and speculation rely on statistics compiled by cross-referencing records from the land registry, censuses, assessments, crown land agents, directories and various other documents referring to people living in these two townships. Unless the context suggests otherwise they are based on acreage and do not include the villages. Using these methods, the resident landowners up to 1875 were identified and where useful, titles were studied beyond this date. Ownership could not be traced on all properties for this period, but for each statistic in the chapter on land acquisition, at least 95.9% of the properties, totalling 107,802 acres, are included.

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<sup>11</sup> Charlotte Erickson, *Invisible Immigrants: The Adaptation of English and Scottish Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century America*, (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1972); *Immigrant Voices: New Lives in America, 1773-1986*, ed. Thomas Dublin, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993); David Fitzpatrick, *Oceans of Consolation: Personal Accounts of Irish Migration to Australia*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994); *English Emigrant Voices: Labourers' Letters from Upper Canada in the 1830s*, ed. Wendy Cameron, Shiela Haines and Mary McDougall Maude, (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000).

# Land Policy and Sovereignty in Upper Canada

Lillian Gates emphasizes that the government was necessary “to ensure the efficient use of the resources of the province.”<sup>1</sup> But, efficient for whom? The concept implies restraining an individual for a collective good. The state was not particularly managing resources for the Mississauga’s benefit, although they certainly were among the many whose access was curtailed. It is also questionable to what degree the decisions served many settlers. David Mooreman heralds the Crown’s success through the “broad distribution of land to industrious settlers loyal to the British monarchy.”<sup>2</sup> By establishing loyal industrious settlers, the Crown achieved its objective, but many settlers’ interests varied from the state’s.

The Crown was an enormously significant arbiter of conflicting interests in the colony, establishing the framework for land redistribution. But, for this to happen, it had to establish some form of sovereignty. This chapter examines the issue of British sovereignty over the Mississauga, as well as land policies for natives and settlers. It provides background to study land distribution in the communities.

The Crown did not have effective sovereignty over the Mississauga for most of this period, though British influence increased markedly. The British Crown claimed sovereignty based on the Peace of Paris of 1763, which ended the Seven Years’ War and purported to transfer French claims to the region. In the late eighteenth century, the Mississauga and several neighbouring nations formed the Western Confederacy, which did not take kindly to British claims of dominion. They asserted that France did not have the right to convey their allegiance and Chief Pontiac of the Ottawas declared war in May.<sup>3</sup>

The Treaty of Niagara ended the conflict the next year and Chippewa Chief Wabicommitot signed on behalf of the Mississauga, who were not at the meeting. At Niagara, the Crown promised presents and the natives agreed to the Royal Proclamation

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<sup>1</sup> Lillian Gates, *Land Policies of Upper Canada*, (Netherlands: University of Toronto Press, 1968), p. 307.

<sup>2</sup> David Mooreman, “The ‘First Business of Government’: The Land Granting Administration of Upper Canada,” (PhD Thesis, University of Ottawa, 1997), abstract.

<sup>3</sup> Ian V. B. Johnson, “The Early Mississauga Treaty Process, 1781-1819 in Historical Perspective,” (PhD Thesis, University of Toronto, 1986), p. 87; John Clarke, *Land, Power and Economics on the Frontier of Upper Canada*, (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2001), p. 95.

of October 7, 1763 and an alliance with the British Crown.<sup>4</sup> The Crown portrayed this as formal acceptance of Imperial authority, since the written terms asserted “Sovereignty, Protection, and Dominion” over Mississauga territory.<sup>5</sup> But Superintendent Sir William Johnson explained that the Crown had not articulated the agreement precisely. The natives had not acknowledged British sovereignty, and they lacked concepts of “subjugation and Dominion” and “any words to express them by.”<sup>6</sup>

The agreement allowed peace, but it did not grant effective sovereignty, which gradually came from the natives’ interaction with the colonial state, not from formal agreement. Even accepting the dubious British claims, they were both allies and subjects, an awkward combination. Initially, the treaty had little direct impact on the Mississauga. The colony’s presence in their region had scarcely changed since it was twenty-five to thirty French farms on the Detroit River.<sup>7</sup> The natives were part of the British Empire, at least relative to imperial rivals, and the Mississauga could not oppose the Crown’s interests too directly. But their uncertain status in the colony continued into the mid-nineteenth century.

Though the Royal Proclamation denied native sovereignty, it acknowledged their right to occupy land until they ceded it to the Crown. In 1781, the state asked for a strip along the Niagara River for soldiers to grow part of their provisions. After losing the American Revolutionary War (1775-1783), it requested much more territory to accommodate evacuated Iroquois and United Empire Loyalists. The Crown did not immediately intend to settle the upper colony, but Governor Haldimand acquiesced to some veterans’ requests to relocate there.<sup>8</sup> By 1787, the Crown secured the territory along Lake Ontario from the Bay of Quinte to the Proclamation Line. Because of French claims, the natives’ formal consent for settlement was deemed unnecessary beyond this line.

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<sup>4</sup> Johnson, “The Early Mississauga Treaty Process,” p. 97.

<sup>5</sup> Royal Proclamation of October 7, 1763, in Sir Charles Bagot, “Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada, June 25, 1847,” *Appendix to the sixth volume of the journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada...*, (Montreal: G. Desbarats & T. Cary, 1847), p. T-190; Sir Charles Bagot, “Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada, March 20, 1845,” *Appendix to the sixth volume of the journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada...*, (Montreal: G. Desbarats & T. Cary, 1847), pp. EEE-4 to EEE-5.

<sup>6</sup> Quoted in Johnson, “The Early Mississauga Treaty Process,” p. 99.

<sup>7</sup> Peter Baskerville, *Ontario: Image, Identity and Power*, (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 42.

<sup>8</sup> Gates, *Land Policies of Upper Canada*, pp. 11-2; Baskerville, *Ontario*, p. 45.

The Royal Proclamation tried to legitimize British rights to the region and the Crown intended that the treaty process would seem reasonably just. The Proclamation asserted that only the Crown could extinguish native title and stipulated procedure. Agreements were to occur “at some public meeting or assembly of the said Indians”<sup>9</sup> to imply that the natives had actually agreed to cede their land. But the legitimacy of most treaties was questionable. The early meetings were conducted very sloppily and in some cases the written documents could not be taken seriously. It is also uncertain that the natives understood the process at all. Donald B. Smith explains that “in the 1790s the Mississauga realized their British allies’ interpretations of the agreements,” having formerly thought that “they had granted the English only tenant status,”<sup>10</sup> and he claims that Mississauga relations with the Crown prior to 1805 were based on “blind trust.”<sup>11</sup> Robert J. Surtees suggests that they only came to comprehend the meaning of the agreements “several decades” later,<sup>12</sup> and Ian Johnson maintains that “by 1815 the Mississauga and their Chippewa neighbours were beginning to realize the significance of the land cession treaties.”<sup>13</sup>

Several historians suggest that the Mississauga owned land communally<sup>14</sup> and therefore may not have understood British land ownership. However, a particular hunter held exclusive claim to an area and all the game in it. Land belonged to bands and they took transgressions on these rights quite seriously.<sup>15</sup> They likely understood that the British would occupy the land. Some members of the nation had seen European settlements first hand and their Western Confederacy contacts had experienced and opposed colonization. But they could not read the treaties until after they ceded the overwhelming majority of arable land in Upper Canada.

The Crown claimed to protect the nation from land speculators, but the Royal Proclamation’s provision that only the Crown could negotiate for land surrenders

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<sup>9</sup> Royal Proclamation of October 7, 1763, in Bagot, “Report... June 25, 1847,” *Appendix to the sixth volume...*, p. T-191.

<sup>10</sup> Smith, *Sacred Feathers*, pp. 24, 26.

<sup>11</sup> Donald B. Smith, “The Dispossession of the Mississauga Indians,” *Ontario History* 73 (1981), p. 82.

<sup>12</sup> R. J. Surtees, “Indian Cessions in Ontario, 1763-1862: The Evolution of a System,” (PhD Thesis, Carleton University, 1983), p. 115.

<sup>13</sup> Johnson, “The Early Mississauga Treaty Process,” pp. 6-7.

<sup>14</sup> Baskerville, *Ontario*, p. 48; Surtees, “Indian Cessions in Ontario,” p. 23.

<sup>15</sup> George Copway, *The Life, History, and Travels*, pp. 19-20; Peter Jones, *History of the Ojebway Indians with Especial Reference to their Conversion to Christianity*, (London: A. W. Bennett, 1861), p. 71.

significantly diminished compensation. Joseph Brant received as much as 1 s. 10½ d. per acre selling land to speculators while claiming that the Royal Proclamation did not apply to the Six Nations Reserve on the Grand River. He counselled the Mississauga that they should receive at least two shillings per acre.<sup>16</sup> But the government did not budge from its original offer of presents totalling three pence per acre to the Credit Band, which surrendered the tract along Lake Ontario from Etobicoke Creek to the Niagara cession in 1805.<sup>17</sup>

Politically, the Mississauga could certainly claim that the state mistreated them, but they never rose against colonialism because they were increasingly entangled in settler society and knew attack was futile. In the summer of 1795, rumours in York suggested that the Mississauga would attack.<sup>18</sup> If they had wanted to, they had excellent pretext the following August, when Charles McEwan of the Queen's Rangers murdered Grand Chief Wabikanyne. Mississauga representatives attended the trial but did not give any evidence, apparently because they did not understand legal procedure. Chiefs from Lake Simcoe and Georgian Bay called for revenge and traveled to York demanding that the Administrator of Upper Canada, Peter Russell, provide restitution.<sup>19</sup> The following February, Chief Nimquasim from Georgian Bay reportedly said while intoxicated "that upon the whole it was his wish to open a war against the English to get satisfaction for what had been done."<sup>20</sup> In 1798, Chief Paqua sought the support of southern Ojibwa for an attack intended to have the aid of the United States and France.<sup>21</sup> Mississauga chiefs approached Joseph Brant to assist, but he refused, knowing the Empire's strength from two visits to England.<sup>22</sup>

The state's coercive power did not require military preponderance. British forces in Upper Canada were relatively weak and distant from Mississauga settlements, with less than two thousand regulars prior to the War of 1812 and only about 7,000 in

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<sup>16</sup> Surtees, "Indian Cessions in Ontario," p. 117; Clarke, *Land, Power and Economics*, p. 146; Johnson, "The Mississauga Treaty Process," p. 312.

<sup>17</sup> Canada, *Indian Treaties and Surrenders from 1680 to 1890*, (Ottawa: B. Chamberlin, 1891), pp. 34-5.

<sup>18</sup> Smith, "The Dispossession of the Mississauga Indians," p. 76.

<sup>19</sup> Johnson, "The Mississauga Treaty Process," p. 271.

<sup>20</sup> Smith, "The Dispossession of the Mississauga Indians," p. 78.

<sup>21</sup> Peter S. Schmalz, *The Ojibwa of Southern Ontario*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), p. 109.

<sup>22</sup> Smith, *Sacred Feathers*, p. 29.



December 1814.<sup>23</sup> But colonial warfare was brutal and often targeted civilians as much as combatants. Whether the British forces could win militarily, they certainly could inflict enough damage to make revolt excessively costly.

‘Civilization’ was a key part of the natives’ entanglement with colonial society. Most founding documents of British North America suggested Christianizing them. The December 14, 1763 Instructions to Governor James Murray directed that they be “induced by Degrees not only to be good Neighbours to Our Subjects, but likewise themselves to become good Subjects to Us.”<sup>24</sup> The government and missionaries, particularly Methodists, intensified their efforts in the late 1820s. Though most officials sincerely believed that it would ameliorate the natives’ condition, the Crown also expected ‘civilization’ to save money. The Indian Department cost £20,000 per year, too much for Colonial Secretaries the Earl of Bathurst and Viscount Goderich. After inspecting the Indian Department in 1827, Major-General Henry Charles Darling recommended cutting expenses as much as possible, ‘civilizing’ natives and paying the annuities with agricultural implements, rather than assorted goods. The government adopted his plan in 1829.<sup>25</sup>

That May, Governor-in-Chief Sir James Kempt convinced the Lord of the Treasury and the Secretary of State to support his ‘civilizing’ scheme, if it did not increase expenses, arguing:

The most effectual means of ameliorating the condition of the Indians, of promoting their religious improvement and education, and of relieving His Majesty’s Government from the expense of the Indian department are:

1<sup>st</sup>. To collect the Indians in considerable numbers, to settle them in villages with a due portion of land for their cultivation and support.

2<sup>nd</sup>. To make such provisions for their religious improvement, education and instruction in husbandry, as circumstances may from time to time require.

3<sup>rd</sup>. To Afford them such assistance in building their houses, rations, and in procuring such seed and agricultural implements as may be necessary, commuting when practicable, a portion of their presents for the latter.

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<sup>23</sup> Douglas McCalla, *Planting the Province: The Economic History of Upper Canada, 1784-1870*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), p. 31; Oliver Oldschool, “Estimate of British Troops in Upper Canada,” *The Portfolio*, VI, no. IV, (October 1815), p. 328.

<sup>24</sup> Instructions to Governor James Murray, December 14, 1763, *Documents Relating to the Constitutional History of Canada*, ed. Adam Shortt and Arthur Doughty, (Ottawa: King’s Printer, 1918), II, p. 199.

<sup>25</sup> Bagot, “Report... March 20, 1845,” *Appendix to the sixth volume...*, p. EEE-7; John Sheridan Milloy, “The Era of Civilization – British Policy for the Indians of Canada, 1830-1860,” (PhD Thesis, Oxford University, 1978), pp. 57, 59, 168; Bagot, “Report... June 25, 1847,” *Appendix to the sixth volume ...*, p. T-26.

4<sup>th</sup>. To provide *active* and *zealous* missionaries for the Indians at the Bay of Qunite and Gwillimburg; and to send Wesleyan missionaries from England to counteract the antipathy to the established church and other objectionable principles which the Methodist missionaries from the United States are supposed to instil into the minds of their Indian converts.<sup>26</sup>

'Civilization' followed this outline. On the Credit River, the government and Methodist missionaries built a village for the natives. In 1829, Lieutenant-Governor John Colborne ordered its replication, told the Indian Department to spearhead 'civilization,' and proposed that the natives should use their annuities to help pay the bill:

Four superintendents may be actively employed in collecting the Indians in villages, and in inducing them to cultivate their lots of land; in establishing schools, leasing lands, and purchasing cattle and agricultural implements, &c. The annual payments due to them by the Government should, with their consent, be appropriated for that purpose.<sup>27</sup>

His officials and missionaries implemented the program. They placed the bands on lots, provided schools, persuaded chiefs to pay from their annuities and tried to induce cultivation.

'Civilization' was also the policy of the home government. John Sheridan Milloy argues that British-native relations shifted into line with "prevailing humanitarian thought" whereby "conciliation, with its inherent respect for native social and political systems, was to give way to an intrusive policy of civilization."<sup>28</sup> The government and church leaders agreed on the necessity of 'civilization,' but the officials often found Methodists distasteful. Although they separated amicably from the American General Conference in 1828, many opponents associated them with republicanism and disloyalty. Officials also questioned their emotional customs. John Strachan called them "uneducated itinerant preachers, who leaving their steady employment betake themselves to preaching the Gospel from idleness, or a zeal without knowledge, by which they are induced without any preparation, to teach what they do not know, and which from pride,

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<sup>26</sup> *Aboriginal tribes (North America, New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land and British Guiana): return to several addresses to His Majesty, dated 19 March 1834, for, copies or extracts of all such reports from the governors or lieutenant-governors of British possessions in North America...* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1834), pp. 40-1.

<sup>27</sup> Colborne's Report, May 7, 1829, *Aboriginal Tribes...19 March 1834*, p. 41.

<sup>28</sup> Milloy, "The Era of Civilization," pp. 10, 31.

they disdain to learn.”<sup>29</sup> Lieutenant-Governor Sir Penegrine Maitland forbade the Methodists to host natives at their camp meetings, but the missionaries disobeyed. Maitland’s successor, Sir John Colborne, then challenged Jones in June 1829 to find a Biblical basis for his methods.<sup>30</sup>

Some officials, however, doubted that ‘civilization’ was practical or beneficial. Sir Francis Bond Head, Lieutenant-Governor from 1835 to 1838, argued that contact with whites replaced ‘Indian’ virtues with vice, inevitably destroying the nation. He claimed that since ‘civilization’ had failed, the most humane course was to remove them beyond the deleterious influence of whites.<sup>31</sup> He suggested taking them to Manitoulin Island, even though it was too rocky for farming and too small to support the Mississauga’s traditional means of subsistence. Benevolent societies in England and Canadian Methodists strongly opposed him and a disputed treaty with the Saugeen Band brought his sincerity into question. The Upper Canada Rebellion undermined his credibility and prompted his removal. Colonial Secretary Glenelg was then convinced that Head was incorrect and ‘civilization’ continued.<sup>32</sup>

Financial constraints influenced policy for natives and settlers throughout the colony’s history. Lacking a seaport, the upper colony could not control or collect customs on exports to Europe, which were about four to six times greater than those to the United States in the mid-1820s.<sup>33</sup> An 1819 agreement gave it one-fifth of Lower Canada’s total. The home government tried to curtail its expenses in Upper Canada, tightening the government’s revenue. Prior to 1812, the British Government spent more money in the colony than the local administration, but it tried to limit its contribution to the grant of £10,825 for salaries. After 1817, the Crown no longer met these civil expenses.<sup>34</sup> The Upper Canadian administration’s spending on militia pensions after the War of 1812 and public works projects worsened its financial situation.

After 1818, the Crown expected the government of Upper Canada to look after the compensation for land surrenders. Maitland proposed auctioning the land acquired to

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<sup>29</sup> William Westfall, *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario*, (Kingston & Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1989), p. 24.

<sup>30</sup> Jones, *Life and journals*, pp. 221-2, 227.

<sup>31</sup> J. B. Macaulay’s Report, 1839, RG 10, vol. 718, pp. 38-9.

<sup>32</sup> Milloy, “The Era of Civilization,” p. 220.

<sup>33</sup> McCalla, *Planting the Province*, pp. 163-5.

<sup>34</sup> Gates, *Land Policies of Upper Canada*, pp. 130, 155.

raise funds, but this would not produce the money up front to continue paying in goods. The state adopted annuities for land payments, which were a crucial source of income for 'civilization,' though one that the government controlled in trust.

Finances constrained the size of government. From the start of colonization, a small group of officials tried to manage millions of acres and granted it very rapidly, far in excess of the amount that the colonists could work in their lifetimes. The Crown could not closely supervise the project and built the colony on relatively simple models. One example was the use of grids for township layout. Initially, Governor Haldimand wanted townships six miles square containing 175 lots of 120 acres each, but the perimeter changed to ten miles square in the interior or nine by twelve on navigable waterways. Under Dorchester's plan, the townships were divided into about ten concessions, with approximately thirty lots of 200 acres each, unless limited by water bodies. He ordered a road allowance of 66 feet between concessions, a crossroad every five lots and towns of one square mile at the township's centre.<sup>35</sup>

This recipe was generally applicable, with some minor local modifications. Some towns were not actually in the middle of townships, some roads were not straight, the crossroads were not always at the prescribed location, some roads were not completed at all and the shape of the townships had to be modified to fit with others and geographical features. Though it was quick and relatively easily applicable, at least in the planning stage, it did not efficiently plan each community based on local geography. Since the government was unfamiliar with many lots, it granted some land totally unsuited to agriculture. But, customization was not an option for a small group of officials rapidly and economically managing settlement across the colony.

Economy also prompted the Crown to pay surveyors with a percentage of townships, rather than cash. John Smith won the contract for Fenelon Township, but James Kirkpatrick, who it seems was not qualified, subcontracted and received 4,147 acres, or just over 7% of the township in September 1824.<sup>36</sup> George Strange Boulton, Registrar for Northumberland County and later a Conservative representative for the area,

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<sup>35</sup> *Appendix to the Journal of the House of Assembly, 1833-1834*, (Toronto: W. L. Mackenzie, 1834), p. A-40; Gates, *Land Policies of Upper Canada*, p. 27.

<sup>36</sup> Upper Canada Executive Council Minute Books on Land Matters, RG 1, L1, vol. 31, book 31, p. 158; Contents of each Township, Crown & Clergy Reserves, RG 1, A-1V, vol. 35-6; Locations, 1816-1828, RG 1, C-I-4, vol. 5.

along with Charles Fothergill, a key figure in the planning and development of Peterborough, tendered 5 7/8% for Verulam and took 3,740 acres in July 1825.<sup>37</sup>

Surveyors drew up almost all townships in the chequered pattern with 1/7 each set aside for Crown and Clergy Reserves. The Constitutional Act instituted Clergy Reserves for “the Support and Maintenance of a Protestant Clergy,”<sup>38</sup> which the Crown defined as the Church of England until the Imperial Clergy Reserve Act of August 7, 1840 split future revenues between the denominations, but maintained preferential positions for the Church of England and the Church of Scotland. The Instructions to Lord Dorchester of September 16, 1791 created Crown Reserves “for the purpose of raising, by sale or otherwise, a fund to be hereafter applied to the support of Government.”<sup>39</sup>

The state was not very successful at selling or leasing the reserves, as low land prices limited revenues. On March 1, 1824, it sold the Crown Reserves to the Canada Company, but continued to survey townships in the chequered pattern. Lands that would have been Crown Reserves were sold starting in 1826, but were not available as free grants. After 1827, Clergy Reserves, aside from a glebe of 300 to 400 acres in each township, were auctioned and the proceeds invested in British securities. The Imperial Clergy Reserve Act of 1840 abolished the reserves in future townships.

Simcoe and Russell believed that the American Revolution demonstrated the dangers of a society without a proper aristocracy and were eager to create one in Upper Canada. Lord Dorchester maintained that “the best use may be made [of aristocracy] on this continent, where all Governments are feeble and the general conditions of things tends to a wild Democracy.”<sup>40</sup> It did not seem likely to arise on its own and Russell believed that property could create social distinction. He granted 1,200 acres to magistrates, barristers and old merchants; 600 acres to younger merchants, barrister’s wives and members of the house; and 400 acres to merchant’s clerks. Under the Constitutional Act, the executive granted land, to a maximum of 1,200 acres, based on the recipients’ perceived potential to improve it.

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<sup>37</sup> Upper Canada Executive Council Minute Books on Land Matters, RG 1, L1, vol. 31, book 31, p. 354.

<sup>38</sup> Constitutional Act of 1791, in *Documents Relating to the Constitutional History of Canada*, II, p. 1044.

<sup>39</sup> *Documents Relating to the Constitutional History of Canada*, ed. Arthur Doughty and Duncan A. McArthur (Ottawa: J. L. Tache, 1914), I, p. 59.

<sup>40</sup> Dorchester to Sydney, June 13, 1787, in *Documents Relating to the Constitutional History of Canada*, II, p. 948.

Of approximately 100,000 Loyalists who were evacuated at the end of the Revolutionary War, about 7,500 settled in the Mississauga's region. People arriving after 1783 were called "late Loyalists." In December 1798, the government limited the distinction to those who had arrived in the colony before July 28 of that year. The 1783 Loyalists received at least 100 acres each, some up to 1,000 acres, depending on rank, a limit that rose to 5,000 acres. The Crown imposed a limit of 1,200 acres on January 1, 1797. Late Loyalists received 200 acres and the original ones could claim the same grants, allowing at least 300 acres each. In November 1789, Lord Dorchester asked the land boards to compile lists of Loyalists prior to the 1783 treaty and to grant 200 acres to their sons on coming of age or their daughters at marriage.<sup>41</sup> However, Loyalists' children were, in theory, only to receive grants if "there has been no default in the due cultivation and improvement of the lands already assigned to the head of the family."<sup>42</sup> Ordinary settlers could also receive 200 acres if they satisfied the executive of their character and loyalty, but Lieutenant-Governor Gore reduced the sum to 100 acres in 1815. After July 1, 1796, grantees had to pay survey fees, with the exception of Loyalists and militia claimants from the War of 1812, who received a minimum of one hundred acres each depending on rank.

