

THE INDIAN CHIEF:

AN ACCOUNT OF THE LABOURS, LOSSES, SUFFERINGS,

AND OPPRESSION

OF

KE-ZIG-KO-E-NE-NE

(DAVID SAWYER)

A CHIEF OF THE OJIBBEWAY INDIANS IN CANADA WEST.

BY

ENEMIKEESE.

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PREFACE

IN presenting this volume to the public, the writer has three objects in view. First, to give a concise description of the character of the aborigines of British North America; their superiority over many other pagan nations in intellect, oratory, and generosity. Also, their increasing desires, when brought under the influence of civilization, to abandon the wandering habits of the savage, and become agriculturists and citizens, and cultivate habits of industry and frugality.

In the second place, to show that the Indians of Canada are not in this respect aided or encouraged by the Indian Department, or the Canadian Government, in the way they should be, by being allowed to settle on their own land, as freeholders; of which privilege they have not only been deprived, but their lands have been taken from them, and their just rights withheld.

And, in the third place, to elicit the sympathy of a Christian public, by making the facts of the case generally known, hoping thereby to influence the Colonial Government to redress the grievances of which the Indians of Canada so justly complain; and in this, they only ask for justice, not charity.

In order to show clearly the necessity of the present appeal to a Christian public, the fate of Chief David Sawyer, as an individual instance, is selected as a substantial representation of many other similar cases that exist.

The startling facts that the Indians are absolutely deprived of their rights, and robbed of their

lands, are fully sustained by quotations from the Report of R. T. Pennefather, Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, F. Telfourd, and T. Worthington, Esqs., Special Commissioners appointed in 1856 by Sir Edmund Head, Governor General of British North America, to investigate Indian Affairs in Canada.

In referring to these acts that have outraged common justice, and to which the poor Indians have been obliged for many years to submit, the writer in some cases may have used strong expressions, but not more than the subject demands, nor more so than will be found in other publications from which extracts are here made, and more especially the Official Reports of the Commissioners on Indian Affairs, from which numerous extracts are given.

While it has been the wish of the author to confine the statements of the following narrative as far as possible to facts based on the authority of public documents, he desires it to be known that as a Christian Minister who has laboured for many years among the Indians of Canada, he makes himself personally responsible for their accuracy, many of the facts here recorded having occurred under his own observation.

The author found his own name so prominent in the facts recorded and statements made, that, to avoid the frequent use of the pronoun "I," he has written in the third person, intending only to sign his Indian cognomen "Enemikeese," to the work: but lest it might be supposed that he would shrink from responsibility in the case, he has no hesitation in here attaching his proper signature.

C. VAN DUSEN.

Toronto, 1867.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

INDIAN CHARACTER.

	PAGE
North American Indians superior to other Pagans in Intellect, Valour, Friendship, Eloquence—Indians distinguished in American War of 1812—Census taken in 1851	1

CHAPTER II.

INDIANS' PECULIARITIES.

Athletic Forms and noble Countenances— Constitution of their Minds—No Desire to perpetuate their Remembrance— Have no written Language	3
---	---

CHAPTER III.

INDIAN CUSTOMS.

Manner of appointing a Chief—Matters settled by Chief—Theft punished—War Parties—Never submit to Coercion— Bondage repugnant to Indians' Nature...	6
---	---

CHAPTER IV.

RED MAN'S DOMAIN.

	PAGE
Indians roamed in Freedom—Had Comforts of Life—Whiskey has made them a Nation of Drunkards—By Fraud or Conquest they have lost all—Their Rights are not protected.....	9

CHAPTER V.

INDIANS' GENEROSITY.

Extended Emblems of Peace, and gave the white Man Land, and allowed him to make his own Laws—They should not be deprived of their Lands	13
--	----

CHAPTER VI.

THE LATE JOSEPH SAWYER, INDIAN CHIEF.

A Desperado, whose Soul was supposed to be taken from him, and brought back in Whiskey—His Conversion—His Death— Rev. Mr. Carroll's Reference to him in "Past and Present"	18
--	----

CHAPTER VII.

KE-ZHIG-KO-E-NE-NE.

	PAGE
Native Name of Chief David Sawyer—When a Boy was sold for Whiskey—Scenes of Dissipation—He attends a School—His Conversion—Returns Home for his Parents	22

CHAPTER VIII.

CHIEF DAVID SAWYER.

Removed to Owen Sound—Petition to Lord Elgin—Act of General Council—Pro- cured an Indian Deed	30
---	----

CHAPTER IX.

A REQUISITION MADE.

Disposition made of Money—Band dissatis- fied with their Agent—Desire to become Farmers—Correspondence with Colonel Bruce	36
--	----

CHAPTER X.

STRANGE PROCEEDINGS.

Just Claims not admitted—Money not accounted for—Rival School—A mis- chievous little Man—Communication to Colonel Bruce	45
--	----

CHAPTER XI.

LAND NOT ACCOUNTED FOR.

	PAGE
Promises not fulfilled—Strange Proceedings of Captain Anderson—Unfair Means used to obtain a Surrender of Land— Treaty signed	51

CHAPTER XII.

LAND SURRENDERED.

Objects contemplated—Strange Proceeding of Mr. Oliphant—Loss to the Indians and to the Country	61
--	----

CHAPTER XIII.

A REQUEST TO EXTEND THE SETTLEMENT.

Resolutions of the General Council Respect- ing Chief D. Sawyer's Purchase of Land	68
---	----

CHAPTER XIV.

MANUAL SCHOOL ASKED FOR.

Communication to Lord Bury—Rev. C. Van Dusen's Letter—Indians deprived of the Right to appoint their own Chief	73
--	----

CHAPTER XV.

SURVEYORS AT SAUGEENG.

	PAGE
A great Council—Deputation sent to Quebec	
—Memorial to the Governor General	
—Petition laid before Parliament	81

CHAPTER XVI.

NEW CAUSES OF DISSATISFACTION.

A Council called to consider Proceedings of the Governor General—Lord Bury sent from Quebec to Owen Sound to settle Difficulties—New Causes of Dissatis- faction—Rev. C. Van Dusen's Letter to Lord Bury	90
---	----

CHAPTER XVII.

INDIAN DECLARATION.

Indians still desire to obtain Deeds for their own Land—Rev. C. Van Dusen's Letter enclosing Indian Declaration	102
---	-----

CHAPTER XVIII.

DEEDS PROMISED.

Labours of the Rev. J. R. Williston—Rev. P. Jones—Lord Glenelg—promised Deeds to Indians	107
--	-----

CHAPTER XIX.

RESERVE SURRENDERED.

PAGE

In absence of Chief Sawyer a Surrender is made—No Reserve made for Land for which he had an Indian Deed—Rev. C. Van Dusen's Petition to Sir William Eyre—Letter to Mr. Pennefather, S.G.I.A.....	114
--	-----

CHAPTER XX.

DEEDS WITHHELD.

Indian Department refuse to redress Chief Sawyer's Losses, and withhold his Deeds—Certificates of Purchase withheld—Petitions Parliament—Rev. C. Van Dusen's Letter to J. Hogan, Esq., M.P.P.	119
---	-----

CHAPTER XXI.

PETITION READ IN PARLIAMENT.

Indian Petition and Mr. Van Dusen's Letter read before Parliament—Rev. C. Van Dusen before the Indian Department—Extract from "Christian Guardian" on "Abstrusive Policy"	133
---	-----

CHAPTER XXII.

ADDRESS TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

PAGE

An Indian Woman leaves for England—Aided by “Friends”—Mr. Alsop and Dr. Hodgkin’s Letter—Duke of Newcastle—Committee present Address to the Duke—Views of Owen Van Dusen, Esq., and Dr. Jeffers, on Indian Affairs.....	138
---	-----

CHAPTER XXIII.

OPPOSITION SCHOOL.

The Address disregarded by the Duke of Newcastle—Opposition School—Dr. Strachan in 1828—Extract from Journal of the late Rev. P. Jones	150
--	-----

CHAPTER XXIV.

A CHIEF’ DISPOSSESSED.

Chief Sawyer dispossessed of House and all his Land—Kindness of Members of the Aborigines’ Protection Society—Difficult for Indians to obtain Justice in Law—Chief Sawyer leaves Owen Sound	155
---	-----

CHAPTER XXV.

CERTIFICATES OF CHARACTER.

	PAGE
Rev. S. Brownell's Letter—Certificates of Character from J. Frost, Esq., Owen Van Dusen, Esq., Attorney, and William Miller, Esq., Mayor	160

CHAPTER XXVI.

CLAIMS OF NEW CREDIT INDIANS.

An Indian Chief in Poverty—Peculiar position —Powerless — Fisheries let — Extracts from Report of Special Commissioners— Claims of New Credit Indians admitted, but not paid	164
--	-----

CHAPTER XXVII.

DEED OF DECLARATION.

Indians' Consultation suppressed — Deed of Declaration—Hardships Indians endure —Protest—Indians' Letter	174
--	-----

CHAPTER XXVIII.

MANATOULIN ISLAND.—CONCLUSION.

Indians' Claim to Manatoulin Island—Hostilities on Lonely Island—Death of a Surveyor	184
--	-----

CHAPTER I.

INDIAN CHARACTER.

NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS SUPERIOR TO OTHER
PAGANS IN INTELLECT, VALOUR, FRIENDSHIP,
ELOQUENCE—INDIANS DISTINGUISHED IN AME-
RICAN WAR OF 1812—CENSUS TAKEN IN 1851.

THE Indian character, in its unadulterated grandeur, is most admirable and attractive. Before it is polluted by the pernicious example of others,—the demoralizing and debasing influence of wicked white men,—the genuine North American pagan presents to the world the most noble specimen of the natural man that can be found on the face of the earth. Just compare the North American Indian with the frigid Laplander, the silly Hindoo, the stupid Hottentot or African, and he rises in manly and intellectual grandeur. In the contrast he is elevated in the scale of human greatness. In spirit he is free as the eagle that soars above the highest peak of the lofty mountains. He is undaunted as the lion that roams as monarch of the plain; and as active as the deer that bounds through the immeasurable forest.

In war, he is a noble and daring foe; but, in peace, a faithful friend. If we appeal to the voice of history, to observation, or matter of fact, we will find among them many splendid acts of magnanimity and fidelity. To friends who gain their confidence they are faithful and true.

On record we have more acts of intrepid valour and heroic friendship and more specimens of native eloquence recorded, than of any other savage nation on earth.

In the war of 1812, between England and the United States, on both sides the line the North American Indians distinguished themselves as brave warriors. History tells of their daring deeds and unflinching courage on the field of battle;—but where are they now? According to the census taken in the United States in 1851, of the “Six Nations,” there remained in the state of New York two thousand six hundred and seventy-nine Senecas, which are the most numerous; two hundred and sixty Tuscaroras; one hundred and thirty-nine Cayugas; four hundred and fifty-seven Onondagas; two hundred and thirteen Onnidas; and only one Mohawk: making in all three thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine, left to linger around the council fires of their fathers, in that state; while in their places have risen up about fifteen hundred thousand “pale faces.” The diminution of the Indian race, and proportionate increase of the white population, in Canada, are about equal to that of the state of New York.

CHAPTER II.

INDIANS' PECULIARITIES.

ATHLETIC FORMS AND NOBLE COUNTENANCES—CONSTITUTION OF THEIR MINDS—NO DESIRE TO PERPETUATE THEIR REMEMBRANCE—HAVE NO WRITTEN LANGUAGE.

AMONG the benighted sons of the forest we have many athletic forms and noble countenances, indicating strength of intellect, if called out and properly cultivated; showing that they are inviting subjects for civilization, missionary zeal, and missionary enterprise. They may be civilized, Christianized; and become good citizens, good mechanics, good agriculturists, and good subjects to the government under which they live.

They appear poor and gloomy; but evidently owe their misery to the circumstances under which they are placed, and not to any defect in the constitution of their mind. They are contented and tranquil, willing to remain poor, not anxious for anything, never teased or vexed with anxious care, and never hunt for preferment. They are not greedy of gain, nor anxious to wear the garlands of reputation, nor the slow, deep, rich flower of fame. But while they manifest a pagan indifference to the comforts, pleasures, riches, and honours of the world, they evidently evince a desire to obtain a more sure foundation on which to build their hopes for eternity.

The Indians pay so little regard to the cultivation of the soil, and appear so devoid of thought or foresight in providing for their future wants, and are so prodigal and so destitute of arrangement in conducting their own affairs, that by some they are thought incapable of living like men in a social state; therefore they are looked upon as children, to be kept continually under the direction and control of superiors. But neither the prodigality, indolence, nor idolatry of the Indian is to be attributed to his want of intellect. Though the pagan may bow down before the idol he paints with blood, still he has powers of mind capable of receiving instruction in the great principles of religion, and of understanding its mysteries, knowing its power, and enjoying its comforts.

They, too, may be taught habits of industry. Also, they evidently have faculties of mind, if properly cultivated, to acquire such a thorough knowledge of the arts and sciences as will qualify them for the various offices of civilized life.

In the Indian character we see many peculiarities; but these are not to be attributed to anything peculiar in the faculty or constitution of his mind, but to other causes. His head may be covered with long black hair, tangled in Gorgonic confusion, but in his countenance you may see depicted a rugged honesty, and a fantastic earnestness; and in his address a wild humour, and sometimes a still wilder pathos, peculiar to the Indian,—perhaps, in some cases, bordering on savage boldness.

And, though habitually indolent, in many respects they do not lack in perseverance, especially in the pursuit of game. But their peculiarity in this often amounts to a misfortune; for they glory in the chase more than in the game when secured.

Another peculiarity in the Indian character is, that they seem to cherish no desire to perpetuate their remembrance to future generations. They raise no monuments, they leave no such memorials of their skill in hunting, or their fame as warriors, as are found in Britain; such as have been built by chieftains of renown, and have long withstood the tooth of time, and bid defiance to the storms that for centuries have howled around them.

The Indian's house is a frail fabric, composed of rushes, or the bark of trees; and one generation after another passes away without leaving any vestige of their existence behind, except in some cases where the flint head of the arrow, or a rude pipe, may be found entombed with his bones. They have no written language, no record of their government; and, what is still more remarkable, they seem to have no desire to have it otherwise. But, while this is the case, there evidently is an increasing anxiety manifested by them for a more permanent ground of hope for eternity than any form of paganism can afford. This is the first step towards civilization. Pagans must first be Christianized and baptized in the waters of life; then they at once become tame and civilized, and may be easily taught habits of industry and frugality.

CHAPTER III.

INDIAN CUSTOMS.

MANNER OF APPOINTING A CHIEF—MATTERS SETTLED BY CHIEF—THEFT PUNISHED—WAR PARTIES—NEVER SUBMIT TO COERCION—BONDAGE REPUGNANT TO INDIAN'S NATURE.

THE customs and laws of the North American Indians may differ, in some respects, from other Indian tribes, but, in general, they are nearly the same. The chiefs are generally elected to their office. The son of a deceased chief is considered to have a claim to succeed his father, and at mature age generally takes his seat at the head of the tribe. But though in some degree entitled to this distinction, he does not enter upon such duties without the appointment and approbation of the tribe, which is sometimes attended with considerable display and ceremony.

Councils are convened by order of the chiefs, who preside on all important occasions. On these occasions free discussion is allowed; but the youngest generally remain silent, and listen to those of more experience and age.

All important matters are decided by the chief. He settles all difficulties, and no appeal is made from his decision.

Tribes are sometimes divided into bands; sometimes two or three bands compose one tribe.

There is one chief at the head of each band, and frequently one or two subordinate chiefs associated with him.

Any one found guilty of a misdemeanour is brought before the chief, who reprimands him before the people, or otherwise disposes of the offender, as in his judgment the magnitude of the crime or nature of the case may require.

When a murder is committed, the chief may or may not act in the case; but should he not interfere, the relatives of the deceased may execute death upon the murderer. The nearest kinsman always has a right to strike the first blow.

Those who murder never attempt to run away or conceal their guilt. They are never known to plead "not guilty." If the chief learns that the crime was provoked, he may protect the criminal. But even in that case his life is in continual danger from the kinsman of the one slain, who always seeks for revenge.

Theft is punished by making the thief known and publicly distinguished as such. But this is an outrage of their law seldom practised on each other in the same tribe, even by the most incorrigible.

War parties may muster together without a call from the chief. Also war parties may be organized by the warriors, and all who have a desire to do so can join the party. The number of each party is regulated by the bravery and skill of the warriors who form it.

They have had no written laws. Customs, handed down from generation to generation, have

been the only laws to guide them. To act differently from custom brings upon the offender the censure of the tribe. This fear of the tribe's censure is a mighty inducement binding all in a social compact. Indians are not willing to be compelled to do their duty; but glory in voluntarily performing what in the eye of their nation is right. They have no prisons, penitentiaries, or poor-houses. Coercion may brutalize, but never elevate or tame, the Indian race.

The history of America gives an account of many fruitless attempts to enslave the Indian race; but, unlike the African, to them, bondage was so awfully repugnant, that they could not exist under its mildest form. They might be loaded with manacles; but still in spirit they were free as the eagle that independently soared above their heads. In the southern climates of America, the natives are much more feeble in body, and have less strength of mind than in the north; but even in the south, they have never been induced to submit to slavery or bondage in any form. As soon as children have been conducted through the helpless years of infancy, their parents leave them in entire liberty, seldom advise or admonish, and never chide or chastise them. They are allowed to be absolute masters of their own actions, and taught by example never to submit to coercion. It has been supposed by some, that under the influence of the sultry climate in the south, which seems to check and enervate the principle of life, the native in that region never attains to the perfection which belongs

to our nature, but remains an animal of an inferior order, when compared with Indians in the more northern parts of America, defective in bodily vigour, and destitute of force in the operations of his mind. This may be the case, to a certain extent, in some of the southern climates; but among the North American Indians we have many instances, in the rude simplicity of savage life, of their displaying an elevation of sentiment and independence of mind, strength of intellect, and warmth of attachment to friends and benefactors, for which we may seek in vain in more polished society.

CHAPTER IV.

RED MAN'S DOMAIN.

INDIANS ROAMED IN FREEDOM—HAD COMFORTS OF LIFE—WHISKEY HAS MADE THEM A NATION OF DRUNKARDS—BY FRAUD OR CONQUEST THEY HAVE LOST ALL—THEIR RIGHTS ARE NOT PROTECTED.

Not many generations have passed away since the "red man" was lord of all America. At that time his throne was the highest peak of the mountains. His fields, gardens, and pleasure-grounds were the extended plains and immense forests, with hill and dale, vale and valley, inter-

spersed with beautiful lakes, and diversified with endless sweeping, rolling, rushing rivers.

There was but little to torture or vex the mind : nothing seemed to disquiet them, or disturb their repose. In their several tribes they generally lived in peace with each other. They roamed the vast forest in perfect freedom, and enjoyed life and liberty without interruption.

They were active in the chase, and fortunately they had an abundance of game to pursue. Verily, they were surrounded with the luxuries and comforts of life, and had all the game and fruits of the soil they required, to complete their happiness in this world ; and they looked to the future, high in hope, in full anticipation of the continuance of this happy state of things. But in an evil day for them, the white man introduced among them the water of death. Traders who commenced a traffic in what the Indians call “fire-water” appeared anxious to enrich themselves by impoverishing the poor Indian. Degraded indeed must the white man be, who would seek to elevate himself by the downfall of others.

Before the white man came among the Indians, they had no words in their language by which they could profane the name of their father, the “Great Spirit.” And by whatever name He was known in their language, that name was always pronounced with high veneration, and to Him they looked up with reverence.

By the light of nature the pagan has a knowledge of the true God. “For the invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly

seen, being understood by the things that are made, even His eternal power and Godhead ;” but still they have no true knowledge of Him whom they ignorantly worship by paying adoration to imaginary and subordinate deities. But whiskey traders taught the people not only to be rogues, thieves, and drunkards ; but also to be profane blasphemers.

The North American Indian, in his primitive pagan state, had no knowledge of, nor thirst for, intoxicating drinks. As a beverage, they only desired the pure water from the spring, the drink they believed the “Great Spirit” had provided for them. And in those days, many of them lived to number more than a hundred years. But wherever this vile drink has been introduced among them, they have wasted away like snow before the sun. Whiskey has slain more than have fallen in all the wars that have prevailed among them since the white man first landed on “Plymouth Rock.” It is true, since the white man came among them, many new maladies, such as small-pox, measles, and other contagious diseases, have swept away their thousands ; but these ephemeral diseases continue only for a season, and then disappear ; but whiskey is like the fire that is never quenched. It is constant and unremitting in its ravages. It has already made the Indians a nation of miserable drunkards. They are wasting away so rapidly, that the time is fast approaching when the memory of the “red man” will only live on the page of American history, for future generations to learn that there once existed such a

people as North American Indians. To find a remnant of this noble race, soon we will need to go far to the north; for, by the white man, they are even now placed under "marching orders;" and they flee before the tide of emigration. Driven back from the sea-board, they have left the shores of the Atlantic, and are fast receding from the great Pacific; and soon the last Indian will stand upon the peak of the Rocky Mountain to look southward, and catch the last glimpse of the vast plains over which his forefathers once proudly roamed.

If the Indian would find a place where he will not be envied or molested by the white man, he must go far to the north, in that sterile region where corn or wheat will never grow. This is now the only chance for the poor Indian to perpetuate his race, or prolong his miserable existence. And a poor chance it is too! Though they once possessed the whole of this vast continent, they have now scarcely a place on which to set their foot. By fraud or conquest they have lost all; and, as a people, they are as poor as they are degraded. But still they have rights that should be protected. They should be treated as men, as citizens, not as the down-trodden African slave in the South.

From the following pages it will appear that refugees from the neighbouring slave states enjoy privileges in Canada which have been withheld from the aborigines of our own country. One of many instances of the kind will appear in the case of Chief David Sawyer, who has suffered from the

base intrigues of those from whom he should have expected justice and protection.

CHAPTER V.

INDIANS' GENEROSITY.

EXTENDED EMBLEMS OF PEACE, AND GAVE THE
WHITE MAN LAND, AND ALLOWED HIM TO
MAKE HIS OWN LAWS—THEY SHOULD NOT BE
DEPRIVED OF THEIR LANDS.

DURING the long campaign in which the chief and his friends were engaged, urging by every lawful means his claims for justice, though nothing else were accomplished, it is gratifying to him and others to know that a change has been effected in the administration of the Indian affairs, which are now placed under the control of our own colonial government. But it is passing strange that any government in the civilized world should allow a man (though he be an Indian) to be stripped of all his land, and all he has taken from him, and give him no redress.

How unlike the treatment the white man received from the Indian when America was first settled by them! At that time, the Indians pitied the white man's perilous and destitute condition, and tendered to him the sacred emblems of peace, and gave him land. They permitted the emigrants from the "old world" to clear up the

wilderness, plant their fields, extend their plantations, erect their mansions, and build their villages, towns, and cities. And when the white man wanted more land, it was obtained for a mere trifle.

For more than a hundred years, white men were comparatively few, but the Indians were numerous. From Hudson's Bay to the Atlantic Ocean, every valley was dotted with their frail huts. And the hunter pursued the panting deer without interruption, and the warrior stood forth in all his glory. On every hill and in every dale the smoke of the council fire curled over their "wigwams." At that time the white man was weak, but they were strong. They might soon have exterminated the pale faces, or driven them into the ocean. But no, they allowed the whites to remain in their territory to rear their own mansions, tread their own halls of legislation, and make laws to govern themselves, when it was in their power to dispossess or subdue them. They did not say to the white man, "We want your houses, your fields, and plantations, you must return to the other side of the great waters;" nor did they say, "There is room enough for you beyond the Rocky Mountains; you must go and begin anew;" nor did they try to influence them, either by bribes or coercion, to leave their houses, telling them falsely that they would find better land among the rocks in the north, and that the climate there would be more congenial and salubrious. Nor did they say to them, if they remained any longer, they would have to submit to

their laws ; that they must choose between leaving or submitting to their legislation.

But as the white population advanced, the Indians were told to make room by moving on westward and northward ; that in the sterile northern waste among the rocks they would find good hunting grounds. And if they manifested an unwillingness to leave the ashes of their council fires, and the graves of their fathers, they were first advised, then compelled, to move farther back. This the white man accomplished by purchase, contract, treachery, or conquest. They have been driven over mountains, hills, vales, and valleys: they have disappeared from our frontier ; and now we can find only here and there a remnant of this noble and once numerous people. They have been driven away to climb the western mountains, or roam over the northern wastes, where the ever-greens struggle for existence among the seams of the rocks.

As a race, they have passed away, not through pestilence, nor by famine ; but driven out, or exterminated, by the whiskey, the bribes, the vices, and the arms of the white man. The plague by which they were contaminated was the poison infused by the white man, which has eaten into the core of their hearts, and brought on them a lingering ruin.

The Pilgrims' bark that brought to this continent the seeds of life, also brought the seeds of death, which sprung up in the path of the poor Indians, who have wasted before the swelling tide of the white population ; and we fear the time is

not far distant when they will hear the roar of the last wave of this rolling tide, that will lash them into perpetual oblivion. The whole character of this continent is entirely changed from what it was two hundred years ago, when they were the only possessors of this "New World."

There is much in the character of the North American Indian to awaken our admiration. Among the remnants of this noble race may still be found the warrior of intrepid valour, and the orator excelling his oppressor in eloquence, magnanimity, honour, and justice. Also there can yet be found among them noble specimens of humanity, brave, true, and courageous. They have great fortitude and much sagacity. They shrink not from danger. They shun no hardships, nor grieve over misfortunes. They shed no tears, heave no sighs, and utter no groans, but endure hardships and pain without a murmur.

Like other human beings they have vices, but they have also virtues. If they never forget injuries, they will always remember acts of kindness. If their vengeance is terrible to foes, their generosity and fidelity to friends are equally great. Their love is at least equal to their hate, both in strength and in duration.

In their countenance is depicted a native dignity, grave but simple, and a combination of fierceness and submission, with courage so absorbed in despair as to baffle description. Supplanted by the white man, they sullenly and gloomily submit to their fate, with a kind of pagan stoicism depicted upon their brow.

They have faculties of mind and powers of intellect, if called out and properly cultivated under the influence of true Christianity, to render them good citizens and true subjects to any government under which they live. They should not be treated like slaves, deprived of their rights, nor robbed of their lands. To say it is the white man's by conquest, is as much opposed to justice and morality as it would be to claim it by fraud. If there had been the least pretext for depriving Chief Sawyer, the subject of this work, of his house and lands, for which he had long held an Indian deed, and for which he had paid the full amount agreed upon; and on which he had expended many years' hard labour, it is for the Canadian Government to show it. If this can be done or if the "Indian Department" had not used the means they did to deprive him of his property, or even after it was wrested from him, if the Canadian Government had, in answer to his petition, presented to the Canadian Parliament in 1858, redressed his grievances, of which he justly complained, by re-embursing him for his losses, the ends of justice would in some degree have been met, and this volume would not have appeared, exposing the iniquitous proceedings of that "Department" in connexion with the Indians of Canada.

CHAPTER VI.

THE LATE JOSEPH SAWYER INDIAN CHIEF.

A DESPERADO WHOSE SOUL WAS SUPPOSED TO BE TAKEN FROM HIM, AND BROUGHT BACK IN WHISKEY—HIS CONVERSION—HIS DEATH—REV. MR. CARROLL'S REFERENCE TO HIM IN "PAST AND PRESENT."

Na-wach-je-ke-zhe-gwa-be, the signification of which is in English, "The Man that sits on the Sky," is the native name of an Indian chief who was born near the head of Lake Ontario, in Canada West. The time of his birth is not remembered. When he was quite young the bands of Indians to which he belonged frequently wandered about the borders of the white settlements, to dispose of their brooms and baskets, and the fur they procured by the chase.

At this time the late Rev. Joseph Sawyer, a Methodist minister, preached in different parts of that section of the country. Through the influence of some of the white people, when a small boy he was baptized by Mr. Sawyer, and from him called "Joseph Sawyer;" and even among the Indians he was ever after that called by this name.

Notwithstanding he had received a Christian baptism, not having any religious influence to control him, he grew up like the rest of the pagan Indians, without light to guide or grace to control

him. He became a hard drinker of what they call "fire water," and when intoxicated he was extremely ferocious. He was very wiry and muscular; and when under the influence of whiskey, it often required several Indians to hold him, to prevent acts of outrage and violence.

Some time about the year 1820 he was told by an Indian of the band, that one of their *conjurers* had taken away his soul, and that he was therefore left without any means of self control, and entirely under the influence of the evil spirit, which the Indians call "*Muchemunedoo*." This was the only way they could account for his vile and vicious conduct. In short, the whole tribe viewed him as one of Satan's *unaccountables*.

No doubt, at that time, the whole band believed this fabrication, and therefore employed another conjurer to undertake his case, and, if possible, bring back and restore to him his soul.

The conjurer, whom they call a "*medicine man*" came; and, after a long superstitious ceremony, such as are commonly used by their conjurers, he pretended that he had brought his soul back, and presented it to him in a cup of whiskey, which he readily drank, and then supposed he again possessed his own soul. They all believed the first delusion, and as readily the second. They did not seem to entertain the least doubt but his soul had returned to him again. But all this proved of no use; for he continued to drink the water of death, and when under its influence, he still was a terror to the whole band. He continued in this way until the year 1825, when, after living awhile in

the family of Mr. Jones, father of the late Rev. Peter Jones, who had been brought under the influence of the Gospel and became truly pious, he was brought to a sense of his wretched condition. He sought the Lord, and found Him of whom Moses and the prophets did write. He was hopefully converted to God. His ferocious heart was subdued by grace, his nature was changed: the barbarous Indian that was once like a lion, now resembled a lamb. The change was truly wonderful. He at once dedicated himself to the service of God, and united with the Methodist Church, the people who had been the instruments in bringing him from the bondage of sin and death into the light and liberty of the sons of God.

From the time of his conversion, up to the day of his death, he continued to enjoy the uninterrupted confidence and esteem of the whole tribe; and for many years filled the office of class leader and exhorter with great acceptability in the Wesleyan-Methodist Church.

In 1830, on the death of Chief Ajatance, he was appointed head chief of the band of Indians residing at the River Credit; and in the full enjoyment of the confidence and esteem of his people, he continued to hold the responsible position of "head chief" of the tribe of Ojibeway Indians during the period of thirty-three years, when he closed his earthly career on the eighth day of November, 1863, at the supposed age of about eighty-four years.

The Rev. Mr. Carrol, in a popular work which he published a short time before the death of this

chief, giving a description of persons and events under the title of the "Past and Present," says, in reference to him, "The Rev. Joseph Sawyer, lately gone to his reward, some sixty years ago, or more, dedicated a little Indian boy, who then lived with a pious white family, to God, in the ordinance of Christian baptism, and gave him his own name, 'Joseph Sawyer.' This he told me with his own lips. And it is somewhat curious and interesting to know, that though that Indian boy soon broke away from the oversight of the Christian gentleman under whose guardianship he then lived; and returned to the habits and haunts of savage life, yet his mind was the subject of strong solicitude on the subject of things Divine and eternal; and he was the very first of that tribe, after Peter Jones, to embrace Christianity, on the Gospel being preached to them in their own language. His influence was strenuously and successfully exerted in promoting the work among his countrymen. He still lives, the patriarch of his tribe, and efficiently fills, I believe, the office of leader and local preacher." Since Mr. Carrol wrote thus respecting the chief, as above stated, he died in great peace.

