

THE MISSISSAUGAS BETWEEN TWO WORLDS: STRATEGIC ADJUSTMENTS TO CHANGING LANDSCAPES OF POWER

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Abstract / Resume

From 1700 to 1783 the Mississaugas were the most powerful nation occupying the region north of Lake Ontario. However, following the American rebellion, the pendulum of control shifted. By the 1820s, competition for land and resources had pushed the Mississaugas to the social and spatial margins of the colony. We explore two overlapping adaptive strategies to this process of marginalization, (a) the cooperation with Methodist missionaries in a proto-industrial craft based economy, and (b) the open rejection of European values and a return to traditional lifeways.

A partir de 1700 et jusqu'en 1783, la nation Mississauga fut la plus puissante de la région au nord du Lac Ontario. Pourtant, suite à la rébellion américaine, l'équilibre du pouvoir changea: dès 1820, Les Mississaugas se trouvèrent poussés aux marges sociales et spatiales de la colonie à cause de la compétition pour les terres ainsi que pour les ressources. Nous étudions deux adaptations stratégiques coïncidentes qui essayèrent de répondre à ce processus de marginalisation, à savoir: la coopération, avec les missionnaires méthodistes, à une économie industrielle rudimentaire basée sur l'artisanat et, deuxièmement, le refus total de toute valeur européenne et le retour à un mode de vie traditionnel.

Introduction¹

At the time of initial Euro-Canadian contact with the Great Lakes region, the Ojibwa-speaking Mississaugas consisted of loosely bound bands of nomadic hunters and gatherers located to the northwest of Lake Huron. They were part of a language group including the Saukteaux, Ottawa, Nipissing and Algonquin who were referred to collectively by early European settlers as Ojibwas or Chippewas. By the opening of the 18th century, they had expanded to the south-east, replacing the Iroquois as the primary occupants of the region lying to the north of Lake Ontario. During the ongoing Anglo-French rivalry for North America at this time, the Mississauga constituted the dominant Native presence in the strategic region lying athwart the St. Lawrence-Great Lakes corridor of movement. It was the geopolitical significance of their homelands that privileged their relationships with the British. However, with the elimination of the French political threat in 1763, and with the arrival in 1783 of refugee Loyalists following the British defeat in the American Revolution, the Mississaugas were no longer relevant to Britain's military design. Over the next decades, they were deprived of their lands, and marginalized both physically and symbolically until they were confined to the space assigned and "reserved" for them at Alnwick in 1836 (see Ripmeester, 1995a; 1995b; Osborne and Ripmeester, 1995).

Here we have the familiar litany of the Native experience of an ever-intensifying contact with the expanding Euro-Canadian socio-political system. The established meta-narrative has several stages: a putative idyllic past; an acculturation emanating from involvement in European trade and politics; the abandonment of traditional strategies in favour of dependence upon a nascent metropolitan social and economic system; and a reservation policy that exhibited variously, benign neglect, altruistic interventionism, and/or ethnocide.² The standard analysis usually focuses on the externalities of the Native and Euro-Canadian worldviews respectively, and often at the macro-scale of policy. Little attention has been directed to the relationship between the ecological base, materialist infrastructure, and shifting ideological systems: that is, the cultural ecology of change.³ Nor has much critical attention been directed to the representation of these cultural verities in the records of this experience of culture change.

Any such analysis could benefit much by taking note of what Gregory has recently referred to as "the contemporary reconfiguration" of human geography, social sciences, and the humanities. He flags several concerns: *articulation; spatialization; representation; and authorization.*⁴

Articulation refers both to that attack on the deeply entrenched academic isolationism of economic, political, social, and cultural realities, as

well as to the necessity of integrating concepts of both "structure" and "agency" in the development of social life (Giddens, 1984; Hagerstrand, 1982). What emerges from the deconstruction of the narrative of Euro-Canadian expansion and Mississaugan retreat is more complex than a deterministic story of the diffusion of a dominant military, technology, and economy over a "primitive" culture. Rather than passive victims of this process, the Mississauga may be seen to have been actors participating in their unfolding history. They too had a part to play. Given the opportunities and choices of the economic and military worlds in which they participated, they elected to be drawn into relationships that were thought to be profitable. So they must have been over the short run. Ultimately, however, they led to the erosion of identity and independence.

Spatialization implies recognition of the transformation of abstract locations into particular and meaningful human landscapes through on going social interaction (see, for example, Anderson, 1991; Cosgrove, 1989; Foucault, 1990). In the case of the Mississauga, land grants, treaties, and the occupation of their lands by Euro-Canadians effected the destruction of the Mississaugas culture and life. But not only were they no longer able to practice their traditional techniques of sustenance, they were dislocated from the "landmarks" of their material life and spiritual life (see Hawlbacks, 1980). By appropriating their lands, the Euro-Canadians had also appropriated their psychic geography and psychic history—their very cosmography. The Euro-Canadians had acquired property and colonial potential; the Mississaugas had lost their grounded identity.

Representation addresses the different ways in which the world has been "presented, re-presented, and discursively constructed" through time, and across cultural systems, and recognises the political implications of "othering" (see, for example, Barnes and Duncan, 1989; Bondi and Dosh, 1992; Clifford, 1986; Geertz, 1988). Native recollections of events and social practices are often embedded in a mythologizing agenda. Certainly, the early Euro-Canadian observers saw nothing but virgin forests and small groups of simple peoples whose "local knowledge" never made it onto their Euro-Canadian maps, or into their Western cosmologies.

Authorization empowers the critique of representation by its concern with the relationship of power and knowledge through questions of the authority of authorship, representation, and rights (see, for example, Foucault, 1984; 1980; Hagerstrand, 1982). As the Mississaugas were not literate, they were unable to give authority to their changing worlds. The assimilationist agenda of Government and mission agencies ensured that their accounts of their activities diminished the Mississaugas' traditional life in favour of the assimilationist path. And all of this evidence has been

processed by theorizing ethnographers—in both the old and new ethnographies—as mere facts, problematizations, and tensions in their intellectual constructions.

While Gregory eschews any claim for a “grand synthesis,” it is argued here that such concerns do allow for a more sensitive appreciation of the discursive formations that should inform any evaluation of Native and Euro-Canadian relationships. That is, as we use them here, they become heuristic devices which may allow for the unveiling of “Other” human-environment relationships, those lying beyond that naturalized by dominant discourse and, as importantly, the contested material and symbolic spaces lying between them.

An Integrated Lifeworld

In about 1700 the Mississaugas extended their ecumene far from their historic homeland north east of Lake Huron to the north shore of Lake Ontario (Figure 1) (see Paudash, 1905). This expansion did not involve any major shift in their technology of sustenance or social regimen. Indeed, though Ojibwa oral traditions and a scanty European documentary record suggest an expansion linked to geopolitics and capital exchange (Paudash, 1905; Schmalz, 1991; Eid, 1979), a more prosaic explanation has often been posited. Simply, the Mississaugas filled a vacuum in the region created by the retreat of the Iroquois to the south shore of Lake Ontario (Konrad, 1981). In either scenario, the Mississaugas were moving along the line of an ecological continuity—the south-easterly extension of the Canadian Shield now known as the Ottawa-Huron Tract which continues on to the St. Lawrence River front as the Frontenac Axis. The Mississaugas had long adapted to the seasonal regimens of this sub-boreal world. It was a land of igneous-metamorphic rocks, with a fine network of rivers, lakes, and marshes, all covered by a dense mixed-deciduous forest populated by deer, porcupine, rabbits, and beaver.

This was the material base upon which Mississaugan society was established.⁵ The annual migratory cycle saw small groups subsisting on forest game throughout the winter, moving to the groves of maple for the spring sap-run, meeting with other groups concentrated at the lake-trout and white-fish spawning grounds in spring and early summer, and seeking out the riverine beds of wild rice in the fall. Their impact upon their environment was minimized by population densities of less than two persons per square mile, and a simple technology limited to the bow, spear, club, and fire.⁶ The Mississaugas' close bonding with nature is reflected in the several mnemonic devices used to conceptualize time and space (see Johnston, 1995; 1987; 1976).