Because the grants produced little revenue and often distributed land to people who would never use it, Upper Canada introduced a sales system on January 1, 1826. One hundred acre grants to settlers ceased, although in the early 1830s some poor settlers received fifty acres free.<sup>43</sup> Free grants, including those to Loyalists and militia, were only allowed in newly surveyed townships. The Commissioner of Crown Lands determined which lots to auction, the size varying from 100 to 1,000 acres. 100 and 200 acres were most common. Each district had an upset price between 4s and 10s per acre, 5s in the Newcastle District. To accommodate poorer settlers, down payments were not required and up to 200 acres could be bought at a quit rent of 5 percent.<sup>44</sup> The Public Lands Disposal Act of 1837 responded to the frequency of aborted purchases by requiring a deposit and ending payment in instalments.

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<sup>41</sup> Gates, *Land Policies of Upper Canada*, p. 20.

<sup>42</sup> *Appendix to the Journal of the House of Assembly, 1833-1834*, p. A-40.

<sup>43</sup> Locations in the Districts of Newcastle, Bathurst, RG 1, C-I-4, vol. 20.

<sup>44</sup> Clarke, *Land, Power and Economics*, pp. 60-8; Gates, *Land Policies of Upper Canada*, pp. 170-4.

The government tried several means to curb land speculation, but many were half-hearted because the politicians involved included several of the largest land speculators in the colony. Some historians argue that the government itself, with the Crown and Clergy Reserves, was the greatest land speculator of all. Nonetheless, it officially opposed speculation from the start. Governor James Murray's Instructions required that since "great Inconveniences have arisen in many of Our Colonies in America from granting excessive Quantities of Land to Particular Persons, who have never cultivated or seeded it... You are to take especial Care, that in all Grants to be made by you... the Quantity be in Proportion to their Ability to cultivate."<sup>45</sup>

Many believed that settlement duties would ensure usage. In 1789, Dorchester required grantees to start improving the land within twelve months or face forfeiture. The Land Committee of Council, however, did not enforce this regulation, which Gates explains by noting that its "members were probably speculating in land certificates."<sup>46</sup> Location tickets explicitly required cultivation. In November 1802, three years of mandatory residence replaced settlement duties across Upper Canada, with some exceptions including the Talbot Settlement, as well as Yonge and Dundas Streets. Inept enforcement meant that the law only forced grantees to wait three years before selling.<sup>47</sup>

An Order-in-Council of October 1818 banned all grants unless "a habitable house is erected on some part of the land to be granted, and a sufficient clearing thereon under fence, in the proportion of five acres per hundred."<sup>48</sup> The government still did not effectively enforce the regulations. It only required a magistrate's certificate, which could be issued based on the testimony of two witnesses. Speculators often hired a third party to perform the settlement duties, as Samuel Strickland explains, and the Crown issued "many false certificates" because "few persons or magistrates would be at the trouble and the expense of travelling thirty or forty miles back into an uninhabited part of the country, to ascertain if the parties had sworn truly or not."<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Instructions to Governor James Murray, December 14, 1763, *Documents Relating to the Constitutional History of Canada*, II, pp. 195-6.

<sup>46</sup> Gates, *Land Policies of Upper Canada*, p. 125.

<sup>47</sup> Clarke, *Land, Power, and Economics*, p. 175; Gates, *Land Policies of Upper Canada*, pp. 126, 129.

<sup>48</sup> *Appendix to the Journal of the House of Assembly, 1833-1834*, p. 41.

<sup>49</sup> Samuel Strickland, *Twenty-Seven Years in Canada West*, (London: Richard Bentley, 1853), I, p. 89.

In 1830, Lieutenant-Governor Colborne allowed grantees to choose between clearing and seeding half of the roadway and living on the lot for two years, or clearing the road and the timber from the lot to one chain's depth along the front. Gates remarks that often "nothing was accomplished, except the destruction of a little timber."<sup>50</sup> On November 8, 1833, Colborne ordered that "in future no such Rights will be allowed, except on the condition of actual settlement by the parties found entitled, nor any Deed issued unless they have been living on their land for the space of two Years."<sup>51</sup> On October 17, 1835, Colborne acquiesced to his opponents and abolished settlement duties on Loyalist and militia grants that were already located and the 1837 Land Act did not include settlement duties.<sup>52</sup>

The government also tried land taxation to check speculation. In 1793, Parliament passed an act dividing resident landowners into eight classes based on the assessors' judgement of the value of their property, then imposed a tax on each class.<sup>53</sup> The 1803 Assessment Act valued cultivated land at £1 per acre and wild land at 1s, with revenue going to the district in which the owner resided.<sup>54</sup> In 1807, the rate on wild land increased to 2s, then to 4s in 1811 and from 1815 the taxes transferred to the district where the land was located.<sup>55</sup>

The 1819 Assessment Act, which remained in effect until 1851, maintained the valuation from 1811, allowed a tax of one pence per pound and taxed unoccupied granted land 1/3 pence per pound, in lieu of the statute labour required of residents. Assessors determined ownership by asking each person to list their property.<sup>56</sup> Lands in arrears for eight years where no distress was found could be auctioned. The winning bidder was the person who offered to pay the taxes in exchange for the smallest proportion of the lot and the owner could redeem within twelve months at a premium of 20%. The first such sales took place in the spring of 1830.<sup>57</sup> But many critics observed that tax sales allowed speculators to acquire cheap land.

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<sup>50</sup> Gates, *Land Policies of Upper Canada*, p. 132.

<sup>51</sup> *Appendix to the Journal of the House of Assembly, 1833-1834*, p. 45.

<sup>52</sup> Gates, *Land Policies of Upper Canada*, pp. 137, 140.

<sup>53</sup> *Documents Relating to the Constitutional History of Canada*, I, pp. 91-100.

<sup>54</sup> Gates, *Land Policies of Upper Canada*, p. 144.

<sup>55</sup> *The provincial statutes of Upper-Canada: revised, corrected, and republished by authority*, (York: R. C. Home, 1818), p. 293; Gates, *Land Policies of Upper Canada*, p. 145.

<sup>56</sup> *The provincial statutes of Upper-Canada*, pp. 455-63.

<sup>57</sup> Gates, *Land Policies of Upper Canada*, p. 147; Clarke, *Land, Power, and Economics*, p. 360.



Many historians echo nineteenth century politicians' condemnations of land speculation. The "evil" of land speculation is an antagonist in Lillian Gates' *Land Policies of Upper Canada*.<sup>58</sup> Perhaps this characterization is fair in political terms, since the state tried to prevent it from the start. Many other historians see speculation as a very influential and generally negative factor in the colony's development. Leo Johnson observed that speculation slowed settlement, but he suggests, "by far the majority of the absentee-lands were in the hands of the general population who hoped to realize something worth while on their patrimony."<sup>59</sup> David Wood argues that speculation was "generally a nuisance" and Toronto "was ringed by woodlands for decades because of early grants to friends of government."<sup>60</sup> Gates states that the "liberal land-granting system" allowed speculators to hold desirable lots and pushed genuine settlers to more marginal areas. The effects were greater because "the chequered plan did not facilitate the compact settlement of the country."<sup>61</sup> S. J. R. Noel explains that "by the 1820s new settlers were frustrated to find that they could not obtain land except by private purchase (and often at prices they regarded as exorbitant) or could not obtain enough land or could obtain grants only in the remotest or least fertile areas."<sup>62</sup> Ian Johnson argues that it was wasteful, since the land in use in the mid-1820s was 1/10 the total that speculators held.<sup>63</sup> He highlights the slow population growth relative to the amount of land surrendered. The colony's population was 10,000 in 1787 and grew to 65,000 in 1810, a time when the Crown held the strip along Lake Erie, Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence to a depth of at least 10 miles.<sup>64</sup> John Clarke balances the advantages and drawbacks of speculation:

In the rural context, prospects of a speculative profit have stimulated pioneer settlement, mineral prospecting, and exploration. Numerous pioneers might never have succeeded but for the credit facilities of the speculator... On the other hand, the same process has resulted in an extended farming frontier when rising land prices have stimulated the occupation of submarginal lands later abandoned. Again, rising land values and concomitant taxation out of all proportion to potential farm

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<sup>58</sup> Gates, *Land Policies of Upper Canada*, pp. 125-6, 133.

<sup>59</sup> Johnson, "Land Policy," p. 44.

<sup>60</sup> J. David Wood, *Making Ontario: Agricultural Colonization and Landscape Re-creation before the Railway*, (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000), pp. 22, 93.

<sup>61</sup> Gates, *Land Policies of Upper Canada*, p. 52.

<sup>62</sup> S. J. R. Noel, *Patrons, Clients, Brokers: Ontario Society and Politics, 1791-1896*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), p. 81.

<sup>63</sup> Johnson, "The Early Mississauga Treaty Process," p. 386.

<sup>64</sup> Wood, *Making Ontario*, p. 51.

income have often resulted in depressed agriculture, an increased amount of mortgage indebtedness, and an increase in farm tenancy<sup>65</sup>

He also highlights the political import of land policy, claiming, “the disposal of public lands and their acquisition by speculators lay behind many of the grievances that ultimately culminated in rebellion in Upper Canada.”<sup>66</sup> Douglas McCalla distrusts assertions that land distribution “retarded development and... fostered an unequal, hierarchical class structure and, eventually, ‘a large landless labouring class.’” He counters that the investment in land was “a small fraction” of the total to establish a farm.<sup>67</sup>

Many historians have attempted to determine the proportion of land that speculators owned. Based on census records, Lillian Gates claims that speculators held 5,000,000 acres in 1824 and about 3,500,000 in 1860, two-thirds of which was in Grey, Simcoe, Lambton, Huron, Bruce, Peterborough and Victoria Counties. Throughout much of the period, these speculators held more land than the Crown. Gates’ assertion for 1824 corresponds to about 62.5% of the total granted.<sup>68</sup> This figure is not generally accepted. Peter Russell maintains that his examination of census and assessment records:

Does not tend to confirm Lillian Gate’s [sic] picture of a lavish land granting policy... [which] had established speculator control over the most fertile parts of Upper Canada... Most townships in 1812 or 1822 had about 20 to 30 percent of the privately owned wild lands in the hands of non-residents or resident large holders (i.e., those with more than 400 acres not cleared). The latter almost always account for more of the land so held than the former... Moreover, almost all the non-residents held less than 1,000 acres.<sup>69</sup>

John Clarke produces figures closer to Gates’ in his study of Essex County, concluding that up to 1815, “large tracts of land were acquired by capitalists who at any one time could acquire more than 50 per cent of all the land taken up by patentees.”<sup>70</sup> By 1825, speculators with 400 acres or more held 57.43% of land in Essex.<sup>71</sup> David Wood’s results

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<sup>65</sup> Clarke, *Land, Power, and Economics*, p. 301.

<sup>66</sup> Clarke, *Land, Power, and Economics*, p. 375.

<sup>67</sup> McCalla, *Planting the Province*, p. 14.

<sup>68</sup> Gates, *Land Policies of Upper Canada*, pp. 197, 276, 342.

<sup>69</sup> Peter A. Russell, “Upper Canada, A Poor Man’s Country? Some Statistical Evidence,” *Canadian Papers in Rural History* III (1982), p. 140.

<sup>70</sup> Clarke, *Land, Power, and Economics*, p. 205.

<sup>71</sup> Clarke, *Land, Power, and Economics*, p. 332.

are similar. Speculators initially owned 60% of Essa Township, in addition to the 28% in Crown and Clergy Reserves.<sup>72</sup>

Leo Johnson studied speculation in the Home District though the period of settlement. "For the first five years, the majority of the lands patented went to recipients of more than 500 acres." The Uxbridge "settlement had difficulty in attracting additional members, however, because new-comers were forced to purchase their farms from the absentee owners." Within six years of Scott Township opening to settlers:

92.8% had been patented and all by absentee owners....Even more dramatic was the case in Reach where in the first year the township was opened (1811) 73.2% of the land was patented, and the next year another 14.3% had been taken up by absentees. In both cases settlement lagged far behind—Reach not receiving its first settler until about 1824, and Scott not until about 1835.<sup>73</sup>

However, Johnson maintains that Maitland's reforms had some effect, as the amount of land occupied increased from 40.7% to 85.3% between 1820 and 1825.

Mirroring nineteenth century political debate, many historians link speculation to distribution policies. Gates emphasized that speculators bought most of the 3,300,000 acres granted to the children of Loyalists.<sup>74</sup> John Clarke maintains, "in Upper Canada, speculation could occur because of a government policy that rewarded the faithful with large quantities of land and that after 1825 instituted land sales."<sup>75</sup> David Mooreman claims free and common socage was to blame, because it placed relatively few restrictions on the use of land and allowed sale or transfer. He asserts that quit-rents were able to "produce increasing revenues, control speculation, and be convertible into a general property tax" in other colonies.<sup>76</sup>

Gates concludes that because of rampant speculation, "what did settle the country—apart from the assisted settlement—was squatting" and suggests, "the usefulness of squatters in opening up new country was generally admitted."<sup>77</sup> Clarke agrees, "given the slowness of the process by which land was obtained from the governor

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<sup>72</sup> Wood, *Making Ontario*, p. 93.

<sup>73</sup> Leo A. Johnson, "Land Policy, Population Growth and Social Structure in the Home District, 1793-1851," *Historical Essays on Upper Canada*, ed. J. K. Johnson, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975), pp. 36-43.

<sup>74</sup> Gates, *Land Policies of Upper Canada*, p. 20.

<sup>75</sup> Clarke, *Land, Power, and Economics*, p. 301.

<sup>76</sup> Mooreman, "The First Business of Government," p. 68.

<sup>77</sup> Gates, *Land Policies of Upper Canada*, pp. 289, 305.

in council, in the era before the establishment of the land boards, squatting was thought to be a reasonable response” and adds, “given the attitude towards squatting, it must have been fairly common.”<sup>78</sup> Wood differs, maintaining that “squatters did not become a problem in early Ontario, probably for a number of reasons: land costs and settlement duties were light; there was a universal attachment to plough agriculture; the availability of good land did not diminish for over half a century; and there was fairly effective government at the township level.”<sup>79</sup> The utility of squatters depends largely on perspective. They put people on otherwise vacant land, but did not equally bear the burden of the Crown. Squatters did not work entirely outside of the state apparatus. The government actually acknowledged their right to compensation for the improvements they made on the land. To the Mississauga, they often were a nuisance, since they usually had little respect for the bands’ land claims. Squatters could be quite damaging while trespassing on unceded land, particularly if they came to strip timber.

Squatters were in part a product of the government’s land granting system. Crown officials could not effectively manage millions of acres, since they did not have a firm enough grasp of the events transpiring in much of the colony. They also lacked the resources to enforce their system of land distribution over such a large area, facilitating squatting. But as ‘legitimate’ settlement expanded to these regions, the state’s ability to control the areas increased and the frameworks that it simultaneously developed were increasingly able to manage the land redistribution and interaction in the communities.

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<sup>78</sup> Clarke, *Land, Power and Economics*, pp. 159, 161.

<sup>79</sup> Wood, *Making Ontario*, p. 108.

## Land Cessions

On the 18<sup>th</sup> of September, Sir John Johnson met us at the head of the bay of Kenty; the instant the Indians heard of his arrival, they saluted him with a discharge of small arms, and having received some rum, they danced and sung all night, their war songs; one of them I particularly noticed, which was to the following effect: —

At last our good father is arrived, he has broken the small branches and cleared his way to meet us. He has given us presents in abundance, and only demands this large bed (meaning a considerable tract of land which was described on a map).

At twelve o'clock the next day a council was held, and Sir John laid his map before him, desiring a tract of land from Toronto to Lake Huron. This the Indians agreed to grant him, and the deed of gift being shewn them, it was signed by the chiefs' affixing the emblem, or figure of their respective totems, as their signatures.<sup>1</sup>

This meeting in 1787, narrated by trader John Long, began the Rice Lake Mississauga's surrenders. British sovereignty remained tenuous, but the Crown was looking for a 'legitimate' means of acquiring Mississauga land for redistribution so the coming transformation would seem just. They facilitated reforming the Mississauga's lifestyle to require less land by rationalizing the state's intent to settle and providing funds for active change. But questions about procedure and discrepancies between the oral understanding and written terms undermined the justice of the Crown's claims. It also led many natives to correctly assert that the state misinterpreted the treaties.

Superintendent General Sir John Johnson summoned the band because he was interested in two tracts: land adjacent to the water route from the present site of Toronto to Matchedash Bay (connected to Georgian Bay) via Lake La Clie (now Lake Simcoe); and the north shore of Lake Ontario, to include the start of the route and connect to the Bay of Quinte, which was the western boundary of a 1783 purchase. Three Mississauga chiefs signed a blank deed of conveyance in exchange for presents.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the Indian Department intended to complete it once they knew the area well enough to script a reasonably accurate description. It is not clear which lands, if any, the treaty was to cover. Johnson, who did not sign it, but is listed as having agreed on behalf of the Crown,

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<sup>1</sup> John Long, *Voyages and travels of an Indian interpreter and trader*, (London, 1791), pp. 177-8.

<sup>2</sup> Long, *Voyages and travels*, p. 178; Canada, *Indian Treaties and Surrenders from 1680 to 1890*, pp. 32-4.

said that no formal arrangement was reached.<sup>3</sup> However, eight years later the interpreter, Nathaniel Lines, claimed that the deed surrendered the strip from Etobicoke Creek to the Bay of Quinte to a depth of between seven and fourteen miles, with the Mississauga retaining a reservation at a location he could not recall.<sup>4</sup> This contradicts Long's claim that it ran along the Lake La Clie route.<sup>5</sup>

In the meantime, the government had met the band to clarify the arrangement. In August 1788, John Butler called together Mississauga Chiefs Paqua and Wabikanyne, and he claimed that they agreed to cede the strip from the Etobicoke River to the Bay of Quinte, back as far as Rice Lake and Lake La Clie. He said that they demanded twenty-five guineas for allowing an adjustment of the western boundary, but did not mention whether the Mississauga received additional presents.<sup>6</sup> It is, however, uncertain whether Paqua and Wabikanyne were authorized to act on behalf of the Rice Lake Band.

Chief Shawacupaway held a council, which included two other chiefs from the band, and agreed to allow the surrender, to extend no more than ten miles from Lake Ontario. He then addressed the assembled officials:

That they have given their lands, which their Great Father requested, they hope he will take pity on them as they are very poor and assist them a little sending them a few Kettles, Tomahawks, Spears, etc. etc. and as it is coming on cold winter, they hope their Father will try and press his breasts sufficiently to give his children a good suck.<sup>7</sup>

This passage is in translation and reflects the symbolic language that permeated such meetings. It suggests that Shawacupaway understood the agreement as a gift-exchange. The Mississauga customarily gave gifts, such as the block of land, and expected something comparable in return.

Their actions immediately afterwards suggest that they did not understand the agreement or they found the Crown's interpretation displeasing. Chief Wabikanyne stopped the survey around Toronto, claiming they had not surrendered land past the Humber River. Lines convinced Wabikanyne to allow the survey to begin at the

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<sup>3</sup> Canada, *Indian Treaties and Surrenders from 1680 to 1890*, p. 32; Surtees, "Indian Cessions in Ontario," p. 91.

<sup>4</sup> Alexander McKee, June 10, 1795, Superintendent General's Office (Sir John Johnson) – Correspondence, RG 10, vol. 9, pp. 8946-7.

<sup>5</sup> Long, *Voyages and travels*, p. 178.

<sup>6</sup> John Butler to John Johnson, Niagara, August 26, 1788, RG 10, vol. 9, p. 8944.

<sup>7</sup> Chief Shawacupaway Statement, August 28, 1788, Military Records, C Series, vol. 250, p. 291.

Etobicoke River, but the chief then warned the surveyor not to cross a creek 2 ¾ miles inland.<sup>8</sup> The Mississauga continued to dispute the treaty and in 1923, after a commission ruled in their favour, the government compensated the Rice Lake, Mud Lake, Scugog Lake, Alderville, Christian Island, Georgina Island and Rama natives with \$25 each and \$233,425 administered by the Department of Indian Affairs.<sup>9</sup>

They may have understood that the Crown was asking them to surrender some land, but not the details of the tract. The song John Long recounted indicates that the Mississauga knew in 1787 that land was being surrendered. The minutes of the 1788 meeting support the same conclusion, as Chief Shawacupaway is recorded saying that they “have not forgot what was told them at Toronto...[and] they have considered amongst themselves and have agreed to let their Great Father have the Lands.”<sup>10</sup> Wabikanyne’s actions also suggest that he realized that a tract had been surrendered, since both of his interventions stopped the survey at a particular point, apparently his interpretation of the boundary. However, they could not read the terms of the agreement and were not familiar enough with colonial society to make full use of the treaty. In 1818, band members could not read or write, signed the treaties with totems and did not notice that the written terms differed significantly from the oral ones. Their history suggests they only understood the treaties once missionaries taught them to read and write around 1830.<sup>11</sup>

The Mississauga also may have been drunk when they gave their consent, since the government distributed alcohol at each of the 1787, 1788 and 1818 meetings. In Long’s account, the officials gave rum the night before, but he did not state whether the natives sobered up in time to negotiate the treaty after “they danced and sung all night.”<sup>12</sup> The following year, Chief Shawacupaway referred to rum that his band received before

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<sup>8</sup> Surtees, “Indian Cessions in Ontario,” pp. 93-4.

<sup>9</sup> “The Treaty Made November 15, 1923 Between His Majesty The King And The Mississauga Indians Of Rice Lake, Mud Lake, Scugog Lake And Alderville,” Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. Available: [http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/trts/trmis\\_e.html](http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/trts/trmis_e.html) Accessed: March 16, 2005.

<sup>10</sup> Chief Shawacupaway Statement, August 28, 1788, Military Records, C Series, vol. 250, p. 291.

<sup>11</sup> Canada, *Indian Treaties and Surrenders from 1680 to 1890*, pp. 48-9; Minutes of a Council Held at Smith’s Creek in the Township of Hope on Thursday the 5<sup>th</sup> of November 1818, RG 10, vol. 790, pp. 7031-2; Copway, *The Life, History, and Travels*, p. 65.

<sup>12</sup> Long, *Voyages and travels*, p. 177.

the meeting.<sup>13</sup> The minutes from the 1818 surrender imply that the Crown distributed alcohol afterwards, but do not say whether the natives were given any in advance.<sup>14</sup>

The 1788 treaty casts doubt on the legitimacy of the process. Not only is it likely that the Mississauga representatives did not understand the agreement, Chief Wabikanyne was obviously not happy and the Rice Lake Band may have been even more upset. In 1795, rumours that the band would attack only ceased when the government stopped neglecting the annual presents.<sup>15</sup> At the 1818 meeting, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs William Claus accused the Rice Lake Band of removing survey posts.<sup>16</sup> The natives did not answer the accusation, but there is reason to believe that the band thought the government was taking more land than had been agreed upon. And it might seem reasonable in that case to adjust the boundary.

Lieutenant-Governor John Graves Simcoe knew his officials had not been careful enough, especially during the negotiations for the 1788 treaty, and declared that it was not binding except through the good faith of the Mississauga.<sup>17</sup> On December 26, 1794, he announced that purchases had to be conducted at public councils, with the bargain clearly explained by the best interpreters available and accompanied by every effort to keep the natives sober.<sup>18</sup> He obviously wanted to ensure that the surrenders had the legitimacy that the Royal Proclamation demanded. The officials were much more careful in many of the subsequent negotiations, but settlement plans precluded reversing the 1788 treaty.

The Rice Lake Mississauga agreed to the land cessions because they were increasingly a part of colonial society and not just because of power dynamics. Traditionally, they obtained their subsistence primarily through fishing, hunting and gathering. They pursued a wide range of game, including bears, deer, beavers, otters, squirrels, various birds and ducks, and gathered rice on the lake in autumn.<sup>19</sup> But trade

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<sup>13</sup> Chief Shawacupaway Statement, August 28, 1788, Military Records, C Series, vol. 250, p. 291.