CHAPTER VII.

KE-ZHIG-KO-E-NE-NE.

NATIVE NAME OF CHIEF DAVID SAWYER—WHEN
A BOY WAS SOLD FOR WHISKEY—SCENES OF
DISSIPATION—HE ATTENDS A SCHOOL—HIS
CONVERSION—RETURNS HOME FOR HIS PARENTS.

KE-ZHIG-KO-E-NE-NE, the eldest son of the late Na-wuh-je-ke-zhe-gwa-be, alias "Joseph Sawyer," the late head chief of the band of Indians at New Credit, was born somewhere near the head of Lake Ontario some time in the year 1811. When he renounced paganism, and became a Christian, and was baptised, under a new name, he was called David Sawyer. He was brought up (or rather grew up) in a "wigwam," and lived, like other Indians, chiefly by the chase.

The Indians of his tribe subsisted principally on what they caught by fishing and hunting; and when David Sawyer was about twelve years old, his father and other Indians of the band, both men and women, all became intoxicated with bad whiskey, and began to quarrel and fight, as was usual on such occasions. David, being the oldest son, had some influence, and succeeded in getting his drunken father to return to his own camp (or wigwam) which was formed of the bark of trees. One of the infuriated Indians followed, and, threatening his father's life, drove with savage

vengeance his spear through the frail hut. Though but a youth at that time, with gun in hand, David sallied out to defend his drunken parent. The enraged Indian, unwilling to face a loaded gun in the hands of a young but sure marksman, made a speedy retreat.

David always seemed to feel thankful to a kind Providence that prevented him, on that occasion, perpetrating a crime that would have haunted him like his shadow, and been like a mill stone upon his conscience till the day of his death.

Acts of bloodshed and murder were of too frequent occurrence in those days; and he witnessed many scenes of rapine and dissipation among the Indians when they had free access to intoxicating drinks, for which they would make any sacrifice to obtain. On one occasion, while his father was in a pagan state, so insatiable was his thirst for strong drink, that he sold David and another Indian boy to a white man, for two gallons of whiskey. The man no doubt thought he had made a good bargain, and the Indians appeared willing he should think so. Soon, he set off for home with the two little "*chattels*" he had purchased. He rode on horseback, but the boys, like other slaves, followed on foot. But before he reached home, he had to pass through a small forest, and when a good opportunity was presented, they bounded over logs, through the bush, and escaped through the woods like young deer. His attempt to pursue them was fruitless: they were soon out of his sight, and beyond his reach. He never found them after that, and they never

sought for him. Young as they were, they did not believe in that kind of trade and traffic, even if they had not been worth half the amount paid for them.

In the days of his boyhood he was often exposed to peril. Several times he was brought very near starvation, once nearly drowned; and often his life was in danger when the whole band would become intoxicated; but a kind Providence watched over him, and his life was prolonged to see better days. After the Indians of this tribe were brought under the influence of the Gospel, a vast change was effected, and such scenes of drunken dissipation, as were formerly practised among them in the Credit band, have not for years been known.

When the great reformation commenced among the Aborigines of Canada through the instrumentality of Methodist Ministers, a school was established at the Grand River Mission, under the direction of the Rev. Mr. Torry, and taught by Mr. Crawford. At this school David was permitted to attend, and there commenced to study the rudiments of an English education. He was at this time about thirteen or fourteen years old; and the circumstances which led to his conversion were peculiar. Their wigwam or camp was at that time near the "Burlington Beach" at the head of Lake Ontario, not far from what is now the city of Hamilton. He had obtained liberty to attend the Mission school at the Grand River, about eighteen or twenty miles westward; and having heard about Indians at that time obtaining "the white man's religion," several others accompanied him to

that place, to see for themselves the mysterious and wonderful works of the Lord among the Indians. And while attending the school at that mission, for the first time in his life, he heard that "Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners." The Gospel message was entirely new to him. The Rev. Mr. Torry was the preacher. David remained about two months at school, and embraced every opportunity to hear the Gospel proclaimed, which made him feel, he said, as he never did before. He said he felt the burden of his sins and the need of a Saviour; and when invited forward to partake the sacrament, and commemorate the sufferings and death of our Lord, at first he hesitated; but as soon as he decided in his mind that he would go, he endeavoured to look by faith to the great Redeemer of the world, and gave himself up to Him entirely; and at that moment he felt (as he expressed in his own words) "a heavenly flame run all through him, both soul and body, from head to foot." He was filled with joy. His eup ran over. It appeared as if a Benjamin's portion had been given him; and he said he scarcely knew whether he went on his feet or on wings. His heart seemed to be filled with the love of God, and he rejoiced under a sense of pardon and mercy.

Immediately after this, he desired to see his parents; and at once returned home to tell them what the Lord had done for him. He made haste; and the eighteen or twenty miles, he said, seemed downhill nearly all the way. On his arrival home he found, as usual, his father was away to

the tavern ; but he told his mother of the great change that had taken place in his heart. And while he talked to her about Christ and His resurrection, she wept, and said she wished there was no whiskey in the world ; and that she would try and persuade his father to go also to the Grand River, and seek for the white man's religion. When his father returned from the tavern, he was not as drunk as usual, and they talked nearly all night about these matters, and in the morning his father and mother both promised to follow him to the Mission.

Having delivered his message to his parents, and proclaimed to them Christ as the Saviour of all men,—Indians as well as white men,—he returned again to the school at the Grand River ; and in two or three weeks after that, his parents came, sought the Lord, and obtained His favour, which they continued to enjoy till the day of their death. His mother died some time ago in the triumphs of faith ; and his father lingered under the weight of many years ; but, as already noticed, high in hope of immortality and eternal life, he at last went the way of all the earth.

About this time, or soon after their conversion to Christianity, the whole band moved to the mouth of the Credit River, some eighteen or twenty miles west from Toronto, where a new Mission was formed, and every member of the band (except two or three) were hopefully converted to God.

At this Mission a school was also established ; and David was again favoured with an opportunity of adding to his little stock of knowledge.

At an early age he began to speak in public ; and exhorted other Indians to seek the Lord ; and in the year 1829 he was appointed a local preacher, and was sent to a new Mission at " Cold Water," north of Lake Simcoe, to teach the Mission school, and interpret for the Rev James Currie, then Missionary at that place, called the " Matchjedash Mission."

During the two years he remained at this Mission he continued not only to teach and interpret, but also occasionally preached to the Indians in his own native tongue. After the first year of his residence at this Mission, he visited his friends at the " Credit," and married his wife, who has greatly aided him ever since in his missionary toil. After their marriage, in returning to the Mission, they found the swamps were breaking up, and they had great difficulty in making their way through the forest. Some parts of it without any road. Once they were completely " swamped," and remained in snow and water all night.

The late Rev. Peter Jones, in referring to this enterprise, in his Journal published in Toronto, Canada West, (1860,) states, on page 289, that on " Monday October 4th, (1830,) Sister Barns, Brother Benham, and David Sawyer and his new wife, and myself, made preparations for going to Lake Simcoe Mission. David and his wife intended to labour on the Matchjedash Mission. It is a pleasing sight to see natives of the forest leave their fathers and mothers, and go to other tribes, for the purpose of assisting in the instruction of the poor Indians."

After completing two years' toil at this Mission

during which time they had the satisfaction of seeing much of the goodness of God, in the conversion of the Indians at that place, he returned to the Credit Mission, as interpreter for the Missionary, and still continued to preach to the people in their own language. The next year, with three others, he went to "Sault St. Marie," at the foot of Lake Superior, to establish a new Mission. He remained during the summer, taught a school among the natives, and preached to them "Christ and the resurrection." But he was stoutly opposed by pagans and Roman Catholics; and at last the "cholera"—that dreadful scourge of the human race—visited them, and "walked through darkness and wasted at noon-day." In the midst of all these discouragements they had the satisfaction to see some of the Indians cast away their idols, renounce paganism, and embrace Christianity. In the fall he returned again to the Credit Mission, and remained during the winter; but when the spring opened, and cheered the earth with its smile, a project was formed to commence a Mission among the Indians at the mouth of the Saugeeng River, on the east side of Lake Huron. He was requested to go as Assistant Missionary with the Rev. Thomas Hurlburt, and their outfit for that enterprise was somewhat singular. A few farming utensils, and some provisions suited for the journey, were piled upon a large cart, and one ox and a cow yoked together before it,—a thing they had never heard of before in this country; but with this novel outfit they made their way between one and two hundred

miles to Goderich, at the foot of Lake Huron, where they were obliged to leave their cart and cattle, and complete their journey in a boat, and afterwards returned for the cow and ox; but there being no road, they were driven sixty or seventy miles, on the beach, to Saugeeng. At this Mission he also taught the school and interpreted for the Missionary. He remained about a year, when his health failed; and hoping a change of location would improve it, he was sent as teacher and interpreter for the Rev. S. Waldren, Missionary at Muncy Town, south of London. But how to reach that place was the next question. Through a great part of the country he had to pass, with his little family, there were neither roads nor conveyance of any kind; so he prepared a canoe, and embarked with a few effects, and coasted the east shore of Lake Huron down to Goderich, and there purchased a waggon, in which they journeyed over almost impassable roads, to the forks of the River Thames, and then made a canoe of elm bark, in which he proceeded with his family down the river to Muncy Town.

He showed by his undaunted energy that perseverance is almost omnipotent. No white man could have accomplished this journey under similar circumstances, and but few Indians would have undertaken it. But in a noble enterprise he knew no impediments among possibilities or difficulties not entirely insurmountable.

On his arrival at Muncy Town he was appointed the "government interpreter" for that band of Indians during his sojourn among them.

He remained at Muncy Town about two years;

but his health continued poor, and the Credit band sent a conveyance, and moved him, with his family, back to the Credit Mission, where he settled upon a farm. He continued as a local preacher and interpreter at that Mission until some time in the year 1849; and was then appointed by the Wesleyan Conference to the Owen Sound Mission, situated at the head of a bay, or rather an arm of the great Georgian Bay, which extends, in a southerly direction up the country, about fourteen miles. This Mission was subsequently called the Newash Mission, adjoining to which the white people had commenced a village, which has since grown up to be a town of considerable note. When it was incorporated a few years ago, it was called "Owen Sound." It is destined to be, before many years, a populous city.

CHAPTER VIII.

CHIEF DAVID SAWYER.

REMOVED TO OWEN SOUND—PETITION TO LORD
ELGIN—ACT OF GENERAL COUNCIL—PROCURED
AN INDIAN DEED.

THE circumstances which led Chief David Sawyer to remove from the Credit Mission, and settle at Owen Sound, were twofold.

First. The Indians residing in the Saugeeng

and the Owen Sound country sent for him to reside among them, to act as their agent, and aid them in the transaction of their business with the government.

Secondly. To assist the residing Missionary at Owen Sound, and visit the several bands of Indians in that part of the country. For this purpose he was sent there by the Wesleyan Methodist Conference in 1849.

Owing to his intelligence and integrity, he was held in high esteem by all the bands of Indians in the whole tribe, and was therefore requested by the Newash band to settle permanently among them, and become one of their band, which he accordingly did. At this time they owned the whole peninsula between Lake Huron and the Georgian Bay, from Owen Sound westward, to the mouth of the Saugeeng River, a distance of about twenty miles. From this line the peninsula extends northward, about seventy miles, in a direct line towards the great Manitoulin island. We have never heard of the colonial government questioning the right of Indians being thus transferred from one band to another; and as an inducement for him to forego his prospects of elevation and usefulness at the Credit, and settle permanently at Owen Sound, they offered to adopt him as a member of their band, to share in all their rights, annuities, and privileges whatsoever, and also to give him twenty-five acres of land for his own private use, and aid him in erecting a good house upon it. After considerable deliberation upon the subject, he complied

with their urgent solicitation, accepted their offer, and settled at Newash, Owen Sound.

He was required to aid the Missionary at the Indian Mission at Owen Sound; and, having complied with the request of the Indians to move there, was that year appointed by the Wesleyan-Methodist Conference to that Mission; and, in 1850, he was re-appointed to that same Mission with the Rev. J. Hutchenson. The name of the Mission was that year changed from Owen Sound Mission to that of Newash.

The chiefs and principal Indians of the band then forwarded the following petition to his excellency the Governor General, in reference to Chief Sawyer, who was at this time a *native* missionary among them.

“OWEN SOUND, *September 23rd*, 1850.

“To our Great Father, his Excellency, the Honourable James, Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, Governor General of British North America, and Governor-in-chief in and over the province of Canada.

“The petition of your children, the chiefs and warriors of the tribe of Ojibeway Indians, resident at Newash, Owen Sound, humbly sheweth,

“That your children are desirous of giving some token of respect and esteem to the Rev. David Sawyer (resident); that we would build him a house, and present it to him with twenty-five acres of land adjacent to the village of Newash, to be conveyed to him and his heirs for ever, as a lasting monument of our love and esteem for him

“Your children, therefore, pray our great father to allow his children to present the said Rev. David Sawyer with said piece of land, and that the proper conveyances may be made out for the same to him and his heirs for ever.

“Your children also pray that the house may be allowed to be built on the said piece of land in the mean time; and your children will, in proper time, send down the requisition for payment of said house, which your children pray be allowed and passed, and your children, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

(Signed,)

“JOHN T. WAHBADICK,	WM. ANGUS,
Chief,	JOHN MEASHALL,
GEO. A. TABEGWON,	JOHN TUMAH,
JOHN SNAKE,	MOSES BLACK,
GEORGE RYERSON,	THOS. KEOSEYAH,
LOTUWA ASHKEWE,	JOHN JOHNSTON.”
AB. ASHKEWE,	

*“After being read and fully explained,
signed in presence of William
Sutton and the Interpreter.”*

This tribe of Indians previously surrendered large tracts of land to the government, for which they received ten dollars a year each, including males and females, old or young. Of these annuities received from the government, they would draw occasionally to meet special cases; and for the purpose they would send a “requisition”

signed by the chiefs, for any sum, required by the band, when authorized by the council to do so.

The requisition was forwarded to the department for one hundred pounds, which amount was promised, as appears from the following letter received from Captain Anderson.

“INDIAN OFFICE, COBOURG, *May 19th*, 1851.

“REV. SIR.—I beg to inform you that a warrant was passed for one hundred pounds to pay for the building of your house. The money is in the bank, but you cannot get it till I have been up to inspect the house, when it will most likely be paid to the contractor.

“I have the honour to be, Sir,

“Your most obedient humble servant,

“T. G. ANDERSON, S.I.A.”

“*Rev. David Sawyer,*
Owen Sound.”

Of this hundred pounds only fifty pounds were paid for building the house, the other fifty pounds were disposed of by the Indians for other purposes, for the benefit of the tribe. He proceeded with the erection of his house, and soon completed the building; and in view of his residing at the Mission, and aiding the Missionary, the Wesleyan-Methodist Missionary Board also granted him fifty pounds out of the missionary fund for the same purpose. The balance of the amount required to pay for finishing his house, of course, he paid out of his own private means.

He continued in possession of the house a few years; but was frequently told by the Indian

Department, that he had no claim either upon the house or land, which is to many unaccountable. The Indians had long been anxious to settle on farms, of one hundred acres each ; and in view of this, his case was reconsidered by the band. The council directed that instead of twenty-five acres, forty-three should be given him for farming purposes. And the " Indian deed " was made out accordingly.

The following is a copy of the deed they gave him, signed by the chiefs and principal Indians in the band.

" WE, the undersigned chiefs and councilmen of Saugeeng and Newash, Owen Sound, having of our own free will and consent invited David Sawyer and his family, of the River Credit Tribe, to live with us, and become members of our tribe, and thereby enjoy in every respect the same privileges which others of our tribe are entitled to ; and whereas we have allotted to him and his heirs for ever forty-three acres of land, described as follows ; that is to say, commencing in the centre of a road allowance between lots number four and five, broken front, in the village of Newash, Indian reserve, on Owen Sound Bay,—then north $17^{\circ} 30''$ east nine chains, forty links. Then south $72^{\circ} 30'$ east forty-three chains. Then north $17^{\circ} 30''$ east ten chains. Then north $72^{\circ} 30'$ west forty-three chains. Then south $17^{\circ} 30'$ west ten chains, to the place of beginning.

" And we have contributed seventy-five pounds, towards building a frame house for him and his

family, on said lot; which house we also give freely over to him and family, free of all cost, and to be enjoyed by him and his family for ever.

(Signed,)

“JOHN THO. WAHBADICK, JOHN SNAKE,
Chief, JACOB MEDWAYOSH,
 PETER I. KEKEDONCE, THOMAS PAPAHMOSH,
Chief, JOHN KEERWAQUOHUN,
 JAMES NEWASH, JOSEPH AHZHAWASEGO.”
 GEO. ARTHUR,
*“Signed in presence of James Cathey, Teacher,
 July 12th, 1851.”*

CHAPTER IX.

A REQUISITION MADE.

DISPOSITION MADE OF MONEY—BAND DISSATISFIED
 WITH THEIR AGENT—DESIRE TO BECOME
 FARMERS—CORRESPONDENCE WITH COLONEL
 BRUCE.

It will be observed that when the foregoing Requisition was made out, £100 was asked for. The design of the band was, at that time, to advance £75, to aid Chief Sawyer in building his house, and the remaining £25 for other purposes for the tribe; and, in view of this, £75 is the sum specified in the deed. But subsequently, when the money was made available to the band, there were urgent claims to be met, which re-

quired £50; so that only the remaining fifty were advanced on payment for building the house, instead of £75, as stated in the deed.

Soon after this, he was removed to Saugeeng as agent for that band, and interpreter for the Rev. Mr. Hutchinson; and after his removal to the Arran Mission Chief Sawyer was left in charge of the Saugeeng Mission for awhile; and then again removed to the Newash Mission, where he taught the Mission school, and interpreted for the Rev. C. Van Dusen, the resident Missionary then at that place.

During his temporary absence from Newash, Charles Kezicks was appointed to act, in his place, as agent for the Newash band. But considerable dissatisfaction prevailed among the Indians, on account of the manner in which their business was transacted. Their native agent was inexperienced, and easily influenced by avaricious white men; and neither of the chiefs then in office could read or even write their names, nor speak a sentence in English. And the business of their councils, at that time, was not written. This frequently caused misunderstandings, and was often accompanied with other evil consequences.

Therefore, at a general council of the chiefs, warriors, and other principal Indians, from Newash, Saugeeng, and Colpoy's Bay, composing the Ojibeway tribe in the Owen Sound country, assembled at Saugeeng, October 30th, 1852; Chief Alex. Madwayosh was called to the chair, and George Blaker (school teacher) was requested to act as secretary.

The following Resolutions were unanimously adopted:

“I. RESOLVED, that hereafter all matters affecting the general interest of our tribe,—such as the surrender of any part of our lands, the manner in which our annuities shall be disposed of, the adoption or admission of other Indians into our tribe, the appointment of persons to hold office among us in our several bands, &c., shall be decided by, and receive the sanction of, the chiefs and principal Indians at Newash, Saugeeng, and Colpoy’s Bay, as aforesaid; and that all local matters not affecting the general interest of the whole tribe may be decided in each band by the council in its respective locality.

“II. That in future we will record in books all special acts of our councils, and that these books shall be kept by the chief in each band.

“Signed, in behalf of the tribe,

“ALEX. MADWAYOSH,
Chief of the Saugeeng Band, Chairman,

“GEO. BLAKER, *Secretary.*”

“*Witness,*

DAVID SAWYER, *Interpreter,*

CONRAD VAN DUSEN, *Missionary,*”

who was present by request of the chief.

The above Resolutions were forwarded to the Indian Department, but disregarded by them. The most intelligent portion of the tribe wished to act in accordance with the Resolutions of the council; but, soon after their adoption, Captain

Anderson, who for many years had been continued in office, as a kind of deputy superintendent of Indian affairs, came to transact business with the tribe. He gave notice for the Indians to meet him at the school house in Newash. On his arrival, seventeen Indians met him; and of these, only a few were members of the tribe, the rest were stragglers,—Indians who had no interest with the band, or connexion with this tribe. They belonged to another tribe, and some of them had no place of residence; but wandered about from place to place, dissipated and degraded. But they were Indians; and perhaps Captain Anderson thought *that* was quite sufficient. So he proceeded to transact business; and it can easily be conceived that it was not a difficult matter to obtain the concurrence of these Indians to almost any measure that might be proposed. I presume not one of them could speak a sentence in English. The business was done through an interpreter; and the proceedings of the meeting, which were opposed to the wishes and interest of the tribe, were forwarded to the Indian Department, and acted upon, as if legally and fairly done by the tribe. Thus it was found, any measures adopted by the general council, whether good or bad, were of but little consequence, while they were unfairly dealt with, and continued to be minors, and treated as children. Many among them concluded, if they were always to be treated in this way, it would be of but little use to strive for any improvement in civilization. They thought they might as well continue *pagan*, and

live by the chase as formerly, rather than settle on farms, for which they held no title in "fee simple," and then not be allowed to transact their own local affairs.

A general desire prevailed among them to become farmers; but to hold their land by treaty, or a deed of declaration made to the whole tribe, in such a manner that the whole tribe hold it in a nominal way, and yet no one in particular has a title for one foot of land he can call his own, was not satisfactory.

There appeared no way to encourage the people to cultivate the soil, and become frugal and industrious farmers, unless each one could be permitted to possess land in "fee simple," which he could call his own. And it was also observed, that the Indians sold to the white neighbouring settlers corn, fish, and sugar, at reduced prices; and afterwards, when in great need, they would purchase the same articles back, at an advanced price, of double its value. To save these down-trodden people from being fleeced by mercenary white men, who made great gain by trade and traffic with the Indians, the subject was duly considered, and deliberated upon in general council; and the following measures were proposed for the approval of the Indian Department.

At a general council of the Indians composing the Ojibeway tribe in the Owen Sound country, at the village of Saugeeng, October 30th, 1852, the following Resolutions were unanimously adopted.

"I. *Resolved*, that it is desirable to extend our settlement at Saugeeng, and for this purpose eight

or ten miles square be surveyed, or laid out, in the following manner, namely,—the first one thousand acres nearest our village be laid out in park lots, containing fifty acres each; and that those who occupy a house in the village may also occupy a park lot, and those who wish to settle on farms may (on condition of becoming actual settlers) occupy each a lot containing one hundred acres, according to the survey that may hereafter be made.

“II. *Resolved*, that in order to secure to our tribe the advantages and profits of our own trade, it is desirable that we form ourselves into a Joint Stock Company, and establish a store in this village, and at Newash; and that for this purpose, the whole amount of our Government Annuities, yet available this year, and soon each succeeding year, (after the current expenses of the tribe are paid,) be appropriated for the purchase of goods suited to the Indian trade.

“III. *Resolved*, that all may deposit in the establishment any amount of furs, fish, sugar, or any other articles of trade, at a certain rate or price to be fixed upon by the Council; and that no person be allowed to draw, or receive on credit, from the establishment, at any time, more than his proportion, or share of the annual Annuity from Government.

“IV. *Resolved*, that the clerk or book-keeper that may be employed to take charge of the establishment, be required to give security in double the amount of the goods intrusted to him, for his integrity, and faithfully accounting for the same.

“V. *Resolved*, that in order to carry out the practical operations of the concern, and render it the more advantageous to the public and to ourselves, it is desirable that we put forth efforts, as soon as practicable, to erect a suitable wharf and store-house, the profits of which shall be invested, to increase the capital of the establishment.

“VI. *Resolved*, that we will immediately confer with the Government on this subject, and ask their approval of these measures.

“VII. *Resolved*, that, on condition that we obtain such approval of the Government, we hereby pledge ourselves to each other, to lose no time in bringing into operation the foregoing Resolutions.

“VIII. *Resolved*, that the Rev. Conrad Van Dusen, the residing Missionary at Newash, (Owen Sound,) and the Rev. David Sawyer, our agent, be respectfully requested to correspond with the Government in our behalf, to secure their concurrence, and to take other steps necessary to consummate and bring into operation the whole of these contemplated arrangements.

(Signed,) “ALEX. MADWAYOSH, *Chief*,
JOHN KATAHGEUON, *Chief*.”

In compliance with the request made by the general council, the above Resolutions were forwarded to Colonel Bruce, which had to be done through Captain Anderson; and the poor Indians were glad to reach his Excellency even through this strange medium. They might have been required to send their communications through a dozen other porters, deputies, and superintend-

ents; but in this case, the communication had to pass through only two parties to reach headquarters, as the letters to Colonel Bruce and Captain Anderson will show, which are as follows:—

*Letter from Revs. C. Van Dusen and D. Sawyer to
Colonel Bruce.*

“SAUGEENG, December 3rd, 1852.

“TO THE HON. COL. BRUCE, CHIEF SUP. IND.

AFFRS., & .

“SIR,—We have the honour of transmitting to you, for his Excellency’s consideration and approval, the enclosed Resolutions, adopted by the chiefs and principal Indians in council at Saugeeng, October 30th, 1852.

“Hoping his Excellency will be pleased to allow the Annuities to be appropriated for the purchase of goods suited to the Indian trade, as contemplated in the Resolutions,

“We have the honour to be, Sir,

“Your obedient servants,

“C. VAN DUSEN,
DAVID SAWYER.”

*Letter from Revs. C. Van Dusen and D. Sawyer to
Captain Anderson.*

“SAUGEENG, December 3rd, 1852.

“TO T. G. ANDERSON, ESQ., S.I.A.

“SIR,—Please forward to Colonel Bruce, for his Excellency’s consideration, the enclosed; and you will much oblige

“Your obedient servants,

“C. VAN DUSEN,
DAVID SAWYER.”

The Rev. E. Wood, Superintendent of Wesleyan Missions, also sent an accompanying letter to the department on the subject, and to these communications a reply was received from Captain Anderson, enclosing a copy of Colonel Bruce's letter to him on the subject, which was as follows :—

“INDIAN DEPARTMENT,

QUEBEC, *February 15th*, 1853.

“SIR,—I have laid before the Governor-General your letter of the 29th ultimo, enclosing certain Resolutions adopted by the Saugeeng and Owen Sound Band of Indians in council, together with letters from the Revs. Messrs. Wood and Van Dusen, communicating them to you, for the consideration of the department.

“His Excellency highly approves of the proposed survey of the lands adjoining their village, into farm lots, and the settlement of Indian families thereon, and hopes that they will make provisions for that purpose out of their Annuity for the coming year. But the plan of forming themselves into Joint Stock Companies, and as such establishing stores in each village, appears to the Governor-General open to serious objections; the confounding of their common funds and additional earnings would, he fears, lead to endless disputes and difficulties. Too much would be left to the mere discretion of the storekeeper; nor would the taking security from the persons so employed afford an adequate safeguard for the property intrusted to them, except in the improbable event

of their being men of considerable independent means.

“I am, &c.,

(Signed) R. BRUCE, *Sup.-Gen*

“*Capt. Anderson, S.I.A., Cobourg.*”

CHAPTER X.

STRANGE PROCEEDINGS.

JUST CLAIMS NOT ADMITTED—MONEY NOT ACCOUNTED
FOR—RIVAL SCHOOL—A MISCHIEVOUS LITTLE
MAN—COMMUNICATION TO COLONEL BRUCE.

FROM the statements contained in Colonel Bruce's letter, the Indian Department was opposed to the Indians forming themselves into a Joint Stock Company, but approved of their settling on farm lots, and becoming frugal and industrious farmers. But no encouragement was held out to any, after settling upon a farm, that they would ever have a title for it in fee simple.

Often they have asked the Government to allow the tribe to settle on farms which each might call his own; but not one of them has ever yet obtained a title for one foot of their own land. And still the Indian Department continued to advise them to cultivate the soil, and become frugal and industrious. If these gentlemen, who have the control and management of Indian affairs, are sincere in their professed desires to aid

the Indians in becoming good citizens and frugal farmers, they have overlooked the stern fact that this can never be accomplished, (not even by white men,) when they possess nothing they can call their own. No Indian or white man will have any desire to cultivate the soil and make improvements on a farm for which he has no title, nor the least hope of ever obtaining one. Had the Indian Department extended to the Indians the rights of citizenship, their condition would have been greatly improved. In this way they would have been brought under the immediate influence of civilization. They would have been incited to emulation in the industrial pursuits of life. And though gradually, yet surely, their old pagan and indolent habits would have been displaced by those of civilized life.

Naturally the North American Indian seems to have but little concern for the future. He literally takes no thought for the morrow; and the treatment they have received from some who profess to be their friends is in no way calculated to improve their condition. Surely their fate is a sad and melancholy one. And their history should excite sympathy more and more as they waste away, and lose their distinctiveness. After the Indians had given Chief Sawyer an "Indian deed" for forty-three acres of land, he did entertain (it was thought) a reasonable hope that our paternal Government would not only encourage him in extending operations upon his farm, and making improvements upon it, if for no other reason, than for an example to the

rest of the Indians, who have not had the opportunities for improvement with which Chief Sawyer has been favoured. It was also expected that as a British subject his rights would be protected, and his just claims admitted.

Another source of dissatisfaction in the whole band, was the course pursued by Charles Kezeicks, a "Potawatamie," who had been adopted into the band, and who did much to disturb their harmony. He was appointed by Captain Anderson, or at his recommendation, to act as an agent, or clerk; but some of the band complained that, for a part of the money passing through his hands from the Indian Department, they could get no account; and also, he being a member of another branch of the Christian church, did all he could to sow the seeds of discord among the Indians. He succeeded in getting up a rival school, in opposition to the Mission school, and influenced the young chief Kegedonce, (his brother-in-law, who can neither read nor write, nor speak a sentence in English correctly,) to aid him in scattering seeds of discord among the members of the band; and both influenced by a mercenary and mischievous little man at Owen Sound, who acted as their scribe, and wrote to the Government misrepresentations and incorrect statements against the Mission school, Mission, and Missionary. And when Kezeicks was called on by the council to account to the Indians, who complained of his retaining their money, and to produce copies of the mischievous communications he had sent to the Indian Department, he refused to give any

satisfaction whatever, and treated the council with sovereign contempt. The head chief, John Thomas Wahbadick, and other principal Indians in the band, forwarded the following petition to the Governor General, requesting him to dismiss Kezeicks from holding any office among them.

“Petition from the Indians at Newash, (Owen Sound,) to Colonel Bruce.

“NEWASH, OWEN SOUND, March 21st, 1853.

“SIR,

“WE, the undersigned Indians residing at Newash, wish to say something to our great father the Governor General about our affairs.

“We are very sorry that Kecedonce, our second chief, has been influenced by his brother-in-law Charles Kezeicks to sign communications to our great father the Governor General, without our knowledge or concurrence, which communications, we fear, contain misrepresentations.

“At our general council recently held at Newash, Charles Kezeicks was requested to produce a copy of those communications; but he refused to do so.

“Also, we are sorry that five or six persons who were foreigners, but who have been cordially admitted among us to share in our privileges and annuities, should manifest such a turbulent spirit as has been manifested by them, since one of them (namely, George A. Tabagon) was dismissed from the office of chief among us.