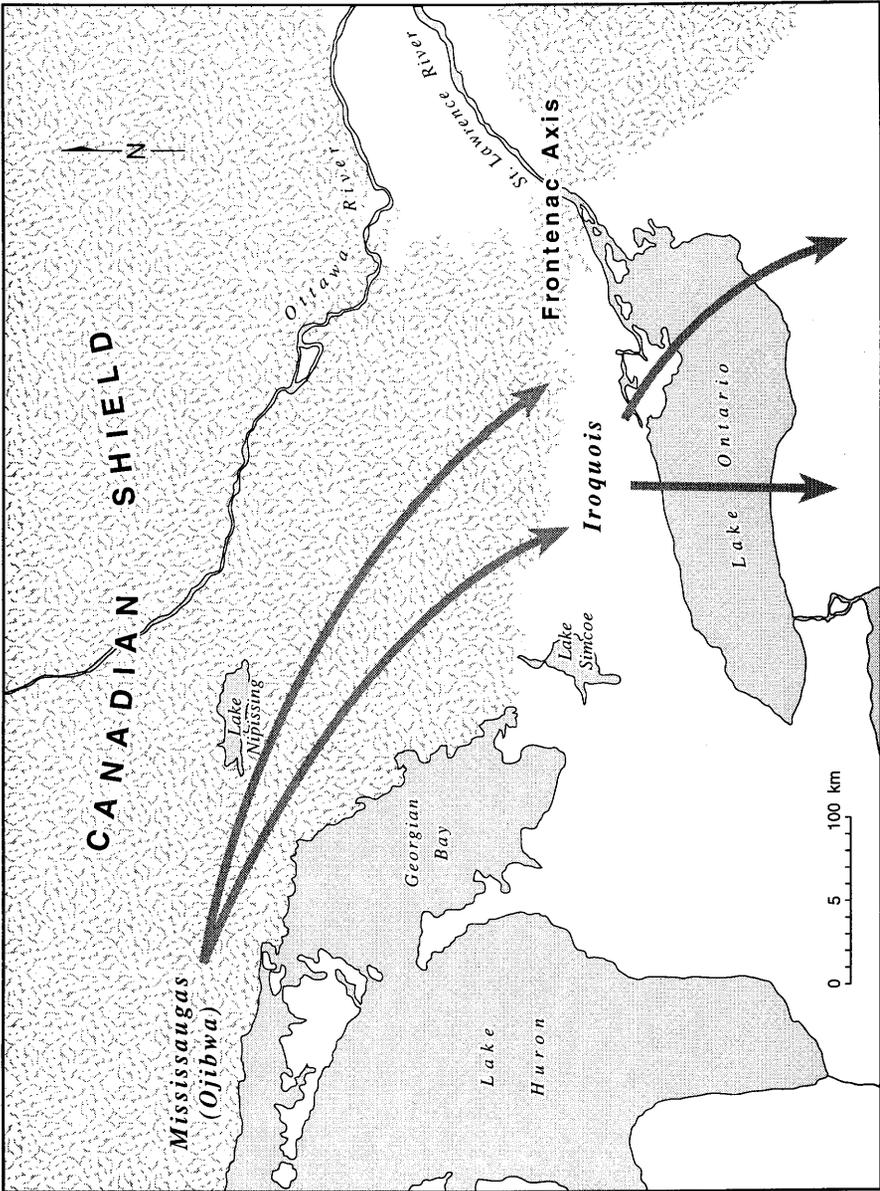


Figure 1: Native Movements circa 1700

Time was marked by a repetitive cycle of years in which the social seasonal round manifested the natural rhythms of the ecosystem: *seegwum* was the springtime season of the rising sap; *neebin* was the abundant summer; *tuhgwuhgin* marked the fall fading of the colours; and *peboon* was the season when the world was captured by the winter freeze. The finer lunar divisions of the year also reflected their close ties with nature:

January = *Keche Munedoo keezis* = Great Spirit moon
 February = *Nuhmabene* = mullet fish moon
 March = *Neke keezis* = wild goose moon
 April = *Omuhkuhkee keezis* = frog moon
 May = *Wahbegwunee keezis* = blooming moon
 June = *Odoemin keezis* = strawberry moon
 July = *Mesquemene keezis* = red raspberry moon
 August = *Meen keezis* = huckleberry moon
 September = *Ahtabuhgah keezis* = falling leaf moon
 October = *Penaqueewene keezis* = falling leaf moon
 November = *Kuhskhuhdene keezis* = freezing moon
 December = *Munedoo keezis* = spirit moon (Jones, 1970:136)

Similarly, their pantheon of gods, their *manitoos*, inhabited a seamless continuity of material and spiritual space and time. The gods of *Four Winds*, *Underwater*, *Thunderbird*, *Windigo*, and *Nanabozho* were timeless presences in the past, present, and future.

Nor was space a separate category. It was the theatre in which the actions in time were acted out and thus transformed their habitat into "home" (Osborne, 1995), this effected both materially and spiritually. Places were often encoded in terms of their role as places of sustenance such as *Machickning*, a fishing place, and *Panituscotiyank*, which means "fat fire," or place for rendering fish products. Spiritually, the earth was the gift of their gods, the resting place of their ancestors, a bequest for future generations to pass on, and the domain of their lived lives, mythic stories, and dream-worlds. According to George Copway the supernatural realm was manifest in the material world with which they interacted:

The skies are filled with the deities they worshipped, and the whole forest awakened with their whispers. The lakes and streams were the places of their resort, and the mountains and the valleys alike their abode. All the remarkable spots in the country were considered their favorite resorts. These were the peaks of rocky cliffs; the clefts of craggy mounts. Waterfalls were thought to be their sporting scenes (Copway, 1972:151-152).

Despite recognition of the authority of an hereditary chief, ties to clans, and the dominance of nuclear family responsibilities, Mississauga culture placed much emphasis upon individuals and their control of relationships with others, Nature, and the spirit world. To this end, vision-quests at puberty, and the ability of the soul to transcend space and time, served as devices by which individuals were in control of their corporeal and spirit existences (Vecsey, 1983:101-102; 60-61). Their own names reflected personal identification with the animistic totems of their patrilineal clans which demarcated familial relationships (see Figure 2) (Jones 1970:108; Vecsey, 1983:78-79).

Western ontologies have attempted to comprehend the lived-world of Native peoples in terms of the categories of technology, kinship, gender relationships, social organization, and belief systems. They are at their best when making Mississaugan trait-lists: canoes, toboggans, snow shoes; bows, arrows, spears, and knives; totems, clans, and manitous. In this vein, consider the essential materiality of the description of the "typical" Mississaugan shelter:

[t]he wigwams are made by placing poles, twelve or fourteen feet long in the ground. These meet at the top, and are left open for the smoke to escape. Over them they spread nets, made of flags birch bark, and sometimes the skins of animals. The fire is set at the centre, around which the families take their seats on the ground, having skins or bark for their carpeting. A wigwam about twelve feet in diameter will contain about three families. Here they cook, smoke, and sleep. When they make their wigwams long enough to have two fires, they will contain six or eight families. One family at each fire will cook at a time, and then divide the food with all belonging to the same fire (Jones, 1970:72).