<sup>14</sup> Minutes of a Council Held... 5<sup>th</sup> of November 1818, RG 10, vol. 790, p. 7032.

<sup>15</sup> Joseph Chew to Thomas Coffin, May 10, 1795, Military Records, RG 8, vol. 248; Smith, "The Dispossession of the Mississauga Indians," p. 76.

<sup>16</sup> Minutes of a Council Held... 5<sup>th</sup> of November 1818, RG 10, vol. 790, p. 7029.

<sup>17</sup> "Report...8<sup>th</sup> of September 1856" *Appendix to the sixteenth volume...*, p. A-21-87.

<sup>18</sup> *The correspondence of Lieutenant Governor John Graves Simcoe, with allied documents relating to his administration of the government of Upper Canada*, ed. E. A. Cruikshank, (Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1923-1931), III, pp. 241-2.

<sup>19</sup> Copway, *The Life, History, and Travels*, pp. 23, 32-3; Copway, *The Traditional History*, pp. 26, 28, 30.



goods had reached the Mississauga generations in advance of the settlers. George Copway recalled oral accounts of their trade at Quebec even before their migration from north of Lake Superior in the eighteenth century; “it usually required all the summer to journey from the shore of Lake Superior to that place and back again... but they were determined to obtain ‘*the snake which spit fire, smoke, and death.*’”<sup>20</sup> Initially, the Mississauga traded away mostly furs, but game and simple manufactures such as baskets and birch brooms became more common as colonial settlements approached. Iron replaced bone or stone for spear and arrow heads, while European axes proved superior to stone alternatives. European pots likewise superseded clay ones because they were less fragile and far more able to withstand fire.<sup>21</sup>

In November 1797, the Home Secretary, the Duke of Portland, suggested that Peter Russell should use the presents to foster dependence on the government for European goods.<sup>22</sup> Although not all of his peers shared this view, the presents ensured substantial change in Mississauga life. They included wool or cotton cloth, caddies, molton, ratteen, shrouds, point blankets, Irish linen, printed calico, arm bands, silk handkerchiefs, coats, hats, shoes, thread, needles, buttons, thimbles, gartering, vermillion, combs, awls, firesteels, butchering knives, tobacco, ball, shot, flints, gunworms, brooches, earrings, medals, rifles, brass or tin kettles, scissors, gun stocks, half axes, tomahawks, clasp knives, fish hooks, fishing line, rope, net thread, ribbon, beaver traps, looking glasses and flags.<sup>23</sup>

One of the most significant trade goods was alcohol and many Mississauga drank excessively in the early nineteenth century. The 1818 land surrender refers to the band’s abuse of alcohol, which Peter Jacobs, a Mississauga missionary who lived at Rice Lake and had converted in 1824,<sup>24</sup> graphically represented in the *Christian Advocate* in 1836:

In about the year 1818 there were a great many hundreds of Indians of Kingston, Upper Canada, and at Belleville and Rice Lake. And they were most unhappy drunkards... my father and my mother died when I was

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<sup>20</sup> Copway, *The Life, History, and Travels*, p. 60.

<sup>21</sup> Jones, *History of the Ojebway Indians*, pp. 73-4; Copway, *The Life, History, and Travels*, p. 26; Copway, *The Traditional History*, p. 26.

<sup>22</sup> Anthony J. Hall, “The Red Man’s Burden: Land, Law and the Lord in the Indian Affairs of Upper Canada 1771-1858,” (PhD Thesis, University of Toronto, 1984), p. 228; Johnson, “The Mississauga Treaty Process,” p. 285.

<sup>23</sup> Bagot, “Report... June 25, 1847,” *Appendix to the sixth volume...*, p. T-6; William Canniff, *The Settlement of Upper Canada with Special Reference to the Bay of Quinte*, (Toronto: Dudley and Burns, 1869), p. 671.

<sup>24</sup> Peter Jacobs, *Journal of the Reverend Peter Jacobs Indian Wesleyan Missionary from Rice Lake to the Hudson’s Bay Territory and Returning*, (New York, 1857), p. 3.

very young, in drinking the fire water to excess... My sister was frozen to death in a drinking spree... one of my sisters, in a drinking spree, was struck with a club on her head by her husband, which caused her death. And in the same year my brother was tomahawked in a drinking spree.<sup>25</sup>

Jacobs' portrait of the effects of alcohol might be questioned because he was Methodist and therefore associated with many teetotalers. However, other sources corroborate his link between alcohol and violence. Some of the earliest settlers commented on the Mississauga's alcohol abuse and how it aroused "their worst passions"<sup>26</sup> and produced an "unmanageable wild beast."<sup>27</sup> Copway recalls:

There was a custom among us, before Christianity visited us, that when the Ojebwas intended to take a general whiskey "spree," several young men were appointed by the head chief to collect all the fire arms, knives, war-clubs and other weapons, and keep them in a secret place, till the Indians had completed their frolic. This was done to prevent them from murdering each other when intoxicated. By this means many lives have been saved; although many have been killed during their drunken fights.<sup>28</sup>

Copway suggests his father may have died from alcohol abuse had the missionaries not promoted temperance.<sup>29</sup> Government and church officials often stated that the natives would do literally anything for a drink. Some would walk all day to the trading post. Apparently Chief Sawyer of the Credit Band was sold as a child for two gallons of liquor.<sup>30</sup>

Alcohol was one of many factors contributing to the Mississauga's demographic decline from about 500 to 191 between 1788 and 1827. Disease also carried off many band members, especially during a smallpox epidemic that struck the region in 1793.<sup>31</sup> Alcohol compounded the challenges the community faced from the deterioration of their economy, increasing the pressure to produce trade goods, especially furs, to exchange for alcohol and other items.

The game population in Upper Canada declined noticeably in the early nineteenth

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<sup>25</sup> Peter Jacobs, "Missionary Intelligence," *Christian Advocate* (New York), 17 June 1836, Quoted in Schmalz, *The Ojibwa of Southern Ontario*, p. 133.

<sup>26</sup> Frances Stewart, *Our Forest Home: Being extracts from the Correspondence of the Late Frances Stewart*, ed. E. S. Dunlop, (Toronto: Presbyterian Printing and Publishing Co. Ltd., 1889), p. 58.

<sup>27</sup> Susanna Moodie, *Roughing it in the Bush*, (Toronto: Prospero 2003 [1851]), p. 316.

<sup>28</sup> Copway, *The Life, History, and Travels*, pp. 51-2.

<sup>29</sup> Copway, *The Life, History, and Travels*, p. 15.

<sup>30</sup> Copway, *The Life, History, and Travels*, p. 52; Schmalz, *The Ojibwa of Southern Ontario*, p. 134.

<sup>31</sup> Schmalz, *The Ojibwa of Southern Ontario*, pp. 104-5, 134.

century. Excessive hunting was important, but settlement contributed out of proportion with the amount of land cleared. Deforestation accelerated run-off and increased erosion, leading to excessive sedimentation in streams. As settlement reached the headwaters of rivers or streams, many dried up because the forests retained less water. Farms destroyed wetlands and disrupted the migration patterns of game. Also, dams and sawmills put sawdust in the waterways, interfered with the flow and coated spawning grounds.<sup>32</sup>

It seems that the decline severely affected the Rice Lake Band. Copway recalls oral accounts of his community's past as a time when "plenty of game was in the forest" and "full supply was at hand." At that time, "none were in want."<sup>33</sup> The description implicitly comments on the writer's experience, which in comparison with the former paradise, was a time of hardship. The childhoods of both Peter Jones and George Copway were difficult. Jones recalls an instance while traveling, when his party was obliged to boil chips of hickory to extract the juice for nourishment. He also became temporarily lame due to "exposure to cold and hunger."<sup>34</sup> Copway's family was caught in a storm without provisions during a winter hunting trip and nearly died. They boiled birch bark to stave off starvation and after a week, some could no longer stand. The fortuitous appearance of a pair of beavers saved them.<sup>35</sup>

Copway claims that prior to the arrival of the missionaries, the community was "miserable and starving" in winter.<sup>36</sup> Chief John Sunday, who was born into the Quinte Band, recalls that they were "very poor and miserable" and lived in "wretchedness and degradation."<sup>37</sup> As Jones suggests, "such is the uncertain mode of Indian Life."<sup>38</sup> Copway describes the European means of subsistence as "that course of living... which tends to health and old age,"<sup>39</sup> implying the opposite for native society. They could preserve some food for winter, but still had an unstable means of subsistence reliant on game that was becoming increasingly scarce. This was definitely a consideration at the 1818 surrender. Chief Buckquaquet observed:

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<sup>32</sup> Wood, *Making Ontario*, pp. 16-7.

<sup>33</sup> Copway, *The Traditional History*, p. 98.

<sup>34</sup> Jones, *Life and journals*, p. 4.

<sup>35</sup> Copway, *The Life, History, and Travels*, pp. 42-6.

<sup>36</sup> Copway, *The Life, History, and Travels*, p. 142.

<sup>37</sup> General Council of January 1840, Paudash Papers, RG 10, vol. 1011, Section B, p. 86.

<sup>38</sup> Jones, *Life and journals*, p. 4.

<sup>39</sup> Copway, *The Life, History, and Travels*, p. 198.

From our land we receive hardly anything & if your words are true we will get more by parting with them than by keeping them. Our hunting is destroyed...If it was not for our Brethren the Farmers about the Country we should near starve for our hunting is destroyed.<sup>40</sup>

Game was not entirely absent, but it was becoming sufficiently sparse that the community faced increasing privation if they did not find a new means of subsistence.

The Mississauga had a policy of working together with the Crown. Their letters and petitions a few years later contained lines such as “We will always pray for you” and at times they attached separate notes that apparently had no other point.<sup>41</sup> Such assertions were necessary to ensure kind reception of their appeals, but they were nonetheless accurate. The Mississauga would remain loyal because, despite the Crown’s intent of alienating their land, it certainly was not a zero-sum game. The government’s aid was very important in helping the community manage encounters with settlers. At a meeting with James Givins of the Indian Department at Smith’s Creek (Port Hope) in 1811, Chief Indun-way-way complained about settlers on the islands in the Bay of Quinte who claimed the authorization of the Governor and others who were cutting timber without permission. One settled on the portage from Smith’s Creek to Rice Lake. These colonists were disinclined to respect the wishes of the natives, so Indun-way-way asked for “a writing to show these people that they may be sent off.”<sup>42</sup>

Colonization implied more than a government that sought their land and not all colonists were disrespectful. Traders embodied the tangible benefits that natives could derive from the encounters. One named Herkimer settled first near Smith’s Creek in 1790, then moved three years later to Rice Lake.<sup>43</sup> Charles Anderson was later the trader at Rice Lake and Billy McQue settled beside the community at Mud Lake. McQue developed strong connections, lived adjacent to the band for much of his life and raised a son with a band member.

After the War of 1812, the government was short of land due to speculation and summoned the Rice Lake Mississauga to Smith’s Creek on November 5, 1818. William Claus asked for a massive block of land north to the 45<sup>th</sup> parallel, encompassing

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<sup>40</sup> Minutes of a Council Held... 5<sup>th</sup> of November 1818, RG 10, vol. 790, pp. 7030-1.

<sup>41</sup> Paudash Papers, RG 10, vol. 1011, Section A, p. 42.

<sup>42</sup> Surtees, “Indian Cessions in Ontario,” pp. 178-9, 204.

<sup>43</sup> Edwin Guillet, *Early Life in Upper Canada*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), p. 61.

1,951,000 acres.<sup>44</sup> This box included all arable land in the vicinity and the band's most commonly used areas. The text did not explain where the band was to live.

This treaty introduced the annuity system. The Rice Lake Band received £740 in perpetuity, which, taking the legal interest rate, equalled about 1½ pence per acre. It was very little compensation for their land, especially since speculators were soon buying grants in this area for around two to three shillings per acre, about the price that Brant had indicated that natives should receive. However, the Mississauga could only sell to the government and had very little control over prices.

The government did not allow the agreement for a £740 annuity to remain as written. It summoned the Rice Lake Band to "explain" how they would be paid and then substantially altered the terms of the agreement. Initially the amount would be given "every year." However, as the government explained, this meant that each person would get \$10 per year as long as they were alive.<sup>45</sup> This arrangement came reasonably close to the former sum in the immediate term,<sup>46</sup> but placed a limit on the duration of the obligation, substantially decreasing the compensation.

The Mississauga had some idea of the power of written documents, but their inability to read was a disadvantage in the course of the negotiations. The Crown did not record terms that Chief Buckquaquet specifically sought. He asked that "the Islands may be left for them," and Claus replied that he would inform the Lieutenant-Governor and that "I have no doubt but that he will accede to your wish."<sup>47</sup> Whether or not this was disingenuous, the department did not uphold the offer.

Copway maintains that the natives "were repeatedly told by those who purchased for the government that the islands were not included in the articles of agreement" and the band understandably left the meeting believing that they still possessed them.<sup>48</sup> However, the government claimed that the treaty showed their consent to surrender the islands. In the short-term, it did not listen to the band's protests and did not notice that the treaties could be read to mean that Rice Lake was not surrendered. The band protested

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<sup>44</sup> Canada, *Indian Treaties and Surrenders from 1680 to 1890*, p. 48.

<sup>45</sup> Canada, *Indian Treaties and Surrenders from 1680 to 1890*, p. 49.

<sup>46</sup> Calculated based on population statistics from J. H. Lefroy, *On the probable number of the native Indian population of British America: from the proceedings of the Canadian Institute*, (Toronto, 185-?), p. 11.

<sup>47</sup> Minutes of a Council Held... 5<sup>th</sup> of November 1818, RG 10, vol. 790, p. 7031.

<sup>48</sup> Copway, *The Life, History, and Travels*, p. 65.

repeatedly and an 1856 committee of investigation finally acknowledged that it had never surrendered the Rice Lake islands.<sup>49</sup>

Buckquaquet also asked for “the right of Fishing, the use of the waters & hunting where we can find game.” The minutes indicate that Claus replied, “the rivers are open to all & you have an equal right to fish and hunt on them.”<sup>50</sup> The Crown could claim that since the natives had an “equal right,” they were, like the colonists, dependent on the Crown’s statutes. But this interpretation relies on an exact translation of Claus’ words and is certainly unjust. Translation would have distorted his delicate wording, but even if the concept of equal got through, the band was almost certainly not agreeing to Crown control. The natives had clearly retained the right to hunt and fish in unlocated areas, but it did not clearly establish whether they could use located or patented land that was unoccupied. However, the treaty does not guarantee any such rights, claiming that they “freely, fully and voluntarily surrender and convey the [tract of land] to His Majesty without reservation or limitation in perpetuity.”<sup>51</sup>

This treaty had little immediate effect on these communities. They could continue hunting, fishing and gathering rice as formerly, but it provided ‘legitimate’ basis for settlers to enter the area. The following year, Adam Scott began preparations for a mill at the future site of Peterborough, a portage on the Otonabee River north of Rice Lake,<sup>52</sup> and in 1825 Peter Robinson’s immigrants helped transform the small village into a regional centre. In the eyes of the Crown, this treaty made the Rice Lake Band a community with no property. Settlers pushed the band off their land, to which, according to the Crown’s interpretation of the agreements, they no longer had any claim. The Mississauga realized fairly quickly that the treaties were unjust, even by colonial legal standards, and this grievance still colours native-government relations. It dictated the need to find a way of life requiring less land. And, although the compensation was very low, the payments helped facilitate this change through ‘civilization.’

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<sup>49</sup> “Report... 8<sup>th</sup> of September 1856, *Appendix to the sixteenth volume...*, pp. A-21-87 to A-21-88.

<sup>50</sup> Minutes of a Council Held... 5<sup>th</sup> of November 1818, RG 10, vol. 790, pp. 7031-2.

<sup>51</sup> Canada, *Indian Treaties and Surrenders from 1680 to 1890*, p. 48.

<sup>52</sup> Thomas Wesley Poole, *A Sketch of the early settlement and subsequent progress of the town of Peterborough and Each Township in the County of Peterborough*, (Peterborough: Robert Romaine at the Office of the “Peterborough Review,” 1867), pp. 2-3.

## **'Civilization'**

As T. G. Anderson explained, 'civilization' was supposed to allow natives to "become one with your white brethren." For this to happen, they had to meet the colonists' expectations for respectability. Christianity, with its norms of honour and morality, including temperance, was the most important. 'Industry' required the natives to work in a fashion recognizable to settlers. For natives, hunting and fishing did not qualify, while wage labour or, better still, agriculture did. Natives should have a Christian education and become literate. They were also to live in the European mode—in a fixed location and a house—and dress like colonists. If the natives became one with their white brethren, they would take part in the colony's distribution of resources and hold land, work, live and consume like Europeans. Some advocates even suggested they might govern themselves.<sup>1</sup>

'Civilization' was not only applicable to native society. Colonists also faced questions regarding their education, honesty, loyalty, religious beliefs, temperance, morality and industry. Many of the strongest advocates of 'civilization' found the character of many settlers alarming and some argued that the settlers' example was corrupting native society. The major churches, emerging public schools and developing legal system all influenced residents of Upper Canada to conform to their behavioural expectations. Though the concept pertained to settlers and natives, this study pays particular attention to the Mississauga's cultural reform because the reconstruction of their society was central to land redistribution.

The concept of 'civilization' was not universally accepted. Some questioned whether native communities could or should be reconstructed. Some argued that races were the result of different acts of creation, implying inherent differences. Others maintained that recreating Mississauga society was destructive. 'Civilization' was also not solely an imposition. Natives were realizing the utility of agriculture to complement their dwindling means of subsistence. During land negotiations in 1811, the two bands adjacent to the Rice Lake Mississauga specifically requested compensation that would materially aid efforts at cultivation. The Quinte and Lake Simcoe Bands both asked for a

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<sup>1</sup> T. G. Anderson, in *Minutes of the General Council...* 1846, p. 7.

blacksmith, while the former also requested axes, hoes and spears.<sup>2</sup> Such a worker could make and repair agricultural implements, implying less government dependence. At the 1818 meeting, Buckquaquet suggested that some members of his band were also thinking about cultivation. They would “try to scratch the Earth as our Brethren the Farmers do & put anything in that it may come up to help our Women & Children.”<sup>3</sup> Assistance soon came, both from the government and mission societies.

In August 1826, Methodist Mississauga Joseph Sawyer, Big Jacob and Peter Wasson came to Rice Lake and invited the community to a camp meeting near Cobourg. Even though the Rice Lake Band had been drinking, their guests explained some of the basics of Christianity. About thirty accepted the offer and, despite their initial trepidations, many converted including Chief George Paudash.<sup>4</sup>

Camp meetings were a very important part of Methodist customs at the time. As in this case, they typically lasted several days and occurred in a fenced-in area. The participants sang hymns, prayed and listened to sermons and exhortations. It was common to recount personal religious events. Participants used experience, especially what a person felt or sensed, to understand the world and religion. The Holy Spirit could inspire them at these intense and emotional meetings. It was normal for people to disturb the sermons with shouting and cry or fall to the ground. Copway described his peers who “lay about me like dead men” from “the power of the gospel grace.”<sup>5</sup> It was possible for God to directly instruct an individual or facilitate miracles such as flight or walking on water.

Much of the momentum came from within the nation. Peter Jones was a very powerful spiritual leader. Peter Jacobs, an early convert in the region, recalls that Jones showed him that God was not English, but cared for natives and would hear their prayers in their own language. Jones was certainly not alone, since the believers spread the Good News in the community. Jacobs became a prayer leader, class leader, preacher and missionary.<sup>6</sup> Paudash likewise enthusiastically shared his faith.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Johnson, “The Mississauga Treaty Process,” pp. 369, 372.

<sup>3</sup> Minutes of a Council Held... 5<sup>th</sup> of November 1818, RG 10, vol. 790, p. 7031.

<sup>4</sup> Copway, *The Life, History, and Travels*, pp. 71-3, 75; Smith, *Sacred Feathers*, pp. 95-6.

<sup>5</sup> Copway, *The Life, History, and Travels*, p. 76.

<sup>6</sup> Jacobs, *Journal of the Reverend Peter Jacobs*, pp. 3, 5.

<sup>7</sup> Jones, *Life and journals*, pp. 87, 98, 178.



In November 1827, just over a year after the camp meeting, Rev. Hamilton Biggar resided at Rice Lake. Rev. James Evans succeeded Biggar and served from 1828 to 1831.<sup>8</sup> By January 1829, Rev. Aaron Hurd was stationed at Lake Scugog and a month later, teacher Eliza Barnes arrived. Evans and his wife, along with two workmen served at Rice Lake.<sup>9</sup> The band consistently had a missionary, who also met natives around Mud Lake.<sup>10</sup> Over the next decade, their preachers included prominent local Mississauga converts John Sunday of Alderville (formerly the Quinte Band), from 1839 to 1844<sup>11</sup> and Jacobs who left around 1841.<sup>12</sup> Travelling missionaries aided the resident clergy and notable guests included Reverends Peter Jones, Egerton Ryerson and William Case, who was general superintendent of the Methodist Conference and superintendent of the conference's Indian missions. Jones visited about once every couple months and preached intensively for several days.<sup>13</sup>

The band still went to camp meetings and assembled to discuss religious matters very regularly, daily when Peter Jones was present. Weekly services began immediately even before the construction of permanent churches. Sundays typically had numerous religious meetings in addition to service. The Lake Scugog community completed a basswood chapel by May 1828 and by the following February contracted carpenters and natives, who hauled logs, were building a 40ft x 30ft church at Rice Lake.<sup>14</sup>

Like camp meetings, the regular gatherings were very emotional. Jacobs recalled the zeal that could inspire the community to stay up all night singing, praying and praising God.<sup>15</sup> While receiving the Sacrament of Holy Communion, some participants were overcome by the Holy Spirit and collapsed.<sup>16</sup> Many cried, earnestly spoke of their sins and joyously sang hymns. At every meeting, speakers exhorted the community to live good Christian lives.

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<sup>8</sup> Jones, *Life and journals*, pp. 98-9; Donald B. Smith, "The Life of George Copway or Kah-ge-gah-bowh (1818-1869)—and a review of his writings," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 23, no. 3, p. 8; Hall, "Red Men's Burden," p. 92.

<sup>9</sup> Jones, *Life and journals*, pp. 195, 200.

<sup>10</sup> Bagot, "Report... March 20, 1845," *Appendix to the sixth volume...*, p. EEE-41.

<sup>11</sup> Copway, *The Life, History, and Travels*, p. 138; Benjamin Slight, *Indian researches, or Facts concerning the North American Indians...* (Montreal: J. E. I. Miller, 1844), p. 135.

<sup>12</sup> Jacobs, *Journal of the Reverend Peter Jacobs*, p. 5.

<sup>13</sup> Jones, *Life and journals*.

<sup>14</sup> Jones, *Life and journals*, pp. 135, 200.

<sup>15</sup> Jacobs, *Journal of the Reverend Peter Jacobs*, p. 5.

<sup>16</sup> Jones, *Life and journals*, p. 147.

