

FROM THE GROUND UP:
ARCHAEOLOGY AS COLONIAL KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION IN UPPER
CANADA, 1830-1860

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ABSTRACT

This thesis presents a study of archaeology as a form of colonial knowledge production employed in Simcoe County in the years between 1830 and 1860, set against the backdrop of the Native assimilation policies in Upper Canada. I argue that the identification of archaeological sites, their survey, documentation, excavation, and the collection of their contents shaped new epistemologies that contributed to the administration and governance of Aboriginal populations, their territories and the nation-building efforts of this period. I ask: Who took on the tasks of digging, mapping and collecting in Simcoe County? Why were Aboriginal remains and artifacts torn from their original contexts and reinserted as new forms of knowledge into European historical chronologies? What did settlers, colonial administrators and missionaries *cum* archaeologists know, and how did they know? To address these questions, I draw on the theoretical framework advocated by historical anthropology and the anthropology of colonialism. Cultural studies of colonialism have revealed how, in the nineteenth century, all across the globe, territory was conquered not only through physical force and economic expansion but also through the creation of facts that gave colonial agents and settlers power over indigenous societies, their natural resources and their culture. Colonial domination was enacted through the defining and classifying of space, the counting of populations, the codifying and representation of the past, and the insertion of this information into government reports and archives (Cohn 1996; Dirks 1992). While historical anthropologists have focused heavily on the textual documentation found within these archives, I also interrogate the material, archaeological archive to reveal the complex architecture of colonialism. Yet, as this thesis demonstrates, colonial knowledge production was not monolithic, nor was it without its uncertainties: what was observed and how it was recorded and made into governable knowledge was conditioned by particular socio-political circumstances (Stoler 2009; Thomas 1994). Through the four case studies that structure this thesis, I seek out the ways in which the project of colonial archaeology in Simcoe County was both contingent and often unsettled. In addition, I identify how the production of archaeological knowledge was not an isolated activity. Published reports and archaeological evidence from Simcoe County moved quickly across imperial space, influencing the formation of emerging racial typologies and categories of difference within the metropole that, as I conclude, reverberate in the present.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract.....	iv
List of Figures.....	viii
1. Introduction: A Meeting at the Narrows.....	1
Archaeology and Colonial Knowledge Production.....	7
Theory and Methodology.....	11
Unit of Analysis: Four Case Studies.....	18
Creating an Archaeological Archive.....	23
Geographic and Earlier Historic Context.....	25
The Ojibwa in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries.....	40
2. Historical Anthropology.....	47
The Relationship Between History and Anthropology.....	51
The Rise of Historical Anthropology.....	55
Images as Colonial Forms of Knowledge.....	58
The Influence of Foucault on Historical Anthropology.....	61
Historical Anthropology Since the Nineteen Nineties.....	66
Producing Knowledge Between Metropole and Colony.....	68
The Production of Categories of Difference.....	71
Knowledge Production in the Settler-Colonial Context.....	73
Conclusion: Colonial Knowledge Exposed Through An Archaeological Archive.....	75
3. The Certainties and Uncertainties of a Colonial Agent.....	77
Reading Sentiment in the Archive.....	84
Colonial Native Policies: Theory and Practice.....	89
The Experiment at Coldwater and the Narrows.....	105
Anderson’s Archaeological Encounters.....	116
Conclusion: Identifying the Production of Colonial Knowledge in Minor Histories.....	124
4. The Survey Mapping and Excavation at a Military Outpost.....	128
Penetanguishene.....	133
The Military’s Role in the Production of Knowledge.....	135
Landscape Surveys.....	142
Archaeological Surveys and the Production of Facts.....	154
The Cultivation of Comparisons.....	161
Archaeology and Visual Data.....	164
Conclusion: Imperial Debris as a Force in the Present.....	175
5. Digging for Precious Souvenirs and Traces of the Past.....	177
The Catholic Church in Canada: Commemorating the Past.....	180
Nineteenth-Century Nationalism and the Seventeenth-Century Jesuits in New	

France.....	183
Engaging With History Outside of the Archives.....	190
Conclusion: Nationalism and Archaeology.....	203
6. Taché’s Explorations in Huronia.....	207
Ethnographic Collecting and the Appropriation of Culture.....	210
Constructing Race and Identity at the Universal Exhibition.....	214
Excavating in Huronia.....	234
Conclusion: Archaeology and a Colonial Nationalist Imaginary.....	249
7. Conclusion: The Ruins of the Colonial Past and the Politics of the Present.....	252
References.....	266
Appendix A: Terminology Used in This Thesis.....	289

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Map of the Narrows Location between Lake Simcoe and Lake Couchiching (Ringer 2008).....	3
Figure 2: Simcoe County located in the Contemporary Boundaries of the Province of Ontario, Canada (Simcoe County 2010).....	14
Figure 3: Smyth Map, 1800 (Courtesy York Libraries, Clara Thomas Archives and Special Collections. ASC07746).....	26
Figure 4: Staveley Map, 1846 (Courtesy York Libraries, Clara Thomas Archives and Special Collections. ASC07757).....	27
Figure 5: Tribal Areas of Huronia 1615-1659 (Heidenreich 1978:369).....	30
Figure 6: Map of Huron-Wendat Sites with Large Quantities of Trade Goods (Trigger 1976:68).....	34
Figure 7: Map of Huronia. A. F. Hunter, ca 1900. (Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum, Field Journals for Andrew F. Hunter New World Archaeology Archive).....	35
Figure 8: Feast of the Dead from Lafitau’s <i>moeurs des Sauvages américains</i> 1724 (Trigger 1976:72).....	38
Figure 9: Land Purchases in Simcoe County and Surroundings (Innisville Library).....	42
Figure 10: Illustration from Edward W. Bawtree’s “Brief Description of Some Sepulchral Pits” (Bawtree 1846:86).....	128
Figure 11: G. R. Dartnell Penetanguishene Bay 1837 (de Pencier 1987:46).....	141
Figure 12: G. R. Dartnell A Potawatomi with Spear 1838 (de Pencier 1987:57).....	142
Figure 13: Mary Hallen Depiction of Iron Axe and Whampum ca 1844 (Archives of Ontario F105-7-0-1).....	167
Figure 14: Mary Hallen Contents from an Indian Grave ca 1844 (Archives of Ontario F105-7-0-1).....	169
Figure 15: Mary Hallen Stone Button and Awl ca 1844 (Archives of Ontario F105-7-01).....	170

Figure 16: Mary Hallen Pottery Vessel Reconstructed from Fragment ca 1844 (Archives of Ontario F105-7-0-1).....	171
Figure 17: Hallen Portrait of Abraham Miller 1853 (Library and Archives Canada F1052-7-0-1).....	174
Figure 18: Mary Hallen Felix Martin Collection ca 1844 (The Archive of the Jesuits in Canada, Montreal, Felix Martin Fonds 2206).....	199
Figure 19: Frontispiece Map (Frances Parkman, <i>Jesuits in North America</i> , 1998).....	207
Figure 20: The Trophy (Joseph Charles Taché 1856, Frontispiece).....	217
Figure 21: A Passage from Hunter’s Notebook (Part 1 1-93, AF Hunter Barrie Archaeological sites. Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum. Field Journals For Andrew F. Hunter. New World Archaeology Archive).....	255
Figure 22: Description made by early settlers and recorded by Hunter (Part 1 1-93, AF Hunter Barrie Archaeological sites. Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum. Field Journals for Andrew F. Hunter. New World Archaeology Archive)...	257
Figure 23: Hunter’s Field Journal Continued (Part 1 1-93, AF Hunter Barrie Archaeological sites. (Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum. Field Journals for Andrew F. Hunter. New World Archaeology Archive).....	258
Figure 24: Description of the Opening of a Bonepit (Part 1 1-93, AF Hunter Barrie Archaeological sites (Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum. Field Journals for Andrew F. Hunter. New World Archaeology Archive).....	261

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract.....	iv
List of Figures.....	viii
1. Introduction: A Meeting at the Narrows.....	1
Archaeology and Colonial Knowledge Production.....	7
Theory and Methodology.....	11
Unit of Analysis: Four Case Studies.....	18
Creating an Archaeological Archive.....	23
Geographic and Earlier Historic Context.....	25
The Ojibwa in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries.....	40
2. Historical Anthropology.....	47
The Relationship Between History and Anthropology.....	51
The Rise of Historical Anthropology.....	55
Images as Colonial Forms of Knowledge.....	58
The Influence of Foucault on Historical Anthropology.....	61
Historical Anthropology Since the Nineteen Nineties.....	66
Producing Knowledge Between Metropole and Colony.....	68
The Production of Categories of Difference.....	71
Knowledge Production in the Settler-Colonial Context.....	73
Conclusion: Colonial Knowledge Exposed Through An Archaeological Archive.....	75
3. The Certainties and Uncertainties of a Colonial Agent.....	77
Reading Sentiment in the Archive.....	84
Colonial Native Policies: Theory and Practice.....	89
The Experiment at Coldwater and the Narrows.....	105
Anderson’s Archaeological Encounters.....	116
Conclusion: Identifying the Production of Colonial Knowledge in Minor Histories.....	124
4. The Survey Mapping and Excavation at a Military Outpost.....	128
Penetanguishene.....	133
The Military’s Role in the Production of Knowledge.....	135
Landscape Surveys.....	142
Archaeological Surveys and the Production of Facts.....	154
The Cultivation of Comparisons.....	161
Archaeology and Visual Data.....	164
Conclusion: Imperial Debris as a Force in the Present.....	175
5. Digging for Precious Souvenirs and Traces of the Past.....	177
The Catholic Church in Canada: Commemorating the Past.....	180
Nineteenth-Century Nationalism and the Seventeenth-Century Jesuits in New	

France.....	183
Engaging With History Outside of the Archives.....	190
Conclusion: Nationalism and Archaeology.....	203
6. Taché’s Explorations in Huronia.....	207
Ethnographic Collecting and the Appropriation of Culture.....	210
Constructing Race and Identity at the Universal Exhibition.....	214
Excavating in Huronia.....	234
Conclusion: Archaeology and a Colonial Nationalist Imaginary.....	249
7. Conclusion: The Ruins of the Colonial Past and the Politics of the Present.....	252
References.....	266
Appendix A: Terminology Used in This Thesis.....	289