“We wish to live in peace, but they are dis-

satisfied; and though our school was never in a more prosperous condition than it is, and has been ever since it was conducted by the present teacher, Mr. George Blaker, yet these dissatisfied persons, influenced by Kezeicks, have commenced an opposition school in George A. Tabegon's house, near the Mission School, and it is now taught by Kezeicks himself.

"We know of no disputes among us 'on sectarianism.' The Wesleyan Methodist Missionaries first came among us, and taught us the good way; established a school, and taught our children to read the good book. And they are still labouring, with much success, to promote our temporal and spiritual welfare.

"Though these five dissatisfied persons are not contented with us as members of the Wesleyan Methodist church, (some of whom went out from us, and others never belonged to us,) yet we have no '*disputes*' with them on that account; but we are sorry that, for party purposes, they should cause '*disputes*' among us by commencing an opposition school, to the great annoyance of our people.

"We are sorry, also, that P. J. Kagedonce (our young chief) has been influenced by his brother-in-law Kezeicks, to encourage these dissatisfied persons in making discord among us; and we hope a few words of kind admonition to him from our great father the Governor General, will prevent the necessity of our entering complaints against him for lending his aid in disturbing the harmony and peace of this band.

"Being fully convinced that Charles Kezeicks is acting under the influence of parties at Owen Sound who seek their own interest and not our welfare; and in consequence of all the Indians at Newash (except the five or six leagued with him) being greatly dissatisfied with his conduct, as above stated, we therefore earnestly request our great father the Governor General to dismiss him from holding any office among us whatever, and, as in duty bound, we will ever pray.

"JOHN THOMAS WAHBA-	THOS. WAHBADICK,
DICK, <i>Chief</i> ,	THOS. WAHDAHOGGUSH,
JAMES NEWASH,	DANIEL ELLIOTT,
AB. ELLIOTT,	JOHN WAHBADICK,
JOHN GEORGE,	SOL. ASHKUNWAY,
JOHN ELLIOTT,	JOHN SNAKE."
JOS. KAKAKE,	

*"To Colonel Bruce,
Chief Superintendent of Indian Affairs."*

To this petition little or no attention was paid; and that man Kezeicks was continued in office, to the great annoyance of many of the band. That the Government would keep such persons in office, to the annoyance of the band of quietly disposed Indians, is verily unaccountable!

CHAPTER XI.

LAND NOT ACCOUNTED FOR.

PROMISES NOT FULFILLED—STRANGE PROCEEDINGS
OF CAPTAIN ANDERSON—UNFAIR MEANS USED
TO OBTAIN A SURRENDER OF LAND—TREATY
SIGNED.

THE Indians in the Owen Sound country had previously surrendered to the Government a strip of land half a mile wide, extending from Owen Sound eighteen or twenty miles westward to the Saugeeng River, for which they got no returns. It was surveyed, and sold principally to land speculators, and of the sales of that land the Indians have got no account. But, notwithstanding the dissatisfaction they felt about this land surrender, still many of the most ignorant and indolent part of the tribe were elated with the prospects held out to them by the agents sent by the Indian Department, to negotiate with them for the surrender of nearly the whole of their peninsula. They were told that from the sale of the land they would soon have a large income, that they would all be able to ride in carriages, roll in wealth, and fare sumptuously every day. Notwithstanding the previously broken promises and blasted hopes of former days, yet the credulous part of the tribe were elated with the prospect of being saved from

penury ; while others, remembering the past treatment, were sceptical about the future.

When proposals of this kind are made to the Indians, they generally pause to deliberate upon it ; but no matter how much they hesitate at first, a little flattery, or coercion, will bring them into almost any favourite measure the Government may think fit to propose.

In August, 1854, Captain Anderson, Supt. Ind. Affrs., visited Owen Sound, and called a general council of the Indians, to obtain from them a surrender of their land. Many were unwilling to surrender any more, till the Department gave a satisfactory account of the sale of the land last ceded to them. Some remarked that they had surrendered one tract of land after another, that in some instances they had been paid only in promises, and that they remained as poor as ever.

After Captain Anderson had retired for a while from the council, in his absence the Indians concluded to make the desired surrender, but on certain conditions ; and the council requested Chief Sawyer to state those conditions to Captain Anderson. So, when the captain came in the council to hear the result of their deliberations, the chief proceeded to state the conditions on which they had agreed to make the surrender ; and then said, their other surrenders had been made in a loose way, and quite too indefinite ; but these appeared to the captain quite too stringent and definite. Captain Anderson, in reply, expressed his disapprobation of the conditions ; and said, "These conditions of surrender now proposed never

originated in the brain of an Indian." Nevertheless the conditions were written down, and sent to the Department, by whom they were repudiated. Of course they were too definite to suit the Department.

I do not know whether Captain Anderson intended to hold Chief Sawyer alone responsible for the result of the deliberations of that council, or had some other object in view. He deviated from his usual course in such matters; for he requested Chief Sawyer to attach his name alone to the conditions proposed, which he did, and the document was sent by Captain Anderson to head quarters.

Chief Sawyer was willing to bear the responsibility, though this and other transactions of a similar character have, no doubt, caused the Indian Department to be strongly prejudiced against the chief. In Captain Anderson's letter to Mr. Oliphant, a few days after this council was held, he advises the Government to send on surveyors at once, and "assume a control over the reserve or peninsula." He states that "it may be argued, that the Indians have a deed or patent for this property; but even should such a deed in any way be valid, their guardians surely have authority over it," &c.

When he found that holding out promises to the Indians would not induce them to surrender their land, he advises the Government to coerce them, even if their deed of declaration is valid in law. What next?

When Mr. Oliphant, superintendent-general of

Indians' affairs, came, two or three months after this, to treat with the Indians for the surrender of their peninsula, he passed by the band at Newash without even letting them know of his arrival, or the object of his visit, and proceeded about twenty miles to Saugeeng ; and, as he states in his Report of the 3rd of November, 1854, addressed to Lord Elgin, and included in the copy of a dispatch from the Governor-General, the Earl of Elgin, to the Right Honourable Sir G. Grey, Bart., M.P., that "shortly after the chiefs of other bands arrived, and anxious not to allow them an opportunity of consulting even among themselves, or with Europeans, [he] called a general council at seven P.M., in the church at the Indian village, which was attended by the chiefs of the different bands and warriors of the Saugeeng Band." He also states that then he "opened the proceedings of the council." And as an inducement for the Indians to make the surrender, he adds, in the same Report, that he promised that the lands, when surveyed, should be sold by auction, that arrangements should be made, by which separate titles to farm lots should be granted by the Department to the Indians within their own reserves. He also, as a further inducement, promised that the chiefs should be "rewarded by his Excellency with medals." Perhaps Mr. Oliphant thought it was *fair* not to allow the Indians to have an opportunity to consult, even among themselves, in reference to the surrender of their lands. But the more intelligent part of them happened to think otherwise. And how Mr. Oliphant could suppose the

council "was attended by the chiefs of the different bands," as he states in his Report, is another mystery; for there was not one chief from Colpoy's Bay that attended on that occasion, from first to last. And from Newash, they did not reach Saugeeng till the next day, after nearly all the arrangements had been completed. They arrived from Newash just in time to sign the treaty; and there is no doubt that many who did sign it would have done so, if it had been their death warrant. They knew nothing about the value of land, nor of the proper mode of transacting business. But they considered it unfair to hurry the business through, without even giving timely notice to the Indians at Newash and at Colpoy's Bay.

John Beaty was the only Indian from Colpoy's Bay, and only happened to be present; but he never was a chief, nor have we reason to suppose he ever will be, nor did he pretend to have any claim to the land or the annuities of that band. But when asked by Mr. Oliphant if he would represent the Colpoy's Bay Indians, he of course had no objections, and signed the treaty accordingly. This is the kind of legislation we often have in Indian affairs.

But if the Indians had been permitted to act upon the Resolution adopted by their General Council, October 30th, 1852, and allowed time to call together the chiefs and principal men from the three bands at Newash, Saugeeng, and Colpoy's Bay, in General Council; and then had Mr. Oliphant laid his business before them, they undoubtedly would have understood the matter much better, and

arrangements would have been made much more intelligibly and satisfactorily. But this was not done. The deliberations were hurried through in a summary way. On the arrival of the Indians from Newash it was too late to propose any new arrangements; and two chiefs from the Newash Band could neither read nor write, and understood but few words in English. Under these circumstances, so far as Chief Sawyer was concerned, he made a virtue of necessity, and placed his name with the rest upon the document.

Mr. Oliphant having promised, as one condition of the surrender of their territory, as he states in his Report, that "arrangements should be made by which separate titles to farm lots should be granted by the Department to the Indians, within their own reserves;" they received this promise in good faith, and supposed each Indian in the tribe who had arrived at the age of twenty-one, would receive a deed for a farm lot, on which he could become an actual settler.

Chief Sawyer, as a member of the tribe, had no objections to surrender all the land unoccupied, which they did not require for farming purposes; for the benefit of the country he wished all the vacant land in the county occupied by white men or Indians. But while white men and black men, whether industrious or shiftless, whether frugal or prodigal, whether sober men or drunkards, could obtain deeds for land, the poor Indian has not been able to obtain a deed for one foot of his own land in Canada. It has been withheld from the red man, fearing he might be cheated out of it. How kind!

We have all known black men, and white men too, cheated out of their farms, but not by Indians. Why not extend kindness also to them in the same way?

In closing the hurried business of their council for the surrender of their territory, the following document, having been prepared by Mr. Oliphant was presented, signed and sealed.

“SURRENDER OF THE SAUGEENG PENINSULA.

“WE the chiefs, sachems, and principal men of the Indian tribes, resident at Saugeeng, Owen Sound, confiding in the wisdom and protecting care of our Great Mother across the big lake, and believing that our good father, his Excellency the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, Governor General of Canada, is anxiously desirous to promote those interests which will most largely conduce to the welfare of his red children, have now being in full council assembled in presence of the superintendent-general of Indian affairs, and of the young men of both tribes agreed that it will be highly desirable for us to make a full surrender unto the crown of that peninsula known as the Saugeeng and Owen Sound Indian Reserve, subject to certain restrictions and reservations to be hereinafter let forth. We have therefore set our marks to this document, after having heard the same read to us, and do hereby surrender the whole of the above named tract of country bounded on the south by a straight line drawn from the Indian village of Saugeeng to the Indian village of Newash, in continuation of the northern limit of the narrow strip recently surrendered by us to the crown, and

bounded on the north, east, and west by Georgian Bay and Lake Huron, the following reservations :
—To wit.

“ 1st. For the benefit of the Saugeeng Indians we reserve all that block of land bounded on the west by a straight line running due north from the river Saugeeng at the spot where it is entered by a ravine immediately to the west of the village, and over which a bridge has recently been constructed. To the shore of Lake Huron, on the south by the aforesaid northern limit of the lately surrendered strip, on the east by a line drawn from a spot upon the coast at a distance of about nine miles and a half from the western boundary aforesaid, and running parallel thereto, until it touches the aforementioned northern limit of the recently surrendered strip. And we wish it to be clearly understood that we wish the peninsula at the mouth of the Saugeeng River to the west of the western boundary aforesaid to be laid out in town and park lots, and sold for our benefit without delay, and we also wish it to be understood that our surrender includes that parcel of land which is in continuation of the strip recently surrendered to the Saugeeng River. We do also reserve to ourselves that tract of land called Chiefs' Point, bounded on the east by a line drawn from a spot half a mile up the Sable River, and continued in a northerly direction to the bay, and upon all other sides by the lake.

“ 2nd. We reserve for the benefit of the Owen Sound Indians, all that tract bounded on the south by the northern limit of the continuation of the

strip recently surrendered, on the northwest by a line drawn from the north-easterly angle of the aforesaid strip (as it was surrendered in 1851, in a north-easterly direction) on the south-east by the sound extending to the southern limit of the Changhnawaga settlement, on the north by a line two miles in length, and forming the said southern limit, and we also reserve to ourselves that tract of land called Cape Crocker, bounded on three sides by Georgian Bay, on the south-west side by a line drawn from the bottom of Nochemowenaing Bay to the mouth of Sucker River, and we enclose in the aforesaid surrender, the parcel of land contained in the continuation to Owen Sound of the recently surrendered strip aforesaid.

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

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

“And we hereby request the sanction of our great father the Governor General to this surrender, which we consider highly conducive to our general interest.

“Done in council at Saugeeng this thirteenth

day of October, 1854. It is understood that no islands are included in this surrender.

(Signed and sealed,)

“JOHN (symbol) KADNHGEKWUN (seal)

ALEXANDER (symbol) MADWAYOSH „

JOHN (symbol) MONEDROWAB „

JOHN (symbol) THOMAS WAHBADICK „

PETER (symbol) JONES „

DAVID SAWYER „

JOHN H. BEATTIE „

THOMAS (symbol) PAHAHMORH „

JOHN (symbol) MADWASHERMINT „

JOHN (symbol) JOHNSTON „

JOHN AUNJEGAHBOWH „

JAMES NEWASH „

THOMAS (symbol) WAHBADICK „

CHARLES KEISICK „

(Signed,)

“L. OLIPHANT,

Superintendent-General Indian Affairs,

PETER JACOBS,

Missionary, witness.

(Signed,)

JAS. ROSS, M.P.P.,

C. RANKIN, P.L.S.,

A. M'NABB,

Crown Land Agent.”

CHAPTER XII.

LAND SURRENDERED.

OBJECTS CONTEMPLATED—STRANGE PROCEEDING OF
MR. OLIPHANT—LOSS TO THE INDIANS AND TO
THE COUNTRY.

THE Indians having surrendered nearly all their land, which was to be sold for their benefit, they were to receive the interest in half-yearly payments, on the whole amount for lands sold. On some former occasions, when they surrendered land to the Government, they did so on condition of receiving annually a certain amount of annuity, as a compensation for their land ceded to the Crown. But in this case it was different. They were to receive the interest of the purchase. The amount of interest they would receive, was of course, in proportion to the number of lots sold, and the price paid, by purchasers, for them.

They now had two objects to contemplate, first, the price of the land when sold, and secondly, that the land might be disposed of in such a way as would not only increase its value, but also be a general benefit to the country by an increase of population.

An increase of loyal, wholesome, and industrious settlers in a new country, to clear up the forest, and extend our settlements, cannot fail to increase the strength, wealth, and revenue of our beloved

country. In view of this, the Indians met in general council to consider this matter, in which they felt deeply interested, when it was unanimously resolved that they would memorialize the Government upon the subject; and requested the Rev. C. Van Dusen, the resident Missionary and Chairman of the Owen Sound District, to forward the following petition to his Excellency the Governor General, and also to propose to the Government a change in the appointment of some of their chiefs, who were both ignorant and mischievous, and had been kept in office by the Indian Department, on the recommendation of Captain Anderson, to the great annoyance of the tribe.

The Rev. C. Van Dusen's letter to Lord Bury.

“NEWASH MISSION HOUSE,

OWEN SOUND, *Feb. 28th, 1855.*

“TO LORD BURY, SUPT. GEN., IND. AFFRS.

“MY LORD,—By request of the Indians at Owen Sound and Saugeeng I have the honour of forwarding to your Lordship, for the consideration of his Excellency the Governor General in Council, the enclosed document; and at the same time beg to state that the Indians have been informed, that certain persons residing at Owen Sound, have applied to the Government to be appointed agents to dispose of the land recently surrendered, and that the appointment of either of these persons would give general dissatisfaction to the Indians concerned.

“Also I beg to state, that it is their wish that A. McNab, Esq., of Southampton, be appointed to that situation. They consider they had no interest in

the sale of lands previously surrendered, and therefore had no right to express any wish, or make any suggestion, in the appointment of an agent, but in this case they consider it quite different, as the land now to be sold is for their benefit. They therefore hope no person will be appointed to that responsible situation, contrary to their wishes.

“I wish also to state, (at their request,) that a few Indian families (Pottawatamies and Sioux) from the United States, came to this country about the year 1829, and were adopted by the Indians as members of this tribe, and allowed to share in their annuities. These parties have principally all settled at Owen Sound, and compose a part of the the Newash Band. Peter Jones Kegedonce, the second chief of this band, is a descendant of these foreigners; and under the influence of Charles Kezicks (his brother-in-law) and other Pottawatamies, he frequently opposes the other chief and principal Indians of the band, who are Ojibways, (and the original owners of the soil,) composing the same band.

“This second chief is a member of the Wesleyan Methodist church at Newash over which I am the pastor, and though he can scarcely say anything in English, and has no intelligence, yet I respect him for his energy of character, but feel bound to say, that his course is calculated to promote strife and contention in the band, and militates very much against the general improvement and harmony of the Indians at this place.

“There are persons in this band who have a tolerable good common school education, can speak,

read, and write in English, and have considerable intelligence, enjoy the confidence of the band, and are well qualified to fill that situation. A change of this kind, I am sure, would secure the harmony and promote the general improvement and welfare of the Indians of this tribe.

“ I have the honour to be,

“ Sir, your obedient servant.

“ C. VAN DUSEN.”

“ *The Indians' Petition, Feb. 27th, 1855.*

“ TO HIS EXCELLENCY SIR EDMUND HEAD, BART.,
GOVERNOR OF CANADA, &c., &c.

“ WE the chiefs, councillors, and principal Indians composing the Ojibway tribe in the Owen Sound and Saugeeng country, wish to say a few words to our great father the Governor General.

“ We fully believe it will not only promote the general interest of this part of the country, but greatly increase the value and sale of the land we have recently surrendered, by requiring actual settlement upon all farm lots that may be disposed of for our benefit.

“ By this means the settlement in these counties will be rapidly extended, and private speculators will be prevented from purchasing large blocks of the land, which may remain for years unoccupied, and thus prevent the rising value of the remaining part of the territory, and also be a great hindrance to the speedy extension of the settlement.

“ We therefore hope our great father will be pleased to hear these words of his red children, and require of all purchasers of our land surrendered,

actual settlement on all farm lots when sold ; and also allow us to have something to say in the appointment of an agent in whom we can fully confide, in disposing of the lands to our advantage, under the control and direction of the Government.

“ And as in duty bound we will ever pray.

(Signed,) “ JOHN KADUAHGEWON, *Chief*,
ALEX. MADWAYOSH, *Chief*,
JOHN THOMAS WAHBAHDICK, *Chief*,
JOHN SMITH, *Chief*,
MOSES MONEDOGNEWIS, *Councillor*,
and twenty others of the principal
Indians in the tribe.”

“ *Witness*,

H. WRIGHT, *Teacher*,

D. SAWYER, and

M. MADWAYOSH, *Interpreters*.”

To this petition, the Indians received no reply.

In Mr. Oliphant's Report to the Governor General on his journey to Saugeeng in October, 1854, he states that “ the tide of emigration which has of late years been flowing into Canada, has driven before it a crowd of those more adventurous spirits, whose office it is to prepare the way for the industrious emigrant. These were the more eager in their search for wild lands, as the prospect of obtaining them became almost confined in this direction, to the counties bordering on the Saugeeng peninsula, then an Indian reserve ; and which must now be the limit of their explorations. These men were to be seen collected at the door of every backwood tavern, or returning in gangs to

the more populous parts of the country, where they have no settled occupation, disappointed in their search for land, inveighing against the alleged dishonesty of crown land agents," &c. All this, if correct, shows that if actual settlement had been required, there would have been no lack for purchasers; and the land would have been improved and occupied by the "gangs" referred to by Mr. Oliphant, so "eager in their search for wild lands" and by thousands of others, equally anxious to settle on farms, that Mr. Oliphant knew nothing of.

He also states that "the advantages of confining the sale to actual settlers were much pressed upon [his] consideration at Saugeeng and Owen Sound; a large proportion of the community of those settlements being composed of a class which is possessed of more enterprise and experience than capital." And yet with all these facts before him in addition to the frequent and strongly expressed wishes of the Indians in favour of actual settlement being required, in the same Report to the Governor General Mr. Oliphant states that "it would seem a wiser course that no condition of actual settlement should be attached to the sale of these lands."

No doubt Mr. Oliphant was sincere in supposing he knew more about these matters, though a stranger in the country, than did the Indians, or the persons possessing "enterprise and experience," to whom he refers, recommending actual settlement as a condition in the sale of the surrendered lands. As a matter of course his

recommendation was carried out in the sale of the land. He may have meant well, but it has been a damage to the Indians, and a loss to the country, as well as ruinous to some land speculators who purchased largely; and the sudden and unexpected change of times and prospects in the country, decreasing the value of wild lands, has left many in a state of bankruptcy.

CHAPTER XIII.

A REQUEST TO EXTEND THE SETTLEMENT.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL RESPECT- ING CHIEF D. SAWYER'S PURCHASE OF LAND.

IN October, 1852, the Indians petitioned the Government, expressing their wish to extend their settlement at Saugeeng, and obtain deeds for farms upon which they would settle, if titles could be procured. And having failed in obtaining a favourable reply to that part of their petition, they nevertheless still felt anxious to become freeholders, and having surrendered nearly all their lands, except that on which they wished to form their settlement, and where their villages were established; they again met in council, to consider what steps they might take to become freeholders, that each might obtain a "title deed" for land, and that they might be encouraged to make improvements on farms, and become industrious and good citizens. In clearing up a new farm, there would necessarily be much timber to remove from the land, which can in most cases be profitably made into cord-wood, rather than burned upon the ground.

Every Indian in the band at Newash was therefore anxious to have a wharf, on which they could place cord-wood for sale on steamboats during the period of navigation. Some fruitless efforts had been made for this purpose; but, for want of proper arrangements, nothing had been

accomplished. Many in the band urged Chief Sawyer to proceed in the erection of a wharf. In view of the general benefit of the tribe, he consented to do so, and purchased of the band three acres of land, at a point well suited for that purpose. This was also cordially concurred in and sanctioned by the Saugeeng Band, as appears from the following, copied from the record of their councils.

“NEWASH, *March 3rd*, 1855.

“WE, the chiefs and principal men composing the Newash Band at Owen Sound, agree to sell to Chief David Sawyer, and his heirs for ever, three acres of land situated at the point opposite our village of Newash, for the purpose of erecting a wharf thereon.

“The said David Sawyer, on his part, agrees to pay ten pounds, to be distributed among the band and also to erect a wharf, for which he shall have the privilege of charging the usual rates of wharfage.”

This agreement was signed by the chiefs and all the principal Indians in the band, and subsequently laid before the General Council assembled at Saugeeng.

The following is copied from the record of that Council, which shows several important measures adopted by the tribe in Council assembled, and also their cordial concurrence in the chief's purchase of the three acres of land on the conditions above stated.

“At a General Council of the chiefs and principal Indians residing at Newash, Saugeeng, and

Colpoy's Bay, assembled at Saugeeng, March 9th, 1855, Chief Alexander Madwayosh in the chair; Chief David Sawyer and Moses Madwayosh were requested to act as secretaries. The following Resolutions were adopted.

“1st.—Resolved, that we will make a letter to our great father the Governor General, requesting him that a part or the whole of our land reserved for our own use, as provided for in the Treaty dated October 13th, 1854, be surveyed, as soon as practicable. And that according to agreement on the part of Mr. Oliphant, S.G.I.A., a deed for a hundred acres of land be given to each member of our tribe that is married, or that has arrived at the age of twenty-one years, on condition of becoming actual settlers upon it, or otherwise cause it to be occupied and improved. And that no person be allowed to form a settlement, or become a “squatter,” on any part of our reserved territory, without the consent and approval of our General Council.—*Carried unanimously.*

“2nd.—That we also request the Department that town and park lots be properly laid out in our villages, and that a deed be given for one town lot and one park lot, to each person who is the head of a family belonging to our tribe.—*Carried unanimously.*

“3rd.—Resolved, that in order to prevent discord among us, we will hereafter admit no foreigners to become members of our tribe, to share in our annuities, except on condition that they renounce paganism, embrace Christianity, unite in some branch of the Christian church, and become sober and loyal subjects to the British Crown.

“And if any man or woman has, or may hereafter, marry a person who is not a member of our tribe, such person shall not be considered as entitled to any of our privileges or annuities, unless adopted in our band, as above stated.—*Carried unanimously.*

“4th.—Resolved, that whereas Peter Jones Kegedonce continues to make opposition to our whole tribe, and especially the head chief and principal Indians of the Newash Band, of which he is a member, and opposing the Missionaries sent to labour among us, thereby preventing the temporal improvement and spiritual interest of our people, by causing strife and contentions among us; and also by endeavouring to accomplish his purposes of opposition, by false representations; also, that he has identified himself with Charles Kezicks in withholding from the Newash Band their accounts, as kept by said Kezicks; in consequence of which we no longer acknowledge him a chief among us.—*Carried unanimously.*

“5th.—Resolved, that whereas the Newash Band having expressed great dissatisfaction with the conduct of Charles Kezicks, for making false representations to the “Department,” and opposing the acts of our councils, and for making false and illegal returns of the census of the Newash Band, and having refused to furnish our council with copies of his unauthorized correspondence with the Indian Department about our Indian affairs; and also having refused to present for examination, before a committee appointed by the Newash Band, their accounts kept by him, as writer for the band, we will, therefore, no longer

CHAPTER XIV.

MANUAL SCHOOL ASKED FOR.

COMMUNICATION TO LORD BURY—REV. C. VAN
DUSEN'S LETTER—INDIANS DEPRIVED OF THE
RIGHT TO APPOINT THEIR OWN CHIEF.

HAVING surrendered nearly the whole of their territory, and having no more hunting ground, there was, from necessity, an increasing desire among the Indians to possess farms, on which they could make improvements, which they could call their own; and also to have an industrial or manual school established among them, that those inclined to indolence might be constrained to contract habits of industry.

In view of these matters a Council was called on the 9th of April, 1855, when the following letter was prepared and signed by the chiefs, informing the "Department" of the proceedings of their former Council; and expressing their wishes for a manual school, and still urging their claim for "*title deeds.*"

*Letter to Lord Bury, signed by the Chiefs in Council,
Saugeeng, April 9th, 1855.*

"TO LORD BURY, SUPT. GEN. IND. AFFRS., &c.

"SIR,—We, the chiefs of the Ojibway tribe in the Owen Sound and Saugeeng country, wish to lay before our great father the Governor General the

proceedings of our General Council; and hope our great father will be pleased with our proceedings.

“In order to secure the peace and harmony of our tribe, we have had occasion to make some alteration in the appointment of officers among us. Peter Jones Kecedonce and Charles Kezihick of the Newash Band, and Thomas Sky, of the Band at Colpoy’s Bay, who have caused much trouble among us; we have dismissed from office, and have filled the vacancy at Newash by appointing David Sawyer to be chief, ‘writer,’ and interpreter for that band. Which latter situation he previously filled both at Saugeeng, and at Newash, to the entire satisfaction of our tribe; and he being the son of one of the oldest and most influential chiefs in this country, and can write and speak the English language, we have no doubt our great father will approve of his appointment to that office.

“We also beg the early attention of our great father to the survey of our lands reserved for farming purposes, and the granting of ‘*title deeds*’ to our people, that they may be encouraged to make improvements on farms, and abandon roving habits.

“And we also hope our great father will be pleased to encourage the establishment of manual or labour schools among us, that our children may be taught habits of frugality and industry, and the art of tilling the soil as well as to read and write.

“We promise our great father that we will do all in our power to influence our people to become good farmers, good and quiet citizens, and continue

to be true and loyal subjects to the British Crown.
God save the Queen.

(Signed) "JOHN KATUPGIGWON, *Chief*,
ALEX. MADWAYOSH, *Chief*,
JOHN THOMAS WAHBADICK, *Chief*,
JOHN SMITH, *Chief*."

"*Witness*,

MOSES B. MADWAYOSH,
Interpreter and Secretary."

The above was forwarded to the Rev. C. Van Dusen, Missionary at Newash, with a special request from the Council, for him to enclose it to Lord Bury, together with statements setting forth the peculiar position of the Indians, and the proceedings of their Council.

Rev. C. Van Dusen's letter to Lord Bury.

"NEWASH MISSION HOUSE, April 16th, 1855.

"TO LORD BURY, SUPT. GEN. IND. AFFRS., &c.

"SIR,—I beg to state for the information of his Excellency the Governor General, that the tribe of Indians in the Owen Sound country is composed of three bands, residing at Newash, Saugeeng, and Colpoy's Bay, about eighteen miles apart; and that at Newash there are seven or eight who have been adopted into the tribe, but have not embraced Christianity in any form, and five or six who are Roman Catholics. These, with a few other foreigners, who have been admitted into the tribe, act under the influence of Peter J. Kege-donce and Charles Kezicks, and cause much strife among this people.

“A few years ago they admitted in their tribe several Indians from the United States, nearly all of whom reside at Newash. Some of these are peaceable and good citizens, but others are factious. These, with Thomas Sky and a few other Indians at Colpoy's Bay, members of the tribe, form a faction, and are led on by some mercenary and designing men at Owen Sound, who have no interest in the welfare of the Indians, any further than they can make gain out of them.

“When a communication is sent to the Government from this faction, I have cause to believe that it is often signed by Indians who are not members of the tribe, together with some of those foreigners who have been adopted in the band, all of whom form but a small minority in the tribe.

“There is not one Indian residing at Saugeeng or at Colpoy's Bay, who is an acknowledged member of the tribe, but is opposed to this faction, and sustains the band at Newash.

“Local matters not affecting the whole tribe are arranged by the several bands in their immediate localities; but the appointment of their officers, and all matters of general interest to the tribe, are arranged by a General Council of the chiefs and principal men in the three bands. Without these facts being made known to his excellency, any statements or communications going from this faction, unauthorised by the General Council, might leave wrong impressions, and do harm.

“I also beg to state that I have personal knowledge of Charles Kezicks utterly refusing to comply with the expressed wishes of the Council to

account to the band for money which the Indians say they should have received, and that in this alleged fraud Peter J. Kecedonce sustains him.

“I believe the General Council correct in the charges they have advanced against the persons they have dismissed from office. In reference to some of them, I know them to be correct; and I have no doubt but the removal from office of the persons dismissed by the General Council, will secure the harmony of the whole tribe.

“And I beg further to state, that I consider David Sawyer the most intelligent Indian in the tribe. He enjoys the confidence of his people; and I believe him to be a suitable person to be chief, ‘writer,’ and interpreter for the band.

“With the exceptions of a few Romanists and pagans, already referred to, all in the tribe are united with the Wesleyan Methodist Church, the Episcopalian Church, or the Congregationalist; and it will be seen from a Resolution passed by their General Council, that hereafter they will admit of no pagans in their tribe, except they renounce paganism, and unite in some branch of the Christian church among them, and become sober, good, and loyal subjects to the British Crown.

“I have observed that to have cattle, farming utensils, &c., in common among the Indians, materially militates against their general improvement. When they have oxen in this way, all use them; but no one feels bound to feed or take care of them. If they have a cart belonging to the band, all use it, but no one takes care of it; and so it is with all other articles of husbandry. The consequence is,

their oxen die for want of care and provender; their farming utensils, for want of care and repairs, are soon broken and destroyed. Every spring they are quite destitute, and need a fresh supply of these articles. Until each one settles upon a farm which he can call his own, and possesses a team and farming utensils of his own, there is but little hope of much success in teaching them lessons of frugality and industry.