Though many of the missionaries did not initially speak Chippewa and relied on natives like Jones to translate, they made a particular effort to preach to the band in their own language. Evans learned it and by May 1829 he was able to address the community without an interpreter. The following February, he wrote to Jones in Chippewa. Often the exhorters were members of the nation, such as class leader Isaac Iron, Chief George Paudash, Brother Goose, Peter Jones or Peter Jacobs. On June 26, 1829, Lieutenant-Governor John Colborne agreed to print 2,000 copies of the first seven chapters of Matthew's Gospel for the Mississauga (the population was about 5,000) in Chippewa with English on the opposite pages.<sup>17</sup>

Because of the role of emotion and personal experience in this religion, the church hierarchy did not rigidly control doctrine and some claimed to have a message directly from God. At Lake Scugog, Old Johnson convinced many of his peers that God had spoken directly to him and explained to his neighbours how to live in accordance with the instructions. Apparently, most of his lessons were compatible with Biblical teachings, but when he asserted that they should not eat meat, Jones reminded the believers to reconcile all teaching with the Bible.<sup>18</sup>

Biggar opened a school at Rice Lake on November 13, 1827, which also instructed children from Mud Lake. Evans continued the school when he replaced Biggar, while Hurd worked at Lake Scugog. These schools were generally well attended, drawing about a hundred students from the total population of approximately three hundred, according to the missionaries' counts.<sup>19</sup> From July 1828, Eliza Barnes and Miss Ash taught girls at Rice Lake, while the Lake Scugog mission hired a female instructor around the same time. Barnes served until the following February and returned in January 1830.<sup>20</sup>

With female teachers available, the schools tailored the lessons to prepare the children for their gender roles. For all students, the teachers focused on reading, writing, Bible study and prayer. At Sunday School they learned catechisms, which were a series

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<sup>17</sup> Jones, *Life and journals*, pp. 87, 98, 133, 178, 219, 220, 226, 269, 288; Bagot, "Report... March 20, 1845," *Appendix to the sixth volume...*, p. EEE-25.

<sup>18</sup> Jones, *Life and journals*, p. 136.

<sup>19</sup> Jones, *Life and journals*, pp. 98-9, 136, 195, 260; Bagot, "Report... March 20, 1845," *Appendix to the sixth volume...*, p. EEE-25.

<sup>20</sup> Jones, *Life and journals*, pp. 200, 269.

of memorized answers to questions outlining key principles of the faith. Female students learned household skills including braiding, sewing and knitting.<sup>21</sup>

Many of the early lessons in domestic skills were not suited to a community that continued to live in wigwams, but the government and missionaries were already preparing to help the band live in the European fashion. In January 1827, Colonel James Givins, who aided the construction of homes on the Credit River, visited Rice Lake and offered to build houses for the band, if they would pay for them from their annuities. The band "agreed it would be best for them to do as the Government recommended."<sup>22</sup> On January 30, 1828, Chief Paudash, Peter Jones and Chief James Ajetance of the Credit Band met Colborne at York and showed more initiative. Paudash asked Colborne to reserve land for them near the home of trader Charles Anderson, to build a village there and consented to the use of their funds. Though he made no promises, Colborne responded favourably and said the land was still available.<sup>23</sup>

The band received houses and reserves at roughly the same time. By July 1828, Methodist missionaries were planning a village at Rice Lake. The following year the New England Company agreed to construct it.<sup>24</sup> The company, formally titled the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England and the Parts Adjacent in America, sought to convert, educate and apprentice natives. By December 1831, they completed a village on Rice Lake, which consisted a few years later of thirty houses, three barns, a schoolhouse and a chapel. The society also petitioned the government for a grant of 1,200 acres.<sup>25</sup> In April 1834, the band received a reserve of 1,120 acres and subsequently purchased 430 more from their own funds, but the Company held their land in trust with "a view to their conversion and civilization,"<sup>26</sup> on the understanding that the band was not yet able to manage its own affairs.

The New England Company looked after the Mud Lake Band more directly. In April 1837, they were granted 1,600 acres in trust to the company encompassing a point

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<sup>21</sup> Jones, *Life and journals*, pp. 98-9, 136, 158, 219.

<sup>22</sup> Jones, *Life and journals*, pp. 78-9.

<sup>23</sup> Jones, *Life and journals*, p. 105.

<sup>24</sup> Paudash Papers, RG 10, vol. 1011, Section A, p. 38; Smith, *Sacred Feathers*, p. 123; Jones, *Life and journals*, p. 158.

<sup>25</sup> John Colborne to Robert William Hay, December 15, 1831, *Muskoka and Haliburton, 1615-1875*, ed. Florence B. Murray, (Toronto: The Champlain Society, University of Toronto Press, 1963), p. 107; Bagot, "Report... March 20, 1845," *Appendix to the sixth volume...*, p. EEE-41.

<sup>26</sup> Bagot, "Report... March 20, 1845," *Appendix to the sixth volume...*, p. EEE-41.

on the north shore of Mud Lake, now called the Curve Lake Reserve. In the 1840s, the company completed a village consisting of twenty houses, three stables, a mission house, school and church. Mr. West completed part of the work in 1842 on a government contract, building four houses for £39 each, one for £20 and repairing others at a cost of £37, all drawn from their annuity. The band modified this agreement allowing members the corresponding share of the funds if they did the labour themselves.<sup>27</sup> As at Rice Lake, wigwams ceased to be their year-round homes, although most constructed bark huts on their lawns during the summer and wigwams continued as shelters for hunting or travel.<sup>28</sup>

The fate of the remaining band members was rather tragic. In 1836, following the instructions of Coborne, Alexander McDonell, Agent to the Commissioner of Crown Lands, led some natives formerly of Mud and Scugog Lakes to settle and farm 1,206 acres on a point on the north shore of Balsam Lake, which is now known as Indian Point. In contrast to the other two reserves where the land was passable, this point was obviously not arable. In 1819, Lieutenant J. P. Catty surveyed Balsam Lake and concluded “the banks rocky and producing little else but Pine timber.”<sup>29</sup> Somehow, when the surveyor examined the plot for native settlement he found that it contained “good land.”<sup>30</sup> Though the Crown still held arable land in adjacent townships, McDonell ploughed ahead, contracting with William Cottingham, a miller and businessman from Metcalfe (Omamee) in July 1837 to build twenty houses at £10 each, for which at least £150 came from their annuities.<sup>31</sup>

Before they received their grants, the government and missionaries were helping the natives become ‘industrious’ and trying to convince them “that it was no disgrace to work for a living, or to hire out and work.”<sup>32</sup> In each year from 1827 to 1829, their benefactors gave hoes, axes and seed to the Scugog and Rice Lake communities. In the

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<sup>27</sup> Commission of Inquiry into the Indian Department - Minute Book, RG 10, vol. 720, pp. 88, 103.

<sup>28</sup> Bagot, “Report... June 25, 1847,” *Appendix to the sixth volume...*, p. T-90; Strickland, *Twenty-Seven Years in Canada West*, II, p. 74; *Langton Records*, (Edinburgh: R. & R. Clark, 1904), p. 35.

<sup>29</sup> J. P. Catty in *Muskoka and Haliburton*, pp. 30-1.

<sup>30</sup> Field notes of Town Plot at Balsam Lake, John Huston, 1835, RG 1, CB-1.

<sup>31</sup> Bagot, “Report... March 20, 1845,” *Appendix to the sixth volume ...*, p. EEE-44.

<sup>32</sup> Jones, *Life and journals*, p. 289.

first year, the missionaries ploughed for them, while the natives worked on fences. However, in 1829, they learned the art and successfully grew corn and potatoes.<sup>33</sup>

The reserves were split into individual lots, fifty acres each at Rice Lake and one to four acres at Mud Lake.<sup>34</sup> The result was not conventional yeoman farming. Instead, the community had a single patch of cleared land with a fence surrounding it and small stakes marking where each person had planted.<sup>35</sup> Implements such as ploughs, harrows and wagons were also often communally held and could be purchased with the band's account, exemplified by a team of oxen and cattle for the Rice Lake settlement in 1842.<sup>36</sup>

The transformation to an agriculture economy did not happen as the advocates of 'civilization' had hoped, though it was not without its effects. At Scugog and Balsam Lakes, it failed terribly because of the negligent choice of location. Ninety members of the community settled and cleared about 200 acres and had twelve houses, a barn and a school by 1843. However, they found that the soil was unsuitable and were forced to move to a place where they stood a chance of farming successfully. In 1843, they returned the plot of land to the government to sell it on their behalf, and purchased 600 acres on Scugog Island, where they resumed their efforts. The government could not find settlers inclined to pay for Indian Point and therefore did not sell any of it before 1856. The vast majority is now a provincial park.<sup>37</sup> The 1856 departmental investigation found that they were "disheartened" and were only cultivating thirty acres,<sup>38</sup> certainly too little to subsist.

The other villages faced similar challenges, though perhaps not to the same degree. In 1839, Thomas Need, who lived quite close to Mud Lake, reported that "this has been a season to the Indians so disastrous that they are literally almost in a state of starvation. All their sources of wealth have failed them."<sup>39</sup> Eight years later, T. G. Anderson observed that they were growing "just what may be considered sufficient for

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<sup>33</sup> Jones, *Life and journals*, p. 158.

<sup>34</sup> Bagot, "Report... March 20, 1845," *Appendix to the sixth volume* ..., p. EEE-41; "Report... 8<sup>th</sup> of September 1856," *Appendix to the sixteenth volume* ..., p. A-21-86.

<sup>35</sup> Bagot, "Report... June 25, 1847," *Appendix to the sixth volume* ..., p. T-90.

<sup>36</sup> George Potash to S. P. Jarvis, June 20, 1842, Paudash Papers, RG 10, vol. 1011, Section D; "Report... 8<sup>th</sup> of September 1856," *Appendix to the sixteenth volume* ..., pp. A21-289 to A21-290; Commission of Inquiry into the Indian Department Minute Book, 1842-1843, RG 10, vol. 720, p. 85.

<sup>37</sup> Bagot, "Report... March 20, 1845," *Appendix to the sixth volume* ..., pp. EEE-41, EEE-44; "Report... 8<sup>th</sup> of September 1856," *Appendix to the sixteenth volume* ..., p. A-21-87.

<sup>38</sup> "Report... 8<sup>th</sup> of September 1856," *Appendix to the sixteenth volume* ..., p. A-21-87.

<sup>39</sup> Notebook of Thomas Need, MU 2186.

the winter consumption.”<sup>40</sup> The following winter, he was quite disappointed in the community’s agricultural efforts. They had not grown enough hay to keep their livestock and compensated by dipping into their annuities.<sup>41</sup> The Rice Lake Band had also been using their account to buy flour.<sup>42</sup>

Even though the chiefs said the community should “avoid hunting because it so materially obstructs our improvement,”<sup>43</sup> the Mississauga used the land and waterways as they formerly had, especially in winter. They could be found fishing through the ice from their canoes during the day or at night using jacklights and spears.<sup>44</sup> They travelled the waterways in search of game, traded furs and zealously defended their hunting privileges against both settlers and other tribes.<sup>45</sup> These practices remained an essential source of food. In the 1830s numerous settlers visited their community, and they did not eat domesticated meat in any case recorded prior to 1851. There is occasional reference to potatoes, but their traditional sources of nourishment predominate. Each time the settlers were served venison and often had fish, birds, duck, beaver or other game.<sup>46</sup>

The continued reliance on hunting and fishing helped to prompt the construction of residential manual labour schools. Peter Jones stressed the need for schools to teach the skills necessary for becoming farmers. Residential schools were to aid learning by removing children from the influence of their parents’ “wandering.” In 1840, Jones convinced the Mississauga General Council to petition the Crown for such an institution.<sup>47</sup> Two years later, a residential school and model farm opened in the neighbouring community of Alnwick. The students learned reading, writing, arithmetic and geography, with dairy management, housekeeping, spinning and needlework for

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<sup>40</sup> Bagot, “Report... June 25, 1847,” *Appendix to the sixth volume...*, p. T-90.

<sup>41</sup> T. G. Anderson to Paudash, February 18, 1846, Paudash Papers, RG 10, vol. 1011, Section D.

<sup>42</sup> Jarvis to Paudash, March 20, 1845, Paudash Papers, RG 10, vol. 1011, Section D.

<sup>43</sup> General Council, January 1836, Paudash Papers, RG 10, vol. 1011, Section B, p. 15.

<sup>44</sup> Catherine Parr Traill, *The Backwoods of Canada*, (Toronto: Prospero, 2003 [1836]), pp. 160-1.

<sup>45</sup> Jones, *Life and journals*, p. 158; Paudash Papers, RG 10, vol. 1011, Section B, p. 10; Lieutenant Governor’s Correspondence, RG 10, vol. 5, pp. 2039-41, 2580-1.

<sup>46</sup> Frances Stewart, *Our Forest Home*, p. 72; Thomas Need, *Six Years in the Bush*, p. 77; Susanna Moodie, *Roughing it in the Bush*, pp. 324, 539-40; John Langton, *Early Days in Upper Canada*, ed. W. A. Langton, (Toronto: The MacMillan Company of Canada Ltd., 1926), p. 29.

<sup>47</sup> General Council, January 1840, Paudash Papers, RG 10, vol. 1011, Section B, p. 100.

girls, or English grammar and the business of farming for boys.<sup>48</sup> Despite this encouragement, the community continued to rely on their varied means of subsistence.<sup>49</sup>

Agriculture was certainly not a failure in all the communities, although it was a disaster on Balsam Lake. By 1856, about half of the families at Rice Lake were cultivating more than ten acres, and a quarter fifteen or more. Many were accumulating livestock and several had holdings comparable to farmers in nearby newly settled areas, albeit ones at the lower end of these communities. However, the assessor found that about a third of the population worked very little or no land.<sup>50</sup> Cultivation at Mud Lake, where the soil was marginal, was not as extensive. In this community, the plots of four acres or less were all cultivated, but this was a small sum and the assessor reported a total of only twenty-two horses, cattle and oxen.<sup>51</sup> Hunting and fishing supplemented this production, but their lives did not match the settlers' in comfort, as Need, Anderson and their annuity accounts attested.

Other aspects of 'civilization' seem to have been a partial success. Many converts seemed genuine and participation was certainly widespread. While Jones was at Rice Lake, sixty to ninety natives attended communion, when the community was approximately one hundred adults and forty children.<sup>52</sup> Some nearby settlers commented that they were generally unwilling to trade, work or hunt on the Sabbath and observed the frequency of exhorting, praying or singing hymns during visits.<sup>53</sup> The community also produced missionaries and mission teachers including George Copway, John Taunchey, Brother Johnson and Brother Caubage.<sup>54</sup> Singing and prayer were the formal means for opening meetings and they used their funds to print religious texts.<sup>55</sup> Their General Council in January 1836 articulated a set of laws conducive to Christian living, calling for industry, temperance, attendance at school and the avoidance of debt.<sup>56</sup> Eliza Jeffers Graham lived at Rice Lake from 1857 to 1860 and observed that, "in their religious

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<sup>48</sup> William H. Smith, *The Canadian Gazetteer Comprising Statistical and General Information 1846*, (Toronto: Coles, 1872), p. 3; Bagot, "Report... March 20, 1845," *Appendix to the sixth volume...*, p. EEE-41.

<sup>49</sup> Bagot, "Report... June 25, 1847," *Appendix to the sixth volume ...*, p. T-90.

<sup>50</sup> "Report ...8<sup>th</sup> of September 1856," *Appendix to the sixteenth volume ...*, pp. A21-291 to A21-292; Agricultural Census of Fenelon and Verulam Townships, 1861, C-1077.

<sup>51</sup> "Report...8<sup>th</sup> of September 1856," *Appendix to the sixteenth volume ...*, pp. A21-289 to A21-290.

<sup>52</sup> Jones, *Life and journals*, pp. 147, 201, 220.

<sup>53</sup> Traill, *The Backwoods of Canada*, pp. 164, 167; Stewart, *Our Forest Home*, p. 60.

<sup>54</sup> Copway, *The Life, History, and Travels*, p. 88.

<sup>55</sup> Paudash Papers, RG 10, vol. 1011, Section B, pp. 69, 77, 79.

<sup>56</sup> Paudash Papers, RG 10, vol. 1011, Section C, pp. 15-17.

feeling these Indians were simple and sincere.”<sup>57</sup> Susanna Moodie, however, suggests that this simplicity of religious belief brought with it a lack of theological understanding. She recalled that even though they mention “the persons in the Trinity with great reverence,” one “Indian asked me very innocently if I came from the land where Christ was born, and if I had ever seen Jesus.”<sup>58</sup>

Apparently, many were initially interested in becoming literate. Shortly after the missionaries arrived, thirty-five, who “behaved extremely well” came to an Anglican service in Peterborough and brought their letter cards to the members “seeming really very desirous to be taught.”<sup>59</sup> The results were mixed. In 1830, John Crow was the only signatory of a petition that did not mark an “x.” Peter Jacobs and George Copway both published books, but the overwhelming majority of band members who were adults at the time of their conversion did not learn to sign their names.<sup>60</sup> Chief Peter Noguee of Mud Lake was such an example, but his son, John, could read and write with imperfect spelling and grammar, and also understood some basics of music notation.<sup>61</sup>

It also seems that “civilization” increased temperance. Some natives still drank too much, but the settlers spoke of them as exceptions to behavioural norms in their community.<sup>62</sup> Some settlers commented on their general sobriety. Need reported that at Mud Lake an offer of brandy resulted in a “loud shriek of horror at the sight of the *poison*.”<sup>63</sup> In 1847, T. G. Anderson said that alcohol use rarely occurred on the reserves.<sup>64</sup> Peter Jacobs wrote that in 1852, “the majority of people are teetotallers.”<sup>65</sup> Settlers’ accounts of wild noises arising from the drunken frolics across the lake end after ‘civilization.’ Suggestions that the Mississauga would literally do anything for alcohol also cease. There are also no references to children being sold for liquor or intoxicated fights where people might die.

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<sup>57</sup> Emma Jeffers Graham, in *The Valley of the Trent*, p. 20.

<sup>58</sup> Moodie, *Roughing it in the Bush*, p. 321.

<sup>59</sup> Stewart, *Our Forest Home*, p. 61.

<sup>60</sup> Lieutenant-Governor’s Correspondence, RG 10, vol. 5, p. 2581; Paudash Papers, RG 10, vol. 1011, Section B. p. 94.

<sup>61</sup> Strickland, *Twenty-Seven Years in Canada West*, II, pp. 77-8.

<sup>62</sup> Moodie, *Roughing it in the Bush*, p. 316; Bagot, “Report...,” p. T-89; Langton, *Early Days*, p. 9.

<sup>63</sup> Need, *Six Years in the Bush*, p. 27.

<sup>64</sup> Langton, *Early Days*, p. 9; Stewart, *Our Forest Home*, p. 61; Bagot, “Report... June 25, 1847,” *Appendix to the sixth volume...*, p. T-89.

<sup>65</sup> Jacobs, *Journal of the Reverend Peter Jacobs*, p. 7.



'Civilization' seems to have helped native dress, such as blankets as clothing, give way to more, but not totally, European-looking outfits.<sup>66</sup> John Langton's guide wore "coat, waistcoat and trousers,... a checked shirt and neckcloth," and "hat, shirt, coat, waistcoat and trousers, and with all the other outwards signs of a Christian man."<sup>67</sup> Peter Nogee's apparel was usually a blue coat, with a red sash around his waist, elaborately fringed leggings and moccasins and a blue conical cap ornamented with feathers and a deer's tail dyed to match.<sup>68</sup> When Handsome Jack died in 1839, Thomas Need noted that he was one of the last members of the community who did not dress in the European fashion.<sup>69</sup> Jacobs observed that women wore shawls and gowns,<sup>70</sup> while Emma Jeffers Graham recalls them in "plain cotton gowns, neatly made, and simple straw hats, while the men were garbed in woollen shirts and trousers, with red scarfs tied around the waists. They also wore wide brimmed hats of coarse straw."<sup>71</sup>

By 1856, however, enthusiasm for 'civilization' was less apparent. Lake Scugog had no schoolmaster and attendance was dropping in the other two communities. Only 35 of the 65 children of appropriate age were attending classes, far short of the near complete attendance in the late 1820s.<sup>72</sup> Pride in native culture was becoming more visible. A couple years later, Rice Lake hosted a major pow-wow, which brought Mississauga from across the colony.<sup>73</sup>

'Civilization' did not succeed in establishing agriculture as the natives' sole means of subsistence. Yet the process could certainly claim some successes. It almost certainly helped halt the population decline at Mud and Rice Lakes. In both cases, the population stabilized and actually made modest increases by the late 1830s and early 1840s.<sup>74</sup> However, on Balsam Lake and Lake Scugog, it was disastrous in the short term. From 1844 to 1856, amidst the failure of their farms, the population dwindled from 96 to 61.<sup>75</sup> But at Rice and Mud Lakes, agriculture became a supplementary means of

<sup>66</sup> Stewart, *Our Forest Home*, p. 58; Jacobs, *Journal of the Reverend Peter Jacobs*, p. 7.

<sup>67</sup> Langton, *Early Days*, pp. 8, 22.

<sup>68</sup> Traill, *The Backwoods of Canada*, p. 284; Moodie, *Roughing it in the Bush*, p. 309.

<sup>69</sup> Notebook of Thomas Need, MU 2186.

<sup>70</sup> Jacobs, *Journal of the Reverend Peter Jacobs*, p. 7.

<sup>71</sup> Graham, in *The Valley of the Trent*, p. 18.

<sup>72</sup> "Report... 8<sup>th</sup> of September 1856," *Appendix to the sixteenth volume...*, p. 252.

<sup>73</sup> Graham, in *The Valley of the Trent*, p. 21.

<sup>74</sup> Lefroy, *On the probable number of the native Indian population*, p. 11.

<sup>75</sup> "Report... 8<sup>th</sup> of September 1856," *Appendix to the sixteenth volume...*, p. 87.

subsistence that helped these communities adjust to the decline in the returns from hunting. Other skills, especially English literacy, were also very valuable for the communities within the colonial state.

In terms of land policy, 'civilization' was a partial success for the Crown. The natives were increasingly confined to reserves, which freed up the remainder of the colony for settlers and the economic transformation allowed the communities to subsist despite the severe limitations that settlement placed on traditional modes of production. But its failures continue to resonate, as the Mississauga remained significantly worse off in material terms than their new neighbours.

# Speculation

As the state worked towards 'civilizing' the Mississauga, it divided their land and began redistributing it. The first grants in Fenelon and Verulam were to the surveyors in 1825, none of whom had any interest in moving to the area. The Crown began giving title to others in 1830, with the obvious intent of settling the region. But, as elsewhere in the colony, much of the land immediately went to speculators.

Though many historians of Upper Canada agree on the 'evils' of rampant land speculation, a major remaining issue is: what is speculation and how is it identified? John Weaver defines it as withholding land from the market "to drive up the price for a windfall profit," and suggests that "turning profits by sundry practices, not the actual magnitude of the supposed profit, characterizes speculation." He sees little distinction between "a pre-eminent financier with millions of acres" and a "dabbler in scrub acres."<sup>1</sup> However, methodically identifying speculators is difficult since intent rather than profit is the determining factor.

R. W. Widdis proposed a method based on a four dimensional scale. He associates speculation with (1) "large amounts of property", (2) "fields lying idle," though "the speculator may lease parts of his property, (3) "sitting on the land," though "there are individuals who are actively engaged in the market," and (4) "low levels of capital input."<sup>2</sup> He confesses that (3) and (4) are not adequate in themselves to discriminate. He designates persons with all four characteristics probable large-scale speculators and those with the final three probable small-scale.<sup>3</sup>

Other historians have provided alternatives. Lillian Gates' statistics are based on the definition that unoccupied land was speculative.<sup>4</sup> Russell requires 400 or more uncleared acres.<sup>5</sup> Clarke attempts a more precise filter, somewhat in line with Widdis' ideas, examining the number of transactions, the length of time the person was marketing

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<sup>1</sup> John Weaver, *The Great Land Rush*, p. 76.

<sup>2</sup> Randy William Widdis, "Motivation and Scale: A Method of Identifying Land Speculators in Upper Canada," *Canadian Geographer*, XXIII, 4, (1979), p. 343.

<sup>3</sup> Widdis, "Motivation and Scale," p. 344.

<sup>4</sup> Gates, *Land Policies of Upper Canada*, p. 342.