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Map of the Narrows Location between Lake Simcoe and Lake Couchiching (Ringer 2008).....	3
Figure 2: Simcoe County located in the Contemporary Boundaries of the Province of Ontario, Canada (Simcoe County 2010).....	14
Figure 3: Smyth Map, 1800 (Courtesy York Libraries, Clara Thomas Archives and Special Collections. ASC07746).....	26
Figure 4: Staveley Map, 1846 (Courtesy York Libraries, Clara Thomas Archives and Special Collections. ASC07757).....	27
Figure 5: Tribal Areas of Huronia 1615-1659 (Heidenreich 1978:369).....	30
Figure 6: Map of Huron-Wendat Sites with Large Quantities of Trade Goods (Trigger 1976:68).....	34
Figure 7: Map of Huronia. A. F. Hunter, ca 1900. (Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum, Field Journals for Andrew F. Hunter New World Archaeology Archive).....	35
Figure 8: Feast of the Dead from Lafitau’s <i>moeurs des Sauvages américains</i> 1724 (Trigger 1976:72).....	38
Figure 9: Land Purchases in Simcoe County and Surroundings (Innisville Library).....	42
Figure 10: Illustration from Edward W. Bawtree’s “Brief Description of Some Sepulchral Pits” (Bawtree 1846:86).....	128
Figure 11: G. R. Dartnell Penetanguishene Bay 1837 (de Pencier 1987:46).....	141
Figure 12: G. R. Dartnell A Potawatomi with Spear 1838 (de Pencier 1987:57).....	142
Figure 13: Mary Hallen Depiction of Iron Axe and Whampum ca 1844 (Archives of Ontario F105-7-0-1).....	167
Figure 14: Mary Hallen Contents from an Indian Grave ca 1844 (Archives of Ontario F105-7-0-1).....	169
Figure 15: Mary Hallen Stone Button and Awl ca 1844 (Archives of Ontario F105-7-01).....	170

Figure 16: Mary Hallen Pottery Vessel Reconstructed from Fragment ca 1844 (Archives of Ontario F105-7-0-1).....	171
Figure 17: Hallen Portrait of Abraham Miller 1853 (Library and Archives Canada F1052-7-0-1).....	174
Figure 18: Mary Hallen Felix Martin Collection ca 1844 (The Archive of the Jesuits in Canada, Montreal, Felix Martin Fonds 2206).....	199
Figure 19: Frontispiece Map (Frances Parkman, <i>Jesuits in North America</i> , 1998).....	207
Figure 20: The Trophy (Joseph Charles Taché 1856, Frontispiece).....	217
Figure 21: A Passage from Hunter’s Notebook (Part 1 1-93, AF Hunter Barrie Archaeological sites. Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum. Field Journals For Andrew F. Hunter. New World Archaeology Archive).....	255
Figure 22: Description made by early settlers and recorded by Hunter (Part 1 1-93, AF Hunter Barrie Archaeological sites. Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum. Field Journals for Andrew F. Hunter. New World Archaeology Archive)...	257
Figure 23: Hunter’s Field Journal Continued (Part 1 1-93, AF Hunter Barrie Archaeological sites. (Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum. Field Journals for Andrew F. Hunter. New World Archaeology Archive).....	258
Figure 24: Description of the Opening of a Bonepit (Part 1 1-93, AF Hunter Barrie Archaeological sites (Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum. Field Journals for Andrew F. Hunter. New World Archaeology Archive).....	261

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION: A MEETING AT THE NARROWS

On the 30th and 31st of July, 1846, a group of Indian Chiefs and Principal Men met in a general Council with the Visiting Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Upper Canada, his assistant, several missionaries and their interpreters. It had taken several days for the First Nations leaders to gather at the traditional Aboriginal meeting grounds at the site of the Narrows between Lake Simcoe and Lake Couchiching, in what is now southern Ontario (Figure 1).¹ The region had seen great demographic and physical changes as early as the first decades of the nineteenth century. Between 1814 and 1840 the colonization of Upper Canada attracted over a half a million settlers from Ireland, Scotland and England resulting in the dislocation of most of the few thousand Algonquian-speaking Anishinaabe or Ojibwa peoples from their traditional territories in what is now southern Ontario, as forests were cleared for roads and farming (Harris 2008; Surtees 1983).² However, as the events of this meeting suggest, European colonization and its modernizing projects were always an “unfinished business” and in constant need of reformulation and reaffirmation (Burton 2000). A pamphlet recording the minutes of

¹ The Narrows is a well-known fishing site that is still considered a sacred site by contemporary First Nations. Traditionally, weirs or fish fence stakes driven into the lake bottom directed the fish to an area where they could be easily speared. Recent radiocarbon dating of the remains of weirs found underwater at the Narrows suggests that the stakes may go back to ca 2000 BCE. As well, historic sources attest to the use of this fish-harvesting site by Aboriginal peoples since at least the beginning of the seventeenth century (Ringer 2008). The Ojibwa word for this place is *Mnjikaning*.

² See *Terminology Used in This Thesis*, in Appendix A for the definition, history and use of *Ojibwa* and *Upper Canada*.

the meeting states that it had been called to take the Chiefs' "sentiments" on the removal of smaller communities from their territories, the establishment of manual labour schools, and to discuss "matters connected with their Temporal and Religious Advancement in Civilized Life" (Baldwin 1846:5).³ Government proposals also worked to link the British metropole to the colony. The politics of the colonies did not occur in isolation; they gave meaning and shape to the contemporary politics within the imperial centre as well as deriving significance from them (Cooper & Stoler 1997). This was also because Canada was not yet a dominion in 1846 and, while governed by a colonial administration, it was intrinsically linked to the British Empire through formal and informal ties, many of which would remain after the 1867 Confederation. Thomas G. Anderson, the Visiting Superintendent of Indian Affairs, opened the meeting by relaying the following message from the "great and good parent," the British government:

Brethren—As great changes are taking place in your condition, and your Great Mother, the Queen, having directed the Indian department to make arrangements for your future guidance, I have obtained permission of His Lordship the Governor General, to assemble the Chiefs and Principal Men, under my Superintendence, in General Council, to deliberate on the following subjects.

Brethren—For many years past, the Government has used every means in its power to raise you upon a level with your white brethren, and your Missionaries have laboured with unceasing care to Christianize you, and instruct in a knowledge of God's Word; but your unsettled state, and wandering habits, have rendered all their efforts insufficient for the full attainment of the great object in view.

It is therefore proposed...

³ The Chiefs present at the meeting included: a Mohawk Chief from the Bay of Quinté, twenty three representatives of the "Chippeways" or "Missesaugas" tribes, two "Otahwaus" and one "Heathen" Chief, along with eighty to one hundred young men accompanying the Chiefs (Baldwin 1846:3-4).

First.—That the Tribes shall use every means in their power to abandon their present detached little villages, and unite, as far as practicable, in forming large settlements—where

Secondly—Manual Labour Schools will be established for the education of your children: and the land, to which you may now, with the consent of the Government, remove, the Government will secure, by written documents to you and your posterity

Thirdly.—That you shall devote one fourth of your annuities...for a period of twenty to twenty-five years, to assist in the support of your children of both sexes, while remaining at the schools...

Fourthly.—It is proposed that you should give up your hunting practices, and abandon your roving habits. To enforce which, the Government will not approve your spending your money in the purchase of provision; but you must cultivate the soil, and, as your white brethren do, raise produce for the support of your families, and have some to sell (Baldwin 1846:5-6).

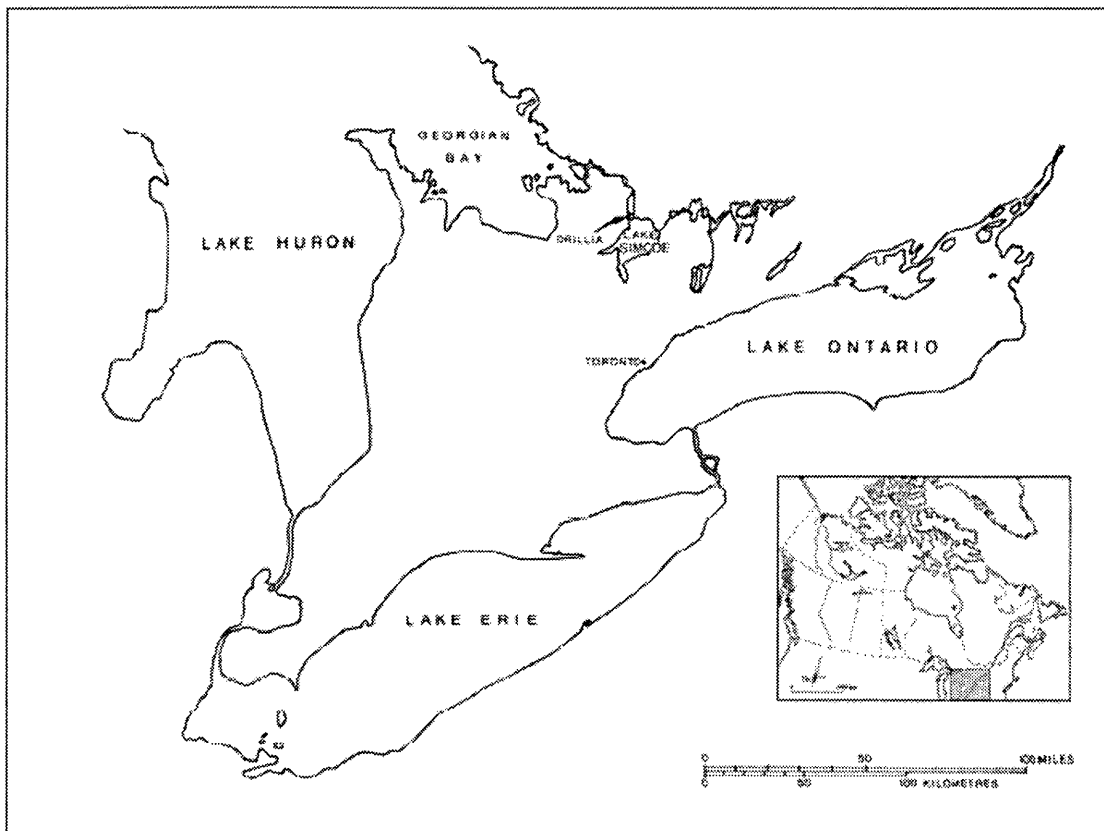


Figure 1 Map of the Narrows location between Lake Simcoe and Lake Couchiching. (Ringer 2008)

The recorded minutes of this meeting are politically charged, laying out both the colonial administration's and Empire's plans to reshape where and how Native people should live, the manner in which they should raise and educate their children, and what religious beliefs were deemed appropriate for them. As the meeting continued, officers of the government and missionaries extolled the virtues of their assimilationist policies while simultaneously honing the categories of difference that underpinned them. Native peoples were described as "indolent" and "wandering," of "low social rank" and "uncivilized," while their "white brethren" were "independent," "happy" and "industrious."⁴ Wedged between the designs for a properly ordered life and the concomitant bounding and fixing of racialized categories, governmental visions of the future were also produced, based on "favourable opportunities" that "will never occur again," the unprofitability of traditional Ojibwa hunting practices, and the inevitable "eating away" of the forest through Euro-Canadian settlement.