“The Indians in this tribe are very anxious to have a manual school established among them. It has been contemplated by the Wesleyan Missionary Committee, to do all we can to meet their wants in this respect, being fully convinced that the most successful way to induce their youth to contract habits of industry and frugality, is to establish manual schools among them. In this we hope to secure the approval and co-operation of the Government.

“I am requested by the Indians to forward to your lordship, for his excellency’s consideration, the enclosed documents, hoping your Lordship will excuse my apparent informality in the case. These Indians had previously forwarded, through Captain Anderson, strong remonstrances against Charles Kezicks and Peter J. Kecedonce, who were nevertheless continued in office till the General Council found it necessary to dismiss them, in order to secure the harmony and promote the general interest of the tribe.

“I have the honour to be, &c,
C. VAN DUSEN.”

The Department did not think proper to give a reply to the Indians' memorial; and it appeared that a new era in their affairs had commenced under the administration of Sir Edmund Head.

Among the Indians it was a new thing to be deprived of the right to nominate or appoint their own chiefs. I know not of any case before, in which they were denied the right of appointing their own officers. And it was painful to think that, through the recommendation of Captain Anderson, for purposes best known to himself, the Department would keep in office ignorant Indians, in opposition to the unanimous vote of their General Council,—stupid Indians that were fit tools to be used to the injury and great annoyance of the whole tribe.

All who know anything about Indian customs or Indian law, know that their chiefs are always appointed, or dismissed from office, by their General Councils. And we feel it an unjust usurpation of power for the Indian Department, or any other Department, to attempt to deprive the Indians of this right.

When the late Rev. Peter Jones was appointed chief of the Credit Band, it was done by the General Council, not by the Indian Department. In his Journal, recently published by the Wesleyan Conference, on page 194, Mr. Jones states, in reference to his being appointed as chief, "On Monday, November 12th, 1819, the subject of his nomination to the office of a chief was also taken into consideration. The motion was then put, and carried unanimously." This was their usual way of

appointing a chief, or any other officer in their band. Sir Edmund Head had probably his own reasons for attempting to deprive the Indians of this right, and keep in office ignorant Indians, in opposition to the unanimous and repeated decisions of their General Councils. Such a course is not calculated to improve their condition, nor strengthen their shattered confidence in such an administration.

CHAPTER XV.

SURVEYORS AT SAUGEENG.

A GREAT COUNCIL—DEPUTATION SENT TO QUEBEC—
MEMORIAL TO THE GOVERNOR GENERAL—PETITION
LAID BEFORE PARLIAMENT.

Soon after this, the surveyors commenced surveying the land near the village of Saugeeng; but not according to the agreement when the treaty was made. At that time Mr. Oliphant walked with the chiefs of the Saugeeng Band, on the road then open from the village of Saugeeng on a straight line through to the shore of Lake Huron, a distance of about a mile, known as "Copway's Road." And it was positively agreed on, that "Copway's Road" should be the dividing line between their reserve at Saugeeng, and the land surrendered on the north side of the Saugeeng River, to enlarge the town plot of Southampton. As the parties walked through the woods on this road, they supposed it ran from the Saugeeng village north to the lake. They had no compass. Mr. Oliphant said, he thought the road ran north from the village. The Indians, who knew nothing about the points of the compass, said they thought so too, and the Treaty was drawn up accordingly; but nothing was written about "Copway's Road." And when the surveyors

commenced their work, first, they did not start from the place agreed on ; and, in the second place, in running a line from the village directly north, it did not go in the direction of "Copway's Road," as they and, no doubt, Mr. Oliphant expected it would, but ran in such a direction as to shut them out about five miles and a half from the water of the lake. Under these circumstances, the chiefs forbade the surveyors proceeding any further, till this matter was laid before the Governor General. A council was called, and the following proceedings were taken :—

"Copy of Proceedings of a General Council.

"At a general council of the chiefs and principal Indians of the Saugeeng and Newash Bands, assembled at Saugeeng, May 5th, 1855.

"Chief Alex. Madwayosh was called to the chair ; and Moses B. Madwayosh and David Sawyer were requested to act as secretaries. The following Resolutions were unanimously adopted, viz :—

"I. *Resolved*, that we feel dissatisfied with the survey Mr. C. Rankin is making near the village of Saugeeng, having commenced about four hundred yards too far southward, and then not running the line through an opening, called "Copway's Road," as expressed and understood by Mr. Oliphant and ourselves, at the time our Treaty was made. And that Mr. Rankin be requested to discontinue the survey till we confer with the Government on this subject.

"And also, we wish still to urge upon the consideration of our great father the necessity of re-

quiring actual settlement on the land, when sold, as formerly requested by our council.

“II. *Resolved*, that we will send a deputation to Quebec, to lay before the Governor in Council the above and other considerations affecting our interest. And that the following persons compose the deputation, viz., Alex. Madwayosh, John Kattukequon, chiefs of the Saugeeng Band, and John Thomas Wahbadick and David Sawyer, chiefs of the Newash Band, and the Rev. C. Van Dusen, Chairman of the Owen Sound District, who is requested to accompany the chiefs, and attend to these matters, as a member of this deputation.

“III. *Resolved*, that this council grants one hundred pounds to bear the expenses of the deputation to Quebec, and for other purposes. And that a requisition be made for that amount.

“Chief ALEX. MADWAYOSH,
Chairman of Council,
 DAVID SAWYER,
 M. B. MADWAYOSH,
Secretaries.”

A deputation was then sent to the Rev. C. Van Dusen, at Newash, requesting his concurrence and co-operation on the deputation to Quebec, to which he kindly consented.

But on their arrival at head quarters in Quebec, they were informed by Lord Bury that they must first obtain a letter of introduction or recommendation from Captain Anderson before they could see his Excellency. That beat all.

The following memorial, signed by the chiefs,

was then sent immediately to his Excellency the Governor General :—

. “*To His Excellency Sir Edmund Head, Bart.,
Governor General of Canada, &c.*

“WE, the undersigned chiefs of the Newash and Saugeeng Bands composing the Ojibway Tribe of Indians in the Owen Sound Country, beg to approach our great father the Governor General, and speak a few words on the following subjects, in which we feel greatly interested.

“1st. When we surrendered our land, and made the treaty with Mr. Oliphant in October last, Mr. Oliphant, with ourselves, walked upon a road open from our village (Saugeeng) about one mile in a straight line to the shore of Lake Huron. This road, we supposed, ran northward ; and was to be the boundary between the land we surrendered, and that which we reserved adjoining Saugeeng village. But when the surveyors commenced their work, it was found that a line running due north from the village, does not reach the shore of Lake Huron till it extends about five miles and a half from the boundary agreed on by Mr. Oliphant and ourselves. By this survey we are shut out from the water of the lake, greatly to our inconvenience and damage.

“2nd. In a former Treaty made with Captain Anderson last summer, it was fully expressed and understood that when our land would be sold, actual settlement should be required ; and we thought the same condition was implied in the Treaty made with Mr. Oliphant last October.

“ We earnestly hope this will not only be favourably considered by our great father, but also that we may be allowed to have something to say in the appointment of an agent to dispose of the land, as it is to be sold for our benefit under the direction of the Government.

“ 3rd. Having no more hunting ground, from choice, as well as from necessity, we wish to turn our attention, more than ever before, to the cultivation of our land; and therefore hope our great father will encourage us in this, by giving to each in our tribe a *title deed* for one hundred acres of land, as prayed for in our memorial of last April.

“ 4th. We also beg the privilege of speaking to our great father about the propriety of taking immediate steps towards establishing at Saugeeng, and at Newash, ‘ manual schools ’ for the benefit of our youth.

“ 5th. We also wish to present a ‘ requisition ’ for one hundred pounds out of our ‘ Contingent Fund,’ for the payment of our expenses, &c., according to the decision of our General Council held at Saugeeng on the 5th inst., a copy of the proceedings of which we have to present.

“ 6th. We also wish to make some statements to our great father, setting forth our wishes to secure his sanction to the acts of our General Councils from time to time, when considered by the Governor in Council, calculated to secure the harmony, and promote the interest, of our tribe.

“ 7th. We also wish to make some inquiry as to the purport and meaning contained in a certain

paragraph in the Treaty drawn up by Mr. Oliphant.

“8. We beg also to say that we expected to see Captain Anderson at Coburg on our way down to this place, but were prevented by his absence from home; and therefore earnestly hope our great father will not allow this (if it be considered an informality, our not bringing letters from him) to prevent us from transacting the business for which we came, and in which our whole tribe is so deeply interested.

“We indulge the earnest hope that our great father will give these matters his favourable consideration, and grant us the opportunity of appearing before him, to make further statements on these and other subjects involving the interest of our whole tribe.

“And we will remain our great father’s obedient red children, and humble servants,

(Signed,)

“ALEX. MADWAYOSH, *Chief*, JOHN T. WAHBADICK,

JOHN KATAHCEGUEN,

Chief,

Chief,

DAVID SAWYER,

Chief.”

“Quebec, May 16th, 1855.”

Strange as it may appear, yet it was even so. With all the ample and courteous qualifications of His Excellency in the plenitude of his kindness, he utterly refused to give them an audience to hear their complaints, redress their grievances, or allow them money, from their own funds, to pay their expenses.

They thought if His Excellency would visit them at Saugeeng on business, they would give him a much kinder reception than this. They thought they knew how to treat white men better than some white men felt disposed to treat Indians. But why should living men complain?

A day or two after their memorial had been presented to His Excellency, the Rev. C. Van Dusen was informed that the chiefs might appear before Lord Bury, and state anything they had to say. They accordingly presented themselves before his lordship, who then meekly informed them that he would hear all they had to say, but not officially! for their great father, the Governor General, did not recognise them! They thought this, too, beat all! So they each made a short speech, expressing their regret that they were to be thus insulted, and left in such a position; and then each made a beautiful bow and retired.

The Parliament was then in session in Quebec, and they at once presented the following Petition.

Petition, dated Quebec, May 17th, 1855.

“TO THE HONOURABLE THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF CANADA IN PROVINCIAL PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED.

“The Petition of the Rev. Conrad Van Dusen, of Newash, Owen Sound, Alex. Madwayosh and John Kateguekwun, Indian Chiefs of the Saugeeng Band, and John Thomas Wahbadick and David Sawyer, Chiefs of the Newash Band, composing the Ojibway Tribe, in the Owen Sound and Saugeeng Country,—

“ Humbly Sheweth,—

“That when the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs visited Saugeeng in October, 1854, to consummate a Treaty with the Ojibway Tribe of Indians, for the surrender of their Peninsula, lying between Lake Huron and the Georgian Bay, commonly known as the ‘Indian Reserve,’ he made verbal promises which have not been fulfilled. And several conditions and considerations were expressed, and understood by the Council at that time, which do not appear in the written Treaty.

“Also, under the direction of the ‘Indian Department,’ the land is now being surveyed not according to the agreement fully expressed, and well understood, between the parties at the time the Treaty was made.

“These circumstances causing much dissatisfaction and complaint, a General Council of the chiefs and principal Indians composing the tribe, assembled at Saugeeng on the 5th instant, and unanimously appointed your humble petitioners a deputation to proceeded immediately to Quebec, to confer with His Excellency the Governor General on these and other subjects involving the interest and rights of the whole tribe.

“ But His Excellency not having manifested, to your petitioners, the least desire or intention to redress these grievances, your petitioners therefore, humbly, but most earnestly pray, that your Honourable House may be pleased to take such preparatory steps, if possible, that the Indian Department in Canada may be placed under the

direction and control of our Provincial Government.

“And as in duty bound your petitioners will ever pray.

“C. VAN DUSEN,
ALEX. MADWAYOSH, *Chief*,
JOHN KATEGUEKWUN, *Chief*,
JOHN THOMAS WAHBADICK, *Chief*,
DAVID SAWYER, *Chief*.”

In the printed Report of the votes and proceedings of the Legislative Assembly, Quebec, Monday, May 28th, 1855, it is thus stated :—

“Petition received and read,—

“Of the Rev. C. Van Dusen and others, of Owen Sound, representing that a Treaty made between the Government and the Indians of the Ojibway Tribe for the Indian reserve, has not been fairly carried out, praying that the Indian Department in Canada be placed under the control of the Provincial Government.”

A few days after the Petition was read before the Parliament, the House was prorogued, before any further steps could then be taken in the matter.

The chiefs had been treated with sovereign contempt by the Governor General, and the Indians' rights disregarded and trampled under foot, which caused disgust and a thrilling sensation throughout the whole tribe.

CHAPTER XVI.

NEW CAUSES OF DISSATISFACTION.

A COUNCIL CALLED TO CONSIDER PROCEEDINGS OF THE GOVERNOR GENERAL—LORD BURY SENT FROM QUEBEC TO OWEN SOUND TO SETTLE DIFFICULTIES—NEW CAUSES OF DISSATISFACTION—REV. C. VAN DUSEN'S LETTER TO LORD BURY.

GREAT dissatisfaction was felt by the whole tribe on account of the haughty and unjustifiable proceedings of the Governor General, in not receiving "*officially*" the chiefs, who were sent to treat with him at Quebec, and lay complaints before him, of which the Indians justly and loudly complained.

A General Council was immediately called at Saugeeng. The following is a copy of their proceedings:—

"At a General Council of the chiefs, warriors, and principal Indians residing at Saugeeng and Owen Sound, assembled at our village (Saugeeng) on the 1st day of June, 1855 ;

"Chief Alex. Madwayosh was called to the chair, and Chief David Sawyer and Moses B. Madwayosh were requested to act as secretaries.

"The following Resolutions were adopted.

"1st. *Resolved*, that we in Council assembled feel called upon to express our sorrow, that the course pursued by our father the Governor

General and Lord Bury, in refusing to hear or redress our grievances, (of which we feel we have just cause to complain,) has given us no alternative, but to order the surveying parties from our territory till we obtain *justice* from the hand of the Governor General.

“2nd. *Resolved*, that having just cause to complain of the manner in which our affairs are conducted by the Indian Department, we will never cease to use every lawful means to secure an investigation of these matters in the next session of our Provincial Parliament; and, if possible, have our Indian Affairs placed under the direction and control of the Provincial Government.

“3d. *Resolved*, that, whereas Captain Anderson, when on a late visit to Owen Sound, called a council, which was attended by a few Indians whom we had adopted in our tribe, and in the absence of our chiefs and principal men, assumed to transact business for our whole tribe, as if his presence with that small party that sustained him (drunk or sober) constituted a regular council; we therefore consider his conduct *partial* and his acts illegal.

“4th. *Resolved*, that Captain Anderson having sent to our great father the Governor General a letter written by a vicious little man at Owen Sound, and signed by two ignorant Indians, in opposition to the deliberations and legal acts of our General Council, which was not only calculated to deceive and mislead those connected with the Indian Department, but was also a false slander upon our tribe.

“5th. *Resolved*, that we still claim the right to appoint our own chiefs and other officers, according to our own established usage and law; and while we may ask the Governor General to sanction such appointments, we will nevertheless not recognise the dismissal from office, or the nomination and appointment to office, by Captain Anderson, of any person without our concurrence.

“6th. *Resolved*, that if our ‘father’ the Governor General will send Mr. M^cLean of Guelph, (commissioner,) or any other disinterested honest man, not in his dotage, with the documents that were presented by Captain Anderson at Newash, to the party opposing our tribe, we will hear his words, and fairly investigate all these cases of complaint.

“Signed in behalf of the tribe,

“ALEX. MADWAYOSH, <i>Chief</i> ,	} <i>Secretaries.</i> ”
DAVID SAWYER,	
M. B. MADWAYOSH,	

Having no desire to commence hostilities against the surveyors, they immediately gave them notice to leave the territory quietly, or at once prepare to meet what might follow. Rather than have surveying implements smashed, and to avoid other consequences less desirable, the surveyors peaceably desisted from any further operations, and left the territory.

All this might have been avoided if the Governor General had been disposed to make any arrangements with them when in Quebec; but he withheld from them the common courtesies of

civilized life, in that he not only neglected to redress this grievance, but even refused to hear their complaints, or admit them to his presence, that they might lay before him those matters which not only involved the rights and interest of their tribe, but also affected the whole community throughout the surrounding country.

Under these circumstances Lord Bury was directed to visit Owen Sound, and arrange these difficulties, which by this time, assumed somewhat a stormy aspect. On his lordship's arrival at Owen Sound, he sent a message for the Indians to come from Saugeeng, some twenty miles, to see him. They thought, even that was more courteous than the treatment they had received in Quebec, but still it would not do; so "all hands" concluded to remain at home. Another messenger was then sent from Lord Bury; and the Indians, not wishing to return evil for evil, consented at last to meet his lordship in the woods, at the Sauble River, about one third of the distance to Owen Sound; where they all met on the following day, (tormented with a swarm of hungry mosquitos,) and after some conciliatory remarks made by Lord Bury, and encouragements held out that justice should be done, and their grievances redressed, the Indians consented that the surveyors might proceed, and complete the survey of the land.

New causes for dissatisfaction continued to occur; and that their case might be still more fully set forth to the Indian Department, they embodied the principal ground of their complaints in a Petition. And as they had no confidence in Captain

Anderson's way of doing business, they sent it to the Rev. C. Van Dusen, to be forwarded to "Head Quarters." The following is his letter enclosing the Petition to Lord Bury. I here give it a place, because it contains several important facts, which cannot be controverted.

Rev. C. Van Dusen's Letter to Lord Bury.

"NEWASH MISSION HOUSE,

"OWEN SOUND, *June 30th, 1855.*

"TO LORD BURY, SUPT. GEN. IND. AFFRS.

"MY LORD,—At the request of the Indians I forward to your Lordship for the consideration of His Excellency the Governor General the enclosed Petition of the chiefs and Indians composing the Ojibway Tribe, in the Owen Sound Country.

"For reasons set forth in the Petition the Indians are unwilling to transact their business through Captain Anderson. Your Lordship will therefore please excuse any apparent informality in my forwarding the petition 'without his concurrence.'

"False representations having been made to the Indian Department, both by communications from private individuals, and through the press, I feel it due to the Indians that I state the following facts, gathered not from rumour or conjecture, but from actual observation.

"There are only about one hundred and six adult Indians in the Owen Sound and Saugeeng Country who have any claim to the land recently surrendered. Nearly all of these have families, who, of course, will share equally in the interest arising from the sale of their land.

“There are, also, on this peninsula, several Indian families from Lake Simcoe, Manitoulin Island, and other parts of the country, who are permitted by the Ojibways to fish and hunt occasionally in their territory ; but these Indian stragglers have no claim whatever to the land, and therefore have nothing to say in their councils.

“ The Indians who share equally in the annuities paid to them for lands previously surrendered, and to whom is secured the peninsula by a Deed of Declaration, bearing date June 9th, 1847.—There are seventy-six Ojibways, twenty-seven Potawatamies, two Tahwahs, and one Sou ; making in all, one hundred and six Indians.

“ Of these twenty-seven Potawatamies who have been adopted in the tribe, twenty-one sustain Peter J. Kegedonce in opposing the acts of their General Councils, and compose the party who rally around Captain Anderson, and sustain him in what the tribe considers ‘ partial and illegal acts, and a slander upon the whole tribe.’

“ This Kegedonce, who was once a chief in the Newash Band, has been dismissed from office by an act of the General Council, and still he is sustained by Captain Anderson as *the* chief ! The tribe thinks it a hardship that any one connected with the Indian Department should assume to palm upon them a chief whom they repudiate. They also think it a hard case that this dismissed chief, who is a descendant of a ‘ Sou,’ sustained by a small faction of Potawatamies, should be encouraged by any one connected with the Indian Department in opposing the Ojibways, who are

the original owners of the soil, and who form a large majority of the tribe, and thus make discord, and destroy that peace and harmony that would otherwise exist among them. Some of the adopted Potawatamies and Tahwahs, who have not joined this faction, are quiet and good citizens; and I have no doubt others would be, if they were not influenced by designing men. I know of but one Ojibway who gives countenance to this faction, namely, the step-father of the said Kege-donce.

“The enclosed Petition is signed by sixty-nine Ojibways, six Potawatamies, and three Tahwahs; there are also a few Indians absent who always concur with the tribe, and who would sign the Petition if they were present; these, with those whose names are on the Petition, together with the twenty-one who compose the faction, are all the male adults in the tribe. Therefore, any representation going from other Indians in this part of the country, unless from those whose names are attached to the enclosed petition, (or at least a majority of them,) is unauthorized by the tribe.

“I am satisfied that these Indians have no wish to oppose the Government, or cause trouble in the country, unless driven to it by oppression. But they feel that they have cause to complain on account of the manner in which they have been treated. A council was called by Mr. Oliphant, last October, at Saugeeng, without giving notice to the Newash Band till after all the details of the Treaty were discussed; and no notice

whatever of the Council was given to the band at Colpoy's Bay. One Indian of the band happened to be present; but it also happened that he was not (and perhaps never will be) a member of this tribe. He has no share in their annuities or their lands; and notwithstanding he has neither lot nor part in these matters, yet by Mr. Oliphant he is named in the Treaty as the representative of that band!

“In a word, the verbal promises made to them when the Treaty was consummated last October, have not been carried out. Actual settlement on the land was a condition expressed in the former Treaty made last July, and the Indians expected it was implied in the one consummated in October.

“As their land was not surrendered for a certain annuity, as was the case in former Treaties made with the Government, but to be sold for their benefit, with the verbal promise that they might retain the right to direct in disposing of it for their advantage; they therefore ask that actual settlement be required on their lands when sold. Indeed, they claim it: they expect it, and the country also expects it.

“I have the honour to be,

“Sir, your obedient servant,

“C. VAN DUSEN.”

“*Indians' Petition, dated June 26th, 1855.*

“TO HIS EXCELLENCY SIR EDMUND HEAD,
GOVERNOR GENERAL, &c., &c.

“THE Petition of the chiefs, warriors, and

principal men of the Ojibway Tribe, at Saugeeng and Newash in Council assembled, June 26th, 1855.

“The members of this Council feel called upon to express their sorrow at the course pursued by your Excellency and Secretary in refusing to hear the chiefs of this tribe when in Quebec, or redress our grievances. We would now submit a few of our complaints for your Excellency’s consideration.

“We claim the right to appoint our own chiefs and other officers, according to our established custom and laws; and while we ask your Excellency to sanction, we will not recognise the dismissal from office, or the nomination, or appointment to office, by Captain Anderson, of any person without our concurrence.

“We complain against the person acting as a clerk at Newash, and those who co-operate with him. We are prepared to submit our complaints to any person (except Captain Anderson) your Excellency may be pleased to appoint, when we shall expect that all the documents presented by Captain Anderson at Newash, during his late visit, will be laid before the tribe.

“We complain that the wording of the late Treaty is not in accordance with the map laid before the Council the night the Treaty was discussed, which we are prepared to show.

“We complain that the regulations for the sale of public lands, requiring that actual settlement and improvements (as expressed in our former Treaty) which were in force when the last Treaty

was signed, and as understood to be the design of the Government, on the disposal of all lands, are to be set aside on the sale of the tract surrendered by us; thereby inflicting a serious injury on this portion of the province, and depreciating the value of our lands. We ask that the restrictions for actual settlement be strictly carried out.

“We complain that the promise made by Mr. Oliphant to the chiefs of the Saugeeng Band has not been carried out. Mr. Oliphant promised that our annuities should be regularly paid through the bank; instead of which, the last payment was sent by Captain Anderson to an unauthorized person, who, contrary to the expressed wishes of the chiefs, paid out the money without deducting the amount due by the tribe for provisions and tools purchased for the purpose of opening a road to the village, and building a bridge across a deep ravine. Mr. Oliphant was shown the work, and expressed his satisfaction in the manner in which it was done; and recommended that new lines of roads be opened, and paid out of the annuity. The Saugeeng chiefs are anxious to have the debt contracted by the tribe immediately paid; and we ask that Mr. Oliphant's promise—that our annuity be paid through a bank—be carried out.

“We complain that Captain Anderson, on a late visit at Newash, called a Council, which was attended by a few individuals whom we had adopted into our tribe, and in the absence of our chiefs and principal men, assumed to transact

principal men of the Ojibway Tribe, at Saugeeng and Newash in Council assembled, June 26th, 1855.

“The members of this Council feel called upon to express their sorrow at the course pursued by your Excellency and Secretary in refusing to hear the chiefs of this tribe when in Quebec, or redress our grievances. We would now submit a few of our complaints for your Excellency’s consideration.

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“We complain that Captain Anderson, on a late visit at Newash, called a Council, which was attended by a few individuals whom we had adopted into our tribe, and in the absence of our chiefs and principal men, assumed to transact

business for our whole tribe, as if his presence with the few—a small party who sustained him—constituted a regular Council. We consider his conduct partial, and his acts illegal.

“Captain Anderson having sent to your Excellency a document written by a little mischievous man, and signed by two ignorant Indians, in opposition to the deliberations and legal acts of our General Councils; we consider it not only calculated to mislead the Department, but as also a slander upon our tribe.

“When it pleases your Excellency to send a proper person to hear all we have to say, we shall be glad, &c., &c.

(Signed,) “ALEX. MADWAYOSH, *Chief*,
JOHN KATAHGEGUEN, *Chief*,
DAVID SAWYER, *Chief*,
J. T. WAHBADICK, *Chief*,”
and seventy-four others.

The General Council had authorized the chiefs to appropriate a certain amount of their annuities, to defray the expense of opening a road to the Saugeeng village, and in making a bridge, which was necessary; all of which improvements were inspected and approved of by Mr. Oliphant. But when their annuity was paid by an agent who was not properly authorized, the whole amount was disbursed to the different claimants, without any reference to the amount due for the improvements; thus leaving a heavy debt upon the chiefs, who had made themselves liable for the amount. This, with all the other foregoing matters of com-

plaint, affecting not only the Indians, but the white population throughout the surrounding country, should not have been treated with neglect and contempt by the Department, when urged by the chiefs, the warriors, councillors, and nearly every member of the tribe. But they were neglected, and their rights trampled under foot.

CHAPTER XVII.

INDIAN DECLARATION.

INDIANS STILL DESIRE TO OBTAIN DEEDS FOR THEIR OWN LAND—REV. C. VAN DUSEN'S LETTER ENCLOSING INDIAN DECLARATION.

WHEN the Indians surrendered their land in October, 1854, they reserved for the Newash Band, not only what is called Cape Crocker, but also what is now known as the town plot of Brooke, and the township of Sarawak; and subsequently proposals were made by the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs in 1856, for the surrender of these two last places named. Many of the Indians were willing to surrender every foot of land they had, except what they could occupy themselves for farming purposes, providing they could each have a deed for a farm they could call their own. In view of this, they sent to his Excellency the following Declaration, enclosed in a letter from the Rev. C. Van Dusen to Lord Bury, as follows:—

“OWEN SOUND, NEWASH,

MISSION HOUSE, *October 7th*, 1856.

“TO LORD BURY, SUP. GEN. IND. AFFRS, &c.

“MY LORD,—At the request of the Indians I forward to you the enclosed Declaration, to be laid

before His Excellency the Governor General. It will be observed in this Declaration the Indians have said nothing about surrendering any more of their land; but I have no doubt if the Government should see fit to comply with their wish, and grant to them, and to each member of their families respectively, a deed for one hundred acres of their land, all that remains they would cheerfully surrender, especially if the proceeds of it, when sold, can be made available to aid them in settling soon upon their farms.

“There is nothing contained in the Declaration but what was suggested by themselves. By the term, ‘a free deed,’ they only mean, free of cost or charge for deed and land, not free to dispose of it, but they wish it secured to themselves and to their heirs in succession for ever.

“I also beg to state that, of the whole tribe, (I mean those who share in their annuities,) sixty-six cordially concur in the Declaration, and have signed it. Fourteen of the tribe were absent, and the other six, influenced, as they are, by a mercenary, mischievous man at Owen Sound, oppose it; and I have no doubt, under the same influence, they would oppose any other measure that might be proposed for the improvement of the Indians.

“In conclusion, I beg to state, that, having had ample opportunity of observing the wants of the Indians, and their improvement in civilization, I am satisfied that until each head of a family can possess a farm, which he can call his own, and be absolutely the owner of the team, and the imple-

ments of husbandry that he may possess, there can be no reasonable ground to hope they will ever become frugal, and learn the lessons of economy.

“As it now is, if a yoke of oxen be obtained for their use, they belong to the whole band in common, and in such case all use them, but none feel responsible to feed them: the consequence, almost without an exception, is, they die in winter, seldom any live a year in their possession. The same loss is sustained in the want of care taken of their implements of husbandry: all use them, but none take care of or repair them. Until each one can possess his own farm and effects, any effort made to introduce among the Indians habits of industry, frugality, and domestic economy, will be in a great measure labour spent in vain. But I have no doubt that as many are now under the influence of Christianity, and wish to enjoy the blessing of civilization, if they can be permitted to possess farms of their own, they may be influenced to contract habits of industry, and ultimately become good and wholesome citizens.

“I have the honour to be

“Sir, your obedient servant,

“C. VAN DUSEN.”

“INDIAN DECLARATION.

“THE following Declaration is respectfully submitted by the undersigned for the consideration of His Excellency, Sir Edmund Head, Bart., Governor General of British North America, &c.,

“ We, the Indians residing in the Owen Sound and Saugeeng Country, DECLARE that, having disposed of all our hunting grounds, we can no longer live by the chase, and therefore wish to settle upon farms, and become farmers and mechanics, abandon our hunting and roving habits, and no longer be as minors to be treated like children, but be allowed to enjoy all the blessings of civilization, and, like other citizens and subjects of Her Majesty’s Government, enjoy the benefits of our Provincial Statutes, be governed by them, and observe them like other men. In a word, we DECLARE it is our wish to become freeholders, and not be disfranchised, or denied any civil or political rights enjoyed by the yeomanry of our country. Therefore, we DECLARE, if the Government will grant unto us individually, and to each member of our respective families, a *free deed* for one hundred acres of our own land, which we have not yet surrendered, to be possessed and enjoyed by us, and our heirs in succession for ever; and if we can have a positive assurance, that on our forming such a settlement, as we contemplate, a manual or labour school shall be established among us, as soon as practicable, in which our children may be instructed in the various branches of English education, and also be taught to become mechanics and farmers, and thereby be induced to contract habits of industry and frugality; then, in such case, we DECLARE, that we who have hereunto put our names and ‘*too-tems*’ will settle as above intimated in one locality or place that may be agreed upon by a majority of

us, with the approval of the Government; and we DECLARE, that we will as far as possible carry out through life the faithful observance of all that is contained, implied, or expressed in this DECLARATION, which is not however understood or intended by us to interfere in any respect with our present claims on the Government for our annuities, or for the avails of the land we have recently surrendered to be disposed of for our own benefit.

(Signed,) “ALEX. MADWAYOSH, *Chief*,
 JOHN KATAHGEGUEN, *Chief*,
 JOHN THO. WAHBADICK, *Chief*,
 and sixty-two others.”

“Witness, J. K. WILLISTON, *Missionary*,

“October, 1856.”

CHAPTER XVIII.

DEEDS PROMISED.

LABOURS OF THE REV. J. K. WILLISTON—REV. P. JONES—LORD GLENELG—PROMISED DEEDS TO INDIANS.

THE band of Indians at Saugeeng was now favoured with the efficient and successful labours of the Rev. J. K. Williston, Missionary at that place; and as their spiritual and temporal condition, under his example, instructions, and influence, much improved, indications of their increasing anxiety for the education of their youth, and desire to settle on separate farms, and become frugal and industrious, were frequently and more strongly developed.