The Methodist-cum-Mississauga Jones presents a description detailed enough for a Smithsonian diorama! But did the Mississauga conceptualize their existence this way? Perhaps for them the fireplace marked the very intersection of their presence in time and space. The circle of the wigwam symbolized their group's containment and bonding. The material form of the wigwam represented the very elements of the environment out of which it was made. Around the fire, within the wigwam, the Mississaugas enacted and constantly repeated the essential dimensions of their material and spiritual existence: the gendered labour of shelter construction and cooking in which women predominated; the symbolic sharing of fires and food that consolidated group bonding; this was the setting for the discussions at which the group chief sought support for his decisions; the recitation of

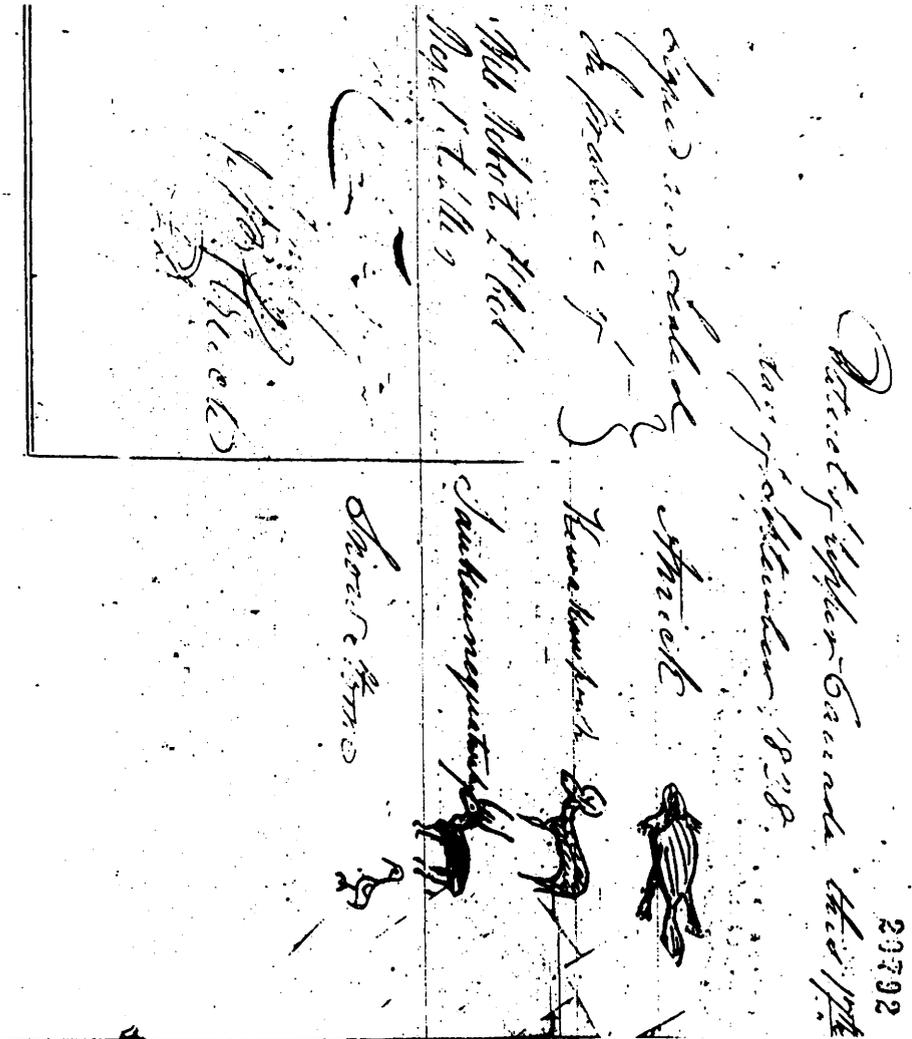


Figure 2: Examples of Mississaugan Names and Totemic symbols. Note that one individual has adopted an anglicized name. Source: NAC, RG10, v. 36, p. 20702, C-11011.

actual and mythologized happenings that would constitute the collective identity with people and place. And wherever the wigwam was erected in its successive relocations throughout the year, marked the territory that the group considered to be their home.

The Mississauga cultural complex, then, entailed little in terms of the material transformation of the environment. However, cosmographies transfigured empty spaces into human landscapes rich with symbolic associations which served as an integral part of physical and spiritual well-being. The "real" world of the "traditional" Mississaugas only existed as a combination of material practices, stories, and place names, and it now exists as a construction of remembered mythologies, recorded historical prejudices, and artificial theoretical exercises. But it forms the shadowy core-identity against which subsequent adjustments and strategies need to be compared.

This juxtaposition of myth, both written and remembered, is aptly captured by novelist Douglas Glover, who, speaking through one of his characters, contends that

Savages dream in order to remember; we write in order to forget... By writing history down, we try to extend the explanation of the present deep into the past. But the savage, in his dreams, seeks to extend the present laterally, as if it were, across the axis of time (Glover, 1993:83).

Disruptions and a Growing Dependence

The "traditional" Mississauga remembered their past and organized their present as a land-based, group-focused people, acting in a material world that was located in a space-time continuum that blurred an experienced present with an imagined past and future. The essential variables in life were known and understood.

It was these values that were to be challenged by the interaction of the Mississaugas with Euro-Canadian systems. Their essential independence and self-sufficiency was dislocated by a growing dependence upon exogenous goods, the loss of their lands, and the dissonance of their former spiritual values with their new life. Further, they were not participants in decisions made by distant authorities, and that were presented to them in terms and concepts that were foreign to their world-view.

Trade with, and later, the war between, the European powers was the principle initial agency by which the traditional way of life of the Mississaugas was eroded. Despite their mythic history of conflict with the Iroquois, they too became one of the Indian allies of the British. While there are some suggestions that their usefulness was considered to be suspect,⁷ they were

retained by the British as auxiliaries in both the French-British conflict, 1757-1763, and the American Revolutionary War. Whatever their utility, they came to depend upon the British for supplies of various commodities, rum, arms, and ammunition. Thus, in 1770, William Johnson, head of the Northern Division of the Indian Department, received a petition pleading,

We that live in the woods must support ourselves by the Gun and as we cant make us of it without Amunition, wch. we are present are scarce in, We beg you will consider our Want in that Article, yt we may maintain ourselves & families in [the] Necessaries of Life, we beg likewise to have our Arms put in order and some Spears made.⁸

While it would appear that they were still engaged in hunting, the traditional dependence upon their Indigenous weaponry and skills had clearly been eroded by decades of involvement in the European fur-trade and as allies in the local wars. On another occasion, a British officer reported that,

I have hitherto taken upon me to supply such Mississagues, as I employed with provision...for they say they are prevented [from?] hunting and supporting their families now...⁹

In such ways were the Mississaugas weaned from independent and land-based systems of sustenance.

Secondly, between 1783 and 1820, they lost their lands. The agricultural landscapes of the Loyalists were established throughout the Mississaugas' homelands by agreements and treaties that can only be understood from the perspective of the time. It was a negotiation between two different ontologies. While the dominant Euro-Canadian system viewed land as a commodity to be acquired by legal transfer, the Mississauga must have been unable to comprehend the full import of the loss of their lived-in space and lived-in time. For them, the concept of private property as commodity was meaningless.¹⁰

Nevertheless, by the 1783 Crawford Treaty, the Loyalists acquired sufficient land to lay out two ranges of townships behind Kingston, a further three million acres being "purchased" from them in 1819 (confirmed in 1822). Throughout this period, a relationship with the garrison-settlement of Kingston had developed that is best described as "parasitism" (see Osborne and Swainson, 1988; Taylor, 1981). The town was the locus for the distribution of gifts and allowances; the garrison occasionally employed them as scouts and paid bounties for the return of deserters; and the market relied on them for such supplementary products as fish, game-meats, and wild-rice (La Rochefoucault-Liancourt, 1795:81; Weld, 1970:[2]85-86). And their presence in and around Loyalist communities occasioned consistently

negative commentary that reflected the prejudices of the day. For La Rouchfoucault-Liancourt in 1795, the Mississaugas were,

... the filthiest of all the Indians, I have hitherto seen, and have the most stupid appearance. They are said to live poorly, to be wicked and thievish, and men, women and children all given to drinking (1795:80).

Mrs. Simcoe's account of her visit to Kingston repeated the refrain:

There are some Mississaugas here. They are an unwarlike, idle, drunken, dirty tribe. I observe how extremes meet. These uncivilized people saunter up and down the town all day with apparent nonchalance, want of occupation and indifference that seems to possess the London beaux in Bond Street (Robertson, 1911:115).