Furthermore, like the multitude of published and unpublished reports and recordings of meetings and commissions between colonizer and colonized, produced all over the imperial world during this period, these minutes do not merely record historic events, but as primary and official records they are *themselves* powerful sites for the production of colonial knowledge about the past (Dirks 2002). The production of imaginings of the past—as I demonstrate in this thesis—was also central to the management of colonial Indian policy in Upper Canada. On the second day of the

⁴ Throughout this thesis I try to avoid cluttering the writing with quotation marks. Words like civilized, settled, wild, primitive are only found within quotation marks if they are being cited from a particular source.

meetings in 1846, Chief Shah-Wun-Dais (Rev. John Sunday), a member of the Mississauga tribe and an early convert to the Methodist Episcopal Church of Canada, rose to speak (French 2000). Historians and ethnographers tracking the production of knowledge in the nineteenth-century colonial context have argued over the role of local indigenous intellectuals in this process. Some scholars claim that colonized subjects had little impact on colonial forms of knowledge, and that indigenous concepts, artifacts and identities were wrested out of their original contexts and made into new bodies of knowledge (Ballantyne 2008:181; Dirks 1996). However, other writers on the culture of colonial knowledge production have noted an accommodation between two distinct epistemic systems (Wagner 2003). Aboriginal missionaries in Upper Canada might be considered as examples of intellectuals who did not merely replace indigenous ways of knowing with European models. Shawundais or Rev. John Sunday, through his Methodist preaching in Ojibwa, integrated indigenous forms of knowledge with nineteenth-century imperial ideas surrounding civilization and settlement.

The missionary Chief added the following words of encouragement to the assembled First Nation Chiefs, also advising them to move off their traditional lands.

At that time we were brought up in the marshes, where there were vast numbers of muskrats and catfish, sturgeon, beavers and otters, and lived on those animals.

I was living in that state of darkness when my eyes began to open. I then left all those animals; and though it was so good a place for a hunter to live in, yet I would not stay; not even the bones of my ancestors, of my relatives could detain me when I wanted to live in a larger tract of land (Baldwin 1846:8).

As the Chief's words suggest, constructing new environments and cultures within the colonial context necessitated that Aboriginal people sever their ties to "the bones of their

ancestors” that tethered them to both place and past. In Upper Canada in the first decades of the nineteenth century, the removal of people from their traditional lands and the reordering of deep affiliations with the past could not be achieved through military conquest, forced land surrender or economic mandates alone. Colonialism was not only a struggle over numbers and territory but a competition for the control of history, experiences and their meanings (Perry 2003:589). Although he was renowned as an orator throughout the Great Lakes region, Shah-Wan-Das never spoke English fluently. His words, translated and recorded through this government-sponsored commission, also need to be understood as an essential aspect of colonial rule. In sum, colonial commissions and the documents, produced and circulated within and between the metropole and colony, were pivotal sites for producing knowledge by reframing and re-presenting the past (Cohn 1996; Stoler 2009:29).

On the one hand, these written accounts worked to shore up the authority of the colonial government to rule over people who did not have a written language. On the other hand, such types of colonial documents were spaces where categories of difference were worked out, mapped and drawn, and then fixed on paper. Thus, as material manifestations of political power and authority, the various genres of colonial documentation categorized, represented, transformed, and realigned colonized people to better know, manage and govern them (Stoler 2009, 2006a).

Archaeology and Colonial Knowledge Production

As I argue in this thesis, the varied materials and social practices of archaeology were crucial spaces for colonial re-visioning of Aboriginal identity and history in the period between 1830 and 1860 in Upper Canada. My analysis suggests that it is necessary to look beyond textual and archival documentation of colonial practices and to focus as well on the material archive and the role it played in controlling the past. This study considers how, during this period, colonial powers used archaeology to both establish and maintain control over the representation of the past as part of a much larger set of asymmetrical relationships whose aim was to give the colonizer power over Indigenous peoples and their territories. Archaeological methods used to identify burials sites, excavate and record their contents, as well as those used to collect, curate and circulate artifacts and human remains, were all means of producing knowledge about Native people in southern Ontario. As I seek to explore in this study, these practices of archaeology were intrinsically bound up with the removal of Native people from their territories and the dispossession of their land. Put more sharply, removing people from their traditional homelands required transformations that began *from the ground up*—the identification of burial sites and the digging up and looting of human remains literally and figuratively supported European colonialism and the civilizing and spacializing missions of this period.

In demonstrating the nuanced ways in which archaeology was a means of producing knowledge about Native peoples and their territory, I develop three arguments.

First, following a theoretical framework set out by historical anthropologists studying colonialism and culture, I contend that colonial knowledge production was never monolithic, but always particular, distinctive, contested and in the ‘process of becoming’ (Comaroff & Comaroff 1997; Hall 2000; Thomas 1994). The varied archaeological practices presented in this thesis suggest that knowledge production, and therefore colonialism, was never a coherent project but historically specific and contingent. I ask: Who took on the tasks of digging, mapping and collecting? What was the motivation for these activities? And how did colonial agents learn about the past? An attentiveness to these shifts and tensions is essential to the constantly reformulating social and political contexts of archaeological knowledge production, and the distinct ways in which power was embedded within particular state projects (Cooper & Stoler 1997).

Second, I explore a set of quotidian archaeological practices as examples of how colonial cultural processes were deeply entangled within the larger imperial networks of this period. In so doing I argue that local settler colonial practices occurring in what is now southern Ontario, had shared points of intersection with the larger world historical order (Axel 2002b). This has led to the often-stated conclusion that imperial and colonial studies need to bring the metropole and colony within a singular analytic frame to reveal the extent to which the making of policies and practices within the metropolitan centre was intrinsically bound up with colonizing the fringes of the imperial world (Burton 1993; Cohn 1996; Comaroff & Comaroff 1997:67; Perry 2003:590; Cooper & Stoler 1997:11). During the nineteenth century, global networks of missionaries, colonial administrators and emerging scientists moved archaeological images, site reports, and

human crania and artifacts between the metropole and the colony at a dizzying rate, producing knowledge trans-nationally. Objects excavated from Aboriginal graves in Upper Canada became the itinerant material of laboratory studies and published reports of the emerging scientific disciplines within Europe. Shifts in the intellectual politics of mid-nineteenth-century Europe shaped attitudes towards Indigenous peoples in the colonies, which resulted in new interpretations of artifacts and human remains. As Comaroff and Comaroff have noted, the study of “macrocosmic modernities” is at one and the same time “specific and general, parochial and global” (1997:6). By studying the movements of people and things between Europe and what was considered the “periphery of empire”—the townships of Simcoe County in southern Ontario—it is possible to trace the relationship that existed between the ‘centre’ and the ‘margins’ during the processes of colonization. The archival documents, government reports, archaeological images and artifacts presented in this thesis are all forms or bodies of knowledge with multiple meanings that were reinforced and enhanced through their movement between metropole and colony.

The material manifestations of these early archaeological practices did not, however, simply circulate between metropole and colony as disinterested objects desired by collectors. Hence, the third argument I seek to make questions how the varied practices of archaeology and the tangible remains and relics that were unearthed were both a product of and contributed to “modernizing forces” in the colonial period, and how they continue to reverberate in the post-colonial present and futures. Asad has defined “modernizing forces” in the broadest sense, as the “reorganizing of spaces” and “re-

formation of subjectivities” as part of the aims to dismantle old systems, forms of life and histories to put new systems in place (Asad 1992:337; Scott 1995). These new systems aimed to *improve* subjects, define what constituted a civilized life, and delineate racial categories. Indian relics, bones and ruins from the region under discussion here became data that invoked the measures of local Aboriginal racial differentiation, as well as being significant spaces for mapping categories and hierarchies of race along a global scale. While archaeology was often presented as scientific or professional forms of knowledge, it was also a destructive force. By mapping and identifying archaeological sites, and looting Aboriginal graves and documenting their contents, Native histories were replaced, traditional territories disrupted and new ways of interpretations pre-empted established epistemologies while fixing racial categories. However, as the historian Catherine Hall has noted, the categorization of difference within the imperial and colonial worlds was performed along multiple fronts:

This mapping of difference across nation and empire had many dimensions: subjects were constituted across multiple axes of power, from class, race, and ethnicity, to gender and sexuality. The map provided the basis for drawing lines as to who was inside and who was outside the nation or colony, who were subjects and who were citizens, what forms of cultural or political belonging were possible at any given time (Hall 2000:20).

Chief Shah-Wan-Dais’ words, “not even the bones of my ancestors...could detain me,” (Baldwin 1846:8) reflect this tension between incorporation and differentiation that lay at the heart of colonial projects (Cooper & Stoler 1997:10). The “bones of their ancestors” connected Native peoples to territory and history, but once dug up as part of

colonial practices these same bones became human and material remains or tangible coordinates that oriented the mapping of difference. As I argue in this thesis, archaeological practices and the processes of transforming 'dead' forms into artifacts and images were linked to the fixing and bounding of categories of difference that justified the regulating and civilizing of Aboriginal people in Upper Canada in the decades before the mid-nineteenth century.