They had often been promised title deeds, securing to each a farm. As early as 1838, a pledge of this kind was given by Lord Glenelg, in answer to a petition from the "Credit Tribe" of Indians, presented by the late Rev. Peter Jones. In his Journal, recently published by the Wesleyan-Methodist Conference, on page 407, referring to his introduction to the Queen of England, he states, that in September, 1838, on being introduced to the Queen, he said, that he had great pleasure in laying before her Majesty, a Petition from the Indians residing at the Credit River in Upper Canada, which that people had sent by him; that he was happy to say Lord Glenelg

(pointing to his Lordship) had already granted the prayer of the petition, by requesting the Governor of Upper Canada to give the Indians the title deeds they asked for. His Lordship bowed to Her Majesty, and she bowed in token of approbation of his Lordship's having granted the thing prayed for by her red children."

Notwithstanding the Governors of Canada have been directed by her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, to give the Indians "title deeds" for farms of their own land, and the hope of obtaining deeds was one strong inducement to surrender their peninsula, in October, 1854, reserving of their territory only sufficient for farming purposes for their tribe; and notwithstanding the positive promise made at that time by the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, that deeds should be given; yet up to this day we have no knowledge of an Indian, in any part of Canada, ever obtaining a deed for one foot of their own land.

And now, under the present administration, instead of carrying out the intention and instructions of Lord Glenelg, as sanctioned by Her Majesty the Queen, to give the Indians "title deeds," in the printed "Report of the Special Commissioners appointed to investigate Indian Affairs in Canada," published in 1858, it is stated that "the period has arrived when the Government should exercise authority; and in cases where the Indians obstinately refuse to accede to any terms of surrender, that gentle means of *coercion* be applied." Of course

the Indian Department will say this was designed for the benefit of the Indians! But it is directly opposite to what Mr. Oliphant promised in 1854, when he obtained a surrender of nearly the whole of their peninsula; and, also, in opposition to the instructions given by Lord Glenelg, and sanctioned by Her Majesty the Queen.

And badly as some suppose the Indians have been treated by the American Government, yet in the same Report it is admitted that "in Michigan the tribal organization of many bands is completely dissolved; and the franchise, with all the other rights of citizenship, exercised by the Indians."

The Indians thus form an integral part of the population "of the state, on the same footing as their white neighbours." But in Canada it is otherwise. Indians are not allowed to hold separate titles for their own land; but hold it by tribal tenure, which has long since proved to defeat every effort made to introduce among them habits of frugality and industry. By keeping the Indians in this state of pupilage, circumscribed in their privileges as British subjects, they, as a matter of course, continue indolent; just as their white neighbours would be, if placed in similar circumstances. And because of their indolence they are urged, and even coerced, to surrender their land.

But some white men hold large tracts of land unoccupied, very frequently to the great inconvenience of those who go into new settlements in Canada to clear up the forest and cultivate the

soil ; but no complaints are urged by the Government on that account. They are not urged or compelled to surrender their land, but hold it by "*title-deeds*" till it suits their interest to dispose of it, after it has been increased in value by the hard labour and sweat of the new settler.

Also, in the Report of the "Special Committee" appointed to examine into the state of the affairs of the Indians in Canada, on page 130, they justly state that, sometimes, the Indians, "feeling the pressure of the tide of emigration, refuse to cede a part of their possessions for fear of being deprived of the whole:" and, also, that "the unwillingness on the part of the Indians to surrender has been greatly increased by the losses they have suffered through the carelessness and dishonesty of those appointed to watch over their interests: and that they have ceded very large tracts of valuable land without receiving one penny of compensation ; and it will not be until these losses have been somewhat repaired, that we can expect them to give up voluntarily more of their reserves."

And now, strange as it may appear, with all this admittance of the injustice done to the Indians, and with all these bewildering facts before the country, the Indian Department still persists in the same unrighteous course, and tolerates the system of plundering the poor Indians. This is truly a reproach to Canada, and a wonder to the world.

The inexplicable course pursued with the Indians by some connected with that "Depart-

ment," is truly marvellous. For instance, on one occasion, Captain Anderson advises that the Government use *coercive* measures, and compel the Indians to surrender their land; and then, again, he falls into a kind of soliloquy for the Indians, in attempting to express the "feelings of the remnant of this once numerous race;" and on page 254 of the "Special Commissioners' Report" states, that "the Indians have been induced to sell their lands for a small valuation; and that upon it they see their white brethren a thriving, rich, and happy people, but that some wish their great Mother the Queen to take from them the few acres that remain:"—but he goes on to state, that he still hopes the "Queen will take pity on the Indians, and secure for them, at least, a place for their graves."

This, indeed, appears very benevolent; but the Indians ask for justice *first*, then "pity." And but little of either justice or pity should they expect from Captain Anderson, or the Indian Department, judging from the treatment they have already received from that quarter.

In referring to the condition and prospects of Canada in 1854, as portrayed in Dispatches of the Right Hon. the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, Governor General of Canada to Her Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, it is stated in section 40: "It is painful to turn from reviewing the progress of the European population and their descendants established in this portion of America, to contemplate the condition and prospects of the aboriginal tribes. It cannot,

I fear, be affirmed with truth that the difficult problem of reconciling the interests of an inferior and native race with those of an intrusive and superior one, has, as yet, been satisfactorily solved on this continent. In the United States, the course of proceeding generally followed in this matter has been that of compelling the red man, through the influence of persuasion or force, to make way for the white, by retreating further and further into the wilderness: a mode of dealing with the case which necessarily entails the occasional adoption of harsh measures, and which ceases to be practicable when civilization approaches the limits of the territory to be occupied. In Canada, the tribes have been permitted to dwell among the scenes of their early associations and traditions, on lands reserved from the advancing tide of white settlement, and set apart for their use. But this system, though more lenient in its operation than the other, is not unattended with difficulties of its own. The laws enacted for their protection, and in the absence of which they fall an easy prey to the more scrupulous among their energetic neighbours, tend to keep them in a condition of perpetual pupillage; and the relation subsisting between them and the Government, which treats them partly as independent peoples, and partly as infants under its guardianship, involves many anomalies and contradictions. Unless there be some reasonable ground for the hope that they be eventually absorbed in the general population of the country, the Canadian system is probably destined, in the

long run, to prove as disastrous to them as that of the United States."

The wholesale robbery of the Indians is admitted by the "Special Commissioners," appointed by our Colonial Government to examine into these affairs; and they admit the losses the Indians have sustained by the dishonesty of those "appointed to watch over their interests." And that the Indians have "ceded very large tracts of valuable land without receiving one penny of compensation." Is it not strange that such a *magnificent* system of robbery and plunder would be tolerated or practised by men treading halls of legislation in a Christian country? Truly it may be said, "When the wicked are in power, the land mourneth." But when wholesale acts of rapine are committed or tolerated by the Queen's Representative, it is just and right that their royal mistress should be made acquainted with these mysterious affairs. But how can this be done successfully by an Indian? Such a task would not be easily performed; and, therefore, the Indians sullenly submit to these ills that stand in their lot, from necessity and not from choice.

CHAPTER XIX.

RESERVE SURRENDERED.

IN ABSENCE OF CHIEF SAWYER A SURRENDER IS
MADE—NO RESERVE MADE FOR LAND FOR
WHICH HE HAD AN INDIAN DEED—REV. C.
VAN DUSEN'S PETITION TO SIR WILLIAM EYRE
—LETTER TO MR. PENNEFATHER, S.G.I.A.

IN the summer of 1860, Chief Sawyer's services were required at Grand River, to aid the Rev. George M'Dougall, Missionary at that place; and, during his temporary absence from Owen Sound, a council was called at Newash, and proposals made by Mr. Pennefather for the Indians to surrender the remaining part of their reserved land at Owen Sound, in which proposals they did not concur. But, subsequently, a few of the Indians went down to Toronto, and surrendered the whole reserve, which now composes the town-plot of Brooke, and the township of Sarawak; and in Chief Sawyer's absence, signed the Treaty, and, without his knowledge, surrendered the whole without making any provisions for him, or any reserve of the forty-three acres for which he held an Indian Deed, and on which he had expended so much money and hard labour in making improvements. Nor did they even

reserve for him any part of the three acres, or “*wharf lot*,” for which he had paid the full amount agreed on in cash down, and which amount had been, at the time, paid out for provisions, and distributed among the whole band, when they were needed.

The Indian Department was not unacquainted with the fact, that he had paid the tribe for “the wharf lot,” and that he held an Indian Deed for it, and that he also had a Deed for the forty-three acres on which he had expended so much hard labour. The Department may tell him that an Indian Deed is not valid in law. Well, that may be the case; and though Indians are not lawyers, they know there is a difference between right and wrong in the nature of things. And I would ask the Department, our Government, our country,—yes, the world, Christian or pagan, if it is right that he should be thus deprived of his property, and turned out upon the street, with a large and helpless family to support, stripped and deprived of his hard earnings, merely because the Indian Deed is said to be not *valued* in law by those who make law, or feel that they are above it!

His premises not having been reserved by the Indians who made the last surrender of their lands, the whole was surveyed into town and park lots; and though this surrender was made by some who are the most ignorant in the tribe, yet their acts were “valued in law.” But the Department says an Indian Deed is no good; though signed by all the chiefs and principal men in the tribe, it is not “valued in law.” But I suppose a

Treaty in which they surrender their lands to the Government will be good, and "valued in law," if signed by *any* few Indians, though the majority may be opposed to it!

Under these circumstances the Rev. C. Van Dusen was requested to petition the Government in Chief Sawyer's behalf, to allow him to hold the town lots in the survey, including his garden and buildings, in lieu of the forty-three acres for which he held an Indian Deed; and also, other town lots, in lieu of his three acre wharf lot, now surveyed and sold by auction at the sale of Indian land.

The Governor General was at this time absent from the province, and the Petition was therefore addressed to Sir William Eyre, Lieutenant Governor of Canada.

The following is a copy of the Petition forwarded by Mr. Van Dusen, together with the Indian Deeds, to show the justice of the claims urged:—

"TO HIS EXCELLENCY SIR WILLIAM EYRE, K.C.B.,
LIEUT.-GENERAL, ADMINISTRATOR OF THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA, &c.

"The Petition of Conrad Van Dusen, of Newash, Owen Sound, humbly sheweth,

"THAT Chief David Sawyer, son of Joseph Sawyer, Chief of the River Credit Tribe of Indians, having been invited by the Owen Sound Band of Indians to settle among them; and having complied with their invitation, on their promise that

he should enjoy all privileges as other members of the tribe, and also that he should have for himself and his family forty-three acres of their land for ever, and also that they would aid him in the erection of a frame-house, as will appear from document No. 1, which I herewith enclose, bearing date July, 1851.

“And also that, on the 7th day of March, 1855, having obtained from the rest of the Band three acres of land, on which to build a wharf, for the general benefit of the Indians at Newash, as will appear from document No. 2, here enclosed; and having at considerable expense procured, and by his own labour prepared, timber for the erection of a wharf. And whereas other chiefs having been appointed in the Newash Band, who, in making the recent surrender of land at Owen Sound, in his absence, made no reserve of the land sold or given to the said David Sawyer. Your petitioner, at the special request of the said David Sawyer, most respectfully and earnestly prays that the said house and one and a half acre of land, composing six town-lots in the new survey, be granted to the said David Sawyer, in lieu of the forty-three acres obtained from the Indians. And also that he be allowed to retain, in the new survey, one acre and a half, in lieu of the three acres sold to him by the Owen Sound Indians; and as in duty bound your petitioner will ever pray.

“CONRAD VAN DUSEN.”

“OWEN SOUND, *September 2nd*, 1857.”

The above Petition, and the Indian Deeds

marked documents No. 1 and No. 2, were sent to R. T. Pennefather, Esq., S.G.I.A., to be laid before the Department, of which we suppose Sir William Eyre was at the head for the time being; and Mr. Pennefather was respectfully requested by Mr. Van Dusen to give it his support. The following is his letter to Mr. Pennefather.

“NEWASH MISSION HOUSE,

OWEN SOUND, *September 2nd*, 1857.

“R. T. PENNEFATHER, Esq., S.G.I.A., &c.

“SIR,—Enclosed you have a petition to be laid before his Excellency the Administrator of the Government of Canada.

“By giving it your attention and support, you will greatly serve the cause of *justice* in Chief Sawyer’s case, and much oblige

“Your obedient, humble servant,

“CONRAD VAN DUSEN.”

Neither Sir William Eyre, then the Administrator of the Government, nor Mr. Pennefather, seemed to have the least disposition to attend to Chief Sawyer’s case any further than to retain his Indian Deeds, which documents he never afterwards has been able to recover.

CHAPTER XX.

DEEDS WITHHELD.

INDIAN DEPARTMENT REFUSE TO REDRESS CHIEF
SAWYER'S LOSSES, AND WITHHOLD HIS DEEDS
—CERTIFICATES OF PURCHASE WITHHELD—
PETITIONS PARLIAMENT—REV. C. VAN DUSEN'S
LETTER TO J. HOGAN, ESQ., M.P.P.

THE Department not only declined doing anything in the case of Chief Sawyer, by way of remunerating him for the heavy losses he had sustained through the unfair proceedings of those who managed the affairs of the Indians; but they retained his *Indian Deeds*, enclosed with the Petition to his Excellency by Mr. Van Dusen.

It really was insulting to Chief Sawyer's feelings to have his just and reasonable claims treated with neglect and contempt; but to this insult was added an injury by not returning his Deeds,—documents which had been forwarded to show the justice of his claims.

It was a hardship to be deprived of his land; but to be robbed also of his Deeds and documents, in the way he was, is an outrage upon every principle of justice and honour.

These Deeds are still withheld by Government. Neither the chief nor any of his friends have been able to recover them!

Under these circumstances, to save his house from being at once taken from him, he attended the sale of Indian land at Owen Sound, in September, 1857, and purchased a few of the town lots to secure his garden, house, and barn ; and at the same time he bought, at the public auction, farm-lots Nos. 27, 28, 29, and 30, in the third concession of the township of Sarawak, on which he had, with the approbation of the tribe, made improvements, for the purpose of settling his family there, as previously intimated.

At the sale of land, when he purchased these farm lots, he obtained from Mr. Bartlett, the agent, certificates of the purchase. These certificates and the money to pay the first instalments, according to the printed condition of the sale, he placed in the hands of the Missionary at Newash, the Rev. C. Van Dusen, Chairman of the Owen Sound District, to pay to the agent of the Receiver General, and to obtain a receipt for the same. But on Mr. Van Dusen's way to that office he called on Mr. Bartlett, the agent, who withheld the certificates, informing Mr. Van Dusen that he had just received orders from the "Department," not to sell any of these lots to Indians.

At the same sale of land, farm lots were purchased by Abner Elliott and Mrs. Sutton, (alias Sunigo,) who were placed in circumstances similar to that of the chief. Their certificates were at the same time, and for the same reasons, withheld by the agent.

Fortunately the sale had closed the day before,

or no doubt these farm lots would again have been exposed for sale, and purchased by some land speculators from Toronto.

At that sale there were many lots purchased by white men, who have not yet paid a cent of the purchase money (that we know of), as required by the conditions of the sale; but we have not heard of any complaint or forfeit on that account, nor do I say there should be: but we think it rather unfortunate (at least for Indians) that such a marked distinction should be made between white men and aborigines—the original owners of the soil.

Having made several fruitless attempts to get their grievances redressed by the Department, they petitioned the Provincial Parliament, when in session in the city of Toronto, in 1858.

THE FOLLOWING IS A COPY OF THEIR PETITION:—

*“To the Honourable, Legislative Assembly of Canada
in Provincial Parliament assembled.*

“THE petition of David Sawyer, Catherine Sutton, and Abner Elliott, members of the Ojibway tribe of Indians at Owen Sound, Upper Canada, Humbly Showeth,

“That your petitioner, David Sawyer, is the oldest son of Joseph Sawyer, Chief of the Credit Band of Ojibway Indians. That your petitioner became a member of the Newash Band of Indians at Owen Sound in 1845, at their special request, and on the condition that he should have, *exclusively* for himself and his heirs for ever, forty-

three acres of their land at Newash, (Owen Sound,) for which they gave him a written title, and on which he has a good and substantial house and barn, and other improvements he has made on the premises.

“In 1855 your petitioner also purchased of the tribe three acres of land in the village of Newash, known as the ‘wharf lot,’ for the purpose of erecting a wharf thereon for the general benefit of the Indians; and by his own labour, and at considerable expense, prepared timber necessary to build the wharf; but, before the work was completed, other chiefs in the Newash Band were appointed by the Indian Department, contrary to the unanimous vote of the General Council of the tribe! These chiefs, in the absence of your petitioner, and without the concurrence of many of the tribe, have subsequently surrendered to the Government all the land which had been reserved as a home for the Newash Band, about two miles wide, and extending from the town of Owen Sound down the Bay, about ten miles, all which has been surveyed, and in September last was sold at public auction. It comprises what was formerly the village of Newash, but is now called the ‘town plot of Brooke,’ (adjoining the town of Owen Sound,) also the township of ‘Sara-wak,’ through which the Indian settlement was extended.

“Thus the forty-three acres of land deeded to your petitioner, with all his improvements and his wharf lot, for which he had paid the full price agreed on, in money down at the time of the

purchase, has been sold at public auction, without any remuneration being made to him.

“Also, your petitioner begs to state, that in September, 1857, at the sale of Indian land, he purchased for his three sons and his son-in-law, lots Nos. 27, 28, 29, and 30, in the third concession of Sarawak, each lot containing about one hundred acres, which they had occupied for several years with the cordial approbation of the whole tribe, and on which they had made extensive clearings, and had erected a good house and barn. That at the time of the sale, your petitioner obtained from the agent, a certificate of the purchase he had made; but a day or two after this, the agent having received fresh instructions from the Indian Department, he was told ‘these lots could not be sold to the Indians,’ and the certificates were therefore withheld.

“Your petitioner has had the opportunity of obtaining a common school education, and has been employed by the Indian Department as ‘writer and interpreter’ for the bands of Indians at Newash, Saugeeng, and Colpoy’s Bay; and has also been employed as interpreter and school-teacher among the Indians at Muncy town, at Saugeeng, and at Newash, and has had considerable experience in agricultural pursuits; and having aided to the utmost of his humble abilities to promote the improvement and elevation of his fellow Indians, he is extremely anxious to retain his farms, be a freeholder, and have the several members of his family remain on farms, and be

good farmers, good citizens, and true and loyal subjects to the British crown.

“Your petitioner, Catherine Sutton, (alias Sunego,) was formerly a member of the River Credit Band of Indians: that she and her husband (William Sutton, a white man) with their family, were transferred, about eight years ago, from the Credit to the Newash Band, were they settled on land given to them by the band, and for which they obtained from them a written title. On this land they have erected a commodious house, barn, and stables, and have made extensive clearings, and brought forty or fifty acres into a good state of cultivation.

“In making all these improvements your petitioner and her husband have expended more than one thousand dollars in money, besides many years’ hard toil. But the land having been surrendered by a few of the Newash Band, the whole was brought into market at the sale of Indian land, in September, 1857, at which time your petitioner purchased, at the ‘upset price,’ for herself and husband, and for her sons, lots Nos. 31, 34, 35, and 36 in the third concession of Sarawak, on which their improvements were made, for which she received from the agent a certificate of her purchase; and that your petitioner had the money to pay the first instalment on the land according to the conditions of the sale, and when it was sent by a friend at the proper time for payment, the certificates were withheld by the agent, on the ground that ‘these lots could not be sold to Indians.’

“Also, your petitioner begs to state that, the annuity for herself and her family is withheld from them, on account of the temporary absence of herself and husband, at an Indian Mission, where he was employed in preparing a model farm for the Indians.

“Also, at the sale of Indian land, as above stated, in September, 1857, your petitioner purchased lots Nos. 32 and 33 in the same range in Sarawak, for her mother, who still has with her a rising family, and who has for many years occupied these lots with the cordial approbation of the whole tribe, and has by her own frugality, and the industry of her family, built a good house and stable, and has brought into a good state of cultivation about thirty acres: and had in hand the money to pay the first instalments; but when it was sent, at the proper time, for payment, the certificates of the purchase were withheld by the agent, as in the former case.

“Also, lot No. 37 in the same range was purchased by your petitioner’s sister, Mary Sunego; and the certificate of the purchase was retained in the same way as before stated.

“That your petitioner, Abner Elliott, is a member of the Newash Band of Indians, that he purchased lot No. 38 in the third concession of Sarawak, at the ‘upset price,’ at the sale of Indian land, in September, 1857. That he was prepared to pay according to the conditions of the sale; but that the certificate he had obtained from the agent, of the purchase he had made, was afterwards withheld from him. That your peti-

tioner has had experience in farming, and has been employed as school-teacher and interpreter at the Newash Mission, which last situation he holds, but is extremely anxious to settle permanently with his family on a farm.

“Having applied to the Indian Department for redress, personally, and also through their respected Missionary, the Rev. C. Van Dusen, without success, your petitioners, therefore, humbly and most earnestly pray, that your Honourable House will be pleased to take their case under the most favourable consideration, and adopt such measures as will secure to your petitioner, David Sawyer, his property in Brooke, formerly Newash, or a fair remuneration for his loss of it; and also that he be permitted to retain the farm lots he purchased for his family, as above stated, in Sarawak, according to the conditions of the sale, allowing him the benefit of his own improvements, of which he is still in possession.

“And that your petitioner Catherine Sutton and her husband be allowed to enjoy the benefit of the improvements they have made on the land, and also that they be allowed to retain for themselves and their family the farm lots purchased at the sale in September last, on the same terms that others bought, according to the conditions of the sale. And that your petitioner be permitted also to retain for her mother and sister, on the same conditions, the lots purchased for them.

“And that your petitioner Abner Elliott also be permitted to retain the farm lot he purchased on

the well known conditions of the sale ; and that he be allowed the benefit of the improvements made by his late father John Elliott, which improvements have been in his possession ever since the death of his father.

“And, as in duty bound, your petitioners will ever pray.

(Signed,) “DAVID SAWYER,
CATHERINE SUTTON,
ABNER ELLIOTT.”

“OWEN SOUND, *April 1st, 1858.*”

This petition was placed in the hands of Mr. Hogan, M.P.P., the representative for the county of Grey, who promised to give it his early attention ; but finding a delay in presenting it in Parliament, Mr. Van Dusen wrote him as follows :—

“NEWASH MISSION HOUSE, OWEN SOUND,
April 15th, 1858.

“J. S. HOGAN, ESQ., M.P.P., &c.

“SIR,—No doubt you will recollect I spoke to you a few days ago when in Toronto, respecting Indian affairs ; you then thought a Committee might be appointed to inquire into these matters, but I have not had the pleasure of hearing from you since. Perhaps I feel too impatient to have something done. At this you would not be surprised if you were acquainted with the facts relative to Indian affairs, with which I am familiar.

“The tribes of Indians in this (Owen Sound) country is composed of three bands ; one at Saugeng, one at Newash, and another at Colpoys

Bay. Up till October, 1854, this tribe owned the whole of the peninsula between Lake Huron and the Georgian Bay, from eight to eighteen miles wide, and about seventy miles long.

“The original owners of this land are Ojibways, a few others, principally from the United States, have been adopted in the tribe. In the Newash Band there are about seventy-three Ojibways, twenty-six Potawatamies and two Tawas. In the Saugeeng Band there are more Ojibways, and a few Potawatamies. The Colpoy’s Bay Indians are mostly from Lake Simcoe, and but few of that band belong to this tribe. Many other Indians stroll about these parts, but only those who belong to the tribe share in their annuities, or have claims upon their land.

“According to their custom they have always (till lately) nominated and appointed their own chiefs; but of late the Indian Department have refused to appoint to that office those Ojibways who have been recommended by a unanimous vote of their General Council, composed of all their principal men in the tribe, and they continued in office as chiefs of the Newash Band, a Potawatamie, and a descendant from a Soux, in opposition to the repeatedly expressed wishes of the tribe.

“Unfair means have been used in obtaining a surrender of their land. Promises have been made to them which have never been fulfilled.

“At Saugeeng, the line from the Indian village to Lake Huron was run in a direction different from what was agreed upon, shutting them out about five miles from the lake. And when they

sent a deputation of four chiefs (and myself) to Quebec in May, 1855, to ask for redress, the chiefs were treated like Indian dogs. His Excellency the Governor General would not hear nor even permit them to see *him*. May he live for ever ! And Lord Bury—Heavens bless him—even *he* would not acknowledge them as chiefs, nor receive them officially, because they did not bring a recommendation from Captain Anderson ! I suppose you know that gentleman ; if so, that will do. So they were obliged to return without any grievances being redressed, and the surveyors completed their work, contrary to the agreement.

“In September, 1856, the land was offered for sale. Part of two townships was sold, for which one third was paid down, amounting to thirty-three thousand pounds ; and the other two thirds are to be paid in annual instalments with interest in five or six years. Who knows what has become of all that money ? Of course, it did not take all that to pay the surveyors.

“Besides this, five or six years ago, these same Indians surrendered a strip of land half a mile wide, and extending from Owen Sound to Saugeng, which was soon after sold ; but the Indians have got no account of it.

“Then again, last September the remaining parts of the townships of Amabel and Keppel, (the two townships that were brought into market the year before,) together with two other townships, were sold. The amount realized from this sale in September, 1857, I do not know ; but I suppose it was above the amount the year before. There are

three or four other townships yet to be sold ; and I am sure every reasonable man will submit that the whole affair should be placed under the direction and control of our colonial legislature.

“ The Saugeeng Band and the Newash Band reserved a plot of land where they were residing, and had made improvements. The Saugeeng Band still remain on theirs at Saugeeng, though they are shut out five miles from the Lake. And the Colpoy’s Bay Indians remain on theirs, which was long ago given to them by the rest of the tribe. But the Newash Band surrendered theirs near Owen Sound ; and have (since it was sold) received each about forty dollars ; a part of which amount I heard Mr. Chesley tell them he had borrowed, in order to pay them. The Indians wonder what has been done with all the money. That Mr. Chesley has to borrow to pay them any of the amount due to them, is a mystery.

“ At the sale of the land at Owen Sound last September, five or six of the most intelligent of this band bought farms. Some of them bought the farms on which they lived, and on which they had made improvements to the amount of from one hundred to one thousand dollars. They placed in my hands the certificates they had obtained of Mr. Bartlett, the agent, certifying that they had purchased the lots at a certain price, and also the money to make the payments required ; and, on my way to Mr. Jackson’s office, in another part of the town, Mr. Bartlett asked me to see those certificates, and retained them, informing me at the same time he had just received

instructions from the Department not to sell any of these farms to Indians.

“They have asked for redress, but get no satisfaction. Is this the way to treat the Indians, after we have toiled for years to moralize and Christianize them ?

“Again, another hard case is that of an Indian who holds an Indian Deed for forty-three acres of land near Owen Sound, and is one of the most intelligent Indians in the tribe. On this little farm he has a fine two-story house ; also, he some time ago bought of the tribe, and obtained their Deed for, three acres in another place, on which he had prepared, at considerable expense, to build a wharf. I saw him pay the tribe the money for the three acres ; and they have since that (I mean a few of them) surrendered the whole, without making any provisions for the Indians whom they have thus injured ; and when the Indian Department is acquainted with all these facts, they still refuse to do anything to make right what they cannot but know is verily wrong.

“The fact is, the Indians are (many of them) discouraged and disgusted with such a course as has been pursued by that Department.

“Now these are a few of the many cases of hardships and oppression to which they have to submit. Can anything be done to sift the matter effectually ? Can a Committee be appointed to institute an inquiry into Indian affairs ? If not, what can be done ? Please let me hear from you on the subject. I think the country should know

what becomes of such an immense revenue as arises from the sale of such an extensive tract of land.

“The more I know of the case, and the more I think of the matter, the more I am convinced that our Indian affairs should be placed under the control of our colonial legislature.

“If you can do anything to bring about such a measure, you will not only secure the confidence of a large portion of your constituency, but greatly serve the cause of truth and justice,

“I have the honour to be, Sir,

“Your obedient servant,

“CONRAD VAN DUSEN.”

CHAPTER XXI.

PETITION READ IN PARLIAMENT.

INDIAN PETITION AND MR. VAN DUSEN'S LETTER
READ BEFORE PARLIAMENT—REV. C. VAN
DUSEN BEFORE THE INDIAN DEPARTMENT—
EXTRACT FROM "CHRISTIAN GUARDIAN" ON
"ABSTRUSIVE POLICY."

THEIR petition was at last brought before the Parliament by the honourable member for Grey ; and though Mr. Van Dusen's letter was a private communication to Mr. Hogan, (seeing it contained important facts, and many of them made from his own personal observation,) it was also read before the Parliament.

Certain members of the Department seemed to take exceptions to the statements contained both in the Petition and in the letter ; upon which Mr. Hogan immediately wrote to Mr. Van Dusen to meet the "Department" in Toronto, to sustain the statements contained in his letter and in the Petition. With this he readily complied, and fully sustained every statement contained in the Petition, and in his letter, to which exceptions had been taken.

Mr. Bartlett, the agent, whose honest integrity, both in public and in private life, is well known, admitted that he had withheld the certificates of

the sale of lands to the Indians, as Mr. Van Dusen had stated; and that he had done so, on receiving instructions from the "Department not to sell the land to Indians." One of the members of the Indian Department stated that it appeared "to have been overlooked," which probably was the case.

And then the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs made such promises that the Indians' grievances should be redressed, that the matter was urged no further. And Mrs. Sutton, an Indian woman, one of the petitioners who had viewed their case as hopeless, had prepared to lay her complaints before her Majesty the Queen, and had actually started for England; but on these prospects of obtaining redress, she was advised by Mr. Van Dusen and others to return home, which, at that time, she did.

Both the Petition and Mr. Van Dusen's letter found their way into the public newspapers, and several editors animadverted upon them. In the "Christian Guardian," of Toronto, both the Petition and letter were published; and on the strange policy pursued by the "Department" in regard to the treatment of the Indians in Canada, it is stated by the Rev. J. Spencer, in an editorial in the "Christian Guardian," of Wednesday, July 28th, 1858 :—

"AN ABSTRUSIVE POLICY.

"THE facts stated in a Petition in another column of this paper present an aspect in regard to the treatment of the Indians of this province

which demands the serious consideration of all who desire, and labour for, the elevation of that race to the position and blessings of civilization. We think it proper thus to draw attention to this matter by the publication of the Petition, because of the interest which we, as Methodists and supporters of Indian Missions, take in the welfare of that people. The Wesleyan Church was not only the first to engage in the work of Indian Missions in the province, but has continued, until the present time, to employ more agencies in that Department than any other branch of the church; and we think we state only a simple fact without boasting, when we say that the Wesleyan Church has contributed more than all other agencies towards the evangelization as well as the temporal benefit of the aborigines of this country.