Finally, a letter written in 1816 by one, Marshall S. Bidwell, provides a choleric view of "this delectable town" and its inhabitants:

... you should have a sight of its streets knee deep in mud, its log houses, its red coats & its tawny visitors from every dirty tribe of Aborigines within five hundred miles. In one corner of a street, your eyes would be saluted with two happy lovers, perhaps a soldier & a squaw, extended in the mud & with heart felt devotion praying their adorations to the Cyprian Goddess...¹¹

That the Mississaugas were sometimes provisioners suggests that at least some of them sustained traditional hunting activities. But even allowing for contemporary racism and bigotry, it would appear that at least some others were being reduced to a parasitic dependency in which the streets of Kingston came to be their preferred host environment. Indeed, with the final loss of their lands in 1822, the Mississauga lost much of their self-identity and self worth. Alienated from their lands, marginalized spatially and socially, the Mississauga declined in numbers and began to suffer from numerous social pathologies that included alcoholism and increasing degrees of violence (*Christian Advocate and Journal*, 1836:10[43]:179). The Mississaugas were faced by the anomie of a collapsing system, an ineffective Indian Department, and a hostile society. Two contrasting survival strategies were experimented with by two groups of Mississauga in the 1820-1837 period: Methodism; and a return to traditional ways.

Strategic Adaptations

1. Methodism: "New Wine into Old Bottles"?

Some Mississaugas turned to the spiritual enthusiasm and disciplined personal regimen offered by the radical evangelicalism of American Methodism. The reason the Methodists directed their attentions to the Mississauga is explained by contemporary theology and political history.

In many ways, the Methodists were well suited to take up their mission to the Native peoples of North America. From its origins in the ministry of John Wesley in the 1730s, the message of Methodism was aimed at those whose social or cultural situation rendered them outside the realm of established society: the poor, the sick, the dispirited, and the working class (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1991; Coleman, 1990). The Methodists' zeal to spread their message among the lower classes drove them to ignore parish boundaries, orthodox preaching styles, and formal accreditation of their clergy (Coleman, 1990). Viewed as a radical movement that threatened established social order, Methodism attracted the ire of the established state-church, the Church of England, and it eventually became recognized as one of the non-conformist denominations.

After taking root in colonial New York, Methodism spread to Upper Canada with the Loyalists. Its flexible system of conferences and circuits of ministers was well suited to flourish in the outer reaches of frontier settlements.¹² There were two rival Protestant world-views in Upper Canada in the early 19th century. First, the two established churches—the Anglicans and Presbyterians—favoured a hierarchical society supported by stable institutions. Secondly, there were the various "Evangelical" denominations that were more egalitarian and liberal minded, and advanced the role of the individual as an agent of social transformation of the material world (Christie, 1990:11). In Christie's words,

popular evangelicalism was also a catalyst in nudging their world towards modernity. Learning gave way to the authority of popular persuasion, ecclesiastical homogeneity to evangelical pluralism, communal status to individualism, and elite control to popular consent... the once narrowly defined political language of liberty and egalitarianism suffused the Canadian evangelical scene, nourishing a pervasive cultural republicanism (*ibid.*:13).

The Church of England and the Presbyterians were both too preoccupied with establishing religious systems to serve the needs of their own congregations. They had little time for missionary endeavours among non-believ-

ers, be they Euro-Canadian or Native. Consequently, as one authority has put it,

The race to save souls—and gain adherents—went almost by default to those organizations with flexible structures, the will to experiment, and an emotion-charged message (Moir, 1987:66).

Of these “flexible” and “emotion-charged” faiths, the Methodists were to the fore. Many frontier families were attracted to the message provided by the evangelizing circuit riders and local lay exhorters who strove to meet the spiritual needs of the scattered and heterogeneous population.

A combination of evangelical zeal and social concern unencumbered by establishment prejudices of the day that directed the Methodists to the Mississaugas. Though saving Euro-Canadian souls was their priority, the Native peoples were also viewed as being a ready field for missionary work. Their very survival was seen to require European intervention (Grant, 1989; Norwood, 1970), conversion to Christianity, and, implicitly rather than explicitly, an associated acculturation (Jones, 1860; Grant, 1989). At the centre of the Methodist mission was a discursive core which neatly fused Christianity, individualism, and productive labour (see Comaroff and Comaroff, 1991; Forbes, 1984; Norwood, 1970). Indeed, this triad of reform was clearly articulated in one of their publications:

The object is colossal—the comprehension of the whole race of men in one brotherhood and creed... The MEANS of reformation, in this case, are composed of mild and benevolent elements, and draw their living stream of nourishment from the perennial fountain of religious morality.... The MOTIVES are, the advancement of social improvement—the progress of enlightenment—the diffusion of the Christian refinement and philanthropy (*Christian Advocate and Journal*, 1826:1[3]:49).

For the Methodists, therefore, the salvation of Natives' souls also meant “raising” them to European standards of civilization.

It is important to remember, however, that the efforts of the Methodists were not sanctioned by the Crown or colonial administration (Grant, 1989; Craig, 1972; Wilson, 1968; Sanderson, 1908). Not only was it thought that the Methodists posed the greatest threat to the established church, they were also seen to challenge the values of the society by establishing “a religious landscape refashioned in its own image” (*Ibid.*). As early as 1794, the Anglican Bishop Mountain had complained of the “itinerant and mendicant Methodists” who he characterized as “a set of ignorant enthusiasts, whose preaching is calculated only to perplex the understanding & corrupt the morals & relax the nerves of industry, & dissolve the bonds of society”

(Preston, 1959:292). Moreover, the memory of the American rebellion and the War of 1812, together with the American origins of many Methodists in the 1820s, rendered them in the eyes of the establishment as purveyors of dangerous republican ideas and a threat to the established church and society of Upper Canada. It was thought to be particularly injudicious to allow the Methodists continuous contact with potentially volatile Native peoples.¹³

By the mid 1820s, some Mississaugas had been exposed to Methodism through the preaching by one of their own, Peter Jones. A member of the American Methodist Church, and the offspring of a Mississauga mother and Welsh father, Jones converted a number of Mississaugas to Christianity in its Methodist variant. Thus it was, that in 1826 many relocated to Grape Island in the Bay of Quinte, to the west of Kingston (Figure 3).

a. A New Spiritual Realm

As may be expected, conversion to Christianity had a profound affect on the Mississaugas' cosmographies with its blurring of the corporeal and spiritual worlds. No longer did the stones, clouds, waterfalls, and other natural phenomena have souls that communicated with the Mississaugas. No longer was death a mere portal to a continued life in the spaces between the natural and the supernatural. No longer were the Mississaugas merely a part of the universe where they existed on equal terms with a myriad of souls, spirits, and bodies. Instead, the Methodists required that the Mississaugas recognize, give thanks to, and implore the favour of only one God. In theory, like other Christians, they were given dominion over the earth and all that it contained—at least, in that part left to them by Euro-Canadian society.

Thus, no longer would bodies and souls extend into supernatural realms. No longer would vision quests provide a link to a totemic spiritual guardian. The separation of the corporeal and spiritual world would be manifest in the assigning of new names to individuals that associated them with a Judeo-Christian heritage and the format of Euro-Canadian usage. However, these new names were not innocent constructions. In some cases they reflected a cultural syncretism: totemic nomenclatures were anglicized and designated as surnames. But such a translation had profound implications. It not only replaced "foreign" Mississaugan sounds with familiar and useable signifiers, but the totem was stripped of its "traditional" associations and recoded as an analogue of Euro-Canadian, Christian values and emphasis on patrilineal descent. The detachment of a spiritual element from the tangible world was further emphasized by the provision of an education that emphasized a scientific view of an externalized Nature