Theory and Methodology

The theoretical framework for this thesis is one advocated for by historical anthropology and the anthropology of colonialism. Over the past twenty years, historical anthropologists have agreed upon the essential role played by knowledge production in colonial rule (Axel 2002a; Cohn 1996; Dirks 1996; Stoler 2009). Cultural studies of colonialism have revealed how, in the nineteenth century, all across the globe, imperial rulers not only conquered territory through physical force and economic expansion but also through the investigation of "epistemological spaces" of the indigenous inhabitants of these territories (Cohn 1996:3). This complex cultural project has been described as a form of "epistemological violence" thrust upon the colonized by the colonizer (Dirks 1996:xiii; Wagner 2003:7). The numerous and varied practices that were both a result of colonial rule and a means of making it viable included the mapping and naming of geographic locations, the artistic depiction of landscapes, administrative forms like the census, the learning of local languages, the formation and codification of new gender roles and their production within drastically altered domestic spaces, as well as the

development of the discourses of science, history and ethnology. To this list of various colonial practices, as this thesis aims to demonstrate, I would add archaeological practices. For anthropologists taking the production of knowledge as a key analytic lens in the study of colonial rule, it is necessary to look beyond imperial military and economic ambitions to focus on the nuanced culture of knowledge production as a site of power within historically particular colonial circumstances. In doing so, historical anthropologists treat the colonial context as an ethnographic field site and colonial archival documents as field notes, observing them to identify the underlying structural and ideological apparatuses of power. Conducting participant observations within the colonial situation produces ethnographies of the past that unmask the ways in which imperialism replaced indigenous categories with European forms of knowledge.

The consideration of knowledge production as a powerful descriptive and analytical tool for an anthropological study of imperial and colonial power raises questions regarding how, exactly, such an approach differs from the approach by historians: what are the methodological differences between these disciplines that share primary source materials? In Chapter Two of this thesis, I provide a description of both the *rapprochement* and differences between historical and anthropological disciplinary methods and goals. I begin by tracing anthropology's entanglement with the study of the professionalization of history back to its disciplinary roots in biological and cultural evolution at a time when history and anthropology as professional disciplines had just emerged as a consequence of the colonial culture of taxonomy and classification. This point of departure leads to a detailed genealogy of the role of the past in ethnography

from the early twentieth century to the late 1950s. My chapter then turns to a discussion of how, during the period, after World War II colonialism was newly analyzed through an anthropologically influenced framework that opened up new perspectives on the place of power within particular, historically situated colonial contexts. However, as I lay out in the body of this chapter, it was not until the 1980s that the influence of postcolonial theories gave rise to new, multiple, shifting—and often overlapping—political perspectives in colonial studies. Advocating for a reinterpretation of colonial archival documents, scholars came to a crucial realization that colonialism was not just a result of European expansionism, but that the discursive and cultural practices worked out within colonial spaces also shaped Europe's own internal history. As well, and most importantly, an anthropologically inflected approach to the study of the nuances of historically situated colonial practices revealed how knowledge of the colonial past is essential to an understanding of the post-colonial present and futures (Axel 2002; Cooper 2002; Stoler et al. 2007). Chapter Two can be understood as both a discussion of the production of colonial knowledge as a theory and as a method used to structure this thesis.

I conclude Chapter Two by suggesting how historical anthropology's methods, and in particular the recognition of the power of cultural knowledge in colonial projects, provides a lens through which to analyze a set of archaeological practices that occurred

between 1830 and 1860 in what is now Simcoe County, Ontario. The map in Figure 2 locates Simcoe County within Ontario and the Great Lakes region.⁵

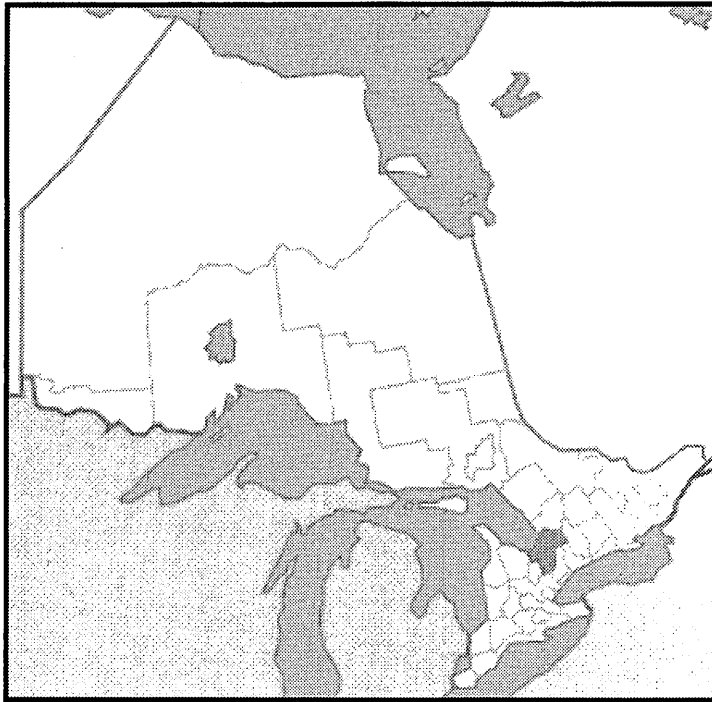


Figure 2 Simcoe County Located in the Contemporary Boundaries of the Province of Ontario, Canada. (Simcoe County)

This geographic region, Upper Canada as a burgeoning colony, and Simcoe County as a set of smaller communities within what would become Ontario, has been the focus of a vast literature dealing with a wide range of questions, including those surrounding the social, cultural and economic aspects of settlement, settler-Aboriginal relations, foreign relations (with the United States and Britain) and the details of local, daily life during the period when this area was settled and colonized. A plethora of local, regional and national histories began to be written not long after the War of 1812 and

⁵ See the *Terms Used in this Thesis* in Appendix A for a discussion of the parameters of Simcoe County in the nineteenth century and today.

continue until this day to be produced by non-professional historians documenting their own histories and experiences, as well as by professional historians (Sullivan 1992).

More recently, colonial historians writing about Upper Canada have been influenced by the “new imperial histories” being produced (e.g. Burbank & Cooper 2010), which shifted the focus from British and colonial administrative political influence and economic domination to an inquiry into the specific ways in which settler colonies asserted control over indigenous territory, natural resources and culture through an interconnected set of practices, profoundly reimagining the dynamics of empire and nation building (Ballantyne 2008:179). These studies began to also take into consideration the vast networks along which people, things and ideas travelled within the imperial world, as well as issues raised by an awareness of how notions of class, race, gender and ethnicity were generated through nineteenth-century encounters between colonizer and colonized. This shift in studies of the colonial period has been guided by questions raised by historical anthropologists whose theoretical leanings have been significant to this thesis.⁶ How knowledge was produced within the Canadian context has garnered some attention from historians, sociologists, anthropologists and political scientists who have recognized how colonial cartography (Zeller 2000) and the production of travel narratives (Vibert 2000) have turned indigenous landscapes into European landscapes, easily eligible for settlement (Harris 1997). As well, the production of knowledge through the administrative practices surrounding the census, which began

⁶ See Errington (2012) on this shift in focus for historians of colonial Upper Canada, she notes how historians have been influenced by postcolonial studies, and specifically sociology and anthropology.

in the nineteenth century, and the ways that these practices impacted state formation in Canada has been acknowledged as a form of colonial knowledge production (Curtis 2001). The impact of colonial epistemology on the design of Aboriginal domestic spaces (Perry 2003) and the construction of gender and race in the nineteenth century has also been described (Perry 2001, Rutherford & Pickles 2005).

To date, however, the early interest in the archaeology in Upper Canada, including the methodologies utilized to identify sites, excavate, collect and take ownership over the remains of the past, has not been analyzed in terms of the theories of colonial knowledge production espoused by historical anthropologists. While writing about the history of archaeology in a more global context, Trigger (1984) importantly recognized that archaeology operates within a social context. However, his study of the impact of nationalism, colonialism and imperialism on archaeology was motivated more by an interest in the possibility of objectivity in archaeological interpretation than by an interest in archaeology as a modality of colonial knowledge production (1984:357).⁷ While Trigger does point out that “while the colonizer had every reason to glorify their own past, they had no reason to extol the past of the people they were subjugating and supplanting” (1984:360), he is less interested—contrary to the focus of this thesis—in how the production of knowledge through the identification and collection of the material remains of the past, as a non-coercive force, aided in the subjugation, supplanting and realignment of Aboriginal culture under colonial rule. Unlike Trigger, Gosden (2004) in

⁷ While Trigger, in his comprehensive study of the history of archaeology (1989), identified how a particular social milieu shaped both the questions asked and the nature of data interpretation, more recently archaeologists influenced by the work of the sociology of science have questioned the subjective nature of archaeological interpretation and practice (see Meskell 2002).

his study of archaeology and colonialism has been influenced by the theories of post-colonialism and the emphasis on the study of the local and the contingent, and the agency of the colonized. He argues that while the study of various societies throughout history reveals many forms of colonialism, they have in common the way that power is mediated through a defining human relationship to material culture (24ff).

To expose these power relationships, this thesis focuses on the collection, analysis and exhibition of material culture by a group of individuals and the particular and pluralized contexts in which they interacted. Most of the individuals, sites and archaeological collections that are the focus of the case studies set out in Chapters Three, Four, Five and Six were noted in both the histories of Simcoe County (Hunter [1909] 1995) and the detailed archaeological site reports written by the local historian Andrew F. Hunter at the end of the nineteenth century, at a time when archaeology as a professional discipline was just emerging in Canada (Hunter 1899; 1900; 1913). After 1970, a renewed interest in documenting the changing theories and methods that guided emerging scientific archaeology in early Ontario resulted in a number of publications (Kapches 1997; Trigger 1981). For the most part, studies of the histories of nineteenth-century archaeology in both Simcoe County and the larger area of southern Ontario have been described as a Whig history that moved progressively from haphazard antiquarian curiosity to scientific professionalized methods (Killan 1998; Noble 1972). More recently, the culture of burial looting in southern Ontario has been described in detail and placed within the larger context of the history of anthropology, and issues surrounding the exclusion and inclusion of Aboriginal peoples in the curation of their ancestors'

remains (Hamilton 2006 and 2010). While Hamilton considers how contemporary ideas of race and colonialism shaped archaeological practices in Upper Canada her focus is less on how archaeology was related to government Native civilizing policies and settler colonialism of this period. As well, the changing heritage value of archaeological remains has been discussed through a case study located in the same geographic context as this study (Gordon 2004). Roy, in her study of the Musqueam First Nations describes how archaeological research has aimed to transform indigenous burial sites and their contents in a Northwest Coast community into Western data as a means to disconnect Natives from their own historical knowledge (2010). However, none of these studies look at the nineteenth-century interest in the Native remains and burial sites in Simcoe County within the wider sphere of the colonial culture of this period and the production of knowledge that sustained it.