<sup>5</sup> Russell, "Upper Canada, A Poor Man's Country?" p. 140.

property and the total acreage held at some point. He toys with various minima, but in calculating aggregate speculation in Essex, settles on 400 acres.<sup>6</sup>

The diverging methods for recognizing speculators reflect the cloudiness of this analytical lens. Weaver seems correct to assert that small-scale speculators should not be excluded, but his criterion of intent is impossible to use for many smallholders. There are obvious cases of speculation, like Thomas Need, James Wallis and Robert Jameson, who acquired massive amounts of land, intending to provide services to attract immigrants. Many prominent non-residents acquired land to sell and certainly had no intention of settling in the Kawartha Lakes. The methods outlined above identify most, if not all, of them. But Mossom Boyd exemplifies one of the troubles with this approach. After 1850, he acquired 5,612 acres (6,106 total during his lifetime) in these townships, plus a large part of the village of Bobcaygeon. This sum was far in excess of anyone else in the area during this period. He also held large tracts elsewhere. Any of the above filters would correctly identify him as a land speculator. However, it is misleading to classify his lands as 'owned by a speculator,' with the implication that they were being underused, at least by their owner. Boyd operated a sawmill at Bobcaygeon and shipped lumber down the Trent and St. Lawrence. He amassed much of the land to harvest timber, but he also intended to sell the properties at a profit. Some of the lots he acquired were, in the colonial economy, only useful for timber and have never been farmed. Yet he generally sold these at a profit and acquired many other lots that had unquestionable value for settlers. He was by far the largest employer in the village and brought more people to the area in this period than anyone else. Not all his acquisitions prevented compact settlement and caused immigrants to be "frustrated that they could not obtain land except by private purchase" or squatting. Nor were they all wasteful or generally a nuisance.

Jabez Thurston, another sawmill owner in Verulam Township, accumulated a total of 1,516 acres in the township, with over a third of the property on or very near Sturgeon Lake. Most, if not all, the tests above would correctly classify him as a speculator. However, he or his relatives worked 740 of the acres. Many other settlers also owned more land than they could work and gave part to relatives.

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<sup>6</sup> Clarke, *Land, Power, and Economics*, pp. 306, 331.

Whether we include all, some or none of the land that people like Jabez Thurston and Mossom Boyd held, a lot cannot be classified as either 'speculative' or 'not speculative' strictly based on ownership. When such classifications are made, they require considerable reservations and their utility for outlining the settlement process is very questionable. I will not be constraining myself to a discussion of land policy through this lens. In the remainder of this chapter, I will be examining the role of several resident land speculators in the development of these communities. The next chapter is devoted to accessibility, acquisition and use of land, which relate to the concerns of the immigrants far more directly than the concentration of ownership.

Several of the earliest settlers in these townships brought appreciable capital for investment, considered themselves 'gentry' and tried to support this lifestyle on the waterway. They believed that their education, work and social habits distinguished them from the 'working class.' Andrew Holman asserts that work separates the 'idle rich' from 'mainstream society' by their ability to be "completely independent."<sup>7</sup> He suggests that they were "perhaps not numerous enough or divorced enough from commerce to constitute in themselves a local gentry *class*, but wealthy and extravagant enough to distinguish themselves by their domestic opulence and aversion to community life."

On Sturgeon and Cameron Lakes the aspiring gentry could not divorce themselves from commerce, since they were not wealthy enough to be truly idle and had to take an active part in producing their fortunes, though a few, like James Wallis and Robert Jameson could hire managers or agents for some of their affairs. But their inability to gain financial independence from 'mainstream society' created some tensions. Holman astutely notes a strong connection between the jobs performed and social standing.<sup>8</sup> Members of the aspiring gentry were conscious of the associations that certain tasks had with status. Storekeeping, manual labour and trades were not recognized as the work of gentry, though this distaste could be overcome, perhaps because of necessity.<sup>9</sup>

The need for enough money to support "domestic opulence" placed a further constraint on potential types of work. The expectation of comfort pervades these settlers'

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<sup>7</sup> Andrew Holman, *A Sense of their Duty: Middle-Class Formation in Victorian Ontario Towns*, (Kingston & Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000), p. 20.

<sup>8</sup> Holman, *A Sense of their Duty*, p. 19.

<sup>9</sup> Need, *Six Years in the Bush*, p. 103; Langton, *A Gentlewoman in Upper Canada*, pp. 7, 64.

accounts and assumed a fairly consistent set of meanings. Almost all sought domestic labourers for household chores and tried to maintain aesthetically pleasing surroundings. It was common to partially landscape properties, import flowering plants and decorate homes with needlework, potted plants, as well as floor and furniture coverings.<sup>10</sup> These improvements increased the need for assistance to lay out and maintain them.

“Domestic opulence” also encompassed expectations of personal and social consumption. Cigars and fine (imported) alcohol were necessary for many of these settlers, as were clothes appropriate for their social status.<sup>11</sup> Though they lacked the amenities that European gentry had, ladies wore corsets and the Dunsfords had a carriage brought out.<sup>12</sup> This was particularly impractical since roads were often muddy clearings with stumps short enough that an axle could pass. People usually travelled with axes because they might need to perform roadwork.<sup>13</sup>

The appearance of their homes was very important to their social obligations. Gatherings depended on travel conditions and there were periods when the roads and lake were both unsuitable for travel, forcing a social lull. But in suitable seasons dinners, card parties and excursions were very frequent. John Langton recalled spending nine or ten consecutive days travelling and attending such events.<sup>14</sup> Many aspiring gentlemen went to Peterborough to attend balls. They also staged grand events for all members of the community, such as the Langtons’ ploughing match and two regattas, as well as Wallis’ banquet to launch his steamer, the *Ogemah*.

The settlers who aspired to live as gentry had to find lucrative work. Several, including Need, Langton, Robert Dennistoun, Alexander McAndrew, W. A. & Tom Macredie, Garwin Hamilton, Andrew S. Fraser, Francis Dobbs, Boyd and the Dunsfords tried to be gentleman farmers. There were a few possibilities of government positions. Fraser, Dennistoun, Wallis and Langton were all officers in the militia. Jameson, Wallis, McAndrew, Dennistoun, Langton, James W. Dunsford, Fraser and Need served as magistrates, a position that brought more prestige than remuneration. But for many

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<sup>10</sup> Langton, *A Gentlewoman in Upper Canada*, pp. 31, 39, 56, 70, 91, 93-4, 138, 167.

<sup>11</sup> Langton, *Early Days*, pp. 93-4, 188.

<sup>12</sup> Langton, *A Gentlewoman in Upper Canada*, p. 59.

<sup>13</sup> Langton, *Early Days*, p. 7; Langton, *A Gentlewoman in Upper Canada*, pp. 59, 119, 150, 188.

<sup>14</sup> Langton, *Early Days*, p. 13.

aspiring 'gentry,' agriculture remained a principal source of income. Langton explained the problem to his brother:

The complaints are universal of the difficulty of making a living by farming, and I feel no doubt, after giving it a fair trial, that in the present state of affairs it is not to be done... Were there any other means of making a little money to help the farm, the kind of life is one which I should prefer to any other, and though agriculture alone is a poor prospect, you may live better on a small sum on a farm than anywhere else. The question is what other means of money-making there are, and it is a question which I have asked myself and others five hundred times without getting any satisfactory answer. Ways of making money there doubtless are, but almost any I can think of involve the necessity of moving to a more civilized neighbourhood.<sup>15</sup>

'A living,' of course, meant one in line with his social aspirations. Though many settlers provided for more humble circumstances through agriculture, it seems he was correct that it was exceedingly difficult to support his way of life through agriculture in these townships. He was by no means alone in this realization, Need also admitted "my farm is by no means a source of profit."<sup>16</sup> None of the aspiring gentry in this area were able to finance their lifestyle by farming.

Langton considered running a distillery, but decided instead to enter the lumber business with Boyd and James W. Dunsford in 1849.<sup>17</sup> Aside from these options and milling, there were not many ways to make money. Land speculation was one of the few promising choices. Four of the earliest 'gentry' in these townships, Robert Jameson, James Wallis, Thomas Need and John Langton shared a common belief in the land market as a means of making, or helping to make, their fortune. Langton recalled a fixation on the subject among these friends, with "Lots and concessions being the only subject of conversation here."<sup>18</sup> These four men had a fair bit in common, being young adventurers from respectable families, who recently emigrated to make their fortune in the New World, and they speculated in land on a scale vastly exceeding their peers. They also arrived very early in the region's settlement, all by 1834. There are no known settlers

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<sup>15</sup> John Langton to William Langton, October 21, 1844, Langton Papers—Correspondence, MU 1690; Langton, *Early Days*, pp. 199-200.

<sup>16</sup> Notebook of Thomas Need, MU 2186.

<sup>17</sup> Langton, *Early Days*, pp. 200-3.

<sup>18</sup> Langton, *Early Days*, p. 25.

in the townships prior to 1833 and John Langton claims that he was the second European to chop a tree in Fenelon Township.<sup>19</sup>

James Wallis was born in Glasgow in 1807. His maternal grandfather had made a considerable sum on tobacco in Virginia. In 1832, he entered an unsuccessful partnership with Sydney Bellingham in Montreal importing produce from the West Indies. Bellingham had been employed by Thomas A. Stewart in the Peterborough area and introduced Wallis to the region. He formed a partnership with a Peterborough merchant, who soon died. In the spring of 1833, Wallis began purchasing lots close to the falls in Fenelon Township.

Born in 1809, Robert Jameson was the son of a wealthy Dublin brewer. He attended Cambridge in the late 1820s, where he met John Langton. In the autumn of 1833, soon after he emigrated, he began buying land in Fenelon and Verulam, particularly Loyalist rights. Then the first locations aside from those given to the surveyors were being made. In September, he paid £500 for the lot at the falls between Cameron and Sturgeon Lakes, which had been granted to Hon. Duncan Cameron, a Toronto banker and Provincial Secretary. His interests also included a large part of the town plot of Windsor (Whitby).

In 1834, Wallis and Jameson became partners, although they initially kept it secret and Wallis arrived at the falls in January.<sup>20</sup> Jameson pursued many ventures across the colony and was frequently absent from the settlement, though he constructed a dwelling there. Wallis, like his partner, frequently returned to England, but he intended to settle at the falls. After living at his tavern, he completed a grand home, Maryboro, on the shore of Cameron Lake near the Falls, in time for a party in October 1837.

Thomas Need was born in 1808 in Nottinghamshire, the son of a Lieutenant-Colonel. He became a Master of Arts at Oxford and intended to be a priest, but changed his mind.<sup>21</sup> He left England in 1832 and travelled extensively in Upper Canada before settling near Bobcaygeon in April 1833. Initially he tried farming, but soon let the property and began work on a sawmill. In August 1833, Need bought much of the surveyor's interest of George Strange Boulton, which included Lot 15 Concession X

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<sup>19</sup> John Langton in Anne Langton, *The Story of Our Family*, (Manchester: Thos. Sowler & Co., 1881), p. 67.

<sup>20</sup> Langton, *Early Days*, pp. 25, 68.

<sup>21</sup> Need Papers, MU 2186.



south of the town plot on the narrows between Sturgeon and Pigeon Lakes. Colborne named the nascent settlement Rokeby in July 1834,<sup>22</sup> but it continued to be popularly known as Bobcaygeon.

John Langton was born within a month of Need. His father was in business importing from Russia and nearly went bankrupt in 1820. Langton went to Cambridge with the assistance of his aunt and spent a few years experimenting in search of a profitable livelihood before emigrating in 1833. He settled on the northern arm of Sturgeon Lake that autumn. He hired men to help clear and build a farm which he named Blythe, after his childhood home that his family had been forced to sell. In letters to his father, Langton explained that he expected the prompt development of the Trent waterway and planned to make his fortune through farming and the increase in property value.<sup>23</sup> Langton explained that he acquired adjacent lots to allow him to choose his neighbours,<sup>24</sup> but he had an eye for opportunity and within a few years began acquiring land throughout the townships.

These four residents acquired 25,400 acres in these two townships, or about 22.6% of the total land, and they owned 616 acres more than once. They did not all use the same methods and they were not all speculating on the same scale. Wallis and Jameson acquired by far the most. They were primarily buying and locating Loyalist and militia grants, ostensibly as a power of attorney because the Crown would not patent such large blocks of locations with questionable adherence to settlement duties. They also acquired some particularly significant locations, such as the site of Fenelon Falls, through private and government purchase. They amassed 12,451 acres in Fenelon Township, or 22.4%, and 5,330 in Verulam, which corresponds to 9.4%. There are two natural town sites on the waterway in Fenelon Township, the falls between Cameron and Sturgeon Lakes and the rapids between Balsam and Cameron. Wallis and Jameson owned both.

Most of Need's acquisitions came from Boulton in 1833, including Lot 15 Concession X, which became the site of settlement at Bobcaygeon prior to the opening of the Rokeby town plot to sales. By 1852, he had acquired an additional 1,118 acres to bring his total to 2,825. The value of his holdings was greater because very few of the

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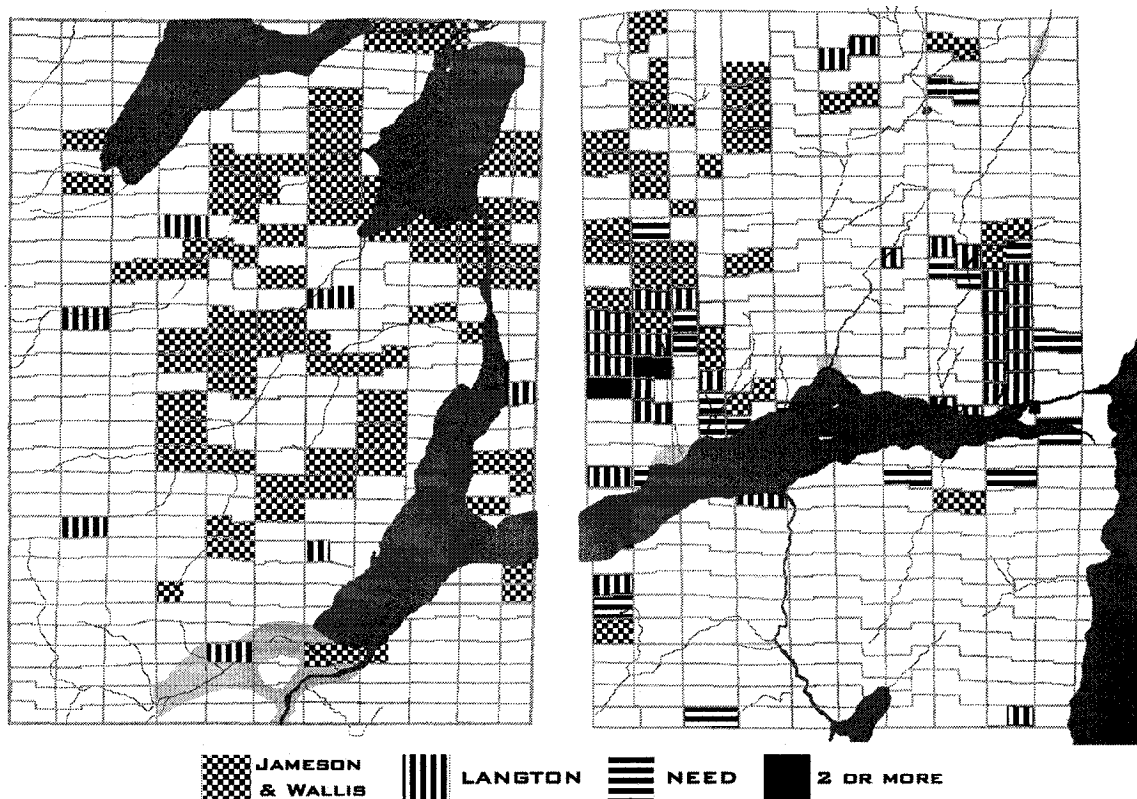
<sup>22</sup> Need, *Six Years in the Bush*, p. 99.

<sup>23</sup> Langton, *A Gentlewoman in Upper Canada*, p. 2; Langton, *Early Days*, p. 141.

<sup>24</sup> John Langton to Thomas Langton, July 28, 1834, Langton Papers – Correspondence, MU 1690.

lots were on the northern fringe of the township, where some land was of questionable agricultural value.

**The land of Wallis, Jameson, Need and Langton**



Langton followed a noticeably different strategy. While the other three acquired the majority of their holdings before 1840, he amassed land much more gradually. Unlike the others who built extensive holdings, Langton's letters to his family and his actions demonstrate that he selected lots that he believed had particular potential. Many were in his immediate neighbourhood or around Bobcaygeon. He acquired some from Loyalists, but also took advantage of tax sales and opportunities that arose when people changed their minds about farming in the area. He purchased 1,128 acres of scattered land in Verulam from George Strange Boulton in December 1849, but this was atypical. In total he amassed 5,187 acres of patented land, including his own 173-acre farm. He acquired at least an additional 526 acres of Loyalist grants that he sold prior to patent.

Their correspondence and actions leave little doubt that these four aspiring gentlemen were quite community minded. Not only was this outlook critical to their social aspirations, it was indispensable to their business ventures, since isolation was the

major disincentive to settlement. Ops and Eldon were settled in the 1820s, but suffered from speculation like other townships across the colony. Purdy's Mills (Lindsay) was still a small town and very basic services quite often required the one or two day trip to Peterborough. Travel was largely dependent on the waterway, whether by canoe or scow in the summer or on the ice in the winter. Since there were regular intervals when travel was in all practicality impossible and most of the lots were inland with no internal roads, these businessmen had to provide services if they expected people to pay their inflated prices in the immediate future.

By the time settlers arrived in these two townships, William Purdy was already operating his mill on the Scugog River in Ops Township. It seems to have performed reasonably well, although its operation was interrupted in 1838. Purdy had built a ten-foot high dam, which, according to John Langton, flooded 11,000 acres around Lake Scugog,<sup>25</sup> causing very serious illness. Since the government had given Purdy freedom from liability for flooded land, settlers had no legal recourse and instead hacked apart his dam. Even when it was in operation, the mill was too distant for many residents in Fenelon and Verulam.

Jameson and Wallis wasted little time in getting a sawmill in operation. By August 1833, Jameson was speaking of the venture. When the partners arrived the following year, they began work almost immediately and it was finished by the spring of 1835.<sup>26</sup> Need actually completed his mill earlier, but it was not properly supplied with water because of the faulty dam built in 1833 in conjunction with the lock.<sup>27</sup> The government refitted the Bobcaygeon dam in November 1838,<sup>28</sup> allowing Need's mill to operate as intended, though he had been using it in the meantime.<sup>29</sup> By 1841, both ventures operated grist mills.

From the time of their arrival, the 'gentry' were making trips for food or supplies and brought sufficient quantities that they could sell a share to their neighbours.<sup>30</sup> It was a

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<sup>25</sup> Langton, *Early Days*, p. 48.

<sup>26</sup> John Langton to Thomas Langton, June 13, 1834, Langton Correspondence, MU 1690, p. 92; Langton, *Early Days*, pp. 23, 133.

<sup>27</sup> Langton, *Early Days*, p. 133; James T. Angus, *A Respectable Ditch*, (Montreal & Kingston: Queen's-McGill University Press, 1988), pp. 17-18.

<sup>28</sup> Angus, *A Respectable Ditch*, p. 47.

<sup>29</sup> Need, *Six Years in the Bush*, pp. 101, 111, 125.

<sup>30</sup> John Langton to Thomas Langton, June 13, 1834 and February 28, 1837, Langton Papers—Correspondence, MU 1690.

natural progression from this ad hoc system to formal stores. By 1836, Need had opened the first store at Bobcaygeon and, at about the same time, Wallis and Jameson began one at the Falls. Anne Langton remarked that the store at Fenelon was “as good or better than any in Peterboro.”<sup>31</sup> They bought and sold farm produce, and imported barrels of pork, clothing, fashionable apparel for ‘gentry,’ tea, coffee, liquor and farm implements. The surviving account books suggest that the pioneers in the Fenelon region used the service frequently.<sup>32</sup>

Taverns, being both places to stay and purchase beverages, were also among the first available services in these villages. At Fenelon Falls, the settlement promoters operated this establishment in the home Wallis occupied before the completion of Maryboro.<sup>33</sup> It was typical that the tavern was also a home. In Bobcaygeon James McConnell hosted guests at his place on the south shore of the channel, above the rapids and dam.<sup>34</sup>

The promoters often provided services, but this does not suggest that they would have been absent without property speculators in the region. Soon after Need opened his store, Edward Lyle had a similar establishment.<sup>35</sup> John Langton, whose speculations were of a different character, was also active in bringing up supplies and McConnell had his tavern. However, Jameson, Wallis and Need, already travelling around the colony for their various ventures, certainly had an advantage in the necessary work.

Their efforts in religion and education underscore the uncertainties in the relationship between speculation and community development. Educated men often acted in place of clergy by reading Sunday services until the community could marshal the resources and secure the grants to hire professional clergy. It can be confirmed that Need, Wallis and Langton performed this function.<sup>36</sup> Wallis, Langton and Robert Dennistoun were instrumental in raising the funds necessary to construct an Anglican church in 1837,

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<sup>31</sup> Langton, *Early Days*, p. 179; Langton, *A Gentlewoman in Upper Canada*, p. 35; *Belden's Illustrated Historical Atlas of the County of Victoria, Ontario, 1881*, ed. Edward C. Phelps, (Ancaster, Ontario: Alexander Publishing, 2000 [1881]), p. 11.

<sup>32</sup> Wallis Fonds, Archives of Ontario, MU3103; *Langton Records*, p. 122; John Langton to Thomas Langton, June 13, 1834, Langton Papers – Correspondence, MU 1690.

<sup>33</sup> Langton, *A Gentlewoman in Upper Canada*, pp. 26, 35.

<sup>34</sup> Langton, *Early Days*, pp. 41, 46, 56; John Langton to Thomas Langton, September 22, 1836, Langton Papers – Correspondence, MU 1690.

<sup>35</sup> *Belden's...1881*, p. 11.

<sup>36</sup> Langton, *A Gentlewoman in Upper Canada*, p. 65; Langton Papers, MU 1690; Notebook of Thomas Need, MU 2186; Need, *Six Years in the Bush*, p. 118; Langton, *The Story of Our Family*, p. 82.

with contributions from many other 'gentry.' They conducted a bazaar in Great Britain and solicited donations from their friends and relatives back home to raise enough funds for a parsonage and the ongoing expense of a minister. Wallis donated two lots in Fenelon Falls and superintended church construction.<sup>37</sup> He and Langton petitioned the Lieutenant-Governor for a grant to support a minister.<sup>38</sup>

While these 'gentry' provided leadership and the currency necessary for the completion of the church, they were not solely responsible for its completion. The rest of the community contributed labour through bees, including one for the construction of a road to the church.<sup>39</sup> The 'gentry,' however, were not equally interested. Though they gave limited support, Robert Jameson and Thomas Need were conspicuously absent from much of the work. One reason was perhaps that both had interests at this time beyond the community to a much greater degree than Langton and Wallis. Nonetheless, their lack of initiative or at times even co-operation was very frustrating to the promoters organizing the effort without them.<sup>40</sup>

Anne Langton and Thomas Fidler, the community's first minister, operated the early schools near Fenelon Falls, lasting until the community established a public school. Anne conducted classes in her home two or three times a week lasting a couple of hours and Fidler made similar arrangements.<sup>41</sup> Need helped at John Taylor's home school in Bobcaygeon. Instruction was irregular, as children were quite frequently absent when their labour was needed on their parents' farms and as other commitments occupied the instructors. The education that the pupils received often did not exceed some ability to read, as well as perhaps writing and basic numeracy.<sup>42</sup>

Children of early settlers had no access to higher education. The nearest grammar school was at Peterborough and the cost of boarding was prohibitive to almost all. The 'gentry' in the earliest years happened not to have children of the age to attend these schools. However, they soon did and as Robert Dennistoun realized, better education was

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<sup>37</sup> Langton, *A Gentlewoman in Upper Canada*, pp. 85, 131; Langton, *Early Days*, pp. 191-2; *Langton Records*, p. 231.

<sup>38</sup> Petition of James Wallis and John Langton to Sir Francis Bond Head, March 23, 1837, Fenelon Falls Museum.

<sup>39</sup> *Langton Records*, p. 139.