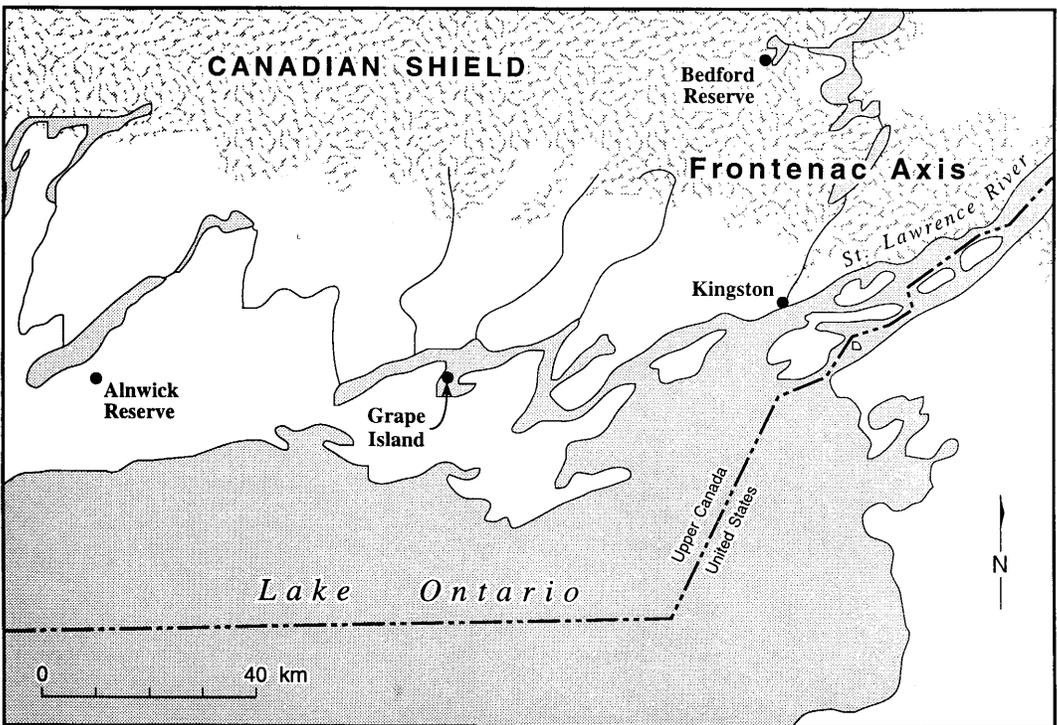


Figure 3: Kingston and Environs

and knowledge of a remote world. This served to weaken the relevance and authority of their shamans whose belief-systems were based upon revelations that reinforced local identities and world views.

While the conversion-cum-civilization project revolved around complex metaphysical questions, its praxis concentrated on the reconstruction of the individual as corporeal subject. Missionaries, teachers, and Indian agents approached their acculturation agenda through the contemporary binary categories of paganism/salvation, dirt/hygiene, suffering/domesticity, and disorder/regulation. For example, the frequent juxtaposition of references to filthiness and cleanliness in mission records suggests that the introduction of Euro-Canadian ideals of personal hygiene was another key component in the acculturation of the Mississauga. It was through such detailed attention to matters of style of dress, standards of domestic upkeep, and emphasis on personal cleanliness that the Methodists pursued assimilation while at the same time emphasizing the "Othering" of the Mississauga. Indeed, the language of the frequent inspections exemplifies the commitment to transform the Mississaugas. For example, Peter Jones wrote of his home by home inspection: "Bro Hurlburt's—All neat, like a white squaw's house, except the tea kettle which was out of place. Sister Hurlburt was sick;" "Jacob Snowstorm's—Floor and cupboard poor—bed tolerably good—one table no chairs—hearth poor—one woman making baskets—one sewing—one idle;" "Passed by one Indian Camp, a specimen of old times;" "John Pigeon's—floor good but dirty—good tables but dusty—chairs good—1 good painted cupboard—1 good curtain bed—3 painted chests—a Bible and Hymn Book &c. on the shelf—everything looks like industry, and improvement in the house" (Jones, 1860:284-286).

b. Reordering Space, Time, and Structure

Clearly, the acceptance of Methodism engendered radical alterations of lived in worlds. Perhaps most significantly, the mission was fixed in space. This allowed not only for constant monitoring of the "progress" of the Mississaugas, but also for the introduction, and constant exposure, to new ideological and material bases for life. Their new home was intended to be an agricultural village and religious retreat; a refuge from a hostile and alien world from which the Mississauga had been displaced. The church and its school would be the central institutions, with the Mississauga gathered together in a community of well-constructed houses, set amidst well-tended fields that would sustain them through the cultivation of crops and the raising of livestock. By December 1828, the experimental settlement consisted of twenty-six buildings, consisting of "twenty three dwell-

ings, a meeting house, a school house, a house for the mill and stores;..." (*Christian Advocate and Journal*, 1828:3[14]:54).

However, while location on Grape Island allowed isolation and security, it did not help the agricultural venture. In particular, it was too small (c. fifteen acres). Consequently, farm activities were spread out over several adjacent islands: cattle were grazed on one two miles away; another island a mile and a half away was used as wood-lot; and crops were raised on several other islands including Sawquin, Huffs, Goose, and Everett's, a total of perhaps one hundred acres (*Christian Advocate and Journal*, 1828:3[8]:30).

Exacerbated by these constraints, the agricultural model imposed upon the Mississaugas by the Methodists dictated changes which affected all aspects of life and spatial and temporal routines. The life-style advocated by the Methodists was punctuated by new sets of rhythms. The annual regimen was now dictated by the seasonal demands of fall plowing, spring sowing, summer harvesting. Daily tasks involved maintaining clean homes, productive kitchen-gardens, and caring for the livestock, as well as activities associated with lumbering and the community's workshop. The Methodist day was punctuated by bells, whistles, and prayers which syncopated diurnal and seasonal regimens of religious responsibilities and agricultural pursuits.

The very comprehensiveness of the penetration of routinized work and worship into the daily life of the Mississauga left little time and few places for individualism. Entire days, seasons, and years were carefully choreographed into regulated activity. Further, the control over times and places of activity facilitated the supervision and direction of the progress of the Mississaugas along the stages of the Methodist conversion process. Indeed, surveillance was an important part of the agenda of "civilization," production being inspected regularly, good work being rewarded, and poor performance criticised (Jones, 1860:102-103; 280-286).

The new time-space disciplines that regulated these were accompanied by changes in the social organization of the Mississauga community. Obviously, the Methodist missionaries and teachers assumed the leadership role in the settlement and took responsibility for the religious instruction, planning of economic activities, education, and community health and well-being (Graham, 1975). Although they did little without the consent of their charges, it is clear that Methodist authority figures controlled the community, and replaced the long-standing Mississauga hierarchical system with Euro-American ones. Furthermore, beneath the authority of the missionary and teacher, Mississauga society was restructured. Former chiefs were assigned the responsibility of religious leaders, and the community as a whole was divided into six religious classes, each overseen by

an appointed Mississauga leader. The latter were required to "watch over and instruct" their group, anyone failing to attend these mandatory meetings being liable to expulsion from the community. Others demonstrating exceptional progress in the eyes of the leaders and mission authorities were chosen to receive further instruction and become interpreters, teachers, or exhorters (Jones, 1860:139). In these ways, the collective responsibilities and roles of their preconversion life became replaced by an externally imposed hierarchical system based upon the degree of their conformity to the criteria of acculturation.

These changes also impacted on more immediate social relationships as lives were reorientated to become compatible with the new *genre de vie* imposed by Methodism. Gender roles were altered to reflect Euro-Canadian ideals of gendered divisions of labour: men worked beyond the home, whether in the fields or shops, while domestic responsibilities became the sole domain of the women. These changes had profound effects on family structures where Methodism placed a great deal of importance on male headship. Further, the wisdom of Elders became redundant, and respect for parents and older relatives was eroded. In place of the communal wigwam home and public social space, homes became segregated private places occupied by one, or sometimes two, nuclear families. And children were socialized into these roles early in their lives. Boys were subject to a formal education focused upon standard academic subjects and a practical education in farming practices. While less is known concerning the socialization of girls, it is clear that the emphasis was on learning the domestic arts. Some were even taken into the mission-house to instruct them "more perfectly in the economy of the house, than could be otherwise done while living with parents" (*Christian Advocate and Journal*, 1828:3[14]:54).

c. *Assessing a Strategy*

Why did the Mississaugas turn to Methodism? The motivation behind the Mississauga strategy for accepting Methodism is far from clear. Conversion was not a simple matter of rejecting one faith and accepting another (Smith, 1987; Graham, 1975; Forbes, 1984; Comaroff and Comaroff, 1991). The arrival of the Methodists occurred at a crucial juncture for the Mississaugas. Social hierarchies were crumbling, land and resource bases had been seriously eroded, and there had been significant social and cultural disruption. Their own religion appeared to be unable to cope with the social upheavals, the increasing abuse of alcohol, and the new health problems that affected Native communities (Vecsey, 1983).