Unit of Analysis: Four Case Studies

In Chapters Three to Six, I present individual case studies of ‘archaeology-in-the-making’ set in Simcoe County in the years between 1835 and 1859. I say ‘archaeology-in-the-making’, as none of the men whose activities are observed and described through these case studies would have thought of themselves as an archaeologist. Rather, an interest in tangible remains of the past was just one of many—always overlapping—colonial knowledge projects that engaged their attention in a time prior to the professionalization of archaeology as an academic discipline. As I seek to demonstrate through these case studies, colonial administrative rule and imperial powers were not

activated through economics or military means alone, but powerful ideologies were produced and expressed through cultural, technological and material expressions such as treatises on archaeology, the production of archaeological site maps, artifact drawings and the development of what would become disciplinary methodologies for the excavation and analysis of artifacts. Each of these chapters considers how a particular set of colonial projects impressed their mark on the local landscape of Simcoe County and the social spaces of its indigenous inhabitants. Yet, as the four case studies also demonstrate the effects of the digging and mapping in this region exceeded its boundaries as images and objects moved within Canada and across the Atlantic. As well, the men who excavated in Simcoe County were involved with multiple political, military and religious national and transnational projects, and the relationship of their varied activities is also questioned in this thesis. Presented side-by-side, these four ethnographic studies of archaeological practices argue against a consensus model of colonial archaeology. Furthermore, using a case study approach demonstrates how individual knowledge-making practices cannot be dislodged from their colonial and imperial contexts, and that archaeology as much includes a wide range of experiences as it is a narrow body of methods, theories or techniques (Shanks 1995:25).

These case studies are *not* biographical or primarily historical studies, yet they provide a window into the “mental worlds” or “structures of feelings” of colonial agents in the years just before the mid-nineteenth century, as well as offering a means to expose how colonial categories were made and the “epistemic anxieties” that underpinned them (Hall 2002:19; Stoler 2009). I also note the extent to which these forms of knowledge

production were gendered. That is, the individuals whose archaeological activities are tracked in the four central chapters are almost exclusively men, an exception being the contributions of the artist Mary Hallen described in Chapter Four. While the studies of individuals who produced archaeological knowledge in Simcoe County are admittedly androcentric, other discussions of early archaeology in Ontario and Canada in general have argued that Victorian women did play a vital role in the early disciplinary development (Mitchell & Smith 1998).

The first case study presented in Chapter Three focuses on the colonial activities of Captain Thomas G. Anderson, Indian Agent. Anderson was charged with the civilizing and settling of the Ojibwa in Simcoe County beginning in 1830 and, as the meeting at the Narrows demonstrates, he was still involved with this project sixteen years later. I seek connections between Anderson's involvement in the setting up and administration of the first Native Reserves in Canada, and his simultaneous research and speculations concerning the origins and meanings of the contents of local burial sites. While Anderson espoused the possibility of incorporating Natives peoples into Christian Canadian society through a discourse of civilization, his study of Aboriginal remains and artifacts placed them within the developing field of evolutionary archaeology, as evidence of racial difference that simultaneously structured colonialism.

Chapter Four turns to the production of colonial knowledge through both discursive and physical mappings of the land, peoples and relics of the past of Penetanguishene, Ontario, a place considered the *ultima Thule* of colonial outposts. The

chapter begins with a description of the surveillance and mapping of local terrain by a military trained surveyor, F.H. Baddeley, an engineer, Sir Richard Henry Bonnycastle, and an artists/doctor George R. Dartnell, all of whom worked to “normalize” the topography of the region through their varied discursive representations of Penetanguishene. The chapter also focuses on the archaeological activities of naval surgeon Edward W. Bawtree, M.D., stationed in Penetanguishene between 1844-1849. Bawtree’s colonial archaeological gaze worked to identify archaeological sites, artifacts and human remains in response to the demands placed on imperial medical men posted in the colonies. I explore how a series of archaeological renderings and site reports were produced and subsequently published in an Edinburgh journal of science; objects became “facts” as they were inscribed as graphic notations and moved from the world of the indigenous ancestors to the world of European learning (Smiles 2005).

Chapter Five and Six present linked case studies of nationalist/religious/historical excavations and collecting in Simcoe County. In the mid–nineteenth century, French Canadian Catholic nationalists wrote histories and performed archaeology to demonstrate a deep attachment to the seventeenth–century French missionaries in New France that both countered contemporary modernism and secularism. Human and material remains became authentic, tangible links to the past as well as physical facts that added certainty to nationalist doctrines. Chapter Five examines the digging and searching for physical traces of the past conducted by two Jesuits who travelled to Simcoe County to identify the sites of the events involving French seventeenth-century missionaries recorded in the Jesuit *Relations*. From the remaining archival images and documentation of their

activities, I piece together the ways in which artifacts and human remains were torn from their original contexts and made into “relics” and “authentic” representations of the past, whereby they came to share little resemblance with Aboriginal realities.

Chapter Six considers the sparsely documented archaeological activities of Joseph-Charles Taché. A multi-faceted religious-nationalist from Québec, Taché was also drawn to Simcoe County to collect relics of the past that would serve as tangible forms of knowledge, linking the historic events of the French missions in seventeenth-century Huronia with nineteenth-century French-Canadian identity. As this chapter describes, Taché’s linked projects, all forms of colonial knowledge production, aided him in his larger goal of formulating French Canada as a distinct region. In addition, the vast collection of Huron-Wendat skulls he looted from Native burial sites in the region became forms of knowledge that supplied evidence for his theories on the inevitable demise of Aboriginal peoples in Canada. Influenced by the work of scholars in the field of the sociology of science, I explore how Taché’s archaeological excavation techniques, as well as his descriptive accounts of the time he spent digging in Simcoe County, were a means to incorporate and legitimate his pre-professionalized archaeological practices as rational field science.

The four case studies presented here are linked through a shared participation in the excavation of archaeological sites in Simcoe County (Huronia) in the years prior to and just after the mid-nineteenth century. Yet, the juxtaposition of the four case studies in this thesis is not in any way meant as a history of this region, or a history of archaeology.

Rather, the aim is to demonstrate how varied interests in the subterranean spaces of the region were all tethered to the larger architecture of colonialism and the production of knowledge.

Creating an Archaeological Archive

At the centre of each of these four case studies presented in the thesis is an archaeological archive, whether it be a site report, a map, a set of drawings, dug-up human remains, a group of letters, or a newspaper article describing and analyzing various sorts of found objects. The archive has played a central role in historical anthropology. The documents produced in the colony for storage within vast archives—often located within the centres of imperial power—served as a source of details regarding the colonial contexts in which knowledge was produced as well as being objects of study in and of themselves (Dirks 2002; Stoler 2009, 2006a). As Dirks has described, beginning in the colonial period the archive was constructed as a form of governmentality: “History was written by the state to educate and justify political policies and practices, and it was produced and preserved by the state for future historical reference in the archive” (Dirks 2002:61).

Drawing on this conception of the archive not as source but as site, or a place where colonial categories were both produced and gathered, I suggest an investigation into an “archaeological archive” as a space that “reveals the rules of practice” (Foucault 1972). Historical anthropologists have suggested that exploring the microsites of colonialism necessitates the creation of new forms of archives (Comaroff & Comaroff

1992). Previously, attention has been given to “archaeological visualizations” as sites for cultural analysis (Hamilakis 2007). As well, archaeological artifacts have been analyzed in numerous ways, including as “things” with “biographies” (Kopytoff 1986), and as having fluid and active natures that preclude a singular or stable reading of their meaning (Meskell 2002). This thesis advances recent theoretical work in historical anthropology or the anthropology of colonialism through its creation of an archaeological archive. This archive adds to our knowledge of colonial knowledge production and the relationship between archives, archaeology, knowledge production and colonialism. In the chapters that follow my attention focuses on how a repository of archaeological data supported the authority of colonial agents to know the past, and how the objects found within this repository were made into knowledge. Finally, I approach this archive as a view into the nature of colonial rule in Simcoe County before the middle of the century: how bones and dug-up objects were crystallized into forms of knowledge that underpinned the formation of colonial racial categories.

The term “record,” as in an archaeological record, is itself linked to the making of an archive. The Oxford English Dictionary defines “record” as “anything preserving information and constituting a piece of evidence about the past; especially an account of an act or an occurrence kept in writing or some other permanent form” (OED Online 2009, *record*). In compiling and attending to my archaeological archive, I ask how the “bones of ancestors” become a piece of evidence of the past. How was the making of an archeological record a form of colonial knowledge production? What was the colonial logic that gave rise to the collecting and describing of the past? And finally, in what ways

can colonial epistemologies be gleaned through an assemblage of maps, texts and things? The archive of archaeology presented here is made cohesive through a common geographic context described in the following section.

Geographic and Earlier Historical Context

The geographic area in which all three case studies are situated stretches from Georgian Bay in the west to Lake Simcoe in the east. Today, Simcoe County has expanded to incorporate a larger region that extends to just north of the Greater Toronto Area and which is divided into North Simcoe and South Simcoe. However, the events that are described in the three case studies in this thesis occurred, for the most part, in what is now North Simcoe, in particular in the Townships of Tay, Tiny, Flos and Vespra, (now Springwater), North Orillia, South Orillia and Medonte (now Oro-Medonte), and Penetanguishene. This northern area is often also referred to as Huronia, as this was the traditional land of the Wendat (Huron), as described below.⁸ Figure 3 is a map produced by the first Surveyor General of Canada, D.W. Smyth, in the year 1800. Although the Legislature of Upper Canada did not designate Simcoe County as a district until 1843, this map marks the area as such. A large geographic area north of the Manitoulin Islands is marked as “Chippewa Hunting Territory” and above that is marked the “Great Tracts of Wilderness,” while West of Lake Huron is described as a vast “Indian” territory.

⁸ See the *Terminology Used in this Thesis* in Appendix A for a definition of *Huron-Wendat*.