“The primary object of Missions amongst the Indians has ever undoubtedly been, to teach them the knowledge of the Gospel, and to bring them into the enjoyment of its saving influence: but while this has been the chief consideration, the temporal benefits which follow the reception of Christianity have not been overlooked, nor have the legitimate means necessary to secure this result been wanting wherever Missions have been established; and with what effect this has been done, the improved condition of many Indian tribes and families abundantly testifies. That all has been accomplished in this respect that Christian philanthropists desire, we do not by any means affirm: but the process of elevation to the blessings of Christian civilization has been com-

menced, and a degree of progress attained, which affords encouraging assurance that perseverance in the good work will be crowned with the desired success in due time.

“We regret, however, to state that the policy which has hitherto been pursued in the management of Indian affairs, and which is developed in the Memorial referred to as still maintained in the treatment of the Indians, is calculated seriously to retard the progress of their improvement, if not entirely to defeat the object sought to be accomplished, so far as their temporal condition is concerned. But more than this, we can see neither the justice nor wisdom of that policy which denies to any portion of the inhabitants of the province the rights and privileges of citizens, wherever they are qualified for the exercise of those rights; and thus to withhold from them a powerful inducement to self-improvement. We protest against the righteousness of such treatment of the Indians, when considered in relation to those who contribute both money and labour for the improvement of the Indian race: and we most earnestly insist that wherever they are duly qualified, they should be as fully entitled to the rights of freemen and citizens as any other portion of the community. We would fain hope that the policy to which we object, in the treatment of the Indians, is not maintained for some other purpose than that of promoting their real advantage. We leave the statements contained in the Memorial and letter to the consideration of our readers.”

Such were the views of the public generally in regard to the treatment of the Indians in Canada, who continued to hope that, at least, the promises made by the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs to redress the grievances complained of in the Petition, and set forth in Mr. Van Dusen's letter, would be fulfilled; but during the next autumn the conditions were made known upon which the petitioners might retain the land they had purchased; but the conditions were such as they were not able to comply with. Nor did we suppose the "Department" expected they could meet the conditions at the time specified, but was only designed to satisfy for a while those who urged complaints on account of the base treatment the Indians received from those to whom they should have looked for protection.

CHAPTER XXII.

ADDRESS TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

AN INDIAN WOMAN LEAVES FOR ENGLAND—AIDED BY “FRIENDS”—MR. ALSOP AND DR. HODGKIN’S LETTER—DUKE OF NEWCASTLE—COMMITTEE PRESENT ADDRESS TO THE DUKE—VIEWS OF OWEN VAN DUSEN, ESQ., AND DR. JEFFERS, ON INDIAN AFFAIRS.

THE Indians having lost the last ray of hope that the injustice they complained of, as set forth in their petition, would ever be redressed by the “Indian Department,” Catherine Sutton, (*alias* Sunego,) one of the petitioners, an Indian woman of considerable fortitude, succeeded in getting authority from the tribe to act for the Indians; and immediately left for England. Some laughed, and others, through the public journals, reproached her as an “arrant impostor.” She, having obtained letters of recommendation from several influential gentlemen in Canada, and feeling that it is no small matter for whole families to be thrown upon the street in a state of destitution, stripped of all they have, the fruit of many years’ hard labour, proceeded on her way through the United States, and was kindly entertained by members of the Society of Friends, who, I believe, as a religious community, always stand ready to aid the oppressed, raise the down-trodden, and extend the hand of charity in every case of suffer-

ing humanity. While in New York, she received tokens of kindness, hospitality, and liberality, from the Society of Friends and others, which have brought this whole tribe of Indians under deep obligations.

On her arrival in England she was greatly aided by members of the "Aborigines' Protection Society" and others who kindly sympathize with Indians groaning under oppression in America.

That the Indians in Canada have the sympathy of gentlemen in England, who are not afraid to speak out their sentiments in thunder tones against the disreputable and dishonest treatment the Indians receive from those who should protect, instead of tolerating a system of plundering them by wholesale, I will here insert an extract from an excellent letter which appeared in the "Times" newspaper, in London, (England,) July 4th, 1860, written by Mr. Robert Alsop and Thomas Hodgkin, M.D., gentlemen of much influence and respectability.

Referring to Mrs. Sutton's case they say :—

"The Memorial which she presented to the Duke of Newcastle clearly illustrates her case, and shows that according to existing laws and usages the lands of the Indians are held by 'tribal' and not by individual tenure : so that if the chiefs and a few of the people can be gained over, by whatever means the whole of the lands reserved as a home for their tribe may be taken even from under the feet of those who do not consent. This in many instances has actually taken place ; and as the Indians are in

law held to be 'minors,' (the law for their enfranchisement being practically inoperative,) they have no powers of action. Thus, when, to save themselves, they bid for, and purchased, their own lots at the sale of Indian lands, their money was refused; and it was stated that 'those lots could not be sold to Indians.'

"With these startling facts before us, our readers will feel as we do, that there can be no just reason why these Indians, now civilized and Christian, should be driven from place to place, and be allowed no spot on which they may set their feet in security and peace under 'the benevolent sceptre of Britain, as we represent it to ourselves. It is indeed high time that means should be devised and taken that those civil rights which are freely granted to fugitive slaves, refugees, or settlers from any part of the world, and are not refused to the Indians in the United States, should be accorded to these noble people. Also that an indisputable title to the lands which they possess and cultivate should be secured to these, the original lords of the soil.

(Signed,)

"ROBERT ALSOP,
THO. HODGKIN, M.D."

Such is the tone of feeling manifested by members of the "Aborigines' Protection Society" in England, on account of the deplorable condition of the Indians of British North America.

And it is only necessary to make known their condition to wake up the strongest sensations of commiseration and sympathy in the breast of all

who have hearts to feel for a noble, but oppressed and degraded, people among whom many that appreciate the blessings of civilization are struggling for elevation from the habits and life of the pagan.

Through the clemency of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, influenced by members of the "Aborigines' Protection Society," the Duke of Newcastle, who was about to accompany the Prince of Wales to America, was directed to inquire into these affairs on his arrival in Canada. And at the same time, certain members of the "Aborigines' Protection Society" in England wrote to the Rev. C. Van Dusen, advising a deputation to be appointed to wait on his Grace the Duke, and lay before him these matters of complaint; which was promptly attended to.

The deputation met accordingly in Toronto at the time of the arrival of the Prince of Wales and his suite in that city, and were introduced to the Duke of Newcastle by the Hon. G. Brown, when the following Address was presented.

"TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE, HER
MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR
THE COLONIES.

"MAY it please your Grace. We the undersigned members of a deputation selected jointly by the Indians and the 'Aborigines' Protection Society' in England, beg to entreat your Grace's favourable consideration of the various documents we have the honour to submit respecting the grievances under which the aborigines suffer.

“The various points to which the deputation would respectfully call your Grace’s attention, and in support of which the statements of the different Bands are submitted,—

“1st. The case of Mrs. Sutton, David Sawyer, and Abner Elliot.

“2nd. The insecure tenure of their lands.

“3rd. The inconvenience which must and does result from the frequent changes in the head of the Indian Department, and the necessity of placing it under the control of the Provincial Government.

“4th. The loss they have sustained of large sums of money from the dishonesty of agents, or a want of judgment in investments.

“5th. The deprivation of annuity of any woman of the Indian race who marries a white man.

“6th. Redress in the matter of a reserve containing sixteen square miles, which was sold by ‘mistake,’ and for nineteen hundred and sixty-six pounds only, situate on Bear Creek; and also a certain tract of land within the limits ceded at Owen Sound, and for which they have received no equivalent.

“7th. In the appropriation and sale (not for their benefit) of ceded lands.

“8th. Of the leasing by Government, for its own benefit, all fisheries on the Great Lakes, from which they are now excluded, and which formed their chief means of support.

“9th. The necessity of giving the different heads of families ‘titles’ in fee for the land they occupy.

"The papers we now beg to present to your Grace are intended to support the various allegations made, and are necessarily rather long; but we venture to ask your Grace at your leisure to give them your attention, satisfied that redress must speedily follow. All of which is respectfully submitted.

(Signed,) "CONRAD VAN DUSEN,
A. M'KELLAR, M.P.P.,
G. A. CARSON, M.D.,
OWEN VAN DUSEN, C.C.B.,
J. A. CAMPBELL,
THOMAS HURLBURT,
CAPTAIN KEATON,
J. FROST, J.P.,
J. HENNING,
H. DUNCAN,
W. SUTTON, and
D. SAWYER,
J. YOUNG, }
J. ELLIOTT, }
P. JACOBS, }

Indian Chiefs."

"TORONTO, *September 7th*, 1860."

Owen Van Dusen, Esq., of Owen Sound, a member of the deputation, who has interested himself considerably in Indian affairs, publisher of the "Owen Sound Comet" in an editorial in his paper of December 13th, 1860, states that "on presentation of the Address and other documents, setting forth the wrongs of which the Indians complain, and after some conversation on

these subjects, and explanations given by the deputation, the Duke of Newcastle promised to give the matters favourable and due consideration before he left the province. But he was accompanied by Sir Edmund Head and his Secretary, Mr. Pennefather, who had heretofore opposed these claims of the Indians; and, as a matter of course, they would give their version of the subject; and it is easy to conjecture what influence their opinions and statements would have upon the Duke.

“At any rate we have not heard of anything further being done, or one grievance being redressed. Perhaps they never will be.”

Here the matter ended; and, so far as the Duke of Newcastle is concerned, it will probably end for ever.

The Rev. Dr. Jeffers, editor of the “Christian Guardian” anticipated the influence that would be thrown around the Duke of Newcastle on Indian affairs. In an editorial of September 5th, just before the arrival of the Prince of Wales and his suite at Toronto, he stated that “it is to be hoped that his Grace [the Duke] will be careful where he looks for information; for there is no case where it is so necessary to be careful: there are so many interested parties, and so many who are anxious to get possession of Indian lands or money, and whom the Duke will find always at hand, more than willing to enlighten him with their opinions and advice, but anxious to prevent him from understanding the real nature of Indian affairs. They will tell him that the Indians are

doomed, that nothing can be done for them, that the little nooks and patches of land left them now may as well be sold, that Christianity has done them no good, that the best thing is to send them farther back into the forest to some place which he will be told is a very good place for them. We know exactly what they will say; for they have said the same things so often, and in the very same words, that these stereotyped phrases have come to sound to them like self-evident truths.....

“The Indians have bought these tracts of land with their own money; and to take them from them would be as much robbery as to take any man’s land. The Indians were the first inhabitants of the country, and the sole owners of its wide territories: they were rich in the resources of its water and its forests: they have never received an equivalent for this primitive wealth: they have been injured and foully wronged by many of the whites; and they are now reduced in numbers and almost destitute of resources. We verily believe that their claims upon us are sacred before God; and that if our Government suffers them to be oppressed, scattered, and plundered, until they are driven to despair, the Divine curse, not the blessing, will rest upon our country.”

The Rev. Dr. Jeffers in the above, referring to lands which “Indians have bought,” no doubt refers particularly to the town and park lots on which they made a payment, and to the farm lots they purchased at the sale of Indian lands, when their certificates were withheld, their money refused,

and they informed that these lots could not be sold to Indians.

The editor of the "Christian Guardian," being well acquainted with the character of Indians, and with Indian affairs in Canada, also anticipated the influence that would be thrown around the Duke of Newcastle, and the little prospect of his doing anything to redress the wrongs practised upon the Indians; and, therefore, in an editorial in the "Guardian" of January 30th, 1861, he again remarks as follows:—

"Every friend of the Indians waited with patience, until his Grace should give the Indians some remedy for the shameful injustice, hardship, and breach of good faith, with which they have been treated. No one had the least doubt that the promise of our Queen would be considered a *sacred thing*; and that, whatever was neglected, the Duke would not fail to make good *the word of his Royal Mistress*. A Committee of gentlemen were appointed to wait upon the Duke, and to present their complaints to him; and at last did get an opportunity to do so, a few days before the royal party left the province. The Duke promised to attend to their matters, and to give them his answer before he went from us. But no one has ever heard anything about it since. We are informed that the deputation has never received any reply to their prayer, nor any evidence whatever that any attention has been given to the subject. The lapse of three months is surely sufficient to enable the Duke of Newcastle to arrive at some sort of a conclusion. Has he asked the Indian

Department for information? Has he obtained their private version of the matter, and has he been satisfied with their statements? Has he settled the matter by a secret investigation? It was of the Indian Department that the Indians complained; and if that Department has made any reply, the Indians have a right to know what that reply is. The head of that Department is the Governor's Secretary, who accompanied the royal party everywhere, and had the fullest opportunity to influence the mind of the Duke; and we do not know but that his Grace is one of those high officials who feel *private influence* more powerfully than public influence. His partial course, while in Canada, with reference to the churches of the land, is not calculated to give us unlimited faith in his superiority to prejudice, or to personal partialities.

“The Indian Department brought the Indians out in the different places to present themselves before the Prince and the Duke. Did they also instruct them how to appear? The Indians ought to have presented themselves in their ordinary dress, and they ought to have exhibited the signs of that degree of civilization to which they have attained. That would have shown that they were partially civilized and Christianized, and that they were capable of further improvements. That would have made the Duke feel that they had some intelligence, and therefore that they would make some good use of any lands or privileges that might be granted to them. But they were exhibited every where as savages. They were

instructed to present themselves half-naked, with painted faces, feathers in their hair, the most grotesque forms of savage dress, and with every appearance of savage ferocity. The effect of all this would be to make the Duke feel that lands could be no use to them, and that they were incapable of valuing or improving that which might be conferred upon them. We do not say that such was the purpose for which the Indians were made to appear as wild savages; but there can be no doubt that such would be the effect.

“Most of these Indians are not savages. They usually dress like other people; many of them have well cultivated farms: the women are, in a great many instances, neat housekeepers, and can cook and handle the needle as well as their white sisters; and at most of the places they are Christians; meeting regularly in the worship of God, singing sweetly His praises, and praying and speaking in His service intelligently.

“The only inference we can draw from all this, and from all the rest of the sad treatment of the Indians, is, that we cannot hope for any redress from the Colonial Office, but that this redress must be sought here in Canada, from our own Parliament. We believe that the public sentiment of Canada is favourable to the poor Indian; and that if the whole state of things is fairly and fully exposed, the public will insist upon the settlement of Indian affairs on a permanent and righteous principle. Have we no legislator with something of the head and ability of a Wilberforce, that will attend to the complaints of this ill used people,

and persistently demand investigation and justice for them? Have we no one that will take a hearty and devoted interest in some of these questions which appeal so strongly to our humanity, our Christianity, our sense of justice? Is it not possible to get our legislators to take an interest in any question that has not a party aspect; that does not help or hinder somebody's ambition for office? We believe there are some patriotic politicians; and we think they *ought* to take up this matter, and that they *would be successful* in their endeavours to get the right thing done for the aboriginal inhabitants and the original owners of this country. The Indians ought to have their affairs closely investigated by a Parliamentary Committee, for there are no affairs that require it more; and they ought at least to have inalienable titles granted them for their lands either as individuals or as communities. This would set their minds at rest; give them confidence in the white man, and encourage and induce them to adopt the methods and improvements of civilization, and to seek the blessings of Christianity. But at present the Indians feel that the Indian Department has broken faith with them so many times, that they have no more faith in the Government than we have in the Chinese."

CHAPTER XXIII.

OPPOSITION SCHOOL.

THE ADDRESS DISREGARDED BY THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE—OPPOSITION SCHOOL—DR. STRACHAN IN 1828.—EXTRACT FROM JOURNAL OF THE LATE REV. P. JONES.

THE deputation that presented the Address to the Duke of Newcastle, on Indian affairs, was composed of gentlemen whose intelligence and knowledge of the state of affairs in the country, and especially of the character of Indians, the position they occupy, and the treatment they have received from the "Department," of which they complain, was such as entitled their opinions and explanations to the consideration of his Grace the Duke, which no doubt would have been the case, but for other influences that were brought to bear upon him. This kind of influence has been exerted more or less to the dissatisfaction of the Indians, by certain parties connected with the Colonial Government, ever since they were brought under the influence of the Gospel, through the instrumentality of Methodist Ministers in Canada.

After the Mission was established by the Methodists at Newash, (Owen Sound,) and a school commenced for the benefit of the Indian youth,

through this same kind of influence, under the auspices of Captain Anderson, an opposition school was commenced, evidently with a view to divide and scatter seeds of discord at that Mission. This was only fanning up the old embers, that contained the sparks of 1828; which have not been extinguished. At that time Dr. Strachan, now Bishop of Toronto, was connected with the Government; and through him propositions were made to the Indians, recently converted to Christianity, to divide them by sending a torch of schism among them. In proof of this, I only need quote a paragraph or two from the Journal of the late Rev. Peter Jones, recently published by the Wesleyan Conference in Canada. See the Journal of Peter Jones, p. 106, where it is stated as follows :—

“Thursday, January 31st, 1828. My brother John and I called this morning on Dr. Strachan. He was very friendly, and made some inquiries about the general state of the Indians; and requested me to give him in writing a short statement of the condition of the Belleville and Rice Lake Indians, which I promised to do. At eleven A.M. we again appeared at the Government House; but waited till one o'clock before any communications were made to us, when we were summoned into the presence of Major Hillier, the Governor's Secretary, Dr. Strachan, the Attorney General, and Colonel Givins. To our astonishment we were informed by Dr. Strachan, that the Governor did not feel disposed to assist the Indians so long as

they remained under the instructions of their present teachers, who were not responsible to Government for any of their proceedings and instructions: he was therefore unwilling to give them any encouragement.

“But should the natives come under the superintendence of the Established Church, then the Government would assist them as far as lay in their power. When stating their reasons for wishing us to come under the teachings of the Church of England, the Doctor and the Attorney General said, that the Indians were considered by the Government to be under the War Department, and therefore it was necessary that they should be under their instructions; and that another reason was, that it would make the Missionary establishment more permanent, whereas at present they were liable to fluctuation, the only resource of the Methodists being that of subscriptions. It was also proposed to my brother and me, that if we would assist them in this undertaking, and come under their direction, our salaries should be increased, and we should have access to the contemplated college. We told them that their request would cause much dissatisfaction to the Methodists, as they claimed the Indians for their spiritual children; having been the first who taught them the Christian religion. They replied, they could not help what the Methodists would think about it, as it was necessary the Indians should be responsible to them for their conduct. We then told them it was not in our power to say one way or the other, but that we should leave it for the

Indians to decide for themselves. They requested an answer soon as possible. Colonel Givins gave us to understand that the request of the Credit Indians would most likely meet with the approbation of the Governor, and desired John to make out a return of the number of families residing at the River Credit. We then proceeded to the quarters of the chiefs, who were waiting for answers to their Petitions. When we told them what had been communicated to us, they sighed deeply, and after a long silence said, ‘Then all our labours have been in vain, with our great father the Governor;’ but John Sunday, with an air of disdain, replied, ‘We have heretofore made out to live from year to year, even when we were sinners; and shall not the Great Spirit, whom we now serve, care for us, and preserve us from all harm?’ I cautioned them not to be too much troubled about it, but to leave it to God in prayer; to which they assented.”

Such are the means that have frequently been employed by the heads of the Indian Department, as they say, for the benefit of the Indians; but the effect on the minds of the most intelligent part of the Indians, and on the public generally, has been to betray the weakness and injustice of such a course of policy, and weaken the Indians’ confidence in those who pursue it, to say nothing of the duplicity of such a course of proceeding. The field for Missionary toil and usefulness among the Indians is so wide, that there is no need of dividing by entering into other men’s labours,

and causing schisms, discords, and jealousies among them.

The effect of such proceedings, on the minds of Indians in a semi-civilized state, is painful to contemplate; and no more good can be effected by religious squabbles, and indulging in feelings of jealousy, ostentation, and religious bigotry, than was accomplished by the contention between Michael and the devil over the body of Moses.

CHAPTER XXIV.

A CHIEF DISPOSSESSED.

CHIEF SAWYER DISPOSSESSED OF HIS HOUSE AND ALL HIS LAND—KINDNESS OF MEMBERS OF THE ABORIGINES' PROTECTION SOCIETY—DIFFICULT FOR INDIANS TO OBTAIN JUSTICE IN LAW—CHIEF SAWYER LEAVES OWEN SOUND.

For a long time Chief Sawyer continued to hope for justice at the hands of the Indian Department; and in view of securing, if possible, his farm lots, purchased at the sale of the Indian lands, he let his house to a respectable white man, Mr. M. Mouck, and settled on his farm, on which he had made considerable improvements; but the agent of the "Department" forbid Mr. Mouck paying any of the rent to the chief.

Also, the chief having used his influence with the Indians, to give Catherine Sutton authority to act for them, he entertained a hope, that on her return from England he might obtain some pecuniary aid to enable him, at least in part, to meet the payments required by the "Indian Department;" so that he might be allowed to continue on his own farm. But on her return, it turned out, that nothing could be obtained for him from that source; for if the pecuniary relief obtained by Mrs. Sutton in England was designed

by the donors to be exclusively for her benefit, others had no right to share in it.. In regard to this matter we have no information, only that the chief, nor any other Indian that we know of, ever received a cent through her agency. The chief was therefore dispossessed of his house and land, for which he had obtained an Indian Deed ; and that part also for which he had paid the Indians in cash down the full amount agreed on before the surrender of the land ; and being dispossessed of all, he was left with a large family as a pauper, without any means of support.

Having made every possible effort to obtain justice from the hands of the "Indian Department" by repeatedly petitioning the Governor General, and other parties, without success ; and having in two instances appealed (by Petition) to the Honourable the Legislative Assembly of Canada, and after the kind interference and aid afforded by members of the Society of Quakers, (friends to humanity,) both in New York and in England, who gave proof of their sympathy by their liberality, which has in part relieved one of the tribe from a state of destitution and suffering ; Chief Sawyer's case was still untouched,—he remained in abject poverty.

Notwithstanding these tokens of kindness, liberality, and humanity, manifested by members of the Society of Friends both in New York and in England, and the interest manifested by members of the "Aborigines' Protection Society" in England, through whose influence Her Majesty the Queen was pleased to direct the Duke of

Newcastle, on visiting Canada with the Prince of Wales, to hear the complaints of the Indians, and redress their grievances; nevertheless, with the exception of Catherine Sutton, after all that has been done, these Indians still find themselves dispossessed of their farms, on which they had made improvements by many years' hard toil and labour. The identical farm which Chief Sawyer occupied, and on which he had previously made extensive clearings, and which he purchased at the sale of Indian lands, and for which the money for the first payment was refused on the ground that "these lots could not be sold to Indians,"—this identical farm was, but a few months ago, sold by the "Indian Department" to a Mr. Lundy, who immediately took possession, leaving the chief, with a helpless family, destitute as paupers on the street.

Hundreds of other lots of land were purchased by white men at the sale of Indian lands, on which a farthing was not paid by the purchasers, but still they were allowed to retain their purchase, though they did not comply with the conditions of the sale; but the chief was dispossessed—I suppose—because he is an Indian.

Under such circumstances where is an Indian to look for redress? Perhaps some will say, "In a court of justice." That may be, but even that cannot be done without means. And if means could be made available for that purpose, where could the suit be instituted? Where should it be commenced, and when would it end? and, above all, what would be the result?

If an Indian should institute a suit against one of Lucifer's imps, his satanic majesty sitting upon the "bench," and the court sitting in Pandemonium's box, what would be the issue?

Indians would not wish to indulge in sarcasm, nor make personal or disrespectful allusions, but they know the Indian Department was amenable to no power this side the "great water;" and to enter a legal process for redress would only be bringing the matter for investigation before those whose proceedings (perhaps well designed) have placed, or at least kept, the Indians in the position of pupillage and oppression they now occupy.

Though an Indian may be peeled and stripped of all he has, yet if he is but an Indian, it may be asked, why should he, as a living man, complain? Indeed one of the most prominent features in the Indian character is to endure pain or affliction with a kind of independent pagan indifference, without a murmur, without heaving a sigh, or uttering a groan.

The chief, having been deprived of his house and land, and having no means of subsistence, by the aid of his friends was moved, with his family, to the New Credit Mission, where he continues to enjoy the confidence, sympathy, and esteem of the whole tribe. But he has never been able to obtain one dollar from the Government for all his losses! His house and land taken from him, and his rights trampled under foot, and his just claims for redress repudiated! We would ask our paternal government, if this kind of treatment is honest or honourable? Is this the liberty,

the pride, the boast of our Canadian Government? If this is the fruit of civilization, we ask those who have robbed the chief, to show wherein it is in advance of genuine paganism. And his case is only one of many of the same kind, where Indians have been treated in this unjust and vile manner. What they wish is to not be disfranchised or deprived of a title for their own land; not to hold it by tribal tenure, but each to possess his own farm; and those who have power, wealth, refinement, education, and that political attitude which the possession of power confers, will not be envied by them. They envy no man's portion, they only want their own.

CHAPTER XXV.

CERTIFICATES OF CHARACTER.

REV. S. BROWNELL'S LETTER—CERTIFICATES OF CHARACTER FROM J. FROST, ESQ., OWEN VAN DUSEN, ESQ., ATTORNEY, AND WILLIAM MILLER, ESQ., MAYOR.

AFTER the Indian's land near Owen Sound was surrendered, and offered for sale, the Indians of the Newash Band settled on their reserve at Cape Crocker, about twenty-five miles north from the town of Owen Sound; and the Rev. S. Brownell remained at that place a few years, as their Missionary.

And after Chief Sawyer had been fleeced of all his land, before he left for the New Credit Mission, he received from the Rev. Mr. Brownell, Missionary at that place, the following certificate of character, to show that the chief's position as a Local Preacher was such as to commend him to the notice and confidence of others. I here insert it:—

“CAPE CROCKER, *February 1st, 1861.*

“To all whom it may concern,

“THIS is to certify that the bearer, Chief Sawyer, is an accredited Local Preacher in the Wesleyan Methodist Church on the ‘Cape Crocker

and Colpoy's Bay Mission.' He is, therefore, most sincerely recommended to the pastoral care of the Superintendent of the Circuit on which he may locate himself.

“STEPHEN BROWNELL,
Wesleyan Missionary.”

And also, the late Reeve of the town of St. Catherine's, John Frost, Esq., a respectable merchant, and also a Justice of the Peace, at Owen Sound, who has long been acquainted with the Indians and their affairs in that part of the country, presented to Chief Sawyer the following certificate of character.

“OWEN SOUND, *October 4th, 1861.*

“THE bearer hereof, Chief David Sawyer, who has been many years connected with the Indian Missions in this country, I believe to be a man of integrity, and maintains a good moral and religious character. He has always enjoyed the high esteem of the tribe to which he belongs. I have great pleasure in recommending him to the confidence of those with whom he may be associated.

“JOHN FROST, J.P.,
Late Reeve of St. Catherine's.”

Owen Van Dusen, Esq., of Owen Sound, Attorney-at-law, Solicitor in Chancery, Commissioner of the Court of Queen's Bench, and editor and proprietor of the “Owen Sound Comet,” has been many years familiar with Indian affairs, and

frequently, in the "Comet" newspaper, referred to the treatment the Indians received. And being well acquainted with Chief Sawyer, on the chief's leaving the Owen Sound country, after being shamefully robbed of all his land and other property, Mr. Van Dusen complimented him with the following certificate:—

"This is to certify that I have been many years acquainted with Chief David Sawyer, of the Ojibway Tribe of Indians in the Owen Sound Country, and can bear testimony of his good moral and religious character.

"He commands respect among white people; and, having been many years connected with Indian Missions as school teacher, interpreter, and preacher, he enjoys the confidence and high esteem of the people of his own tribe; and is most cordially recommended to the confidence of those with whom he may be associated.

"OWEN VAN DUSEN,

Attorney, &c."

"OWEN SOUND, *October 4th*, 1861."

In addition to the many tokens of respect and confidence which Chief Sawyer received from gentlemen of his acquaintance, the following was presented to him by the Mayor of the town of Owen Sound:—

"THIS is to certify that the bearer, David Sawyer, an Indian chief of the Ojibway tribe, has for many years been connected with the Indian Mis-

sions in this country. I believe him to be a man of integrity, and to maintain a good moral character. He has long enjoyed the esteem of the tribe to which he belongs. I have great pleasure in recommending him to the confidence of those with whom he may be associated.

“WILLIAM MILLER, *Mayor.*”

“OWEN SOUND, *October 5th, 1861.*”

It is a pity that such a man as Chief Sawyer should be cheated out of his property, circumscribed in his circumstances, and trammelled in his efforts to promote the welfare of his fellow Indians. And it is an *anomaly* in our common Christianity to tolerate such a course of proceeding in a Christian country. If colonial legislation will not burst the chains that bind down the poor Indians of Canada, it is to be hoped the “*Home Government*” will interfere, and protect the rights of the Indians of Canada, whose loyalty to the British Crown many of them have sealed with their blood.

CHAPTER XXVI.

CLAIMS OF NEW CREDIT INDIANS.

**AN INDIAN CHIEF IN POVERTY—PECULIAR POSITION—
POWERLESS—FISHERIES LET—EXTRACTS FROM
REPORT OF SPECIAL COMMISSIONERS—CLAIMS
OF NEW CREDIT INDIANS ADMITTED, BUT NOT
PAID.**

AFTER Chief Sawyer was deprived of all his property in the Owen Sound Country, as stated in the foregoing chapters, crippled in his circumstances, without any means of support for a large family; in sight of the fields he had cleared and cultivated, and for which he had obtained an Indian Deed; and even in view of the commodious house he had erected and for a few years occupied, he was left on the street in a state of abject poverty, to gaze with a forlorn *look* upon his former home,—an inviting and comfortable residence.

It may be asked why did he not “begin the world anew,” and strike in somewhere else, as many others have done after losing all? It must be admitted that perseverance is almost omnipotent, and a man in the prime of life, with unflinching perseverance in a laudable pursuit, may accomplish wonders, and break through, or ride over, many difficulties that may appear almost insurmountable.

But the case of Chief Sawyer was peculiar. He had renounced paganism, and become not only civilized, but a Christian, and an industrious, frugal farmer. Now, what could he do, when dispossessed of all his property? Return to paganism, and live by fishing and hunting as formerly? He could no more do this than a white man of an enlightened, elevated, and cultivated mind. And if he could have done so, there was no chance for success in that direction. Their hunting grounds were all surrendered, and their fisheries let by the Canadian Government to other parties.

Now, to expect an effort from a man placed in a position where he is completely powerless, would be as unreasonable and unjust as it would be to whip and urge a horse to gallop when his legs are broken. Under these circumstances Chief Sawyer gave up all for lost, and, as previously stated, was moved by his friends more than a hundred miles, to the New Credit Mission, where he again united with that branch of Ojibways commonly known as the Mississagua Band, and now succeeds his late father, Joseph Sawyer, in the chiefship of that band. These were among the first of the Indians, in Canada West, to embrace Christianity.

In this band there are many industrious farmers who would lose nothing in comparison with their white neighbours.

Now, being chief of this band, he again comes in collision with the Canadian Government, urging the just claims of his people for lands ceded before

he united with the Owen Sound Indians, and also for other claims which have been recognised by the Department, but not paid.

In June, 1864, an application was made, and an indefinite amount acknowledged, which appears from the following letter from the Indian Department :—

“INDIAN DEPARTMENT,

“QUEBEC, *July 9th*, 1864.

“SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 23rd ultimo, and to inform you in reply that the Honourable Mr. Campbell, as Superintendent General, has recognised the claim of the Mississaguas of the New Credit to the proceeds of the sale of the land north of the Racey tract, on the River Credit, township of Toronto, and erroneously marked by the Surveyor General as ‘Clergy lands;’ and the Crown Lands Department has been requested to refund the amount paid upon the lots sold.

“I have the honour to be, Sir,

“Your obedient Servant,

(Signed,) “C. P. WALCOTT, &c., &c., &c.,
“in absence of D. S. I. A.”

This shows a most deplorable state of affairs; and it is much to be regretted, that while many poor Indians in Canada actually starve to death, many thousands of pounds of their money are withheld from them, or expended by the Indian Department to pay the salaries of a host of accountants, clerks, agents and local agents, surveyors, deputies, and superintendents; and with all this.

dreadful *array*, such abominable and, to the poor Indians, ruinous blunders (I will not say wilful mistakes) are made, as are admitted in the above letter from head quarters.

If the money thus withheld from the Indians has in any one instance been refunded and the error corrected, we leave it for the Indian Department or Canadian Government to state the amount, to whom, where, and when it was paid. Never.

It is not pleasant, and it may not be profitable, to give a detailed catalogue of these numerous mistakes for which the Indian Department is responsible; but in this case, touching the claims of the Mississagua Band, at the New Credit, it is only necessary to quote a few extracts from the Special Commissioner's Report on Indian Affairs in Canada, published in 1858, commencing on page 42; as follows:—

“Assuming then that the land conveyed to the Crown, by the instrument (No. 22), was in trust for the Mississagua Tribe of Indians, your Commissioners proceed to the second point which depends thereon, namely, the amount of compensation now fairly due to the Indians on account of such land.

“Four thousand acres of this tract have been sold for the trust since 1845: no question arises therefore concerning them. The point at issue is the application of the funds accruing from the balance of the blocks B, D, F, G, amounting to 4,700 acres. Of these 609 acres were set apart as Clergy Reserves; but as these tracts were a reservation made by the Indians in a Treaty of Cession

(1806), and not a grant from the Crown, there does not seem any reason why the one-seventh should have been appropriated for this purpose.

“The Reports referred to in the margin state that a school-house and saw-mill were also erected for them; but the original subscription list for defraying the expense of a school-house filed in this office, goes to show that that building was raised by private contribution, as asserted by Mr. Jones.

“The same gentleman says that the saw-mill was paid for out of the Annuity Fund. This should be shown by the accounts then kept by the Crown Land Department.

In a note at the bottom of the page it is stated that “the Commissioners in 1844 reported, that in 1826 the Government commenced the Indian village, building twenty houses. That in 1828, and subsequent years, the Indians added out of their own funds fifteen houses and a saw-mill, besides the chapel, school-house, and work-shop; in the erection of which they were assisted by the Methodist Missionary Society.”

The Commissioners then continue:—“Assuming the allegations of Mr. Jones to be correct,—and the vouchers as well as the Report of the Commissioners are strong evidence in their favour,—the account in 1828 would stand thus:—

£.	s.	d.		Dollars.
422	15	0	Proceeds of sales in block G	1690 0
1020	0	0	”	B 4080 0
1233	2	6	”	F 4932 50
<hr/>				<hr/>
£2675	17	6		10703 50

£.	s.	d.		Dollars.
£2675	17	6		10703 50
600	0	0	{ After deducting the amount paid for the houses from this sum 10,703 50 dollars, cost of houses.	2400 0
<hr/>				<hr/>
£2075	17	6		8303 50

“A balance of 8,303 dollars remain due to the Indians, together with the then unsold lands. It further appears from the old sales books, that between 1828 and 1845, lots from these tracts were sold by the Crown, the profits of which amounted to 3,670·65 dollars (£917 13s. 3d.); making, with the other sum, a total of 33,974·95 dollars, (£2,993 10s. 9d.)

“The Commissioners of Crown Lands in 1855 charge the Indians with the cost of forming the road through Block E, now Dundass Street. As this land had been absolutely sold by the Indians previous to the opening of the road, and as such road was made solely for the convenience of the white settlers, the native tribes are, in our opinion, in no wise called to contribute to the expense of such work.

“We therefore consider that the Mississaguas have an equitable claim on the Government; such claim we estimate at 11,974 dollars 15 cents, (£2,993 10s. 9d.) with interest. The interest on 8,303 dollars 50 cents, (£2,075 17s. 6d.,) to be calculated from 1823, that on the remainder since 1845.

£.	s.	d.		Dols.	Cts.
2,077	17	6	Principal sum due 1828	8,313	50
3,612	0	0	Interest	14,448	0
917	13	3	Principal sum due 1845	3,670	65
660	14	0	Interest	2,642	80
<hr/>				<hr/>	
£7,266	4	9		Dols. 29,064	95

"These periods from which the interest is calculated are somewhat shorter than those during which it has been really accruing; but the dates have been adopted as the surest basis to afford substantial justice to all parties.

"The Commissioners in 1844 found a balance due to these Indians in respect of their annuity, to the amount of 2,264, $\frac{14}{100}$ dollars (£566 0s. 8d.) This sum had gradually accrued from 1820 to 1835, and was composed of the annual difference between 1,890 dollars (£472 10s.) actually paid or credited to them during that time on this account, and 2,090 dollars, (£522 10s.) the amount to which they were entitled every year under the conveyance in 1818."

From the above it appears that part of their annuity every year, for many years in succession, up to 1835, and we know not how much longer, was retained from the Indians, while many of them were in a state of destitution. It is a matter of wonder in whose hands that large amount of money remains. Not one farthing of it has been paid to the Indians. Some party must have it. This matter should be sifted to the bottom. If the Canadian Government will not ventilate such

proceedings, it is to be hoped the Christian public will be roused to express their indignation and abhorrence of such glaring and wholesale acts of injustice committed upon the poor Indians of Canada.

There is another claim this band of Indians have against the Government, for land they purchased with their own funds in 1841; but through some mistake on the part of the Government they lost the whole amount they had paid. In the Special Commissioners' Report of 1858, the justice of this claim is admitted. On page 44 they state, "It appears to us that the Mississaguas of the Credit have a well founded claim against the Government for the present value of the land 1,080 dollars (£270), as it was by mistake of the latter that the difficulty arose." That is, the mistake, they admit, was not on the part of the Indians, but made by the Government having previously issued a patent to another party for the same land. No doubt this was actually an oversight on the part of the Government. But as the Indians had advanced the money for the land, the question is, why is it not refunded? It was paid by the Indians in 1841, surely there has been sufficient time to correct the error! It is not of much avail to the Indians, for the Indian Department, or the Government, to acknowledge the justice of the Indians' claims, and continue (perhaps for ever) to withhold it from them.

And, now in conclusion,—in reference to pounds, shillings, and pence,—the matter stands thus:—Chief Sawyer has a just claim on the Colonial Go-

vernment (and he claims it too) for the forty-three acres of land which he held by virtue of an Indian Deed, and on which he had erected an excellent and commodious house, a barn, and made other improvements, the whole worth not less than one thousand pounds.

Then for clearing land, building house and barn, and making other improvements on the farm lots he purchased at the sale of Indian lands at Owen Sound, for which improvements he has not received one farthing, and the value of which, if properly estimated, would be at least three hundred and fifty pounds.

Then add to this, for his wharf lot, for which he held an Indian Deed, and on which he had prepared at a great expense to build a wharf. Including the value of the land, and the expense he incurred in preparing timber for the wharf, (but was prevented by the Indian Department,) an additional sum of at least two hundred and fifty pounds may be added to the above, making a total of £1,500, which loss he has sustained, and for which he has not been able to recover the least remuneration or satisfaction from the Indian Department, or the Canadian Government! Such are the just claims for the losses he himself has sustained through the inexplicable course pursued by the Indian Department, whose duty it was to watch over the interests of the Indians in Canada. And on behalf of the Band of Indians at New Credit, over which he now is the chief, he claims more than £12,618, which amount is absolutely acknowledged by the Special Commissioners to be

their just due ; but not a farthing of which has ever been paid. Now, will a Christian public tolerate such injustice,—such injury inflicted upon the poor down-trodden aborigines of Canada, or in some lawful way make an expression of indignation, or at least disapprobation, of such unjust and iniquitous proceedings? We have only given the facts in the case of one chief, and one band ; but by referring to the Special Commissioners' Report of 1858, as well as to other official reports on Indian Affairs, that have been presented to the Canadian public, it will be seen that this is the kind of injustice, fraud, and oppression the tribes of Indians throughout the length and breadth of Canada have to endure. And that, too, in a land of Christian liberty, and on British soil, where thousands of the aborigines have sealed with their blood their loyalty to the British Crown ; and their loyalty is the symbol of deeply rooted patriotism. They are loyal from choice, and to the very core of their hearts.

CHAPTER XXVII.

DEED OF DECLARATION.

INDIANS' CONSULTATION SUPPRESSED—DEED OF DECLARATION — HARDSHIPS INDIANS ENDURE — PROTEST—INDIANS' LETTER.

SEVERAL gentlemen who feel deeply interested in Indian affairs, have expressed a desire to see the Declaration of her Majesty's representatives in favour of the Ojibway Indians, respecting their lands on Lake Huron, commonly known as the "Indian or Saugeeng Peninsula," recently surrendered to the Colonial Government. The document shows how the Reserve was secured to the whole tribe; but that no one could call a foot of it his own; therefore not one felt encouraged to build, or make other improvements upon any part of it, but occupied it in a shiftless or careless way.

For hunting purposes the Deed securing the territory to the whole tribe was all that was required; and if they had remained in a pagan state, and continued to live by the chase, no other kind of title would have been necessary. But when they are civilized and Christianized, and manifest a desire to become frugal farmers, and ask for the tribal tenure to be abolished, and for each one to be allowed to possess his own farm, on which he can erect buildings and make other improvements, we can see no reason why their reasonable request should be disregarded.

Also the document shows that in case the Indians should be willing at any time to surrender their territory to the Crown, "no such surrender shall be approved, or acted upon, unless resolved on or approved at a meeting of the Sachems, chiefs or principal men, of the said Ojibway Indians," &c. But when Mr. Oliphant went to Saugeeng, to obtain a surrender of the peninsula, in his Report contained in despatches from the Earl of Elgin, Governor General of Canada, to the Right Hon. Sir G. Grey, Bart., in December, 1854, on fourth page he states that, "anxious not to allow them an opportunity of consulting either among themselves or with Europeans, I called a Grand Council at seven p.m., in the church at the Indian village, which was attended by the chiefs of the different bands and warriors of the Saugeeng Band."

Whatever Mr. Oliphant's motives were in suppressing consultation among the Indians in regard to the surrender of their land, it was in opposition to the conditions expressed in the Deed of Declaration.

After the Indians became civilized, they continue to complain much about their not being allowed to abolish the tribal organization, and exercise the franchise with all other rights of citizenship such as are enjoyed by Indians in some parts of the United States.

The following is the Deed of Declaration which secures to the Indians their lands by tribal tenure, and which is so distasteful and even burdensome to them when they wish to settle on farms.

*Declaration by her Majesty in favour of the Ojibway
Indians, respecting certain Lands on Lake Huron.*

PROVINCE OF CANADA.

“VICTORIA by the grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britian and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith: To all to whom these presents shall come; greeting, Whereas the Ojibway Indians, commonly known as the Saugeeng Indians, with our permission and with the permission of our Royal predecessors, have for a long time enjoyed and possessed, and still do enjoy and possess, all that tract of land lying on the shore of Lake Huron, and which is butted and bounded or otherwise known as follows: commencing at the mouth of the River Saugeeng, thence following the north bank thereof about five miles to the boundary line surveyed by Deputy Provincial Surveyor Charles Rankin, in the year one thousand eight hundred and forty-six, thence along the said line north seventy-six degrees fifteen minutes, east one thousand four hundred and eighty-three chains, sixty-one links to the north-west angle of the town plot of Sydenham, thence along the north-west outline of the said town plot north thirty-nine chains; east fifty-nine chains, forty-five links to the south bank of the Pottowattamie River, thence across the river and along the north bank thereof, with a direction to Owen’s Sound, bounded on the east, north, and west by Lake Huron, including any islands in Lake Huron within seven miles of that part of the main land comprised within the hereinbefore described tract of

land. And whereas it is our royal will and pleasure that the said Ojibway Indians and their posterity should continue to enjoy the said above described tract of land in such manner as may be most to the advantage of the said Ojibway Indians and their posterity. And whereas the said Ojibway Indians have caused it to be represented to us, that it would be greatly to their advantage if we would cause our royal will in the premises to be so declared that it may at all times hereafter be fully and certainly known by our heirs and successors and all others whom it may concern; and we being willing and desirous to accede to the wishes of the said Ojibway Indians, of our special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion do hereby declare and make known, that it is our royal will and pleasure, that the said Ojibway Indians and their posterity for ever shall possess and enjoy and at all times hereafter continue to possess and enjoy the said above described tract of land, or the proceeds of the sale thereof, (if sold as hereinafter provided for,) and the rents, issues, and profits of the said tract of land, or of the proceeds of the sale thereof, (if sold as aforesaid,) without any hinderance whatever on our part, or on the part of our heirs and successors, or of our or their servants or officers. Provided always, and we do hereby declare our royal will and mind to be, and these presents are made upon the express condition that it shall at all times hereafter be in the power of the said Ojibway Indians to surrender and yield up all their rights in or out of the tract or tracts of land or any part

thereof, to us, or to our heirs and successors, or to any person or persons appointed by us, or our heirs, or successors, to receive the same, in order and to the intent and purpose that the said tract of land or any part thereof concerning which any such surrender may be made, may be sold by us or our heirs and successors, or by any person or persons appointed for that purpose by us or by our heirs and successors, and the proceeds thereof applied to and for the use and benefit of the said Ojibway Indians and their posterity. Provided always, and we do further declare our royal will and mind to be, that no such surrender shall be approved or acted upon, unless resolved on or approved at a meeting of the Sachems, chiefs, or principal men of the said Ojibway Indians, held in the presence of some officer appointed to superintend or to assist in superintending Indian affairs; and it is our royal will and pleasure that such surrender, when so resolved on, may be made from time to time, and that the parcels of land to which such surrender may refer, shall and may with all convenient speed be sold by us and our heirs and successors, and the proceeds thereof aforesaid to and for the use and benefit of the said Ojibway Indians and their posterity.

“In testimony whereof He have caused these our letters to be made patent, and the Great Seal of our said province to be hereto affixed. Witness our right trusty and right well beloved cousin, James, Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, Governor General of British North America, and Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over the

Province of Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the Island of Prince Edward, and Vice-Admiral of the same, &c., &c., at Montreal, this twenty-ninth day of June in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-seven, and in the eleventh year of our reign.

(Signed,) “ELGIN and KINCARDINE,
D. DALY, L.S.”

While the Indians retain a territory for hunting purposes, they desire no other title than such as the foregoing Deed of Declaration. In fact, they need no other. But when they change their habits of life, and become agriculturists, from that circumstance arises the necessity of making a change in their title to hold land. To be settled on a farm, and have no title for it, would discourage a white man, and affords no encouragement to an Indian.

To show how the Indians feel in the circumstances under which they are placed in Canada, I will here give an extract from a letter of recent date, written by one of the most intelligent in the tribe to which he belongs. He states that, in regard to “the treatment the children of the forest generally receive from the Indian Department, I hardly know what to say. But our hands and feet are tied. We can do nothing. Everything we own, we must ask our fathers in the Government for it; and obtain liberty to procure even what we intend to buy with our own public funds. Nor can we sell our own timber or wood, unless we get licence or permits. Here we are. When

we want a few things for our families' use, such as groceries, &c., we dare not go in our own woods, and cut timber, and sell it for that purpose, as our white neighbours do."

This hardship is caused by the tribal tenure. If an Indian lives on a farm, it is owned, not by himself, but by the whole tribe; and the Indian Department will not allow him to dispose of the timber, as it belongs to the tribe, and not to any one individual Indian that may by chance occupy it. But their white neighbours, who have Deeds for the farms they occupy, can cut their surplus timber into cord wood, and sell it in towns or villages much to their own advantage. In this case the fault is in the system. The Department cannot allow an individual Indian to make use of property that belongs to the whole tribe.

The tribal organization will no more answer for civilized Indians, than it will for white people. There is no alternative: the system should be abolished, or the Indians left in a pagan state. The responsibility of the latter, who is prepared to assume? The whole difficulty can be met, and the burden removed, by redeeming the pledges that have so often been given. They have often been promised Deeds, but have never obtained one for a foot of their own land. And when they made an Indian Deed to Chief Sawyer, he was robbed of it. This we may consider a small matter when we read it on paper. But if we could make the case our own, or see him with his family, as they were, paupers on the streets, we would feel differently on the subject.

But one of the greatest hardships the Indians have to endure, growing out of this tribal organization, is, that a few in a tribe may be actuated by motives good or bad, or influenced by the Indian Department, or some other Department, to make a surrender of land ; and on the promise of wealth, medals, and other toys, sign a Treaty, and dispose of a whole territory, in opposition to the wishes of a large majority of the tribe. These are cases of common occurrence ; and where families are civilized and settled on farms, they are dispossessed of their dwellings and cultivated fields, and left to beg or move on to the far west or north, and return to their old customs of fishing or hunting in a region where corn will not grow.

To show the feelings of Indians when a Treaty is made by a few, and a majority of them are opposed to the surrender of their land, as was the case on Manatoulin Island, which surrender caused so much excitement in that part of the country ; I will here give an extract from 1st Session, 8th Parliament, 27th Victoria, 1863, Quebec. On the seventh page we have a Protest signed by one of the chiefs and his son, (by whom the Protest was drawn up,) and by many other principal men in the tribe, complaining that they were not present when the land was sold,—at least, not in time to oppose the surrender of it. And feeling strongly opposed to the surrender of their island, they sent to his Excellency the Governor General the following protest :—

PROTEST.

"May 28th, 1863.

"WE, residents of Shishigwaning, our father, great chief, it is very well, I am now pleased to hear that thou art disposed to hear the Indians, to know their thought. We have not been pleased, certainly not. It is because they have been deceived, very gratuitously frightened, that our chiefs have parted with our island. As for us, we have not agreed with them. This then we expect of thee, that thou annullest by thy authority, as great chief, what those bad Englishmen have come here to do.

"The time when they were to sell was unknown to us. It was only when we entered into the council place that we heard them accomplishing the sale (of our land). And we were not pleased with it, and are not now. And it is for that we put our names here."

In the same Report, on page 36, we have another letter drawn up by the Indians, on the same subject, and sent to the Governor General, which shows the evils growing out of the tribal organization.

Though it does not appear to have been written in a very good spirit, we here give it a place :—

“TO HIS EXCELLENCY.

"When will those whites leave us quietly. They torment us too much. Perhaps a day will come that we wont be able to control our young men to keep them in peace. When we let for the first

time our fisheries, they asked our chiefs to allow them to let them. 'You shall be paid,' say they; and up to this time, since three years, nothing at all has been received. It is a fact we will not allow you to rent these islands which we have reserved; let the whites leave us alone; they torment us too much. Let them cease, and we shall be on good terms with them. Let them cease to try and fire on us. These are the means that the whites employ to frighten us; but whatever they may be, we are not at all afraid.

"Here is how Charles Lindsay spoke about a year ago last fall: 'Soldiers will come out to watch,' says he, 'to frighten the Indians.' Again last fall, M'Dougall has spoken the same language: 'I bring very authoritative decisions,—the decisions of the Governor. They shall crush whoever shall do the least thing.' Here is, again, what the white hat man (Ironsides) said last fall; 'I wont delay a minute before I use the authority which the Governor has vested in me,' although he did nothing. This is their way. This is all."

These are but a few of the many hardships the aborigines of Canada have to endure. They often commence a settlement, but soon are compelled to leave it. They sullenly submit to the wrongs inflicted upon them. They are fast wasting away. It is a pity such a noble race should be exterminated by Christians in a land of boasted liberty. Christianity, philanthropy, humanity, and common justice, should stand forth to protect such a noble but down-trodden people.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

MANATOULIN ISLAND.—CONCLUSION.

INDIANS' CLAIM TO MANATOULIN ISLAND—HOSTILITIES ON LONELY ISLAND—DEATH OF A SURVEYOR.

THE great Manatoulin island has always been claimed by the Indians, as tradition says, the gift of the Great Spirit "*Moonatoo*," or, as some say, "*Manitou*." The Indians' claim to the island was also strengthened and acknowledged by the Canadian Government in 1836, when an arrangement was made by Sir Francis Bond Head, then Governor of Upper Canada. His Excellency, being anxious for all the Indians in the western part of the country to remove from the "mainland" on our frontier, and make room for the tide of emigration from the "old world," therefore arranged that the Manatoulin Island should be reserved exclusively for that purpose. About one thousand four hundred Indians now reside upon it, that is, including both sexes, old and young.

This island extends many miles from the head of the great Georgian Bay along the "north shore," near to the island of St. Joseph, and contains about one million of acres; part of which is good land, well suited for agricultural purposes; other parts abound with rocks, and is only suited for hunting purposes, as it can never be cultivated.

Some time in the year 1861 the Indians on the island heard the Government was about to propose to make a *Treaty* with them for the surrender of the island; and, consequently, a Council was called, at which the subject was duly discussed; and the Indians in Council resolved that should the Government make any proposal to them for the surrender of the island, they would not accept it on any consideration whatever, but oppose it with all their might, in every laudable way in their power.

It has been stated that the Canadian Government has never recognised the Indians as the exclusive or rightful owners of the island; but this cannot be admitted, for in former treaties all the islands were secured to them, and have ever been acknowledged as their property.

In 1861 Messrs. Lindsay and Bartlett were sent by the Canadian Government to the island as Commissioners, to treat with the Indians, and if possible obtain from them a surrender of the island. In this, however, they failed. The second effort to obtain a surrender was subsequently made by the Hon. Mr. M'Dougall, Chief Commissioner of Public Lands, and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, who personally visited the island, and from a part of the Indians obtained a surrender; but from the other part of the tribe residing on the island he encountered great opposition; they were strenuously opposed to the surrender of any part of their island; and refused to accept his proposals for a surrender on any conditions whatever, or to subscribe to the Treaty then presented, but so drawn up, as to leave the eastern part of the island in the

undisturbed possession of those Indians who were so violently opposed to the surrender.

Since the conclusion of that Treaty made by some of that Band of Indians, (and perhaps but a very small portion of them,) the rest manifested so much opposition, that it was not deemed prudent to proceed with the survey of the townships, as had been intended.

The surveyor, Mr. Gibbard, reported to the Government that it was not safe for any white man to remain on the island. And in October, 1863, a more unfavourable aspect of affairs appeared. The excitement among the Indians increased, and violence was threatened. Soon after this, two white men who had been permitted to make improvements on the island, and were married to Indian women, and had resided on the island for many years, in the following December were driven from the island for having expressed themselves favourable to the surrender of the Indian lands.

The Indians of "Manatoulin Island" also claim "Lonely Island" and other islands in the Georgian Bay. On the shores of these islands great quantities of fish are caught, and form the principal part of subsistence for many of the Indian families who "live by the chase" on Manatoulin Island and elsewhere.

In 1863 Mr. Gibbard visited Lonely Island, and found the two families that had been driven from Manatoulin Island, and other white people, engaged in fishing; and gave them a lease for part of the island and fishing grounds during the season, which the Indians considered an unjustifiable in-

trusion. Soon after this, two boats loaded with Indians from Manatoulin Island, landed upon Lonely Island, to drive the white men from their fishing grounds. But finding them unwilling to leave, the Indians returned to Manatoulin Island for reinforcement, or council from their chiefs; and the next day four boats, loaded with fifty or sixty Indians, landed upon the island, and urged those whom they considered intruders, to leave. The white people presented fire-arms, but the Indians were not deterred; but firmly urged their exclusive right to Lonely Island. The white people finding resistance on their part was useless, they at length consented to leave the island; and moved at once to *Shebawananing*, a queer-looking little village situated at the head of the Georgian Bay.

When all these facts were made known to the Government, in the latter part of July following a large staff of constables were sent from Toronto, from Barrie, and from Collingwood, to bring to trial the leaders in this opposition to the surrender of the Indian land.

Very little or nothing was accomplished; but soon after this Mr. Gibbard, the surveyor, while on his way from the foot of Lake Superior, with many constables and policemen, who had accompanied him; now returning to Collingwood, on board of a steamer, when near the head of the Georgian Bay, at a late hour of the night, he strangely disappeared. His body was subsequently found; but no reliable information has ever been obtained as to the cause or means by which he went overboard. Strong suspicions rested upon Indians who were

on board; but that he had received foul play from the hands of Indians or any one else could not be proved. It has been, in some cases, that under the iron hand of oppression the Indians have brandished their "tomahawks" and have given the "war whoop," but the chiefs in this case disclaim any design or thought of appealing to harsh measures to obtain their rights; and Chief Sawyer has always been opposed to any thing like hostility, or any attempt by force of arms to obtain his rights. He has meekly submitted to the wrongs inflicted upon him, still hoping for justice in this world, and believing the Judge of all the earth will do right. His case is left with Him.

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APPENDIX.

NEITHER coercion, flattery, nor any other means employed by wicked men or Satan, can make the North American Indian submit to bondage. But in almost every tribe a few can be found who may be influenced by coercion, toys, flattery, or bribes, to surrender their property for little or nothing : especially the most credulous and shiftless part of them, who know but little, and care less, about the value of their lands.

After a part of the tribe of the Indians on Manatoulin Island had signed a treaty for the surrender of nearly the whole of the island, the rest were still opposed to the arrangement; and because they considered their rights invaded, and manifested an unwillingness to concur in the surrender of their land, a police force from Toronto, and from other parts of the country, armed with implements of death, proceeded to Manatoulin Island, to put in *irons* those opposed to the surrender. The Indians were considered as rebels opposing the government, because they would not quietly give up their land to be sold to *white people* ! If the Indian Department, or any other few members of the Colonial Government, should require a community of white people to surrender their land to be sold to Indians, no doubt they would feel opposed to such an arrangement ; and if they should mani-

fest unwillingness to give up their possessions, should they be denounced as rebellious? And for such insubordination to the "powers that be," should they be loaded with manacles?

On the eastern part of the island the Roman Catholics have an extensive Mission; a Mission house and church, and many of their communicants have fine cultivated farms on that part of the island. It is, therefore, not at all marvellous that the Roman Catholic priests, as well as the Indians, should feel opposed to the surrender of any part of their island.

A band of *civilized* white men, with fire-arms, invaded the island, to bring into subjection the civilized Indians, for not cheerfully giving up their land to be sold to white men. The Indians used no fire-arms.

A particular account of this invasion we take from the "Toronto Globe," of July 30th, 1863. In an editorial in that paper it is stated that,—

"On the morning of Thursday, six special constables left by train on the Northern Railway, under command of Sergeant-Major Cummins, of the Toronto police force, and Detective Colgan, of the county police, for the purpose of proceeding to the Manatoulin Islands, to endeavour to arrest the aiders and abettors of the Indian revolt in those islands. The particulars of the outrage by the Waquimakong Indians will be quite familiar to our readers, as the facts of the case were fully detailed in the 'Globe' of Monday. When the train on the Northern Railway reached Barrie, six constables belonging to that town were added to

the party, and on reaching Collingwood they were joined by Mr. William Gibbard, J.P., government inspector of fisheries in Lakes Huron and Superior; Mr. Dudgeon, high constable of Collingwood, and six constables. The party now numbered in all twenty-two men, all well armed with revolvers. Mr. Gibbard assumed the command, and they embarked the same afternoon on board the steamer 'Ploughboy,' for Manatoulin. On the way up the lake, the steamer called at Owen Sound, and then proceeded to Lonely Island, reaching that place about four o'clock the following morning. Opposite the island the steamer hove to, and a boat went ashore, having on board Mr. Gibbard and four men. They landed on the island for the purpose of learning the state of affairs at Manatoulin; Mr. Gibbard being of opinion that some of the Indians who had been engaged in the outrage, and against whom he had warrants of arrest, might be on the island. On making a search, however, he found that such was not the case; and he and his men returned to the steamer, which immediately set sail for Manatoulin, which was reached about twelve o'clock in the forenoon of Friday. There is no wharf at the place, and arrangements were at once made to land in boats. All the men of the party looked well to the priming of their pistols, as a contest with the Indians, who had assembled in great numbers on a bluff in view of the landing-place, seemed probable. Mr. Gibbard and Sergeant-Major Cummins went ashore in the first boat, the others following in their wake. On reaching the

shore they found about three hundred Indians and one hundred squaws assembled on the bluff above mentioned, one of the former carrying a black flag. Mr. Gibbard and the others proceeded at once to the house of the Rev. Mr. Shooney, Roman Catholic priest, about half a mile from the landing-place. Messrs. Gibbard and Cummins entered the house, where they stayed some time; and in the mean time the Indians surrounded the house, and were violent in their demonstrations.

“When Mr. Gibbard came out, he stood a few minutes on the steps, and then ordered his men to arrest a chief whose name we did not learn. Sergeant-Major Cummins took hold of the Indian pointed out; and as the others of the tribe began to gather round, evidently by their gestures intending to rescue their chief, Detective Colgan drew his revolver, and said he would shoot the first man who interfered. The Indians previous to this had picked up billets of wood and staves from the wood pile, and showed every intention of attacking the constables, if they attempted to make any arrests. The sight of Colgan’s pistol and his determined bravery had the effect of stopping any warlike demonstration for a few minutes; but an Indian, more determined than the rest, rushed forward with uplifted bludgeon, and threatened Cummins’s life, if he did not let the chief go. The others quickly gathered round, and hemmed in Cummins and his prisoner; and the Indian above alluded to was about to bring down his bludgeon on Cummins’s head, when Daniel Callaghan, one of the Toronto ‘specials,’

placed the muzzle of his pistol to the ear of the Indian, and threatened to pull the trigger if he attempted to strike. The Indian, thinking 'discretion the better part of valour,' lowered his weapon, and left the crowd; and the chief was quickly handcuffed by Colgan, Cummins, and Callaghan. At this time Rev. Mr. Shooney interfered, and commenced inciting the Indians to violence, when Mr. Gibbard at once ordered him into custody. Constable Rogers, of Barrie, obeyed the order, and was proceeding to handcuff him, when a cry was raised, 'Don't handcuff the priest don't handcuff a clergyman.' The constable, at Mr. Gibbard's order, desisted from attempting to handcuff Father Shooney, who was conveyed towards the landing-place by Constables Rogers and Bishop, of Barrie; the other constables following in the rear with the other prisoner. The Indians quickly armed themselves with billets of wood, and rushed down to the landing-place, and also took up positions in the woods on each side of the narrow road, vowing vengeance on the heads of Mr. Gibbard and his men. One of the Indians rushed forward and pulled the revolver out of Constable Rogers's hand; but after a great struggle it was got back. A hand-to-hand fight took place; and at the edge of the water the Indians crowded round the constables, to prevent them embarking on board the boats with the prisoners; and in the struggle which ensued, Constable Ryan, of Toronto, was pushed into the water up to the neck. He speedily got to dry land again. The Indian chief now began

to struggle with his captors, and succeeded in getting his hands out of the handcuffs; and the Indians, making a great rush upon the constables, overpowered them with numbers, over fifty of them being at this time present, and rescued him from the constables. The school bell was then rung, the black flag was again hoisted, and the 'war-whoop' sounded by the Indians, and members of the tribe came running to the place from all points of the compass. In a very few minutes between two and three hundred Indians had assembled on the beach; and Mr. Gibbard was promptly informed that if he attempted to take Father Shoonney from the island, the life of every man of his party would be sacrificed. The Indians showed that they were determined to carry their threat into execution; and Mr. Gibbard, Mr. Dudgeon, of Barrie, and Sergeant-Major Cummins consulted what was best to be done. Their party only numbered twenty-two, while the Indians were at least ten to one; and Mr. Dudgeon gave it as his opinion, from a long acquaintance with the Indian character, that if they attempted to carry off their prisoners, not a single man of their party would leave the island alive. The Indians then, on Mr. Gibbard's suggestion, agreed to certain conditions; the principal of which was that the parties against whom he had warrants should meet him at Shebanwaning, as the steamer came down the lake, and proceed with him to Quebec, and have the grievances they complained of redressed. This matter having been settled, the party embarked in their boats, leaving the

prisoners behind them, and went on board the 'Ploughboy,' which set sail for Shebanwaning. After stopping at that place to leave the mails, the steamer proceeded to Little Current, where Mr. Gibbard had a conference with Mr. Proulx, brother of the late Father Proulx, one of the persons who had been driven from the Manatoulin Island. The steamer next sailed for Bruce Mines, where the constables landed, headed by Mr. Gibbard, and succeeded in arresting Sawamackoo, who acted as one of the ringleaders of the gang who had driven Mr. Proulx from the Island. He was taken on board the steamer, and conveyed to Sault Ste. Marie.