The Mississaugas may have realized that their ability to depend upon a subsistence life-style of hunting, fishing, and gathering of produce had

been greatly diminished and that acceptance of Christianity would give them enhanced access to other sources such as government aid, missionaries, and other benevolent agencies (Vecsey, 1983). Certainly, the Methodists placed much emphasis upon the promise of material benefits and their combined secular and spiritual package was proselytized through a "rhetoric of contrast" (see Comaroff and Comaroff, 1991). That is, the differences between the material and spiritual advantages of the Euro-Canadian and Mississauga cultures were highlighted and became an important part of the discourse of conversion. "In the wigwam I was cold and hungry," exhorted an eight year old Mississauga, "Now we have plenty to eat, and live in good houses like our white friends" (Jones, 1860). Similarly, another convert rhapsodized the material, cultural, and spiritual transformations that ensued from the conversion of the Mississauga to Christianity:

And now they live the life of a Christian. And the man that knew nothing more than to kill the beaver and the deer, has since he embraced religion, become a husbandman, and can plough up his field, and plant his potatoes and his corn like an old farmer. And the Indian woman, that knew not how to keep her wigwam clean, and who only knew how to skin the deer, and dress the skin, has become a good housekeeper, and makes her floors glisten again. Dear sir, in sending the gospel among us it has made us to become men and women in society (*Christian Advocate and Journal*, 1926:10[43]:170).

Thus, Christianity was seen to be part and parcel of the European life-styles, and a means by which the Mississaugas enhance their status and even equality with all men, at least in the eyes of God. Finally, there were similarities between traditional Ojibwa religion and Christianity. Certainly, honesty and forthrightness were important parts of both belief systems, and the Europeans' God protected the settlers, their settlements in much the same way their own spiritual guardians had assisted in hunting and gathering (Smith, 1987). Further, the fact that Peter Jones was one of them, and that several other of their number became leaders and preachers, demonstrated the compatibility of Methodism with their world.

It would appear, therefore, that for a decade or so, the ideals and praxis of Methodism saved at least some Mississaugas from destitution, if at the cost of an increased acculturation and dependency. Ironically, what brought the Grape Island venture to a close was a combination of the very factors that had promised success initially. One of the main advantages of Grape Island had been its isolation, but it was too small for a self-sustaining

community. As early as 1828, therefore, John Sunday, the Chief at the Grape Island settlement, petitioned Government for more land:

We who have settled on a small island in the Bay of Quinte have thought it advisable to make our wants known to you. We have but lately had our eyes opened and are desirous of having some land allotted to us, having already disposed of what we formerly owned to Government. Having no land remaining but the small Island already spoken of We are at a loss to know what will become of our children as We are already out of wood and have nothing to look from that and other support—Our desire is now to change our former habits and become cultivators of the soil in order that our Children may have something substantial to rely on, and We therefore beg Our Great Father to allot us a small portion of land for that purpose, We have been obliged to adopt this change on account of increasing difficulties of our hunting in consequence of the settling of inhabitants throughout all parts of the country.¹⁴

The total story of the Mississauga contact-experience was encapsulated in this statement: the loss of traditional lands; the inability to pursue a traditional way of life because of expanding settlement; the willingness to adopt a sedentary life and become "cultivators of the soil." Ironically, it was their association with those who had expedited their conversion and acculturation, the American Wesleyan Methodists, who were the impediment to Government's cooperation. Indeed, colonial administrators threatened to cut government aid, annuities, and presents unless the Mississaugas severed their relationship with their religious sponsors.¹⁵ Despite these threats, the Grape Island Mississaugas remained faithful to the Methodists, and continued to press for more land.

2. Traditionalism: A Return to the Home

Not all of the Kingston region Mississaugas were attracted to the new life promised by conversion to Methodism. Some remained in the back-country. Although legally ceded to Government and partially surveyed, much of Kingston's hinterland continued as virtually unaltered wilderness that allowed the continuation of traditional patterns of hunting, fishing, and gathering. Their motives were complex, and although the documentary record concerning their existence and their activities is sparse, sometimes some tenuous commentary is possible. For some, it may have been a rejection of acculturation in favour of sustaining the old values of the old way of life. For others, this rejection was to sustain the new strategy of dependence upon the parasitic relationship with the local urban markets.

Whatever the reason, the traditional Mississauga were viewed with disfavour by Government authorities. In 1828, Major Darling referred to the eighty or so Kingston and Gananoque Mississaugas as "the most worthless and depraved Tribe in the Canadas..."¹⁶ Four years later, another official noted that the "Kingston Indians" had been joined by a "band of worthless Indians from the Lower Province"¹⁷ and that they had "sunk into excessive habits of idleness and intemperance."¹⁸

The continued existence of this reservoir of traditionalism throughout Kingston's hinterland challenged the acculturation agenda of Euro-Canadian society and missionaries continued to proselytize among the "roving bands" of Mississaugas in an attempt to bring them into the fold (*The Methodist Magazine*, 1827:10[2]:83; 1928:11[3]:114; 1928:11[6]:229; Methodist Episcopal Church Missionary Society in Canada, *Annual Reports*, 1827). But even after conversion, acculturation was impeded by the connections that existed between the Grape Island community and the bush settlements. Those who refused to comply with the rigours of the Methodist regimen on Grape Island were expelled from the mission and retreated to the bush and their former ways (*The Christian Guardian*, 1833:4[47]:186). Others were apparently unable to adjust to the new life-style and fled. One such group found wandering in a drunken state in the streets of Kingston were persuaded to return to Grape Island, only to leave again complaining that "they had no home there": this time, they sought seclusion in the back-country where they were reported to have held prayer-meetings (*Ibid.*, 1833:4[46]:182-183). Other groups of the Kingston Mississaugas outside the pale of the mission life were said to be "sober and orderly."¹⁹

It would appear that groups such as this were willing to adopt Methodism's spirituality, but found the constant surveillance and close control imposed by agro-industrial routines to be incompatible with the traditional Mississauga emphasis on individualism. Recognizing that they needed space if they were to sustain a viable community and identity, this group couched their request for the reservation of land in the rhetoric of progress and transformation from nomadic to a sedentary way of life.²⁰ They were directed to Wolfe Lake on the boundary between Bedford and North Crosby township where the land was thought to be suitable for their proposed settlement:

The land in that spot is I believe of the finest quality & perhaps [there] may be enough at the disposal of the Government to satisfy the Indians who cannot... require very large tracts individually for cultivation. They would however naturally prefer a location on the shore of the Lake, which has a fine pleasant western exposure... Some of the Indians have gone out to look

at the land and I (?) fancy they will be anxious that Government should grant them their several locations without delay.²¹

Within the month, the order was given to survey a reserve of nineteen lots containing a total of 2,680 acres in Concessions IX, X, and XI of Bedford Township and, after several delays, the Reserve was laid out by the late summer of 1832 (Figure 4).

The site and situation of the Reserve may give some clues as to the survival strategies of this community. First, the Mississaugas did not choose lots with fine western exposures. Nor did it seem to be of the finest quality. Thus, while each family was granted a 144 acre lot, their lands consisted of cedar swamps, granite and gneiss outcrops, and lakes. Little of it was conducive to agriculture.²² Further, unlike the Methodist Reserve at Grape Island, the Bedford Reserve displayed none of the order of a centrally controlled community. Finally, there were no plans for establishing a school or church.