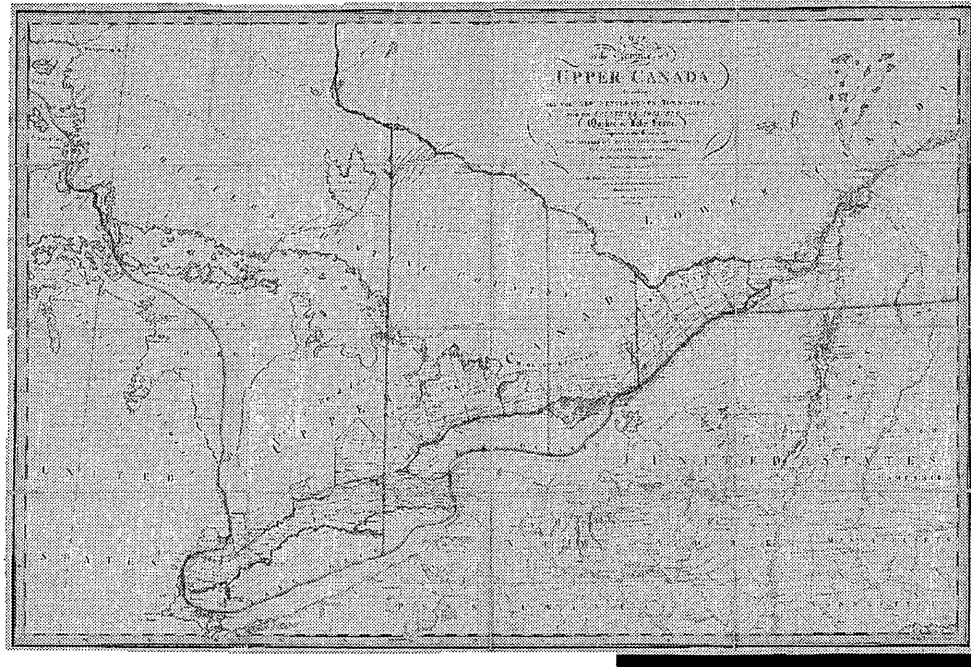


Figure 3 Smyth Map, 1800. (Courtesy York University Libraries, Clara Thomas Archives and Special Collections. ASC07746)

Figure 4 is a later map of Upper and Lower Canada compiled in 1846 by the engineer Edward Staveley—from about the same time that the events discussed in this thesis took place. While the map identifies remaining blocks of “Indian Territory” to the west of Simcoe County and the “Chippewa Hunting Country” and “Great Tracts of Woodland,” in comparison with the Smyth map Aboriginal territory had greatly diminished since 1800. The inclusion of concession lines, waterways and transport routes makes clear that settlement had radically transformed an Aboriginal landscape into a Euro-Canadian landscape by the mid-nineteenth century. The historical processes of cartography were a means to transform Aboriginal conceptions of spatial geography into new bodies of knowledge. As writers on colonial rule and knowledge production have

suggested, government-sponsored surveys and maps produced by colonial agents and administrators worked to collate information, order space and inscribe knowledge that in turn legitimated colonial authority and the settlement of territory (Ballantyne 2008:181; Cohn 1996).

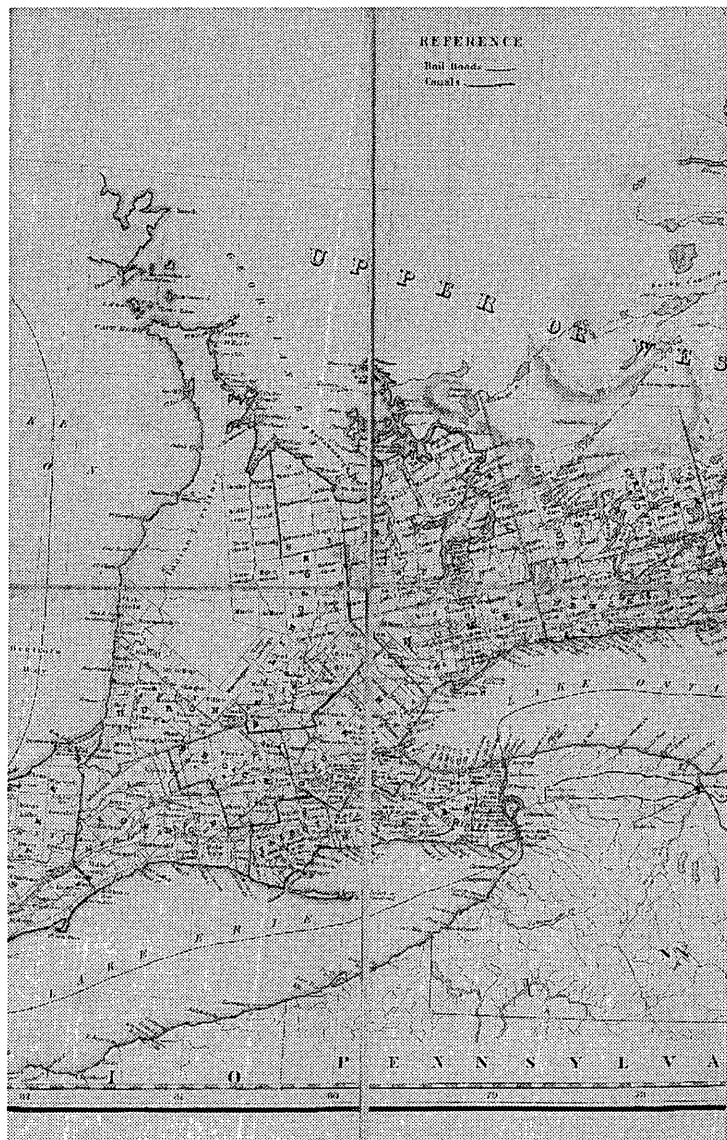


Figure 4 Staveley Map, 1846. (Courtesy of York University Libraries Clara Thomas Archives and Special Collections, ASC07747)

The geography of Simcoe County or Huronia has been characterized as an upland area of arable soils surrounded by both water and swamp (Heidenreich 1978:368). The region's bedrock of Paleozoic limestone is covered with deep glacial tills. These tills support sandy and well-drained fertile soils. In the western part of the region, which includes all of the Penetanguishene Peninsula, the land rises from the lake to form beach terraces. In the past, prior to settlement, the dry stony soil supported large stands of oak and white pine. Further to the east, as the map in Figure 4 indicates, the Wye, Hog, Sturgeon, Coldwater and North rivers flow into Matchedash Bay. Between each of these rivers the ground rises to beach terraces, and closer to Lake Simcoe the hills are over 700 feet above Lake Huron (Trigger 1976:30). Driving through the rolling hills from Penetanguishene Peninsula to Lake Simcoe today, one sees the beach resorts along the South Shores of Nottawasaga Bay, the marshes of the Wye valley, now a conservation area, the steep hills of Mount St. Louis, currently a ski resort, the farm-dotted countryside along the rolling hills between Coldwater and Orillia, and numerous active gravel pits.

In stark contrast, the landscape just to the north abruptly changes as metamorphic rock of the Canadian Shield becomes visible. Forests, in places, cover the Canadian Shield region of the Upper Great Lakes, but only conifers with shallow root systems are sustainable in the thin layer of soil that covers the vast rock-knob landscape. Seventeenth-century European accounts of the area, as well as the nineteenth-century ones discussed in this thesis, make note of the extreme difference between the geography of what is today Simcoe County and the more barren regions of Georgian Bay and Lake Huron

directly to the north. In Chapter Four I describe how surveyors, tourists and military men travelling through or living temporarily in Simcoe County used discursive accounts to compare the civilized nature of the more southern geography and the Native peoples that occupied it and the inhospitable character of the rocky shield and the primitive nature of its more nomadic inhabitants (Trigger 1976:30-31). It was the fertile soils of this region that supported the corn agriculture and sedentary life of the indigenous Huron-Wendat peoples until the mid-seventeenth century, and it was the geography of the Canadian Shield that marked the northern limits of these arable lands in eastern Canada (Trigger 1976:30-31).

In the seventeenth century, the region south and west of Georgian Bay was the homeland of five confederated tribes comprised of approximately 30,000 people who called themselves the Huron-Wendat, meaning islanders or dwellers of the peninsula or islands due to their positioning on a narrow strip of land surrounded on three sides by water (Sioui 1994:3; Warrick 2008). Figure 5 is a map of the tribal areas of Huronia as identified by Jesuit sources in the years 1615-1650.

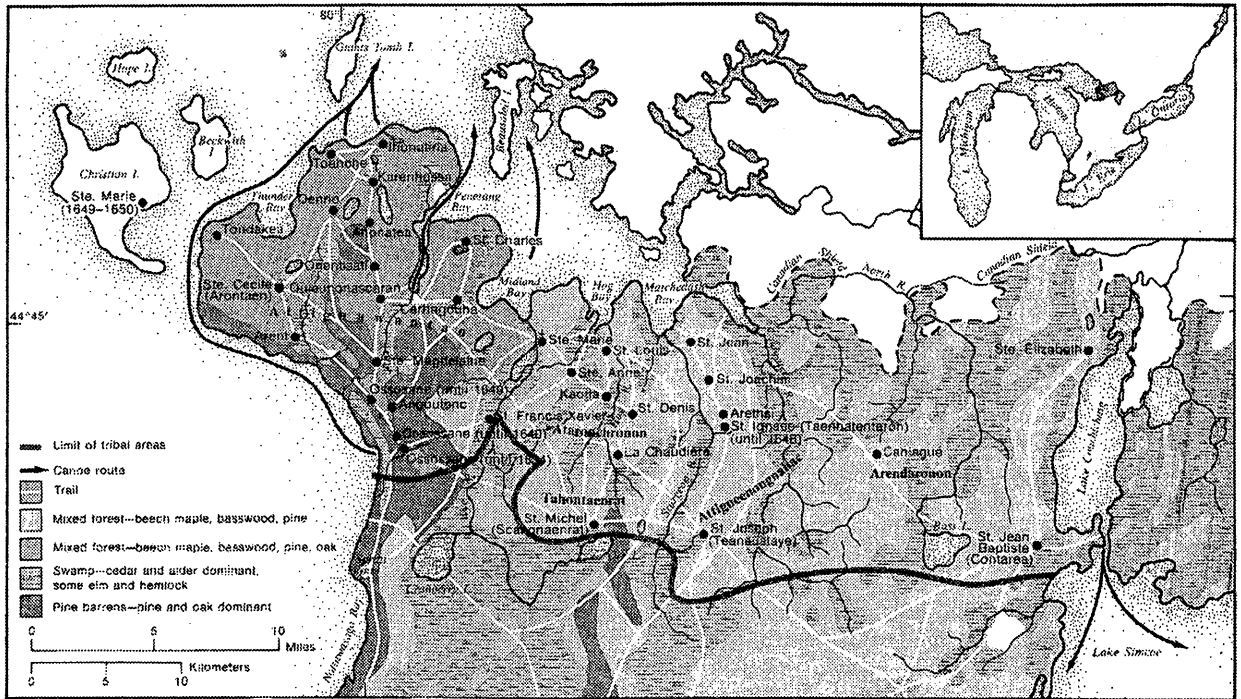


Figure 5 Tribal areas of Huronia 1615-1659. (Heidenreich 1978:369 Fig. 1)