<sup>40</sup> John Langton to Thomas Langton, March 19, 1837, Langton Papers—Correspondence, MU 1690; John Langton, *Early Days*, pp. 178, 189.

<sup>41</sup> Langton, *The Story of Our Family*, p. 82; *Langton Records*, pp. 120-1; Langton, *A Gentlewoman in Upper Canada*, pp. 73, 78, 81.

<sup>42</sup> *Langton Records*, pp. 172, 182-3, 202, 206, 269; Langton, *A Gentlewoman in Upper Canada*, pp. 144-5, 149.

necessary for his children to advance in colonial society, and this was a critical factor in his decision to leave.<sup>43</sup>

Under the Common School Act of 1816, if the residents of a community had twenty students to enrol in a school they were eligible for a grant of £25 to help with the teacher's salary, though no support was offered for the construction of a building. Around 1840, there were enough children in these townships to warrant such a school and the residents began working to secure one. Anne Langton donated the land, but it was John Taylor who was primarily responsible for organization. Taylor, who had been briefly employed by the Langtons, taught Sunday School in addition to his home school and was elected commissioner.<sup>44</sup> By the autumn of 1842, he had begun the construction of the schoolhouse, which opened the following year.<sup>45</sup>

The same speculators also played a pivotal role in improving transportation both within and to the region. Langton oversaw the construction of roads linking Blythe, Bobcaygeon and Fenelon Falls in 1840 and 1843.<sup>46</sup> Need was the commissioner most involved in monitoring the day-to-day progress of the lock at Bobcaygeon.<sup>47</sup> The first lock, built from 1833 to 1834, was inoperative because the designer, Frederick Rubidge, miscalculated the water levels and water drained from the chamber through cracks in the rocks beneath it. Previously scows could be drawn up the rapids, but this was no longer possible because of the dam. The lock therefore impaired travel more than it facilitated it. Renovations between 1837 and 1838 corrected the errors allowing navigation from the six-mile portage at Peterborough to Fenelon Falls. Langton, Wallis and Need also all worked to bring a steamer to Sturgeon Lake.

The local speculators contributed to the development of the community by hiring many settlers. Each of Wallis, Jameson, Langton and Need required help for domestic chores, clearing land and erecting buildings, in addition to the job opportunities in the villages' mills. Wallis and Jameson paid Major McLaren to oversee their mills and store

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<sup>43</sup> Robert Dennistoun, in Robert Peel Dennistoun, *Robert Dennistoun, 1815-1895: A Scottish Settler in Upper Canada, With Tables of his Descendants from 1841-1964*, (Private Circulation, 1964), p. 7.

<sup>44</sup> Langton, *A Gentlewoman in Upper Canada*, pp. 149, 170; *Belden's...1881*, p. 11.

<sup>45</sup> Annual Reports of Local Superintendents and Local Boards of Trustees, 1850-1870, RG 2-17; Langton, *A Gentlewoman in Upper Canada*, p. 170.

<sup>46</sup> *Langton Records*, pp. 243, 344; Langton, *A Gentlewoman in Upper Canada*, p. 180.

<sup>47</sup> Angus, *A Respectable Ditch*, p. 19.

at the Falls, and Need likewise had a superintendent of his operations.<sup>48</sup> Langton continually required help on his farm and employed almost all of his neighbours at one time or another.

There was often a direct connection between employment and the purchase of land from the speculators. Langton had bought land around his farm and almost all of the 1,500 acres he owned there, plus several located Loyalist grants he sold before patent, went to his employees, who were in effect buying the land with their labour at market rate, which was inevitably much higher than the prices that the speculators paid for land.

Through this method, Langton was more successful than the other three local speculators in getting some form of payment for his land. Acquiring it in much smaller amounts, he was also better at selling the land as he bought it. Langton disposed of all but one of the speculative lots he amassed in his first fifteen years in the colony to settlers. He also found users for the unpatented Loyalist grants he sold. However, his returns were insufficient to support the kind of lifestyle he expected and he turned to lumber trading and politics.

The other three speculators did not fare as well, despite their efforts to improve the community for their prospective buyers. Jameson and Wallis would clear lots and build houses for settlers who desired these services, but their customers for improved lots were limited to other aspiring gentry.<sup>49</sup> By the end of 1842, they had sold five patented lots to settlers and two to speculators, for a total of 793 acres. This was inadequate since they already held almost all of their 17,781 acres, though many were not yet patented, and most had been in their possession for nearly a decade. They did not fare much better in the ensuing decade, selling another 1,291 acres before July 1852. Need dealt 656 acres by the end of 1838 and an additional 950 by 1853.

These three businessmen realized the implications—they had misread the land market. Since they had to pay tax, and in the case of Wallis and Jameson interest on loans, they would not break even. Many of their ‘gentry’ friends were reaching precisely the same conclusion regarding other ventures in the area. John Langton’s good friend Alexander McAndrew became the first to leave in October 1835 and many others soon

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<sup>48</sup> Need, *Six Years in the Bush*, p. 125.

<sup>49</sup> John Langton to Thomas Langton, May 24, 1834, Langton Papers—Correspondence, MU 1690.

followed. Need departed for England first in 1838, though he returned to the region part-time before leaving for good in 1847. Wallis spent the winter of 1841 to 1842 in Peterborough and the following autumn he and Jameson agreed to a partial partition. Wallis built a new home, Merino, near Peterborough, and continued to search for profitable investments. Jameson returned to England and died in 1852. Langton won the County's seat in legislature in 1851 and moved to Peterborough.

Out of all the 'gentry' in these townships in the 1830s, Mossom Boyd was the only who did not leave. Born into a military family in India, he was in many respects atypical of his peers, evidently with an exceptional amount of drive. Langton, who was briefly his partner in the lumber trade, compared his energy to that of a wild horse. Boyd, unlike his peers, cleared his farm himself.<sup>50</sup> Boyd transformed Need's venture into the most successful business in the area.

Jameson and Wallis did not have such an inspired heir. There was an accident at their mill in November 1842 causing slight damage at about the same time that they were losing interest.<sup>51</sup> Ten years later the mills had fallen into severe disrepair, almost to the point of being useless and a fire destroyed the sawmill around 1858.<sup>52</sup> In 1842, they closed the store and settlers in the region reverted to asking their neighbours to bring them necessities should they visit towns with a market.<sup>53</sup> Speculators were not necessary for the provision of services, though, and by 1846 another store was in operation.<sup>54</sup>

The improvements were not without serious drawbacks. While the first lock and dam at Bobcaygeon was dysfunctional because it miscalculated the water level, the second seemed to have worked all too well. It raised the level of Sturgeon Lake by five feet and destroyed a natural bridge. With the water at its previous level, a person could walk across the river at the falls between the ledge and falling water. Much more seriously, it contributed to the malaria epidemic that struck the area in 1846. As had happened the previous decade around Lake Scugog because of Purdy's massive millpond, many settlers around the lake became seriously ill and died. As at Purdy's, the settlers

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<sup>50</sup> Langton, *Early Days*, pp. 152, 203.

<sup>51</sup> Langton, *A Gentlewoman in Upper Canada*, p. 169.

<sup>52</sup> William Powles, Fenelon Township Census, 1851, C-11753; *Directory of the United Counties of Peterborough & Victoria for 1858...* (Peterborough: T & R White, 1858), p. 40.

<sup>53</sup> Langton, *A Gentlewoman in Upper Canada*, pp. 170, 185.

<sup>54</sup> Smith, *Smith's Canadian Gazetteer...* 1846, p. 47.



blamed the mill and assembled in 1846 at the dam in Bobcaygeon to destroy it. Mossom Boyd managed to convince the crowd that smashing the dam would only make the epidemic worse and the crowd dispersed.<sup>55</sup>

These men's realization that their investments were unprofitable did not facilitate the rapid transfer of the properties to actual settlers. Thomas Need sold most of his holdings, including the mill and several town lots in Lot 15 Concession X (the south half of Bobcaygeon) to Mossom Boyd, who was then emerging as the area's largest land speculator. Need appointed Robert Dennistoun, who had trained in law under George Strange Boulton, as his power of attorney over many of the remaining lots. His most valuable holding was the Bobcaygeon plot and he continued to sell lots there into the 1870s. While Langton had not previously held many lots without the prospect of reasonably rapid sale, he acquired 1,128 acres from George Strange Boulton in December 1849 and gave up on most of these in February 1855, returning them to Boulton. He was out of the local market by 1857, soon after becoming Inspector General of Accounts.

Jameson and Wallis did not fare nearly so well at extracting themselves. At the time of Jameson's death in 1852, they had sold only 2,084 acres. A second partition in 1848 left Jameson's disinterested heirs with Canadian property. They sold his holdings adjacent to Fenelon Falls to Wallis and much of the remainder to Toronto lawyers James L. Robinson, the eldest son of John Beverley Robinson, and John Cameron, a conservative politician and executive councillor. Robinson sold much of his land to George William Allan, a Toronto politician and lawyer in June 1856. Allan disposed of only two lots before he transferred the land to trustees in 1862. They gave him about one third of his purchase price and liquidated the land over the next twelve years.

John Cameron sold three lots totalling 400 acres to people who would farm the land. However, he was not faring much better than Jameson had. In May 1859 sold the majority, 2,981 acres, to Hector Cameron, who studied law at his office and became the Conservative representative for North Victoria. Hector was not able to sell a single lot to a user before he and John defaulted on their mortgages. The Bank of Upper Canada transferred the land to William Margach, a land dealer based in Lindsay.

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<sup>55</sup> Langton, *The Story of Our Family*, pp. 94-5.

Margach acquired 3,646 acres in these townships and, in contrast to many speculators, sold most of his land, nineteen of thirty-one lots, to people who would actually use it. He usually transferred land quickly, only holding four lots for more than two years. His median time to sell a lot was four months. Many of his sales were to farmers who were already working the speculative lots. He completed the liquidation of these former Jameson holdings by 1874. The failure of these speculators had allowed many farmers to buy their land from Margach.

Wallis' share of the venture nearly ruined him. By the end of 1859, he managed to dispose of 3,024 acres, and 2,824 acres went to people who would actually use the land. However, sale were far too slow to meet the costs of holding his remaining 6,557 acres and by 1860 his ventures in the colony were essentially bankrupt. After 1860, the land he sold came mortgaged to his creditors and by 1864 he was giving away lots to buyers who were willing to assume the mortgage. His creditors began liquidating his holdings in 1861 and by February 1869, all but 1,346 acres were sold. Wallis lost five lots after 1860 for failure to pay taxes. His creditors finished cashing in his property in November 1877. Of the land sold after 1860, 1,855 acres went to various speculators, but the majority was sold to users.

In October 1864 his creditors foreclosed on his most valuable property, Lots 22 to 24 Concession X of Fenelon, a total of 421 acres including the town of Fenelon Falls and his former home, Maryboro. They sold it to John Freeland. Wallis knew that its value was increasing with the settlement of the village and reacquired 150 acres in Lot 24, with part of Lot 23, which he sold as town lots. In the meantime, his family's wealth rescued him. In 1858, he sold the Marborough estate in Cork where he had spent much of his childhood and in 1872, he received £15,500 for the Coombola Estate, inherited from his aunt, clearing about £8,500 after mortgages.<sup>56</sup>

The demise of the early residents' ventures was certainly not the end of speculation. A new generation of local speculators emerged, in most cases professionals, and some examples are listed in Table 1. Throughout the settlement period, many prominent citizens of Upper Canada held land in this area, listed in Table 2. Within

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<sup>56</sup> Wallis Papers, MU 3103.

townships, their totals might be lower than the large local speculators, but their aggregate holdings across the colony were often much larger.

These non-resident speculators occasionally provided credit to settlers who were attempting to purchase their lands, but they certainly did not make direct tangible contributions to the community in the way that the early resident speculators did. Langton, Wallis, Jameson and Need greatly assisted the development of the community through financing and coordinating the establishment of institutions and services. However, they were also part of a province-wide pattern of land distribution that had serious consequences for Fenelon and Verulam. Isolation was perhaps the greatest drawback to settlement during the first decades and this was the direct result of the area being opened for settlement while the adjacent townships were not yet fully settled, had often problematic transportation and were largely owned by people who never used the land.

**Table 1: Acreage of Later local land speculators**

Mossom Boyd	Lumber merchant & miller	6106
Orde Family	Peterborough and Lindsay lawyers	5706.5
Robert Nicholls	Peterborough merchant	3716
Robert Dennistoun	Early settler, Peterborough lawyer	3686
William Margach	Land agent, Lindsay	3646
James W. Dunsford	Politician, Verulam Township and Lindsay	1382 plus family estate, the Beehive, 660
Jabez Thurston	Miller, Verulam Township	776 plus 740 in family
R. C. Smith	Lumber merchant & miller at Fenelon	About 500
George Dunsford	Lindsay lawyer	475
Hartley Dunsford	Victoria County Land Registrar, banker	431 plus the Beehive
Martin Dunsford	Lindsay lawyer	425
Michael Deane	Provincial land surveyor, Lindsay	275

**Table 2: Acreage of Prominent Land Speculators**

James L. Robinson	Toronto lawyer, son of John Beverley Robinson	5720
George S. Boulton	Cobourg lawyer & politician	5314
John Cameron	Toronto lawyer & politician	3541
Malcolm Cameron	Huron lumber merchant & politician	2375
Thomas Clark Street	Welland County lawyer & politician	2275
Benjamin Holmes	Montreal banker & politician	2175
Sir Allan Napier McNab	Premier & director of Great Western Railway	2125
John Henry Dunn	Receiver General	2099
Rt. Rev. Alexander McDonell	Catholic bishop	2027
George William Allan	Toronto politician & lawyer	1950
Alexander Fraser	Glengarry politician	1800
Anthony B. Hawke	Chief Emigrant Agent	1200
Earl of Mountcashel	Irish emigree land speculator	1040
Donald Cameron	Whitby speculator	900
John Strachan	Bishop & Executive Councillor	800
John Macaulay	Kingston businessman, Surveyor General, Customs Arbitrator	800
William B. Jarvis	Home District sheriff	800
Duncan Cameron	Toronto banker, provincial secretary	700, with Fenelon Falls
Samuel Street	Queenstown businessman	500
Peter McGill	Montreal banker	400
William Proudfoot	President of Bank of Upper Canada	400
John Radenhurst	First Clerk, Crown Lands Dept.	400
John S. Macdonald	Premier	390
D'Arcy Boulton Jr.	Auditor General	224
John Kirby	Kingston judge, businessman & banker	200
John S. Cartwright	Kingston judge & politician	200

## Acquiring Land

Given the rhetoric, debate and analysis concerning land distribution over the past two centuries, what effects did it actually have on the settlers?

Pioneer farmers were much more likely to acquire land privately than from the government. 25.2% of land was granted to a person who would live on, work the land, or incorporate it into a block that they lived on or farmed, a group that will be called users. However, this statistic overstates the proportion that actually acquired their land from the government, because for 8.9% of the acreage, the crown land or land registry records suggest that the land was sold before patent. Certainly, 8.9% represents only a fraction of these transactions since pre-patent records are fragmentary. Therefore probably substantially fewer than 23.0% of the first users of a property acquired it from the government. The distribution based on the date of patent is shown in Table 3, with all lots patented before 1830 excluded because they went to the surveyors, who did not settle in these townships.

**Table 3: Percentage of land patented to a user with no evidence of prior sale**

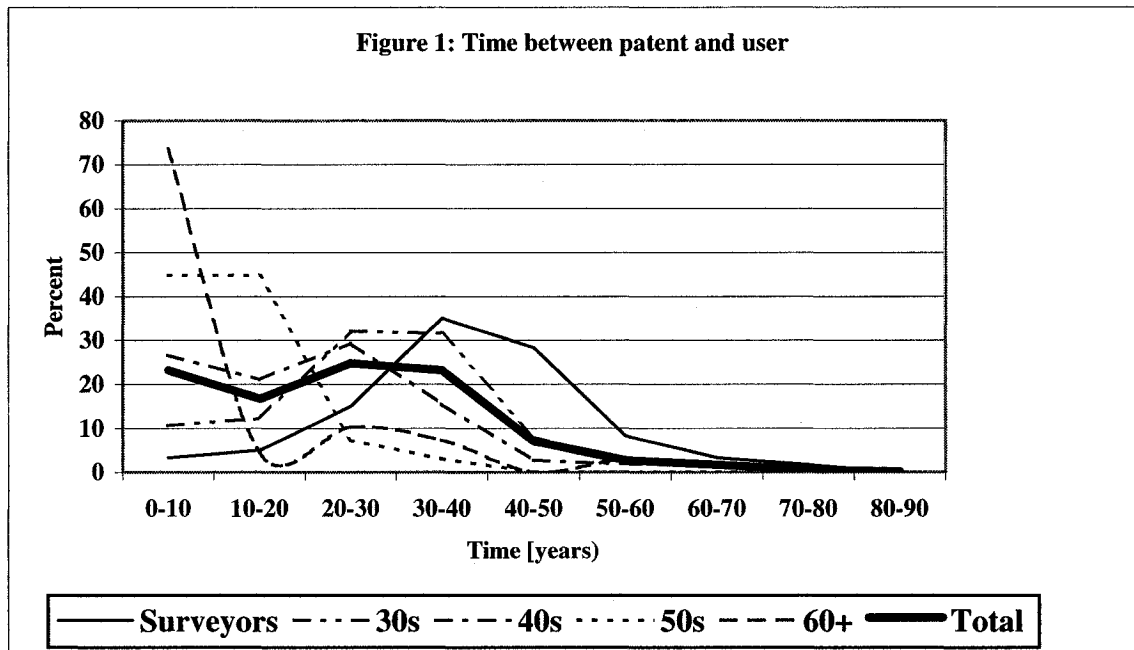
Date of Patent	Fenelon	Verulam	Total
1830-1839	3.9%	12.4%	7.8%
1840-1849	20.2%	25.3%	23.0%
1850-1859	42.4%	25.5%	33.4%
After 1860	56.2%	59.1%	58.0%
Overall	19.4%	25.8%	23.0%

Table 3 indicates that absentee owners likely acquired land less frequently in Verulam Township than Fenelon, with the notable exception of the 1850s. This likely in part reflects the efforts of Wallis and Jameson, whose

holdings were much more extensive in Fenelon. However, isolation was also a significant factor. Emily Township was among the earliest settled in the region, commencing almost immediately after the surrender. Robinson emigrants came to Ops and Emily, while Eldon also received settlers in the 1820s. But Ops and Eldon, more distant from previously colonized areas, were not initially settled to the same extent as Emily. Verulam also benefits from better water communication. More of Fenelon is land locked, with the waterway closer to the periphery and the north, adjacent to land less suited to agriculture. Verulam Township is cut roughly in half by Sturgeon Lake, is further downstream and closer to Peterborough.

The statistic for Verulam in the 1850s is largely explained by the activities of Mossom Boyd, the Dunsfords and the Church of England. During this decade the land

acquisition of all these parties began or substantially increased and they received 36.5% of all the patents issued in the township during this decade. Each of them acquired little land in Fenelon Township. The Church, incidentally, sold its land to Ferdinand McCulloch, a non-resident land speculator, three months after patent.



In many cases there was a very long lapse between patent and the time that a user owned the property. In an extreme case, one of T. C. Street's properties, patented in 1837, was not sold to a local until 1919. Figure 1 illustrates the distribution of the time lapse between patent issue and a user's acquisition, considering only properties that were patented to non-users. It is based on the time when the patent was issued. From the graph, it is clear that lapses of forty or even fifty years were common and that it was not unheard of for it to take more than sixty. The distribution depended heavily on the time that the patent was issued. Not surprisingly, the earlier a property went to a non-user, the longer it might take before a settler would acquire it.

In Figure 1, for each of the consecutive decade of patenting, the areas distributed declines precipitously in the ten year interval prior to that for the previous decade (ie: between 40-50 and 50-60 for land patented in the 1820s or to the surveyors; between 30-40 and 40-50 for the 1830s...) These declines correspond to the time when almost all of the land had been owned by a user at one time or another. Table 4 outlines the cumulative percentage of such land. It shows that more land went to users in Verulam than Fenelon

in the periods before 1850 and after 1865. Geographical factors contribute to both of these relationships, since Verulam Township was preferable during the early period because of accessibility, but poorer soil quality and the absence of the waterway in the north end of the township meant that much of it did not settle until this later period. More significantly, it demonstrates that 63.1% of the land in the township was first owned by a user between 1850 and 1869 inclusive and that by 1875, almost all of the land fit this category. This is about fifty years after the surveyors received the first grant in the township and over forty after the time when the first 'legitimate' settlers arrived. Therefore, largely because of the way land was granted, sold and resold, it took two generations to settle the area. In the first 17 years of settlement, users gained these rights to only 16.8% of the total land.

Though pre-patent records for these properties are incomplete, documents exist for 52.1% of the acreage, or roughly the equivalent of a township, to show whether the government distributed them as a Loyalist grant, military grant or through sale as a crown or clergy reserve. Almost all of the Crown and Clergy Reserves are accounted for in this total. The reserves will be grouped because the same agents sold them at the same sales and at times did not discriminate. The records for the Loyalist and military locations end in November 1838 and were produced by the Crown's agent, Alexander McDonell, the nephew of the Bishop.

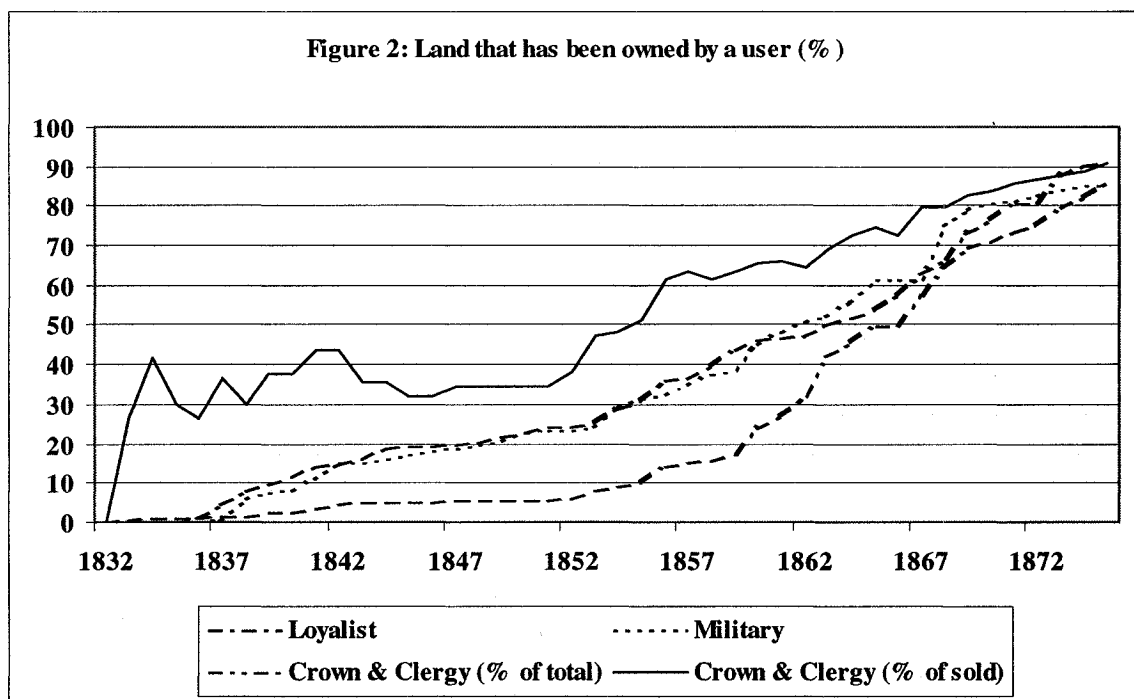
**Table 4: User's acquisition of Land**

	Fenelon		Verulam		Total	
	%	cum	&	cum	%	cum
To 1834	0.4	0.4	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.5
1835-9	3.6	4.0	9.8	10.4	6.8	7.3
1840-4	5.2	9.2	7.9	18.4	6.6	13.9
1845-9	2.0	11.2	3.7	22.1	2.8	16.8
1850-4	10.1	22.3	4.0	26.1	7.0	23.8
1855-9	19.7	41.0	9.7	35.9	14.6	38.4
1860-4	15.7	56.6	13.5	49.4	14.5	52.9
1865-9	20.9	77.6	22.0	71.4	21.5	74.4
1870-5	11.5	89.0	13.3	84.8	12.5	86.9
1875-	10.9	100	15.2	100	13.1	100

Each Loyalist grant was to either the son or daughter of a Loyalist and no recipient in either township took up the grant. The idea that Loyalist grants were conditional on the subject working on the property was not applicable in these townships. Colborne's reforms of settlement duties came just as the first

locations, aside from those to surveyors, were made, and he abolished settlement duties on located land within a couple years of the first colonists' arrival in the area. Settlement

duties, therefore, did not figure in the land distribution and the grants were effectively unconditional. Loyalists' families would usually already own land, presumably in a more developed part of the colony, if only from earlier grants. The children had little interest in coming to 'the backwoods' and the grants were a payment in land, rather than a palatable opportunity for the grantees to establish themselves in the area. Loyalist grants were maintained largely for political reasons and the fact that not a single Loyalist came to take up their grant leaves little doubt that they were not conducive to efficient settlement. These privileged grants held up the transfer of land to actual settlers. Fenelon Township fared particularly badly, as it was not until February 1854 that 10% of this land was owned by its user and 50% was not reached until June 1867, about three decades from the time of location.