The possible motive for the Mississaugas' selection of these particular lands raises questions of their overall strategy in the context of the options available to them. Having resisted the overtures of an acculturating Methodism, and being constantly threatened by a hostile dominant Euro-Canadian culture, the Bedford wilderness might have been seen by them to be a material and symbolic refuge. Certainly, they knew its qualities well having been acquainted with it for some two centuries. Could it be that they hoped the intractability of the lands would render them unattractive to the ever-advancing settlers and thus ensure some isolation from Euro-Canadian influences? Is it possible that their declared interest in agriculture and sedentary life was but a strategy to curry favour with Government, to get a secure title to lands for their community, and to use these as the base for the pursuit of their traditional life-styles?

It is plausible that the Mississaugas recognized that this location offered unique opportunities in terms of the ecological opportunities it offered. On the fringe of the Frontenac Axis, its lack of attractiveness to a Euro-Canadian agricultural system may have been obvious. Yet, it remained close enough to the Euro-Canadians to allow for a modified "traditional" economy. Hunting and gathering would, perhaps, have remained preminent. Apart from the fact that they chose to live in this backwoods region, their preference for their traditional lifestyle is reinforced by their stated priorities for particular items to be included in their annual Government gifts. Whereas the Grape Island Mississaugas had advised the Indian Department that they wanted the former gifts of guns, fire steels, and axes to be replaced by "articles of agriculture," the Bedford Mississaugas were adamant that their presents continue to include rifles and traps.²³ So polarized had the two

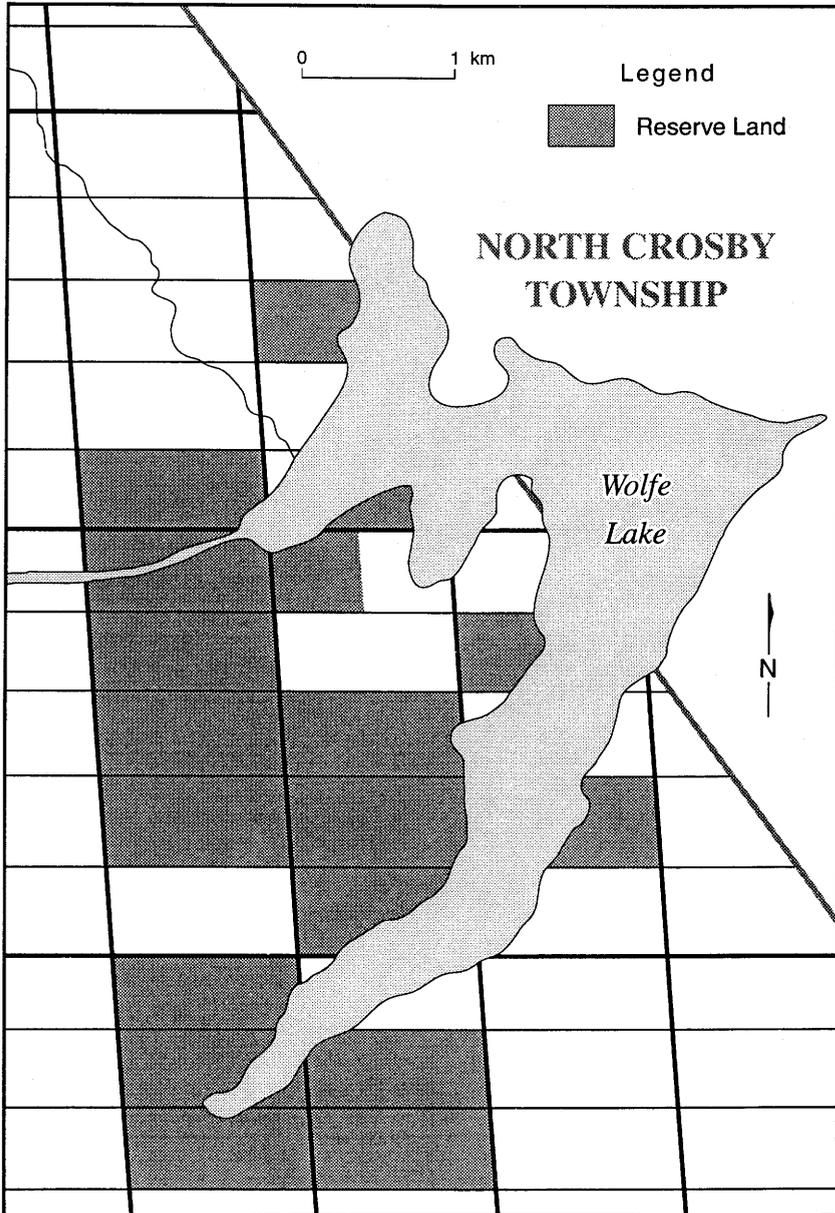


Figure 4: Mississauga Reserved Lands, Bedford Township c. 1836.
Source: NAC: National Map Collection, Indian Affairs Survey
Records #F4178

groups become in terms of these contrasting life-styles and world-views that they refused to assemble together to receive their government presents.

However, there is some evidence that the Bedford Mississaugas were engaged in an active trade with immediate neighbours and perhaps with the people of Kingston. As mentioned above there were precedents for the Mississaugas to provide game, fish, and wild rice to Kingston and there are also indications that these Mississaugas were engaged in a remnant of the fur trade and participated in a furtive timber trade.²⁴ This trade would allow for a modicum of independence while still being near enough to Euro-Canadian settlements to allow for participation in a barter economy.

It can only be speculated whether the Bedford Mississauga were also attempting to retain their traditional social, political, and spiritual practices. If so, the strategy was doomed to be a shortlived one. In 1836, they were ordered to leave their lands in Bedford and join the Grape Island Mississaugas in the new Reservation being prepared for them at Alnwick. It is worth noting that soon after being ordered to move, the Indian Department largely loses track of the groups of Mississaugas who used the region at least intermittently during the year. Yet their hushed presence remains in the records of local entrepreneurs and settlers.

Conclusion

In May 1835, a survey was ordered of lots 12, 13, 14, 15 on Concessions I and II of Alnwick Township (Figure 3). The Kingston area Mississaugas of Grape Island and Bedford were to be gathered in and settled on 50 acre lots. Here they were compelled to accept dependency upon the Euro-Canadian Reserve system and the Mississauga embarked upon 160 years of history marked by social pathologies and dislocation. The 1783-1837 period, therefore, was a crucial one. It represented the trauma of the first loss of independence, and the several tactics of survival.

How these tensions were represented over the next 160 years of Reserve life at Alnwick becomes a natural progression of this analysis. It would appear that rather than a gathering in of a monolithic group known as the "Kingston and Bay of Quinte Mississauga," from the beginning, the Alnwick Reserve incorporated several distinct groups with quite different recent histories and expectations. Three core groups may be identified, but there may have been nuanced sub-groupings: those who resisted both of these models and had resorted to the degradation of a parasitic life around the margins of Euro-Canadian society; those who had been exposed to, and transformed by Methodism, albeit in its local syncretic American-Mississauga form; and those who had attempted to recapture traditional

values and social organization by seeking a psychic and material distancing from incursions into their life-worlds. It would be expected that these recent experiences would much influence their subsequent reactions to the imposed Reserve regimen. But that's another story.