The Huron-Wendat were farmers who lived in semi-permanent, multi-family longhouses. The Aboriginal peoples of Huronia were able to travel by canoe northward along the eastern shore of Georgian Bay, always within sight of land. This advantageous geographical position and their mapping and transportation technologies allowed them to develop crucial political and trade relations with the hunting communities that lived further north on the Canadian Shield (Trigger 1976:31). The trading partners and allies of the Huron-Wendat were the Algonquian-speaking Anishinaabe peoples, primarily hunters and gatherers, who lived on the northern Shield and throughout the Great Lakes Region, but until the mid-seventeenth century they often wintered with the Huron-Wendat (Trigger 1976). The various Anishinaabe tribes—including the Ojibwa—were tied

together through dense kinship networks or *nindoodemag* that were articulated and represented through totem signatures on treaty documents (Bohaker 2006; Rogers & Smith 1994). However, by 1649 the farming communities of the Huron-Wendat nations were decimated, first by European-introduced disease and then by wars with their enemies, the Haudenosaunee (Five Nation Iroquois). After a series of violent attacks on local villages and Jesuit missions, the Huron-Wendat were completely driven out from Huronia.⁹ These details of seventeenth-century history have been added here as they provide the context for the burial sites that were identified by the missionaries, military men, colonial administrators and settlers whose explorations are described in the case studies that follow. This thesis is decidedly not concerned with a detailed history of the Huron-Wendat Nations in the seventeenth century—exhaustive ethnographies and geographic studies have already been undertaken.¹⁰ It is an investigation into the process of turning seventeenth-century Huron-Wendat remains, sites, and histories into colonial knowledge in the nineteenth century that lies at the heart of this study.

⁹ Of those Huron-Wendat that survived, many took refuge with their allies and some with their enemies, the Haudenosaunee. A small group who had converted to Christianity moved with the French Jesuits to a mission near Québec City. Today, their descendants reside on a reserve in Wendake, Quebec (Trigger 1967). In the late seventeenth century, some of the remaining descendants of the Wendat confederacy merged with the Petun or Tionontate to become the modern Wyandote. Descendants of these Aboriginal people are currently living in both the United States and Canada (Tooker 1978).

¹⁰ The most comprehensive study of the Huron is Bruce Trigger's groundbreaking ethnohistory, *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660* (1976). This work combines archaeological evidence with seventeenth-century documentary sources to attempt to present the history of this period from a Huron perspective. Although this work is an exhaustive study of many aspects of Huron history, archaeology and culture, it has been challenged by scholars who feel Trigger's work does not include the use of traditional Huron-Wendat oral narratives (Sioui 1994), and those who question the use of the seventeenth-century *Jesuit Relations* as historical sources (Blackburn 2000). The *Jesuit Relations*, from here on referred to as the *Relations*, were reports written to tell Catholics in Europe about the work in colonial missions as a means to raise funds (Trigger 1967:4).

The geographical area of Huronia first came into European sights in the early seventeenth century through the explorations of Samuel Champlain and the Jesuit missionaries who worked closely with him.¹¹ In 1615, de Champlain, accompanied by four Récollect fathers, travelled from France to Québec. After meeting members of the Huron-Wendat and Anishinaabe peoples on the St. Lawrence River, Champlain decided to travel to their territory to join forces with these nations in their battle against the Onondaga and Oneida Nations over rights to fur trade routes. Travelling with the missionaries, Champlain followed the Ottawa River to the Mattawa River, across to Lake Nipissing, then along the French River into Lake Huron and finally crossed Georgian Bay to where the French landed in present-day Penetanguishene. Although Champlain was interested in building alliances with the Huron-Wendat for trade and military purposes, the Jesuits were intent on building missions to save souls through the processes of conversion to Christianity. It should be noted that the first half of the seventeenth century was not a period of French rule or settler colonization in historic Huron-Wendat territory—in the *longue durée* of Canadian history this would be considered the pre-colonial period. Yet, the maps, illustrations and copious written reports—as forms of knowledge—worked to shape perceptions of Aboriginal peoples and justify French power over the Huron-Wendat people. That is, as colonizing texts, these early recorded observations were a means of disassembling existing systems by producing new kinds of knowledges concerning peoples and places that justified French domination over the

¹¹ Although the Jesuit missions were not explicitly interested in trade or commerce, their missionary activities would not have been possible without these other kinds of ventures. In North America, as in other locations across the globe, the Jesuits followed and were sustained by the search for expanding trade and resources (Blackburn 2000:25).

Native peoples of this region (Blackburn 2000).¹² Furthermore European forms of knowledge were to centralize knowledge and consolidate colonial rule.

The rediscovery of seventeenth-century maps in French archives during the nineteenth century, as well as the re-publication of Jesuit *Relations* during this period, led to a renewed interest in locating the actual sites of historical events within the nineteenth-century landscape, now transformed through processes of time and Euro-Canadian settlement. As the four case studies in the chapters that follow describe, nineteenth-century excavations of burial sites often revealed seventeenth-century French trade goods mixed with Aboriginal made and collected objects as well as human remains.¹³ Figure 6 is a map of the archaeological sites within what is today Northern Simcoe County. The map indicates the tightly clustered distribution of numerous historic Wendat village and burial sites that contained European material within the townships of Simcoe County. Some of these sites were originally excavated in the nineteenth century while others have been part of twentieth-century archaeological projects. Figure 7 is a hand-drawn map made in the late nineteenth century by a resident of Simcoe County, Andrew F. Hunter. Hunter, a local historian and archaeologist, was interested in identifying Jesuit mission sites as well as the location of the seventeenth-century Huron-Wendat Nations within the contemporary concession lines of colonized Simcoe County.

¹² The plural form of knowledge indicates two distinct knowledge systems: a European epistemic system and an Aboriginal one.

¹³ Trigger has noted that it was not unusual that European goods would be incorporated into Huron burials as the Huron had traded for exotic goods prior to their encounter with the French in the seventeenth century (Trigger 1987:245).

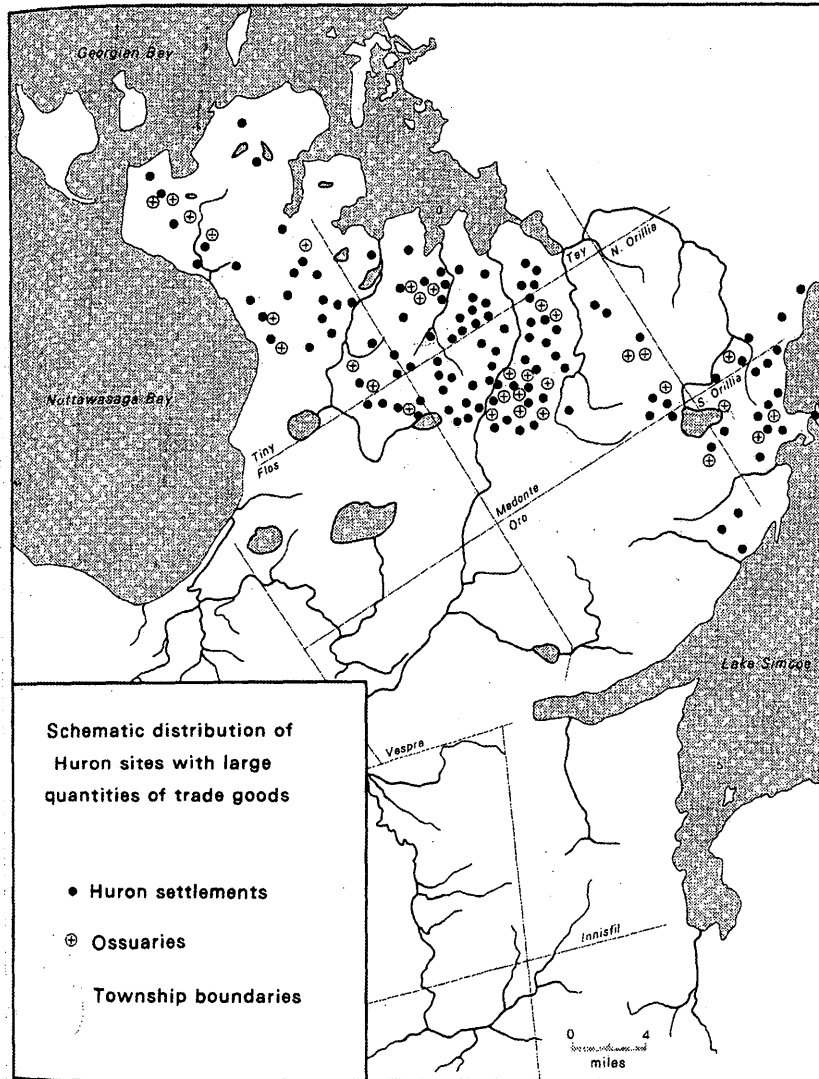


Figure 6 Map of Huron-Wendat Sites with Large Quantities of Trade Goods. (In Trigger, 1976:240)