The military grants share a fair amount in common with those to the Loyalists. In many cases the grant could go to a person who had no interest in farming in the area, though it was not as inherent that they went to persons whose families already owned land in the colony. Initially the results were marginally better, as nine of the recipients, including the commander of the local militia, Andrew S. Fraser, took up their grants. However, these people received only 8.8% of the land distributed in the sample and these lands, like the Loyalist grants, went overwhelmingly to non-users, quite often major land



speculators. As Figure 2 illustrates, there was little distinction between the rate at which Loyalist and military grants distributed land to users, as those who never settled numerically overwhelmed the nine who did.

Crown and Clergy Reserves had many critics because they apparently held up settlement. Figure 2 shows that this land went to users much more slowly than land in the preferential grants. However, in the period after 1838, when the preferential grants in the sample were complete, a higher percentage of the land where the initial sale was complete was in the hands of users, especially early on.

**Table 5: Distributed to user by time & method**

	%	% of sample
Loyalist	0	100
Military	8.8	100
Crown & Clergy 30s	33.1	4.1
Crown & Clergy 40s	28.1	9.2
Crown & Clergy 50s	65.9	11.6
Crown & Clergy 60s	64.4	72.2
Crown & Clergy Total	59.0	100

Table 5 demonstrates that while the Crown and Clergy Reserves were transferred more slowly to users, when they were sold the government was far more successful in distributing land to users by this means than by the preferential grants. It also shows that this proportion was far higher after 1850 than before. In the period after 1850, and especially after 1860, the

majority of these lands were sold. So Table 4 implies that the transformation to a society where users owned the land occurred between the mid-1850s and mid-1870s. This coincides with the acceleration of reserve sales and the time when the proportion of these sales going to users approached two-thirds. These land sales were one of the most common methods settlers used to transform the society to one where the user was also the owner of most land.

Referring back to Table 3, there was a massive increase in the proportion of the land that was patented to someone who would use it between the early periods and the 1850s or 1860s. One reason was preferential grants sold prior to patent that fragmentary records of pre-patent transactions do not trace back to their origin. However, it seems that the most significant factor was the reserve sales.

Tax sales were another potential method for land acquisition and generally the cost per acre was very low, rarely exceeding a dollar. It was not, however, a very popular method for people intending to work the land. A user bought the land in only 7.5% of all

sales and a few speculators dominated them. The most active was Robert Nicholls. One reason why not many users took advantage of the low prices was the possibility of redemption. The sheriff issued some redemption certificates nine years after the land was forfeited and this possibility of losing the property at a distant date was a deterrent to anyone serious about improving the land.

Moving to a village entailed buying land from speculators, with the exception of the town plot of Rokeby (Bobcaygeon), Lot 16 Concession X of Verulam. It was set aside during the survey and there are records for sales there starting in June 1859. In August 1833, Need purchased Lot 15 from George Strange Boulton, who had acquired it as part of the surveyor's grant that he split with Charles Fothergill. Need sold five lots in the town the following March, but only sold another six before he left the colony permanently in 1847.

Starting in September 1833, Jameson and Wallis acquired Lots 22 to 23 of Concession IX, Lots 21 to 24 Concession X and Lots 21 to 22 Concession XI of Fenelon, which surrounded the future site of the village of Fenelon Falls (23 X). They sold their first lot in the village in 1842. Part of Jameson's share went to John Cameron and James L. Robinson, while Wallis lost his share through foreclosure to John Freeland, who sold part to Sutherland Stayner.

In 1836, Jameson and Wallis acquired the land surrounding the rapids between Cameron and Balsam Lakes, being a natural town site. However, they were not able to profit from the acquisition. Jameson's heirs sold his shares and Wallis was forced to give his half to William Margach who accepted the mortgage. John Cameron sold the first village lot in 1865, but he lost Jameson's half in a foreclosure and Margach bought this half and sold the entire lot to Hector Cameron, who sold Rosedale in blocks.

Other villages were also privately owned. The north half of Cambray was part of the surveyor's grant to James Kirkpatrick and the south part was patented to miller Samuel Brock, who resided there. Samuel Street bought the site of Cameron in December 1831. John Gibb owned it when the first lots were sold in 1859. Dunsford, sold as lots starting in 1862, came from the farms of John Sheriff and Henry Thurston. Private ownership of village lots made little difference to those wishing to own property in the

villages, however, as almost invariably half-acre lots sold for between \$20 and \$30, regardless of whether it was through public auction or private sale.

**Table 6: Price per hundred acres of private sales to a first user-owner**

	Percentile			
	25	50	75	100
1830s	\$100	\$200	\$200	\$400
1840s	\$167	\$200	\$400	\$600
1850s	\$250	\$400	\$600	\$2258
1860s	\$400	\$555	\$800	\$9617
1870-5	\$600	\$735	\$2000	\$12160

Speculators were successful at increasing the price of land for agricultural use. They often purchased preferential grants for \$50<sup>1</sup> per hundred acres, though the rate varied from \$40 to \$100, the latter price occurring rarely. Table 7 outlines the prices for crown and clergy land at public

auction, for which data is only available later on. As Table 6 illustrates, immediately after purchase speculators often tried to sell lots at four times their cost. Once the reserves sales accelerated, there was enough demand to maintain prices in private land sales despite the disparity in prices between private and public sources.

**Table 7: Price per hundred acres, crown and clergy reserves**

	Percentile			
	25	50	75	100
1858-9	\$100	\$160	\$200	\$665
1860s	\$120	\$163	\$200	\$925

From the 1850s onwards, speculators sold many lots that tenants or people who failed in an attempt to purchase had improved. These properties, not surprisingly, usually sold for considerably more than other lots, though the prices at the 75<sup>th</sup> percentile and below in these decades in Table 6 represent the rate for unworked land. Crown and clergy reserves might also have previous improvements as squatters often made substantial clearings and erected dwellings. It is difficult to gauge the prevalence of squatting precisely, though it is clear that it was fairly common in these townships. An 1858 Crown lands inspection found 32 properties where there had been squatters.<sup>2</sup> A year earlier, in nearby Carden Township, where land was not open for location, the Crown located 111 and C. O. Benson's survey of Fenelon and Verulam in March 1860 observed five more.<sup>3</sup>

Squatting on crown land could be an excellent strategy for its acquisition. Squatters were entitled to payment for the improvements they made and in 62.5% of the

<sup>1</sup> Though pounds were used for nearly all of the early transactions, dollars are used throughout this section for consistency.

<sup>2</sup> Inspection and Valuation Reports, Newcastle District, RG 1, A-VI-8, vol. 29.

<sup>3</sup> Squatters in Carden, 1857, RG 1, A-VI-8, vol. 19; Survey of Fenelon and Verulam, 2-31 March 1860, CB-1, box 12.

cases, the assessed value of their improvements exceeded the price their land brought at auction. Every one of the squatters listed in these two townships on publicly administered Crown and Clergy Reserves managed to secure it, with the exception of one man who died and whose widow sold the land between auction and patent. Four of the squatters had the misfortune of occupying land that the Church of England actually owned privately. It quickly sold the land to an absentee speculator, and none of them subsequently owned it.

**Table 8: Property acquisition by farmers**

	Owned at time	Same later	Some	Never any
<b>Fenelon</b>				
1841	43.2%	24.3%	0%	30.6%
1851	32.3%	27.3%	16.2%	24.2%
1861	50.5%	18.8%	8.3%	22.4%
<b>Verulam</b>				
1841	42.9%	37.6%	2.6%	16.9%
1851	51.1%	28.4%	5.7%	14.7%
1861	54.8%	21.7%	10.9%	12.0%
<b>Total</b>				
1841	44.3%	36.6%	1.7%	21.2%
1851	41.1%	27.8%	11.2%	19.8%
1861	52.3%	20.0%	9.3%	18.4%

These squatters on crown land actually fared much better in acquiring property than the remainder of the population. Table 8 details land acquisition by the farmers listed in the 1841, 1851 agricultural and 1861 agricultural censuses, dividing them based on ownership of the lot and whether or not they ever owned any land in either township. Overall, about one fifth of those working the land never owned any property. Later on, the picture is not much

better as the 1871 census shows that 17.1% of the farmers in Fenelon and 9.8% in Verulam were tenants. For the rest of the population, the figures were 38.0% and 33.8% respectively. It is also clear that the situation was far tougher in Fenelon, especially earlier on.

It is safe to assume that almost all, if not all, of these farmers wanted to own their land. That 30.6% of Fenelon residents in 1841 never acquired any land was certainly a collective failure for a large portion of the society. Many diligent and capable settlers were included in this group. One of the many such examples was John Menzies, who worked for John Langton. From John and Anne Langton's descriptions, he was "an intelligent and able man, and the most useful one John has yet had."<sup>4</sup> Menzies bought one hundred acres from his employer in 1837, at the speculator-friendly price of £1 per acre.

<sup>4</sup> Langton, *A Gentlewoman in Upper Canada*, p. 50; Langton, *Early Days*, p. 166.

Despite his industriousness, he was not able to keep up with his payments and in August 1841, Langton seized his crops.<sup>5</sup> The same month Menzies gave up his property, the title going to Anne, and moved away with his young family to try again.

It is misleading to dismiss the effects of speculation because land was a “small fraction” of the cost of a farm. It is true that in John Langton’s first year of settlement, land was only about a third of his expenses.<sup>6</sup> But he was not a typical settler and for many, the cost of land was of enormous significance. It certainly played no small part in Menzies’ and many other settlers’ failures.

Langton paid between \$8 and \$12 per month to his workers. John Menzies made \$11 initially, but his wages were perhaps subsequently cut below \$10 as other workers were when Langton noticed that he did not have to pay so much.<sup>7</sup> The other gentry apparently paid about the same, since they observed each other’s wages and were distressed if anyone gave more because it might raise costs.<sup>8</sup> The employees had the value of their food deducted, which for Langton’s workers was barrelled pork at no less than ten cents per pound.<sup>9</sup> They were likely losing at least \$3 per month to these deductions. The median priced hundred-acre lot in the late 1830s was equivalent to all of a worker’s earnings for two to four years, not counting the interest that might accrue. But waiting until money could be saved meant either squatting or living as tenants. And, to buy land in two to four years, such a worker had to work twelve months of the year and put aside all the wages. Usually neither of these conditions were possible and settlers who did not arrive with money would have to save much longer to afford land. Those who succeeded often brought money when they emigrated or worked for a lifetime to acquire and develop a farm. For many, it was their children who first acquired title.

Certainly Menzies was not the only settler that succumbed to the high cost of land, as is clear from the overall rate at which farmers failed to acquire property rights. It was highest in Fenelon Township and this was most likely related to the greater prevalence of speculation as well as its by-product, isolation. The available records of pre-patent transactions are too fragmentary to determine the frequency of failed

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<sup>5</sup> *Langton Records*, p. 292.

<sup>6</sup> Langton, *Early Days*, pp. 131-2.

<sup>7</sup> John Langton to Thomas Langton, June 13, 1834 and June 16, 1835, Langton Papers—Correspondence, MU 1690.

<sup>8</sup> Langton, *A Gentlewoman in Upper Canada*, p. 117.

<sup>9</sup> Langton, *Early Days*, p. 35

purchases. However, documents where the resident gives up his claim to a speculator are one of the most common pre-patent papers. Presumably, many of the tenant farmers in 1871 rented because of the cost of acquisition.

Clarke's observation that "numerous pioneers might never have succeeded but for the credit facilities of the speculator" may be true, but it should be emphasized that in this case 'success' would entail the ability to make a profit for the speculator, whose price was likely several times cost and much higher than the lot would fetch at public auction. They may have 'succeeded' with the aid of the credit facilities of the speculator, but there is every reason to believe that they may have done much better paying a fraction of the cost and taking advantage of the credit that the government provided with land sales.

Lillian Gates may be correct to characterize speculation as "evil." For many settlers there is little doubt that increased land prices largely caused their failure. Many of the speculators never lived anywhere near either township and it is difficult to see any direct benefit the community might derive from having them multiply the cost of land. Scattering land titles to businessmen across the province certainly did not make settlement easier, as some colonists complained that they could not figure out which absentee owned a lot that they might purchase.<sup>10</sup> Though some resident speculators made substantial contributions to local development hoping to profit from immigration, many did not endure once they realized that they were losing money. The communities could provide similar services without speculators. It is also not clear that benefits trickled down to many settlers. Of the four major early local speculators, one virtually went bankrupt, two certainly lost money and the other fared well until he too acquired more lots than he could sell to settlers. Though they hired many colonists, exorbitant land prices often clawed back the wages they paid.

That so many speculators were able to hold so much land for such a long period of time is to a great extent the product of the land granting system and the preferential grants deserve much of the blame. It was relatively easy for people to profit from the labour of others when the government was giving away millions of acres across the colony to a class of privileged grantees that never had a representative in either township

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<sup>10</sup> Survey of Fenelon and Verulam, 2-31 March 1860, CB-1, box 12.

and to another that was scarcely, if at all, better. Land sales facilitated speculation, but also allowed some settlers to avoid the mark-ups.

William Powles, an early settler in Fenelon who bought his farm from James Wallis in March 1856, emphasized how much the township had “suffered” from that “national curse Land Speculation,” and placed the blame directly on the government’s land policies.<sup>11</sup> Part of the suffering was certainly the cost of land, but it was also isolation. This went beyond the distance from Peterborough and the fact that adjacent townships were not fully settled yet. Even within the township, land distribution dispersed the settlers.

With the population scattered, each settler had to contribute much more to the construction of roads and many had to travel much more to acquire anything they could not produce themselves. Thomas McIlwraith argues that farmers could transport their goods to market by sleigh in the winter and that criticism of roads came disproportionately from gentry.<sup>12</sup> He claims that rural roads were adequate, but their condition contributed to pioneers’ isolation. They might be able to transport their goods by water, whether in summer or winter, but many did not live on the waterway and therefore needed at least a cleared path to the lake in the winter and a passable road in summer. For many, the lake and the village might be several miles away. In certain seasons, such as the time after thaw, the roads were too muddy and the ice weak but not out of the lake, making travel for practical purposes impossible. Then some settlers really were on their own.

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<sup>11</sup> Fenelon Census 1861, C-1076.

<sup>12</sup> Thomas F. McIlwraith, “The Adequacy of Rural Roads in the Era Before Railways: An Illustration from Upper Canada,” *Canadian Geographer* XIV, 4, (1970), pp. 344, 356-7.

## Living in Upper Canada

The land distribution system isolated many settlers in the forests around the Kawartha Lakes, especially in seasons when transportation was difficult. The first settlers were distant from market towns, but when they arrived, there was already a community on the waterway and native presence perpetuated. The societies were certainly not disjoint during the settlement period and natives helped many early settlers make do on their scattered locations. Pioneers and the Mississauga were often friendly and mutually beneficial, despite cultural and linguistic distinctions.

Analysts inside and outside of government, reflecting on the major cultural differences, generally saw the colony in terms of this dichotomy between natives and settlers. The Crown treated the Mississauga substantially differently than settlers and directly oversaw their use of resources. It was unclear what rights the natives had and whether the law applied to them the same way it did to settlers. Over the course of two to three generations, the land redistribution system, the control of the natives' resources and 'civilization' ensured reconstruction of land relations in southern Ontario.

Susanna Moodie was one of many settlers who believed that 'Indians' were quite distinct from the settlers. Her depictions are filled with references to "dark strangers," "red" men, their "ugly" appearance, "the deplorable want of chastity that exists among the Indian women" and repeated characterizations of their language as a 'grunt.'<sup>1</sup> However, she also suggests that natives possessed "great [artistic] taste," a "very great" knowledge "of 'the medicinal qualities of plants and herbs,'" and "a deal of humour;" are "highly imaginative" and "generous;" and have a praiseworthy "admiration of the beauties of nature."<sup>2</sup> Her sister, Catherine Parr Traill, and brother, Samuel Strickland, also seem to have felt a degree of superiority. Their accounts are filled with hints that they are somewhat reluctant to associate with 'Indians.'<sup>3</sup> However, such perceptions are not exclusively directed at the natives, since they also found the lifestyles of other neighbours rather distasteful.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Moodie, *Roughing it in the Bush*, pp. 297, 300-1, 310, 316, 324.

<sup>2</sup> Moodie, *Roughing it in the Bush*, pp. 299, 318, 321-2.

<sup>3</sup> Strickland, *Twenty-Seven Years in Canada West*, II, p. 76.

<sup>4</sup> Moodie, *Roughing it in the Bush*, p. 321; Traill, *The Backwoods of Canada*, p. 64.



There are, however, appreciable differences among the settlers. Thomas Need does not speak about his native neighbours in such racial terms, although he argued that the superiority of agriculture justified possessing native land.<sup>5</sup> In *Six Years in the Bush*, he is very critical of a friend who was “bent on astonishing the simple natives of Peterboro” which showed that he “unfortunately brought more money than wit.”<sup>6</sup> He suggests that they “are honest and civil, and always ready to do me any service.” He recalled one native in a dispute with his servant that “called into play all his fierce passions,” but he noted how the native immediately ceased and appealed for Need’s intervention once he approached.<sup>7</sup>

Despite the differences between the communities and the tendency of at least some settlers to understand their encounters in racial terms, the residents needed to take part in the existing community. The early settlers and visitors developed numerous connections with native society, whether as friends, trading partners or guides. Contact was very frequent. Susanna Moodie recalled that “scarcely a week passed away without” a native visit.<sup>8</sup>

Many early settlers required Mississauga guides to find their locations.<sup>9</sup> Being a guide entailed more than simply dropping the person off on their site. The immigrants knew little of local conditions, geographical features, the times when the waterway froze and thawed, backwoods survival skills and, in some cases, hunting practices, all of which the natives shared.<sup>10</sup> John Langton apparently convinced natives to run errands to Purdy’s Mills.<sup>11</sup>

Settlers were important to the Mississauga economy. From the beginning of colonization, settlers’ homes and especially villages were principal trading locations for the community.<sup>12</sup> Though cash transactions could occur, barter was most common, with canoes, baskets, moccasins, birch brooms, ornamental work, mats, skins, game, fish or

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<sup>5</sup> “Draft Essay of Thomas Need,” Need Papers, MU 2186, p. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Need, *Six Years in the Bush*, p. 43.

<sup>7</sup> Need, *Six Years in the Bush*, pp. 67-8.

<sup>8</sup> Moodie, *Roughing it in the Bush*, p. 297.

<sup>9</sup> Need, *Six Years in the Bush*, p. 99; “Copy of Memorandum Addressed by the Commission of which Major-General Sir James Smyth is President to Colonel Dunsford, Commanding Royal Engineer in the Canadas. Quebec, July 27, 1825, *Muskoka and Haliburton*, p. 32; Langton, *Early Days*, pp. 8, 17, 33, 68.

<sup>10</sup> Langton, *Early Days*, p. 18; Need, *Six Years in the Bush*, pp. 77, 81.

<sup>11</sup> Langton, *Early Days*, p. 68.

<sup>12</sup> Langton, *Gentlewoman in Upper Canada*, p. 94.

wild fruit exchanged for bread, pork, flour or potatoes, and sometimes cloth, beads, ribbon or ornaments.<sup>13</sup>

Friendships across the cultural groupings were relatively common and included 'gentry.' Chief Peter Nogee hunted, fished and raised his children at Mud Lake. His son John lived at Rice Lake and identified with this village. Yet his family was relatively close to the Stricklands. These settlers' stories of the Nogeess and their habitual behaviour while visiting leave little doubt that they were frequent guests. They often lent articles to each other and shared food in times of plenty.<sup>14</sup> Susanna recalls showing coloured engravings to John Nogee before he and his father had tea with Susanna and Samuel. On another occasion, Dunbar Moodie and Peter shared whiskey, while Susanna sketched the chief.<sup>15</sup> Samuel recalls a group of natives, including John, visiting to hear him read Sunday service with his family and they sang hymns afterwards. When Samuel and his daughter visited the Nogeess en route to England, John was out but his sister Eliza and his mother welcomed their guests for tea. The Nogeess were upset to hear that their friends were leaving and cried.<sup>16</sup>

Other settlers recalled similar stories. Thomas Need, an avid hunter and fisherman, practiced his sports with the natives and appreciated their tricks. He joyfully recalled their adventures and remarked after one outing lasting three or four days that "these hunting expeditions are the great charm of the young settler's life, and go far to reconcile him to the privations and hardships inseparable from the bush."<sup>17</sup>

Susanna Moodie narrates the visits of her friend Snow-Storm, "a strange, eccentric merry fellow" who never visited the local natives "without extending the same favour to us."<sup>18</sup> Apparently, they became friends when Dunbar Moodie repaired Snow-Storm's gun and he always brought gifts of food when he visited. It was common for natives and settlers to share food or gather to sing hymns.<sup>19</sup> Natives often visited to

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<sup>13</sup> Jarvis to Paudash, March 20, 1845, Paudash Papers, RG 10, vol. 1011, Section D; Langton, *Early Days*, pp. 35, 38, 47; Langton, *A Gentlewoman in Upper Canada*, pp. 36, 79; Stewart, *Our Forest Home*, pp. 28, 59-60, 72-3; Traill, *The Backwoods of Canada*, pp. 142, 161-3, 168-70, 208; Need, *Six Years in the Bush*, pp. 50-1, 60, 67; Moodie, *Roughing it in the Bush*, pp. 301-2, 309, 316, 318, 320.

<sup>14</sup> Traill, *The Backwoods of Canada*, p. 162; Strickland, *Twenty-Seven Years in Canada West*, II, p. 75.

<sup>15</sup> Moodie, *Roughing it in the Bush*, pp. 300, 309.

<sup>16</sup> Strickland, *Twenty-Seven Years in Canada West*, II, pp. 74-6.

<sup>17</sup> Need, *Six Years in the Bush*, pp. 44, 77, 87, 97.

<sup>18</sup> Moodie, *Roughing it in the Bush*, p. 316.