Notes

1. The authors would like to acknowledge the reviewers for their useful comments. We are also grateful to Loris Gasparotto for his cartographic work.
2. This term has a particularly noisome connotation in the 1990s because of its association with ethnic-cleansing and other manifestations of ethnic-nationalisms. Nevertheless, it may be argued that both established practice and official policy towards the Native population of Canada throughout much of the 19th century was directed at their physical or cultural elimination.
3. Both the theoretical underpinning and terminology here refer to Julian Steward's and Marvin Harris' "cultural ecology." See Steward, 1963; Harris, 1987.
4. Gregory, 1994:103-106. In these pages, as ever, Gregory serves us well by his concise and imaginative exposition and integration of the contributions of such theorists as Michel Foucault, Edward Said, Jacques Derrida, Quentin Skinner, Gayatri C. Spivak, George Marcus and Michael Fisher.
5. Much of what follows is derived from the writings of Peter Jones and Paudash, both Mississauga, contemporary military travellers such as Major Robert Rogers, and modern ethnographers such as McMillan, Vecsey, and Orr. See Jones, 1861; 1860; Copway, 1851; Rogers, 1769; McMillan, 1988; Smith, 1989; 1987; 1975; Orr, 1915; Vecsey, 1983.
6. While there is some evidence that some Mississauga had occupied former Iroquois villages known as "castles," there is no evidence that the core culture ever adopted agriculture, and, therefore, the impact on the forest through clearings and timber for stockades. See, Answer of the Six Nations to His Excellency the Governor and to the Commissioners of the Massachusetts Bay, Albany, August 23, 1746, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, E.B. O'Callaghan, Ed. Albany: Weed, Parsons, and Company, 1856, 6, p. 321 (hereafter cited as *CHNY*; Memorandum of the Cayugas, Ottowanees head of the Onondages and Flat nose's speech to his Excellency. on the 17. day of July 1747 at Albany, *CHNY* 6, p. 391; Johnson to George Clinton, May 4, 1750, *The Papers of William Johnson*, Prepared by J. Sullivan, New York: The University of New

- York, 1921, 1, p. 277 (hereafter cited as *JP*); Conference between Major General Johnson and the Indians, Mount Johnson, June 26, 1755, *CHNY* 6, p. 975; Conference between Major General Johnson and the Indians, Mount Johnson, June 28, 1755, *CHNY* 6, p. 976; Johnson to Edward Braddock, Mount Johnson, June 27, 1755, *JP*, 1, pp. 662-665. See also, Heidenreich, 1971.
7. For references describing allegiances with France, see: M. Pouchot, *Memoir upon the Late War in North America between the French and English 1755-60*, v. 1 and 2, translated and edited by F.B. Hough, Roxbury: W. Elliot Woodward, 1866, pp. 60, 83, 143144, 158, 249-51; Johnson to William Shirley, Fort Johnson, April 3, 1756, *JP*, 9, pp. 414-416. For French attempts to win the Mississaugas' favour: Johnson to Edward Braddock, Mount Johnson, June 27, 1755, *JP* 1, pp. 662-665. For English attempts to win Mississaugas' favour: Conference-Between Governor Clinton and the Indians, Propositions made by His Excellency The Honorable George Clinton Esqr. Captain General and Govenour in Chief in and over the Province of New York and Ca. To the Six Nations of Indians vizt. The Mohawks, Oniedas, Tuskarorers, Coujougas, Sinekas, Onondagas, and the delegates from the Missisages, being a far Nation. Albany, August 19, 1746. *CHNY* 6, p. 317; John Bradstreet to William Shirley, Oswego, May 29, 1755, *JP* 1, pp. 549-550, Johnson to Sir Charles Hardy, Fort Johnson, December 7, 1755, *JP* 2, pp. 387-389, At a meeting of the Six Nations, February 23, 1756, *JP* 9, pp. 370-378; Johnson to Jeffery Amherst, Camp at Oswego, August 30, 1759, *JP* 3, pp. 131-132. For the Mississaugas as English allies: Governor Clinton to the Lords of Trade, March 17, 1750, *CHNY* 6, p. 545; Lieutenant Lindesay to Colonel Johnson, July 10, 1751, *CHNY* 6, pp. 729. For the Mississaugas' relationships with the Six Nations: Thomas Butler to Johnson, Burnets field, May 25, 1757, *JP*, v. 9, pp. 776-777, Journal of Indian Affairs, Fort Johnson, May 27-June 7, 1757, *JP*, 9, pp. 779-782; James Abercromby to Johnson, Camp at Lake George, September 12, 1758, *JP*, 10, pp. 3-4. For references to the American Rebellion see, Captain Fraser to Haldimand, October 29, 1779, Papers of Sir Frederick Haldimand: Unpublished Papers and Correspondence, 1758-1784, World Microfilms Publications, Kingston: Queen's University Archives, 1977, MS 21787 #58 (hereafter cited as *HP*); Captain Brehm to Haldimand, May 1, 1779, *HP* MS 21759 #41; Captain Fraser to Haldimand, July 20, 1779, *HP* MS 21780 #54.
8. *JP*, 12, p. 832, "An Indian Conference," Johnson Hall, 4 July 1770 .
9. *HP*, mss. 21771, #49, J. Mompesson to Brig. Gen. Powell, 24 June 1778.

10. For a fuller discussion of this issue see Ripmeester, 1995a, 1995b and Osborne and Ripmeester, 1995.
11. Queen's University Archives, Barnabus Bildwell Papers, Marshall S. Bidwell of Stockbridge to (?), 24 April 1816.
12. Coleman, *ibid.*, chapter 2; J.A. Sanderson, *The First Century of Methodism in Canada*, Volume 1, 1775-1839, Toronto: William Briggs, 1908, pp. 122-129; G. French, *Parsons and Politics: The Role of the Wesleyan Methodists in Upper Canada and the Maritimes from 1780 to 1855*, Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1962. French, in particular, has written much on both Euro-Canadian and Mississauga missionaries. See, for example, several entries in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press: William Case, VIII, pp. 132-134; Joseph Stinson, IX, pp. 749-751; Shah-wundais (Sultry Heat) a.k.a. John Sunday, X, pp. 647-648; Pahtahsega (He Who Comes Shining) a.k.a. Peter Jacobs, 11, pp. 660-661.
13. *Irish University Press Series of British Parliamentary Papers: Correspondence and other Papers Relating to Aboriginal Tribes in British Possessions 1834*, Anthropology, Aborigines. 3. Shannon: Irish University Press, Copy Despatch and Enclosure from Lord Dalhousie to Sir George Murray, London 27 October 1828. Enclosure 1, p. 27.
14. *Records Relating to Indian Affairs (RG10)*, Government Archives Division, National Archives of Canada, Ottawa. Minutes of a Council held at the Post at York, 30 January 1828, v. 791, pp. 7195-7197, C-13499 (hereafter cited as NAC RG10).
15. Jones, 1860, pp. 84, 106-8, 22; NAC RG10, The Paudash Papers, "Petition of the Mississauga Nations of Indians residing at the River Credit, Lake Simcoe, Rice Lake, Grape Island, Mud Lake, Colborne, River Credit," 11 February 1832.
16. NAC RG10, Major General Darling to Earl Dalhousie, v. 792, pp. 7425-7426A, C-13499.
17. NAC RG10, J.B. Clench to Genl. Clarke, Kingston, 8 September 1832, v. 51, pp. 56752-3, C-11017.
18. NAC RG10, J.B. Clench to Col. Givens, Kingston, 10 September 1832, v. 51, pp. 56755-6, C11017.
19. NAC RG10, Comm. G. Clarke to Col. Givens, Kingston, 9 May 1832, MAR, v. 51, pp. 56295-6, C-11016
20. NAC RG10, W. Macauley to Col. J. Givens, Kingston, 11 July 1831, v. 48, pp. 54381-3, C-1105.
21. NAC RG10, W. Macauley to Col. J. Givens, Kingston, 11 July 1831, v. 48, pp. 54831-3, C-11015.

22. *NAC RG10*, W Chewitt to J. Givens, York, 28 July 1831, v. 48, pp.55023-4, C-11015; *NAC RG10*, M. Macauley to J. Givins, Kingston, 22 July 1831, v. 48, pp. 55025-27, C-11015.
23. *NAC RG10*, S'ltrn. Givens to Col. J. Givens, Richmond and Napanee, 25 May 1831, v. 48, pp. 55025-27, C-11015.
24. That the Mississaugas inhabited the area in and around Bedford Township is well documented. Assertions as to what they did there must, however, be carefully made. Evidence for the activities mentioned here are gleaned from various sets of records including census returns and annual reports from the mission. None of these sources give place specific references. The most concrete evidence for Mississauga activity in Bedford Township comes from: The Tett Papers, Bound Volumes, Ledgers v. 57-59, Journals, v. 38.

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