"On his arrival on Saturday, the court was opened, Hon. Judge Prince occupying the bench. The prisoner was placed at the bar; and after Mr. Gibbard had given some evidence, the prisoner was remanded to gaol till Monday. Mr. David Blain, barrister, Toronto, who happened to be on a visit to the Sault, was retained for the defence. On Monday, the prisoner was again brought before the court, and committed to take his trial at the assizes, which commence on the 10th of August. He was, however, admitted to bail, himself in 100 dollars, and two sureties in 100 dollars each.

"Father Köhler, who had been an active participant in the outrages at Manatoulin, was also at the Sault, but he was not taken into custody. The 'Ploughboy' left on its return at one o'clock on Monday, having on board Mr. Gibbard and his party, Father Köhler, the Indian Sawa-

mackoo, Mr. D. Blain, and a number of tourists, ladies and gentlemen.

Shebanwaning was next touched at about four in the morning, and at this place the Indian and Father Köhler left the steamer. Before the vessel reached the port, Mr. Gibbard had been observed walking on the deck ; but as he was not seen afterwards, it was thought he had returned to his berth, and no notice was taken of his absence till the breakfast bell rang. The party assembled for breakfast ; and the Captain, being surprised at Mr. Gibbard's absence, went up to his room, and was greatly astonished to find no one in it. A search was at once made throughout the vessel for the missing man ; no trace of him could be found, but his cap was discovered lying on the lower deck. The greatest consternation prevailed among the passengers, many of whom declared that the Indian must have killed him while walking on the lower deck, and thrown the body overboard in the darkness. Captain Smith, a magistrate, called a meeting of the passengers ; and four or five of them declared, in the most positive terms, that they saw the Indian near Mr. Gibbard, while he was walking on the lower deck of the steamer, before she arrived at Shebanwaning. A portion of Mr. Gibbard's clothes and his boots were found in his berth, and he had on a pair of slippers. The steamer reached Collingwood on Tuesday evening ; and information of the occurrence was given to the Mayor, Mr. M'Watt, brother-in-law of Mr. Gibbard, who telegraphed early yesterday morning to Mr. M'Nab, County Attorney, and to Hon. Mr.

M'Dougall, Commissioner of Crown lands, for instructions. It was almost impossible for Mr. Gibbard to have stumbled overboard into the lake; and as he was in his usual good spirits, there is not the slightest likelihood that he committed suicide. That the Indian Sawamackoo perpetrated the murder many people believe, having for his object the putting out of the way the principal witness at his trial, and of one who has been a terror to him and his brethren since they broke the laws of the country. Some persons are of opinion that Mr. Gibbard may have gone on shore at Shebanwaning, and that the boat left without him; but this idea is an unlikely one. Detective Colgan and his party reached Toronto yesterday forenoon. Sergeant-Major Cummins remained at Collingwood, to assist in instituting inquiries into this very mysterious disappearance. Meanwhile, the public will await with anxiety the steps to be taken by the Government, under the very peculiar circumstances of the case."

The editor of the "Globe" states that it is the opinion of many people that the Indian Sawamackoo perpetrated the murder; and that it is unlikely Mr. Gibbard had stumbled overboard, or that he committed suicide; but it is equally unlikely that the Indian could have murdered him, as no marks of violence were on the body when found, nor is it possible that the Indian could have thrown so large a man as Mr. Gibbard over the bulwarks, nearly breast high, on the lower deck of the steamer. Why or how he went overboard is still mysterious.

And why the Indian Department, or any

members of the Colonial Government, in a Christian country, and under the British flag, could so tenaciously urge the Indians to give up their lands, after they have so often been driven from their quiet possessions, is also mysterious. But not mysterious that they would defend themselves with billets of wood and staves, when attacked by men armed with revolvers.

It has been stated in the newspapers of the day, that officers of the law bearing warrants for the arrest of offenders on Manatoulin island have been resisted in the execution of their duty, and that they were compelled to leave the island. But the question may be asked, in reference to these offenders, What was their offence? What crime had they committed? All who are acquainted with the circumstances of the case, know that, on the part of the Indians, their alleged *crime* was for being opposed to the surrender of any part of their island. And the alleged accusation against the Roman Catholic priests was for exciting the Indians to oppose the surrender.

But the question is, Had the Indians or the priests any cause to make such opposition to the surrender of the island? We find an answer to this question in the "Globe," where the editor states, in reference to "the troubles on the Manatoulin," that "there was an original error on the part of the late Government in offering too small a compensation to the Indians for the surrender of the land, and threatening them with violence if they refused it."

This is the way the Indians of Canada are gene-

rally treated by the "Indian Department." They will offer them toys, medals, and give them promises of wealth; and, if they comply, in some instances they have never got one farthing promised, as is clearly shown from the Report of the Special Commissioners appointed in 1856 to investigate Indian Affairs in Canada. And if they refuse to comply, "the Government threatens them with violence," as the Editor of the "Globe" states.

We ask a Christian public, if it is not time there should be an end to such injustice, oppression, and fraud, practised upon the original owners of the soil in Canada; not only the original owners, but still the rightful owners of the islands, and those little localities reserved for themselves, and which they hold by tribal tenure, secured to them by Deeds of Declaration. But when "the white man" wants the Indian's land, he must give it up. First, he is offered a trifling consideration, and then threatened with violence if he refuses to comply.

Such a course of conduct as has been, and is still, pursued towards the red man of Canada, is a reproach to any Christian nation, a disgrace to any Government, and anomalous in our common Christianity.

The editor of the "Globe," referring to the troubles on Manatoulin island, further states that "the tragic end of poor Mr. Gibbard, the chief of the officers of the law, casts a lurid shade over the whole transaction, but is not actually connected with it. The case is quite bad enough

without his death being added to the load on the shoulders of Priest Köhler and his associates. It must be recollected that the offences of these persons have no necessary connexion with the question of the surrender of the island or any portion of it by the Indians. A certain part of the land has been surrendered, while certain Indians, under the influence of the priests, refused to sign the Treaty, and still retain the section of the island devoted to their use. Not content with this, they assemble in arms, proceed to dictate who shall and who shall not stay on the island, and drive off by violence those obnoxious to them. When the law endeavours to redress this grievous wrong, they resist its officers, and compel them to leave the island. It is obvious that there is but one way of treating the matter. It is not a question of giving more or less favourable terms to the Indians, or any section of them. The question is, whether the Queen's subjects are to be driven out of her dominions by violence. There can be but one answer. The authority of the law must be enforced at all hazards.

“We have always advocated the most liberal treatment of the Indians. Poor people! they do not live so long among the whites, that we should grudge them anything we can give them. But they cannot be permitted to stand in the way of the advance of civilization on this continent. A fine tract of territory, like the Manatoulin, cannot be permitted to remain uncultivated, because it is Indian property. The present Government have dealt bountifully with the Indians of the Mana-

toulin. They have permitted them to retain an ample allowance of land for their own use ; and when the rest is sold, the proceeds will be theirs. What more could be asked ? We believe that nothing more would have been demanded by the Indians, but the priests seem to be afraid that the interests of themselves or of their church would suffer by the settlement of the island, and hence we have the violent scenes of the past few weeks. There was an original error on the part of the late Government in offering too small a compensation to the Indians for the surrender of the land, and threatening them with violence if they refused it. But the present Ministry changed all that, and stood prepared, and stands prepared now, to make every arrangement which justice to the Indians demands. But they will not submit to have their authority defied, and violence inflicted on unoffending individuals. They will, we are sure, extend the authority of the law over the Manatoulin, as well as all other sections of the public domain, and teach Priest Köhler and his coadjutors the folly as well as the wickedness of their proceedings."

It is difficult to see any reason why Priest Köhler's name is connected with the murder of Mr. Gibbard. Nor is it reasonable to say, that these difficulties on the island did not grow out of the course pursued by certain members of the Colonial Government in procuring a surrender of nearly the whole island. To say, "that the offences of these persons have no necessary connexion with the question of the surrender of the island," is a statement no one acquainted with

the case is prepared to believe. To be sure, a small portion of the island was reserved in this new Treaty for those who were opposed to the surrender; but the Indians have been so often supplanted by white men, and so frequently circumscribed in their possessions, and then driven from them altogether, that they could easily see that after this new surrender soon an Indian would have no place on that island to set his foot.

To call in question the Indians' right "to dictate who shall and who shall not stay on the island," is about as just and reasonable as it would be to call in question the right of a white man to prevent usurpers from squatting on his own premises.

Because the Indians are not willing that white men should possess and occupy their island, the editor of the "Globe" asks the question, "whether the Queen's subjects are to be driven out of her dominions by violence?"

We may easily answer that question by asking another. Are not Indians also "the Queen's subjects?" Have not thousands of them sealed, with their blood, their loyalty to the British Crown? And are they to be driven "by violence" from their land? By this kind of dastardly and vile treatment thousands of the poor aborigines have not only been driven out of the British dominions "by violence," but have been driven out of the world before "their time came," and their blood still stains the skirts of their oppressors.

It is said, "The authority of the law must be

enforced at all hazards." But it is recommended to "deal mildly with the misguided Indians, using every means to convince them of their error." Of course their alleged error is in not quietly giving up their lands to white men!

And then it is said, "Poor people! they do not live so long among the whites, that we should grudge them anything we can give them." "GIVE THEM?" They do not ask for alms, if the Colonial Government will pay them the many thousands of pounds withheld from them. The Indian Department acknowledges they owe the band of Indians at New Credit more than twelve thousand six hundred pounds, besides one thousand five hundred pounds withheld from Chief Sawyer. All this is but little compared with the just claims of the various tribes of Indians throughout Canada. And now, under these circumstances, to talk about "giving to the poor Indians," and "pitying the poor Indians," while a wholesale system of feeding upon the very bones and sinews of the Indians is carried on, is insulting and almost intolerable.

Then again it is said, "A fine tract of territory like the Manatoulin cannot be permitted to remain uncultivated." Now, any body, and almost every one, knows that in Canada there are many thousands of acres of better land than can be found on Manatoulin Island, owned by white men, which remain unoccupied, to the great annoyance of the new settlers. Why not begin with these? And let the Indians remain in peace, while they are striving to make a transition from

paganism to civilization, and to become frugal agriculturists. The great mystery is, that many of them have succeeded in this, in the midst of all the opposition they have had to encounter, having so often been driven from their possessions, and not permitted to hold a foot of their own land, except by tribal tenure.

It is also said, the "Government have dealt bountifully with the Indians;" that "they have permitted them to retain an ample allowance for their own use; and when the rest is sold, the proceeds will be theirs." But when will it be paid? Judging from the past, they have a *forlorn* hope, if any hope at all, of obtaining their just due.

But that it is called a bountiful act on the part of the Government, in *permitting* the Indians to retain a portion of their own land for their own use, is both sickening and insulting. Why not also say it is a bountiful act on the part of the Government to permit white men to "retain an ample allowance" of *their* own lands for their own use?

The fact is, that, so far from merely permitting it, the British Government protects her subjects in the peaceable possession of their own land. To talk about the Colonial Government having "dealt bountifully with the Indians," does not agree with the facts contained in the Report of the Special Commissioners appointed to investigate Indian affairs in Canada, as well as other official reports that have been presented to the Canadian public.

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New Works Just Published.

The following are a few of the many reviews by the Press of the above works. Also the opinions of eminent rev. gentlemen in regard to the merits of the "Practical Theology":—

THE INDIAN CHIEF.

An account of the Labours, Losses, Sufferings and Oppression of Ke-zig-ko-e-ne-ne. By ENEMIKEESE. (66, Paternoster Row.) Enemikeese is the Indian cognomen of the Rev. C. Van Dusen, who has laboured for many years as a Christian minister among the Indians of Canada. Mr. Van Dusen has here published facts of the highest importance, and deserving of the most serious and careful investigation on the part of the Government. In the first part of the volume a description is furnished of the character of the North American Indians, their superiority to other Pagan nations in intellect, valour, friendship and eloquence; also their increasing desire, when brought under the beneficial influence of civilization, to abandon all habits of the savage life, and settle down as industrious citizens or agriculturists. The second part of the book is occupied with an account of the experience of David Sawyer, Chief of the Newash band of Indians. His history is told as one out of many instances in which the Indians are deprived of their legitimate property, and denied of their rights. Mr. David Sawyer, *alias* Ke-zig-ko-e-ne-ne, possessed three acres of ground, for which he paid the full value in cash, and held by Indian deed forty-three acres besides. On this land he expended much money and labour. Some few ignorant members of the tribe surrendered their land, and, in the absence of Chief Sawyer, signed the treaty surrendering the whole reserved land at Owen Sound to the Indian Department. Thus the possessions of the Chief, David Sawyer, passed out of his hands without his permission or knowledge. Thereupon the Lieutenant-Governor of Canada was petitioned on the matter, but with no result. The honorable the Legislative Assembly of Canada was twice petitioned, but without success. Through the liberality and kindness of the Society of Friends in England and New York, and by the influence of the "Aborigines' Protection Society," Her Majesty the Queen was pleased to direct the Duke of Newcastle, on visiting Canada with the Prince of Wales, to hear the complaints of the Indians, and redress their grievances; and yet, strange to say, the Indians are still dispossessed of their farms, and Chief David

Sawyer, with a large and helpless family, is cast as a pauper on the world. Great praise is justly due to the Rev. C. Van Dusen for his indefatigable efforts in striving to secure the Indians their rights. He has a painful task to discharge, as the sad tale of this book discloses. We do not wonder that he sometimes writes with a warm feeling. As we read his pages, we are quite prepared to say with him, "If this is the fruit of civilization, we ask those who have robbed the chief to show wherein it is in advance of genuine Paganism." The Wesleyans were the first to enter on the work of Indian missions, and they have succeeded in civilizing and elevating the tribes to a very gratifying extent, but their praiseworthy efforts must be seriously retarded by the policy pursued in the management of Indian affairs. We sincerely wish matters were otherwise, and will indulge the hope that this volume will aid in putting right that which is wrong.—*Christian World, London, England.*

The writer professes to have three objects in view—first, to give a concise description of the aboriginal tribes of North America ; second, to show that the desire of the Red Indians for civilization and improvement, is not aided as it ought to be by the Canadian Government; and, third, to elicit public sympathy by bringing the facts forward, in the hope that a healthy pressure may be brought to bear upon those in authority. Mr. Van Dusen, the author of the volume before us, whose Indian cognomen is that given in the title page, is now in this country, with the hope of making some impression on the Colonial Office. He contends that the Indians are deprived of their rights, robbed of their lands, and treated in a way that outrages common justice ; and, having lived and labored many years among these tribes, he has brought together a number of facts which have either come under his own observation, or for the accuracy of which he makes himself personally responsible, in a connected narrative. Mr. Van Dusen is an ardent admirer of the American Indian, whom he declares to be "the most noble specimen of the natural man that can be found on the face of the earth." "Just compare," he exclaims, the North American Indian with the frigid Laplander, the silly Hindoo, the stupid Hottentot or African, and he rises in manly and intellectual grandeur." He is as enthusiastic for the Indian as Mr. Catlin, whose ample and splendidly illustrated volumes may be familiar to some of our readers. * * * We have no doubt that there are many good points in Mr. Van Dusen's case, and that the aborigines whom he defends have been, and are still, too often defrauded, robbed and deceived by the agents of the Government. We trust that his visit to this country may lead to beneficial results, and that the Home Government will take up the work which the Colonial Government has neglected.—*Methodist Recorder, London, England.*

This work is an indictment against the Indian Department of Canada, which, under pretence of protecting the right of the Indians, and taking care of their property, has played many strange tricks at variance with morality and justice. The story of David Sawyer, the chief of a band of Indians located at Owen Sound, who was arbitrarily deposed by the Indian Department, and deprived of his house and

land without a shilling compensation, simply illustrates a system of spoliation from which the majority of the Indians on the same reserves were made to suffer. Some of our readers may remember that Catherine Sutton, a member of the same tribe, came to England, interested many influential persons on her own behalf and that of her fellow Indians, and obtained from the Queen herself a promise that she and they should receive justice; but the Indian Department proved too powerful even for the generous intentions of Her Majesty. Nothing, therefore, has remained for the Rev. Conrad VanDusen, the excellent Missionary who has long labored among these Indians, but to tell the story of their wrongs, which he has done in a manner calculated to excite the sympathy of those who believe that red as well as white men are entitled to equitable treatment.—*Morning Star, London, England.*

The author of this handsome volume of 204 pages, has thought that the Indians are not properly dealt with. He believes that many instances of breach of faith, that the ignoring of Indian right, and the refusal to give them secure titles to their lands, and various other causes connected with the system of management of Indian affairs, are not only unjust and cruel to the Indians, but also the principal things in the way of Indian civilization and character. He takes as one instance among many, to illustrate his position, the case of Chief David Sawyer, a Local Preacher, and for some time a school teacher, an intelligent, industrious man, of excellent character, highly respected by all who knew him, who was deprived of the lot for which he had obtained a title, on which he had expended considerable money, and for which he offered to pay the full price, being refused any redress by the authorities, in contempt of the promise of the Queen. Mr. VanDusen, though making Chief Sawyer's case his leading subject, states many facts on the general subject of Indian affairs, shows the means used by some of the agents to sow dissension among the Indians, and forcibly urges their claims to sympathy and justice from the white man. The facts are numerous and plainly stated, and will interest most readers, while they are worthy the special attention of our politicians. We have faith that the Indian *might* be placed in better circumstances.—*Christian Guardian, Toronto, Canada.*

THE INDIAN CHIEF, a duodecimo volume well bound in cloth, gilt lettered, printed in good clear type on excellent English paper, is before us. It is not confined merely to the history of an Indian Chief, but treats on the general characteristics, health, and dispositions of the Indians of British North America.

The Rev. C. VanDusen, the author of this work, having resided many years among the aborigines of Canada, as a Missionary, has had ample opportunity of obtaining information respecting their true character, position and oppression.

The manner in which the poor aborigines have been dealt with by the paid agents of the Colonial Government, is, in this volume, fully set forth and treated in such a plain and out-spoken manner, as to illustrate not only the ardor and zeal of the author in their cause, but

also to disclose the hardships and oppression to which they have been and still are compelled to submit.

The work is interesting, especially to politicians. It may be obtained at the principal bookstores in England and in this country. Get the work and read for yourselves. It may be procured at this office.—*Whitby Gazette, Canada.*

THE INDIAN CHIEF, by the Rev. C. VanDusen.

Much interesting information, and some startling facts, are recorded in this earnest and unpretentious narrative. We earnestly commend the work to the attention of the patriotic and christian public of the mother country, as well as to that of the Canadian people.—*Methodist Times, London, England.*

THE INDIAN CHIEF, by the Rev. C. VanDusen.

An interesting volume showing the character, peculiarities, habits and costumes of the North American Indians; treating largely of the race in Western Canada, and fearlessly exhibiting the injustice done them. The red man has a warm and honest friend in the author.

G. R. SANDERSON.

THE INDIAN CHIEF, by the Rev. C. VanDusen.

By the politeness of the author, this work has been put into my hands. I have read it with mingled feelings of pleasure and regret. Pleasure in witnessing the deep sympathy which my friend the author evinces and evidently feels on behalf of the Indian tribes of our Provinces, and the bold and vigorous manner in which he contends for their rights; and regret that such shameful acts of injustice as those which CHIEF SAWYER is said to have suffered, should be allowed to remain unredressed. Mr. VanDusen has written with a good deal of earnestness and vigor on a subject with which he appears to be familiar. How far his efforts have contributed towards bringing up the Bill now before Parliament for the gradual *enfranchisement of the Indians of our country*, I cannot say; but it must be gratifying to Mr. VanDusen to learn that the Indian Department and the Parliament have at last evinced their readiness to look into the matter, and redress at least some of the grievances of which Mr. VanDusen complains. No doubt but the facts he has stated, and the representations he has made will do good; and that he will live to see some of the privileges which he demands, freely conceded to the Aborigines of our country.

If there be no mitigating circumstances connected with the hardships with which Chief Sawyer has been visited, the authorities of the land should, at once, correct the injustice done him. Mr. VanDusen uses strong language—perhaps too strong—concerning the acts of some of the parties referred to, but this readers should remember that he was for several years, a missionary among these Aboriginal tribes, and his sympathies for these injured sons of the forest is deep and strong. Let the friends of the oppressed Indian people examine the statements made in this work and judge for themselves.

ANSON GREEN, D.D.

PRACTICAL THEOLOGY:

A PLAIN EXPOSITION OF VARIOUS SUBJECTS BASED
UPON DIVINE REVELATION.

BY CONRAD VAN DUSEN.

From the Rev. Gervase Smith, M. A., London, Eng.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have read different portions of your manuscript and bear ready testimony to the excellency of its aim, and the practicalness of its teaching. The design of the book is good; the argument is well sustained; the treatment is Scriptural; and though now and then the *mode* of putting the truth is not adapted to the English ear, it may be the none the worse for that. There breathes through it the spirit of devoutness; and, if published, many readers will, I doubt not, be profited by it.

Yours, &c.,

(Signed,)

GERVASE SMITH.

From the Rev. W. Taylor, of the California Conference.

I observe a slight tendency to philosophic speculation more pleasing to the fancy than profitable to the soul; but it has an embodiment of strong, practical common sense, which, in contrast with the abstract, stilted, fantastic shadows of truth, so common in these last days, is very refreshing.

The earnest spirit of your work gives light and life to old, familiar forms of truth, and the illustrative imagery sparkling through it, invests an old subject with the charms of novelty. I sincerely wish you success in getting it through the press. I believe that it will be an instrument of good that God will be pleased to use in saving souls from death.

Yours fraternally,

(Signed,)

WM. TAYLOR, of the Cal. Conference.

PRACTICAL THEOLOGY: A plain exposition of various subjects, based upon Divine Revelation. Rev. C. VanDusen, author of the "Indian Chief, &c." Printed by William Nichols, 56 Hoxton Square, and sold at 66 Paternoster Row, London.

This is a beautiful duodecimo volume of three hundred and thirty-two pages, is printed on good English paper, and elegantly bound, with gilt edges and lettering. Each of its twenty chapters treats of some important Scriptural subject in a plain and practical manner, making it very interesting to all classes of readers.

The author has arranged the several chapters in sections, in such a way that each chapter is a brief and complete treatise in itself, and in some instances, the chapter following is an exposition of the subject referred to in the last section of the preceding chapter.

The unique and original style of the author in treating the subjects, remove from the work that dryness usually felt by the general reader in theological disquisitions. The work is so clear, interesting and practical, as to render it popular and useful.—*Comet.*

PRACTICAL THEOLOGY: By Rev. C. VanDusen.

This beautifully executed duodecimo volume, well bound in cloth, with bevelled covers and gilt edges, printed in large, clear type, on superior English paper, is before us. In perusing its pages we agree with the author of this interesting work, "that the most of our religious literature is doctrinal, historical, or theoretical, and that a larger portion should be devoted to experimental religion." To aid in supplying this want, Mr. VanDusen has, in this volume, furnished us with twenty well written chapters, divided into sections, on various subjects based upon divine revelation. The arguments are philosophically illustrated and well sustained, and the treatment of each subject is earnest and scriptural, the figures lively and unique, the whole work appears to be designed to promote practical and experimental religion, free from any party or sectarian prejudice, and is written in such a clear and interesting style, that no one can read its pages without profit.—*Whitby Gazette*.

PRACTICAL THEOLOGY: A plain exposition of various subjects, based upon Divine Revelation. By the Rev. Conrad VanDusen. Printed by Wm. Nichols. Sold at 66 Paternoster Row, London, 1867.

Mr. VanDusen has, by the ability of his English publisher, produced a book that is exceedingly respectable in appearance. Elegant binding, gilt edges and lettering, large clear type, and good strong English paper, go to make a very handsome duodecimo volume, and invite the purchaser to peruse its contents. It is full of important practical matter. We give our opinion without hesitation, that this volume of "Practical Theology," will fulfil a most important office as a religious instructor of many. It is practical and experimental, and will be valued by the members of our Church, as elucidating many subjects not explained in subjects of theology. Each of the twenty chapters discusses some doctrine relating to a present salvation, or some important scriptural subject, and each chapter is divided into short sections. There is a very full statement of the topics in the contents, for convenience of reference. We heartily commend brother VanDusen's work to our friends and readers.—*Christian Guardian*.

PRACTICAL THEOLOGY.—I have read this work of the Rev. C. VanDusen with a great deal of pleasure and not a little profit. The volume is well suited to the general reader, as well as to the theologian. Both will find much therein to enrich the mind, and to suggest enquiry. With all of the author's views the reader may not entirely concur, and yet he may find it more difficult to refute the argument than reject the conclusion.

G. R. SANDERSON.

PREPARED FOR PUBLICATION, THE FOLLOWING WORKS, BY
THE REV. C. VANDUSEN, AUTHOR OF THE "INDIAN
CHIEF," "PRACTICAL THEOLOGY," &c.

1st. "The Prodigy."—An account of the brilliant but brief career of G. E. A. Winans, M.D., containing interesting extracts from his manuscripts and correspondence.

2nd. "The Successful Young Evangelist."—An account of the brief but successful labours of the Rev. Wm. H. Winans. To which is added a brief account of the recent but happy death of his youthful brother Wilber.

3rd. A volume of lyric and elegiac Poems of the late youthful Dr. Winans, the characteristic features of whose composition will be found to be chaste, tender, pathetic, beautiful and sublime. In many of his poems are peculiar flights of fancy, and the imagery flashing and brilliant, which will render the work highly interesting and attractive.

The above works are ready for the press, and will soon appear in duodecimo volumes, each containing 200 or more pages, well bound in cloth, and gilt lettered.

Several Rev. gentlemen have expressed an opinion in regard to the above works.

In reference to the "*Prodigy*," the Rev. Dr. Evans, in a letter, states as follows :

TO THE REV. C. VANDUSEN.

Dear Sir,—Having hastily gone over the manuscript of your proposed volume, "*The Prodigy*," I am inspired with the hope that you will give it to us in print.

It will not fail to be read by many of the youths of Canada with great pleasure and profit. The young man of whom it is a memorial was obviously possessed of fine susceptibilities, and prompted by the most laudable motives in his successful efforts for the cultivation of his intellect and heart. I pray that he may have many imitators who shall live as useful, and die as happily as he.

EPHRAIM EVANS, D.D.

The *Christian Guardian* of March, 1869, contains the following notice of the "*Prodigy*." It will be seen that the editor of the *Guardian*, (Rev. Dr. Jeffers,) speaks highly of the work, as follows :—

"The Rev. C. VanDusen has shown us the manuscript of "*The Prodigy*," a memoir of the late youthful and brilliant Dr. G. E. A. Winans, which he has prepared for publication. We have been much interested in perusing portions of this memoir, and feel confident that its publication would delight the large circle of the friends of the late Dr. Winans, and would also highly interest and profit all who may have the opportunity of reading it. He was a young man of remarkable powers, and even genius, and his character was one of the noblest. The work contains extracts from his productions both in prose and poetry, which display much depth of feeling, sublimity of thought, and brilliancy of style. His life cannot but serve to inspire young men with a desire to emulate so pure and high a character. Mr. VanDusen has made very judicious use of his materials, and it is manifest that

this was to him a labour of love. So beautiful and attractive a character as that which he has portrayed is very seldom seen."

W. JEFFERS, D.D.

In reference to the *Successful Young Evangelist*," the Rev. J. Carroll, in a letter to Mr. VanDusen, states as follows:—

"I have looked through your manuscript life of the Rev. Wm. H. Winans, and find it correctly entitled "*The Successful Young Evangelist*." How refreshing to behold one so young, so entirely devoted to God, and so prayerfully assiduous to 'snatch poor sinners from the verge of hell!' Young though he was, he was indeed 'successful.' And although it is sad to think that one 'gifted so rarely should sink to the tomb,' yet his life was not an abortion, but a glorious triumph—aye, and his death as well.

"So far as I can see, the task devolving on you in preparing his memoir for the press has been worthily and well performed.

Wishing you great success, I remain, &c., &c.,

J. CARROLL."

In the *Christian Guardian* of March, 1869, the Rev. Mr. Carroll further states in reference to the Rev. C. VanDusen's books, published and unpublished, that "Mr. VanDusen always held a pen elegant in its mechanical execution, all his acquaintances knew full well; but that it was capable of inscribing works in a style so smooth and forcible—while it is certainly *sui generis*—they did not know till the appearance of his books.

His "*Indian Chief*" is valuable for its matter—readable, because of its style and arrangement—and commendable as a vindication of the rights of a people ill able to defend themselves.

His *Practical Theology* is the best thoughts of experienced and reflecting Canadian minds, adapted to solve the doubts and difficulties of the average intellects among those who hear the Gospel, relative to the important matters that relate to belief, Christian experience, and practical duties. It is exceedingly easy in style and simple in structure. Both these works are printed and bound in England, with a finish, I regret to say, not yet attained in Canada.

His unpublished Works are two, which are now ready for the press. I have looked over them sufficiently to convince myself that they will be of great value, especially to young Canadians. They are adapted to be published singly or together. They are the memoirs of two brothers, in the flesh and in the Lord, struck down in early manhood by ruthless consumption. "They were lovely and pleasant in their lives, and in their death they were not far divided." The one was a preacher, the other a physician. The first is to be called "*The Successful Young Evangelist*"—a title justified by his unusual devotion and success in winning souls to Christ. The other to be called "*The Prodigy*,"—a title, though bold, still in keeping with the genius of the youthful subject. Some of his Poetical productions are to accompany the Memoir. We wish Brother VanDusen all success in his enterprise, and we hope our young preachers especially will read the life and imbibe the spirit of William Henry Winans.

March 4th, 1869.

JOHN CARROLL."