<sup>19</sup> Traill, *The Backwoods of Canada*, pp. 161-3, 212-6; Moodie, *Roughing it in the Bush*, pp. 316-7.

borrow household goods such as pots, kettles or basins and were a likely source for a canoe.<sup>20</sup> Before 'civilization' provided the natives with houses, almost all of these authors recounted friendly meals in wigwams.<sup>21</sup>

Language was an obstacle, but not an insurmountable one. Many Mississauga were not able to speak English in the first couple decades and, since most settlers did not speak Chippewa, interaction required continual effort. John Langton set out to teach himself Chippewa using a translated bible.<sup>22</sup> When visiting Mississauga communities, settlers could use a bilingual native to ease communication with the others and, even without this help, the settlers often portrayed their English conversations as comprehensible, despite broken phrases.<sup>23</sup>

But it was not simply a process of the natives learning English. Everyone and everything had two names, and both linguistic groups were usually aware of these pairings. Samuel Strickland was Chippewa. James Wallis was Ogemah. Catherine Parr Traill was Nogesigook. Susanna Moodie was Nonocosiqui. Settlers also learned native appellations for many other things in their daily lives, like papoose (infant or child), muckakee (frog), cocosh (pork) and nappanee (flour) to name a few.<sup>24</sup> Settlers and natives used a mix of words from both languages with gestures.

In spite of the challenges of language, both groups were quite interested in the unfamiliar possessions of the other. Settlers often took interest in visiting wigwams to see the natives' daily lives, while many Mississauga were fascinated with art and maps. Susanna Moodie recalls this reaction when she showed a map of the region to Peter Nogee, who offered her a plethora of goods for it.<sup>25</sup> Frances Stewart's neighbours, the Reeds, apparently had almost weekly visits to see their maps.<sup>26</sup> There are many references to the appreciation that the natives had for settlers' art. When Susanna

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<sup>20</sup> Langton, *Early Days*, p. 17; Need, *Six Years in the Bush*, p. 162; Traill, *The Backwoods of Canada*, pp. 162-3.

<sup>21</sup> Need, *Six Years in the Bush*, pp. 43, 104; Moodie, *Roughing it in the Bush*, p. 540; Stewart, *Our Forest Home*, pp. 8, 20, 60, 72; Traill, *The Backwoods of Canada*, pp. 212-6, 284-9; Langton, *Early Days*, pp. 17, 29.

<sup>22</sup> Langton, *Early Days*, p. 66.

<sup>23</sup> Moodie, *Roughing it in the Bush*, pp. 298, 306; Traill, *The Backwoods of Canada*, p. 162; Stewart, *Our Forest Home*, p. 72.

<sup>24</sup> Strickland, *Twenty-Seven Years in Canada West*, II, p. 63; Moodie, *Roughing it in the Bush*, pp. 318-9.

<sup>25</sup> Moodie, *The Backwoods of Canada*, pp. 297-8.

<sup>26</sup> Stewart, *Our Forest Home*, p. 72.

sketched Peter, he wanted the portrait. He told his friends about her remarkable abilities and a series of natives came to ask if she would draw them.<sup>27</sup>

However, not all settlers were so amicable to their neighbours, and the Mississauga's ambiguous status in the colony made it much more difficult for them to resolve disputes satisfactorily. The government's handling of the treaty process resulted in the band justifiably believing that they had land rights, but the Crown did not uphold them in their interpretation of any treaty or statute. Settlers could also be difficult to convince of these rights. Thomas Need understood he "might seem the intruder" to the natives, but he still disliked them camping on his property and recalled a ruse he used to convince them to move.<sup>28</sup>

Need's reaction was by no means unique and it was difficult for the community to make use of the few reservations that they had placed on the surrender. In the late 1820s and early 1830s, they appealed to the Lieutenant-Governors to protect "our hunting grounds"<sup>29</sup> from natives and settlers, but were disappointed. At the General Council in January 1840, the nation asked Chief Superintendent Samuel Peter Jarvis whether settlers could drive them out of their hunting areas. Jarvis suggested that they could not, without any further clarification of their rights and explained that their recourse was to inform him of the offence.<sup>30</sup> Whether or not Jarvis would have any basis or intent to prosecute, such a means of redress was obviously slow and troublesome to use.

It was not only land rights that the Mississauga sought. Their petition of January 29, 1829 also complained of "robberies on our hunters, and violence on our women," again enquiring about "what privileges in law the Indians are entitled to."<sup>31</sup> But, because of the ambiguities inherent in being both subjects and allies, it was uncertain whether law applied to them in the same manner as it did to settlers. From the late 1830s on, Peter Jones and the nation tried to clarify this matter. The government would surely not declare them allies and bring their sovereignty into question. Jones, however, asserted as subjects they would be entitled to all of the privileges of English settlers, including the ability to use courts, sit as judges and jurors, vote and sit in the legislature. In March 1838, he

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<sup>27</sup> Moodie, *The Backwoods of Canada*, p. 310.

<sup>28</sup> Need, *Six Years in the Bush*, pp. 98, 111.

<sup>29</sup> Lieutenant-Governor's Correspondence, RG 10, vol. 5, p. 2040.

<sup>30</sup> Paudash Papers, RG 10, vol. 1011, pp. 70, 75.

<sup>31</sup> Jones, *Life and journals*, p. 105; Lieutenant-Governor's Correspondence, RG 10, vol. 5, pp. 2039-41, 2580-1.

asked the Colonial Secretary, Lord Glenelg, whether they were subjects or allies, and mentioned the issue in a note to the Aborigines Protection Society.<sup>32</sup> On January 17, 1840, the Mississauga General Council asked Jarvis the same question. Jarvis replied that he “thought” they were subjects, but that the matter was “under the consideration of the government.”<sup>33</sup> This answer was not particularly useful for the community and they remained, as Jones said, “neither one nor the other,” but people that “have gradually lost their independent character, and are now under the protecting care of the British Government who consider them as Minors & therefore not able to take care of themselves.”<sup>34</sup>

The Department of Indian Affairs managed their annuity accounts, pooling the different bands’ funds.<sup>35</sup> The government usually received permission before spending money from the account, which was used to pay missionaries and schoolteachers. To access their account, the chief wrote to the Superintendent, who could refuse requests if he was not satisfied.<sup>36</sup> Especially under Jarvis, the management was certainly not transparent. In 1838, Peter Jones complained to the Aborigines Protection Society that the government was not crediting the accounts with the full amount due based for land surrenders.<sup>37</sup> Despite this basis for concern, Jones was not able to obtain a detailed account of the management of their annuities and complained to the Bagot Commission.<sup>38</sup> The Rice Lake Band was in a similar situation. Though it requested statements and had received them while Hepburn was Chief Superintendent, Paudash did not receive an account statement from March 31, 1836 until scandal brought down Jarvis.<sup>39</sup>

In 1842, the Rice Lake Mississauga were involved in an episode that illustrates the difficulty the community had in accessing their annuity, the lack of information that the department provided and the abuses that Jarvis in particular perpetrated. In May 1841, without consulting any member of the band, he requested £500 (their annuity was only

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<sup>32</sup> Paudash Papers, RG 10, vol. 1011, Section A, pp. 140-1, 144.

<sup>33</sup> Paudash Papers, RG 10, vol. 1011, Section B, pp. 74-5.

<sup>34</sup> Paudash Papers, RG 10, vol. 1011, Section A, pp. 140-1.

<sup>35</sup> Bagot, “Report... June 25, 1847,” *Appendix to the sixth volume...*, p. T-28.

<sup>36</sup> T. G. Anderson to Paudash, Feb 18, 1846, Jarvis to Paudash, March 20, 1845, Paudash Papers, RG 10, vol. 1011, Section D; Bagot, “Report... June 25, 1847,” *Appendix to the sixth volume...*, p. T-28.

<sup>37</sup> Paudash Papers, RG 10, vol. 1011, Section A, pp. 139-40.

<sup>38</sup> Paudash Papers, RG 10, vol. 1011, Section B, p. 52.

<sup>39</sup> Commission of Inquiry into the Indian Department - Minute Book, RG 10, vol. 720, p. 100.

£740) citing 'tribal expenses,' and his warrant was approved pending the signature of Paudash. In the meantime, the band had arranged with settlers to make several purchases, including cattle and a yoke of oxen. Paudash wrote to Jarvis in mid-May asking for money to pay his bills.<sup>40</sup>

In mid-June Paudash went to Toronto to get the money from Jarvis, but Jarvis was away and the chief returned home to repeat the written request. Jarvis suggested that Paudash would have to return personally in early July, but suggested, "if it is not convenient for you to come up you must sign the enclosed powers of attorney and send them to me at Toronto & then I will forward the amount to you addressed to the Otanabee Post Office." On July 5, Paudash authorized it allowing Jarvis to receive "all sums of money due to him for or on account of any warrant or warrants that may have been issued by the Governor General in his name on account of the annuity due to his tribe."<sup>41</sup>

Jarvis used this to take the £500, which he put in his bank account, and disregarded Paudash's request for funds. In September, Paudash went to the Indian Department Office in Kingston to inquire of Jarvis. Through an interpreter, he noticed the £500 that had been drawn from the account, which the Superintendent claimed he had authorized. The chief knew that he had been deceived and hired Mr. Maddock as his attorney to complain to the Governor General about the theft and refusal to provide an account statement. He resubmitted the request for funds. Jarvis drew another £300 on the account and finally sent it to the band in October.<sup>42</sup>

The Bagot Commission investigated the matter and found that this incident was the tip of the iceberg. Jarvis had been drawing warrants for between £200 and £500 from various bands, with the explanation, "for the use of the tribe."<sup>43</sup> His department had habitual discrepancies between the amount paid to the natives and the amount drawn on

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<sup>40</sup> Commission of Inquiry into the Indian Department - Minute Book, RG 10, vol. 720, p. 85.

<sup>41</sup> Commission of Inquiry into the Indian Department - Minute Book, RG 10, vol. 720, p. 86.

<sup>42</sup> Commission of Inquiry into the Indian Department - Minute Book, RG 10, vol. 720, pp. 87-8; Commission of Inquiry into the Indian Department Letterbook, 1842-1844, RG 10, vol. 721, p. 10.

<sup>43</sup> Commission of Inquiry into the Indian Department - Minute Book, RG 10, vol. 720, p. 112.

the accounts.<sup>44</sup> He was dismissed on May 10, 1845, but not before he misplaced, according to the final accountant's examination, £6375 6s. 11d.<sup>45</sup>

This was not the only case where their funds were misappropriated. In 1840, William Cottingham, the contractor for the houses on Balsam Lake, complained to Sir George Arthur that he had not received £150 in payment for the houses. The money had been taken from the band's annuity and given to Alexander McDonell, but he did not pay Cottingham and took another £150 from the account, prompting the Bagot Commission to demand that McDonell account for the money.<sup>46</sup>

'Indians,' in the Crown's view, were unable to manage their own land. The state managed their property and they could not deviate from department plans without permission. The band's agreement to participate in assisted settlement did not result in the provision of reserves. Peter Jones and the New England Company lobbied to secure grants of land, which occurred in trust between 1834 and 1837.<sup>47</sup> The Mississauga felt insecure with this arrangement and tried to get their lands deeded to the community in perpetuity. Jones suggested that they should not be allowed to alienate their land and proposed such title to Glenelg and the Aborigines Protection Society in 1838.<sup>48</sup> At the General Council of January 1840, the Mississauga chiefs petitioned Jarvis to grant perpetual title.<sup>49</sup> Jarvis, however, was apparently ignoring Jones' suggestion and opposed drawing up deeds, arguing that the tribes would use them to sell their land.<sup>50</sup> No action was taken in the immediate term and the Bagot Commission recommended in 1847 that the deeds should be recorded at the Provincial Registrar and be accessible as a public document.<sup>51</sup>

In the meantime, Lieutenant-Governor Sir Francis Bond Head raised the question of whether the 'Indians' should be removed from the colony to protect them from the apparently inevitable destruction associated with living adjacent to settlers. Though

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<sup>44</sup> Commission of Inquiry into the Indian Department Letterbook, 1842-1844, RG 10, vol. 721, p. 10.

<sup>45</sup> Douglas Leighton, "The Compact Tory as a Bureaucrat: Samuel Peter Jarvis and the Indian Department, 1837-1845," *Ontario History* 73, no. 1 (March 1981), p. 49.

<sup>46</sup> Bagot, "Report... June 25, 1847," *Appendix to the sixth volume...*, p. T-44.

<sup>47</sup> Jones, *Life and journals*, pp. 142, 226; Paudash Papers, RG 10, vol. 1011, Section A, pp. 39, 44, 139, 144-6, Section B, p. 100; John Colborne to Robert William Hay, December 15, 1831, *Muskoka and Haliburton*, p. 107.

<sup>48</sup> Paudash Papers, RG 10, vol. 1011, Section A, pp. 39, 44, 139, 144-6; Jones, *Life and journals*, pp. 142, 226.

<sup>49</sup> Paudash Papers, RG 10, vol. 1011, Section B, p. 100.

<sup>50</sup> Paudash Papers, RG 10, vol. 1011, Section B, p. 74.

<sup>51</sup> Bagot, "Report... June 25, 1847," *Appendix to the sixth volume ...*, p. T-19.

Glenelg dismissed Head's suggestions, the issue lingered. The General Council of January 1840 discussed it, but the records of the meeting do not show a decision.<sup>52</sup> At the June 1845 General Council, Peter Jones proposed that the nation should "devise some plan by which we can live together, and become a happy people, so that our dying fires may not go out, but may be kindled in one place, which will prove a blessing to our children."<sup>53</sup> Of course, potential extinction was political, not literal. Jones maintained that to preserve the nation, they should unite in the last significant tract of unceded arable land, lying north-east of Owen Sound (now the Bruce Peninsula), where they would have a unified voice in government relations.

At the heart of his idea was his belief in a distinct Mississauga nation, built around common culture and interests. By heralding a future of "friendship" he suggested that once together, the Mississauga would be united, cohesive and able to co-operate far more. Strictly in political terms, his scheme was a direct and perhaps promising program to bolster the position of the nation relative to the Crown. It became clear, however, that these considerations did not predominate in the minds of his native peers. Nonetheless, Jones convinced forty-eight chiefs to sign a petition asking that:

The Reserve (now still known as the Indian Territory), be a perpetual reserve, as a future refuge for the general colonization of the Ojebwa Nation, comprising the scattered Tribes in Canada West...And that these lands may now and forever be opened to all the Tribes; that whenever a Tribe is disposed to move, that they may have nothing to fear, but have access to any of the good lands to settle upon.<sup>54</sup>

This petition did not directly request removal, rather the option of relocating to such a territory "whenever a Tribe is disposed to move."

On July 30, 1846, Superintendent T. G. Anderson called a General Council and, citing the potential positive effects on their 'civilization' and industry, proposed, "that the Tribes shall use every means in their power to abandon their present detached little villages, and unite, as far as practicable, in forming large settlements."<sup>55</sup> The plan would have them give up their "roving habits" and settle as farmers, with Manual Labour

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<sup>52</sup> Paudash Papers, RG 10, vol. 1011, Section B, p. 69.

<sup>53</sup> Copway, *The Life, History, and Travels*, pp. 190-1.

<sup>54</sup> Copway, *The Life, History, and Travels*, pp. 193-4.

<sup>55</sup> *Minutes of the General Council... 1846*, p. 5.



Schools for their children. Anderson's assistant, George Vardon, then informed the chiefs "that if the opportunity is lost, it may never again occur."<sup>56</sup>

The chiefs considered the matter and their opinions diverged considerably. Vardon and Anderson maintained that some of the chiefs had already assented to their plan, but many chiefs were alarmed and upset that such approval had been given. John Sunday, a strong advocate, claimed "it is for our good—for our own prosperity," and said that it was he and George Paudash who had agreed. Paudash did not confirm that he had consented and his statements during the proceedings suggested that, although he did not directly oppose the idea, he was not enthusiastic. He observed, "we received something to enable us to hold the land permanently: that is a Deed. But I know nothing about it." He deferred answering until he determined whether or not they had a deed guaranteeing their land and noted:

My land is cleared. The stumps are rotted out of it. I have good fences made. But still, notwithstanding all this, I am ready to remove, if our Great Father wishes it. I would not interpose any obstacle on the wishes of our Great Father.<sup>57</sup>

His answer seemed to suggest that he had some, but not complete, reluctance to leave, but was also respecting departmental authority.

Peter Nogee was also not inclined to seize the opportunity. He noted that his settlement was under the management of the New England Company and that he could not answer the question without consulting them. He said, "I shall do whatever that Company may wish me to do," but also observed "there is nothing that would hinder me from leaving this present location."<sup>58</sup> But it is unclear whether this comment reflected deference to the wishes of the Governor-General or that he favoured removal.

Chief Jacob Crane of Lake Scugog, like Paudash, did not seem eager to leave. He explained:

The land that I now occupy, I purchased. It is very good. We have commenced farming, have built houses, and my young men have said, 'this is a place where we will become farmers.' There are only three of us here, and we cannot decide with regard to removing from our present

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<sup>56</sup> *Minutes of the General Council...* 1846, pp. 5-6, 8.

<sup>57</sup> *Minutes of the General Council...* 1846, pp. 17, 19.

<sup>58</sup> *Minutes of the General Council...* 1846, p. 19.

location. We looked out for land and selected this tract, and we have found it very good.<sup>59</sup>

Crane was correct to point out that three representatives should not quickly decide to remove the communities, considering Mississauga traditions of the authority of chiefs and the scope of the issue.

Chief William Yellowhead of Rama steadfastly opposed the government's proposals and questioned the authority of Anderson and Vardon. They claimed that when they traveled to Rama after the council he approached them and confessed that he had misunderstood and gave his full consent. For support, they produced a petition during the visit, purporting to represent "a large majority" of the community, which was ratified by twenty-eight residents, at least twenty-one of whom were illiterate. The population at Rama was about 327 and the signatories did not include William Yellowhead.<sup>60</sup>

Yet the initiative to abandon their settlements did not materialize. Chief Yellowhead, who had already been relocated twice, would not go along with the proposal and he was not alone in his opposition. During the council, Anderson clarified that he was not calling for universal removal, but that members of the community could choose to unite in larger settlements and take their annuities with them.<sup>61</sup> This significantly altered the natives' earlier understanding of the proposal, leaving it to individual choice.

The exodus did not occur. In the Rice Lake Band, the populations of the communities, aside from the floundering Scugog settlement, held steady. There was much more at stake than simply the cohesion and continuation of the Mississauga as a political entity. The heart of the issue was whether or not the Mississauga wanted to start fresh together. Some of the rhetoric in favour of removal implied that it would create a community of friendship, but this was obviously in political terms. The Mississauga were not a community in the same sense as the one that existed on this waterway. They shared common political interests, a language, many cultural traits and traced a common genealogy. But they were dispersed over a broad region and had differences of opinion, expectation and interest.

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<sup>59</sup> *Minutes of the General Council...* 1846, p. 20.

<sup>60</sup> *Minutes of the General Council...* 1846, pp. 20, 32; Lefroy, *On the probable number of the native Indian population*, p. 11.

<sup>61</sup> *Minutes of the General Council ...* 1846, p. 28.

The Rice Lake Band's community along the waterway had its own challenges. It was not homogeneous. Natives and settlers still associated more within their traditional groups than across them. Yet they could not remain distinct. Though some harboured feelings of superiority, their conflicting means of subsistence continued, and awkward linguistic and cultural differences remained, genuine friendships were made. The significance of these to removal is uncertain, but the significance of the community is not.

At the 1846 General Council, Paudash and Crane phrased their reluctance in terms of the progress they had made in farming. Perhaps this was genuinely the preoccupation of the chief or maybe his reply was based on a much broader set of considerations. Since agriculture was a key component of 'civilization,' it was an appropriate way to point out the tradeoffs in such a plan. And certainly the comparison of the present situation with the opportunity involved considerably more than just 'civilization' or political unity. The vision of separable communities that underlay the proposals for removal was true enough with respect to their political situation. But it was not nearly as accurate within the communities. There was progress in farming with cleared fields and houses. There were also their friendships, work opportunities and trading relationships. Their community encompassed far more than just the band members and in such a scheme for unification, they could not take this community with them.

But they also could not maintain the status quo. The government, claiming sovereignty over the area, mediated the conflicting interests of natives and settlers in a manner that ensured land redistribution and fundamental change in land usage. Asserting that the treaties legitimately transferred land rights to colonial society, the Crown apportioned and redistributed it, apparently to settlers. The state was reluctant to uphold concessions to the nation allowing it to hunt and fish on unoccupied land, and to retain rights to parts of the territory. It was disinclined to help the natives make use of the legal system. Some settlers were very friendly towards the natives, but others were hostile. The Crown ensured the transformation by managing native affairs and only acquiring a small portion of the colony on their behalf. As the state upheld land rights that it asserted, the natives were pushed from these townships, aside from limited hunting and fishing. The

process was not abrupt, as local oral histories suggest that natives continued to be found hunting, fishing and camping in these townships throughout the nineteenth century, but it gave them little choice but to subsist by new methods.

During two or three generations, the settlers' land acquisition pushed the Mississauga from Fenelon and Verulam. But reducing the process to this abstraction is imprecise. The tale of settlers pushing the natives from the land is a tragedy where every settler was a villain, and one that glosses over many crucial historical details. The natives who were living on the reserves once the settlers had occupied almost all of the adjacent territory were not the same people who had enjoyed essentially unfettered access to land when the process began. Initially, settlement was too sparse to remove the natives. The notion that settlers pushed these natives off the land is largely based on a right of occupancy due to their ancestors' usage. Inheritance is an important component of Western property customs and there is certainly justice in allowing families continuous use of resources, but the ideal does not seem sufficiently absolute to censure the accomplishments of all who benefited from the resource reallocation.

The settlers' lives encompassed far more than their collective role in dispossessing the Mississauga. Many people in European society eagerly accepted the opportunity to live with substantially different resources. Many struggled to establish themselves in this new society, and many worked their entire lives to transform the landscape to support their families. Some hoped to eventually live without an employer or landlord skimming a portion of the profits of their labour. Condemning settlement is too simplistic and is unjust because it reduces millions of peoples' lives to their role in the interaction of two abstractions. Some settlers did not respect native society and were unjust to their neighbours, but many had native friends and trading partners.

Fundamentally, a transformation in land usage occurred in Upper Canada involving both cultural groupings. The reforms had advocates in both, but the state assumed a great amount of responsibility for the outcome by asserting and eventually effectively establishing control over the inhabitants. It tried to manage the interactions within the emerging communities and bounded the possible actions of residents. And though the natives were among those that the government worked towards controlling, their interests often scarcely influenced policies.

The revolution in Mississauga society did not transpire as intended. The farms were not as successful as 'civilization's' advocates hoped. Natives continued to rely on hunting and fishing to feed themselves. Many did not learn to read or write. The Mississauga did not become one with their white brethren, as pride in native culture remained. But the transformation had many positive effects. The natives adopted new means of subsistence necessitated by declining game populations. They accessed resources and tools that band members used to revolutionize their lives. The missionaries seem to have reduced alcohol abuse. 'Civilization' helped the natives gain necessary skills to better interact with their new neighbours and the state that claimed sovereignty.

The construction of the agricultural society also did not attain its ideals. It succeeded in generally confining natives to reserves. There were none in either township, and therefore the natives no longer had rights to occupy land that the Crown would recognize in Fenelon or Verulam Township. Settlers arrived to use land in a manner more in line with the Crown's plans. But the methods of distribution allowed rampant speculation, isolated settlers, raised prices and contributed to frequent failures. Many speculators did not fare much better. And though some speculators greatly assisted the communities' development, many more never came anywhere near the area, and made negligible contributions to offset the challenges that speculation posed for settlers. Ironically, in many cases the initial failures in the land granting system eventually helped settlers acquire title to land, often lots they were already using. Many acquired lands from speculators at less exorbitant prices when they were forced to liquidate their holdings. Crown and Clergy Reserve auctions, largely the product of early troubles with land distribution, finally offered many users a palatable chance at ownership in the 1850s and 1860s.

But the state's actions did not warrant general condemnation. Though it distorted the natives' interests and its settlement policies were far from ideal, the state made valuable contributions. The period was generally peaceful, and the tensions did not result in bloodshed. Though its role as an arbiter of interaction had unfortunate consequences, many settlers, and increasingly natives as well, gladly accepted the security that its laws provided. The reconstruction of land usage, though associated with many evils, was indispensable in allowing future generations far greater access to resources.

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