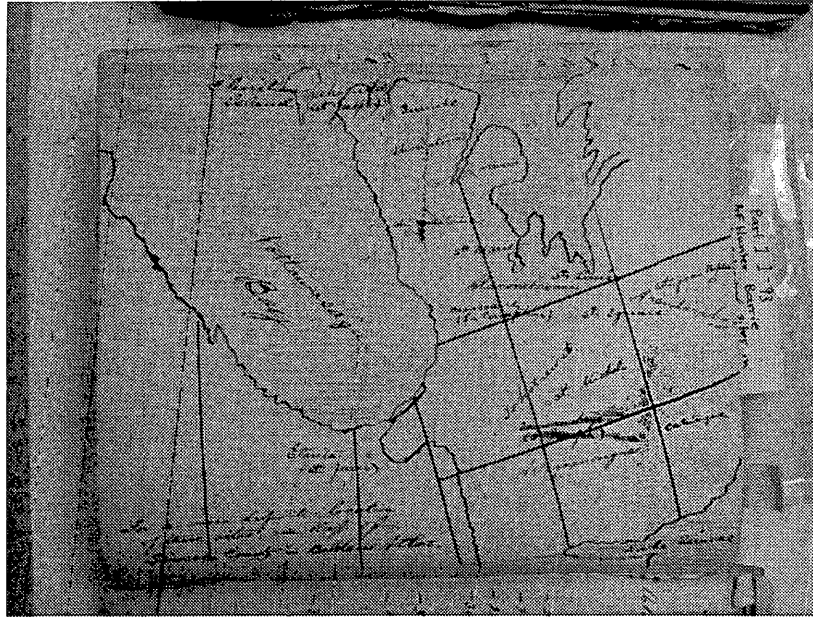


Figure 7 Map of Huronia. A. F. Hunter, ca 1900. (Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum, Field Journals for Andrew F. Hunter, New World Archaeology Archive.)

Knowledge of the Huron-Wendat was first produced through the written descriptions of Samuel Champlain who spent the winter of 1615-16 in Huronia. The Recollect friar and missionary Gabriel Sagard wrote an account of his visit to the region in 1623-24, but the yearly *Relations* produced by the Jesuit missionaries recording their impressions of the Huron-Wendat and their daily lives began with the more intensive missionizing that started in Huronia in 1634 and lasted until its abrupt end in 1649-50, when the Huron-Wendat were decimated (Trigger 1967:3). The letters and reports of the various missionaries stationed in Huronia were meant for their Jesuit superiors in Europe, but these documents also circulated among a Catholic public as a means to raise funds and gain support for the missions (Trigger 1967:4).

Most important for this thesis, the *Relations* as Counter-Reformation and Humanist texts were spaces for the re-production of views of other worlds and other peoples that were part of a well-established European discourse. With the rise of mercantilism during this period, the production of knowledge by European explorers, traders and missionaries through observation, mapping and naming went hand-in-hand with the collecting and classifying of “things” that did not easily fit into pre-established, neat European categories. Both cultural practices were intrinsically bound up in the changing technologies of statecraft in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Mason 1998; Pels & Salemink 1999:17). The Enlightenment collections of the natural world made by missionaries and travellers—which included human remains—once brought back from the “New World” as forms of evidence, shaped European epistemologies through their insertion into established classificatory grids or less rigidly as curiosities gathered in North America.

The Jesuit *Relations* supplied information for comprehensive cross-cultural comparisons—a form of pre-disciplinary anthropological study—that were beginning to be produced during the seventeenth century. Of particular interest to the European imaginary were the “deathways” of other cultures (Seeman 2011). For example, the spectacle of the mass Huron-Wendat burials, described in detail in the *Relations*, was an example of early ethnographic participant observation and field recording of a set of cultural practices (Pels & Salemink 1999). The Huron-Wendat Feast of the Dead occurred every twelve years when the bones of the dead from all over Huronia were disinterred and then reburied in a mass grave. The bones were arranged in large pits,

often with grave goods, and then covered with fur robes, mats and bark. Seventeenth-century ossuaries often contained European trade objects like copper kettles or hatchets, as well as indigenous pottery, pipes and valued trade items. Father Jean Brébeuf, a missionary who evangelized amongst in Huronia in the seventeenth century, gave a detailed account of the Huron-Wendat burial practices he witnessed at the village of Ossossaneé in 1636, describing what he identified as the pageantry of several hundred people marching to the ceremony with their dead, the putrefying bodies in varied states of decay and dismemberment (Seeman 2011:59ff). The image in Figure 8 appeared as an illustration to the missionary Francois Lafitau's eighteenth-century comparative study of cross-cultural "moeurs" or manners. This drawing with human figures in the foreground, the ossuary placed in the middle ground and a three-dimensional background has been drawn from Brébeuf's discursive account of the events, adding an additional element of imaginary and artistic license. However, the form of the depiction is based on an established eighteenth-century artistic idiom of the representation often used for the illustration of "other" customs and manners that were themselves based on Greco-Roman models (Mckay 2011:35).

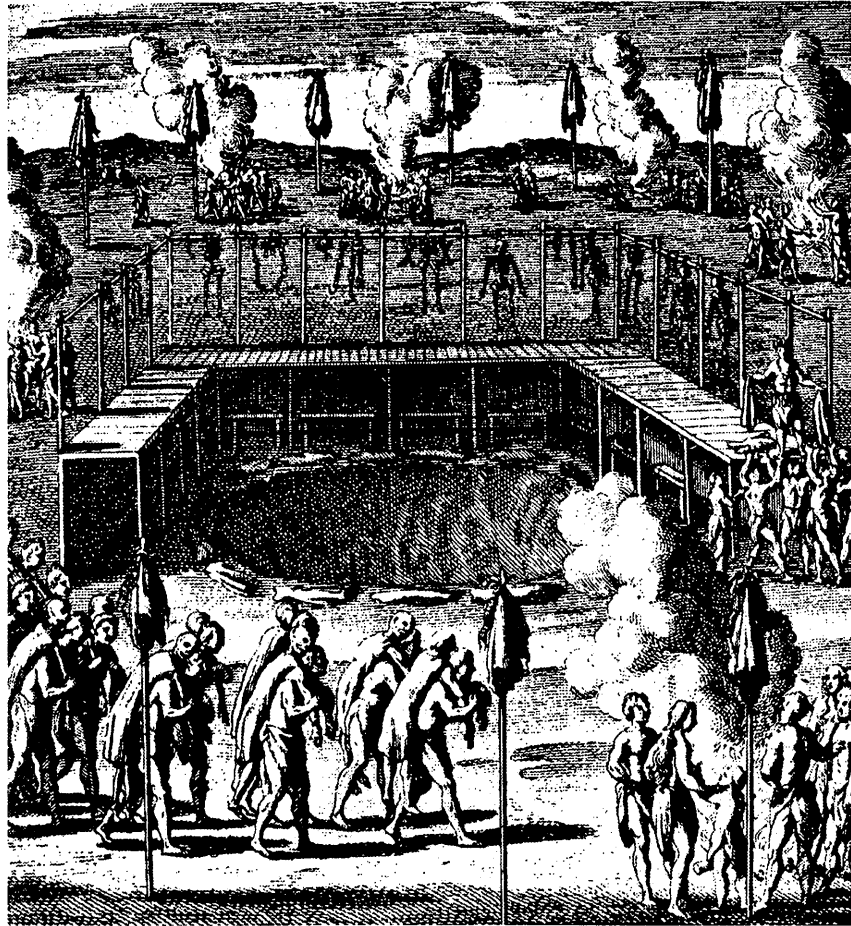


Figure 8 Feast of the Dead from Lafitau *Moeurs des Sauvages américains* (1724). (In Trigger, 1976:89)

Brébeuf's detailed account of and fascination with the spectacle of the Feast are related to a larger contemporary Counter-Reformation interest in skeletons and putrefying corpses. These kinds of direct confrontations with death provided Christians of that time with a reminder regarding what lay ahead for their bodies (Greer 2000:61). As well, the descriptive devices used by Brébeuf in his breathless narrative of the Feast include what Fabian has called "ideological operators," experiences that can easily move between discourses as a means of creating knowledge (Fabian 1983:176; Blackburn 2000:48). The Jesuit missionaries, intent on converting the Huron-Wendat, saw a correspondence

between Aboriginal and European conceptions of the soul. Wendat conceptions of the afterlife gave hope for the possibility of Christian salvation (Greer 2000:61; Seeman 2011).

Arguably, Brébeuf's gaze into the deep pits at Ossossaneé was not connected to the processes of colonial gaze and territorial expansion that reached below the surface landscape of Simcoe County/Hurononia that is identified through this thesis. While the Jesuits of the seventeenth century were interested in missionizing rather than in imperial economic expansion or settlement in Huronia, they were nonetheless intent on mastering the languages, symbols, objects and ideas that would allow them to more effectively "harvest souls" (Blackburn 2000). The subterranean burial pits became spaces in which to reflect on and refract not only what the Huron-Wendat knew or thought about the afterlife but how these knowledges could be shaped into European epistemologies concerning the meaning of life and the afterlife. The gruesome maggot-covered bones that Brébeuf delights in describing took on a new tangible and powerful materiality in the nineteenth century. As this thesis demonstrates, the bones and artifacts from Huron-Wendat ossuaries took on new meanings when they were dug up and looted from these then-overgrown burial sites to be collected, categorized, drawn and exhibited as forms of knowledge concerning the indigenous past, French imperial power, the religious conversion of Aboriginal peoples, the history of mankind, scientific evidence of race and Euro-Canadian national history. The indigenous body was literally a site for colonization in both the context of the earlier seventeenth-century Jesuit activities in Huronia and the later nineteenth century, when these earlier burial sites were systematically disinterred.

The Ojibwa in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries

After the destruction of the Huron-Wendat in 1649, the Ojibwa moved further south to eventually occupy the Georgian Bay-Lake Simcoe region by the end of the seventeenth century (Schmalz 1991). They continued to live a semi-nomadic, seasonally defined existence. In winter they hunted small animals and ice fished; in the spring they set up temporary sugaring camps, collected birch bark for roofing, canoes and baskets, and gathered berries; in the summer they harvested wild rice and fished on open waters or narrow rapids; while during the fall large game were hunted. Travelling over long distances, groups or individual family units would make use of four or five settlement camps over the course of a year (Ferris 2009). This constant and informal movement gave the Ojibwa a detailed knowledge of the landscape of the wider Great Lakes region and made them ideal fur trading partners, first with the imperial French powers and later with the British.

With the British surrender to the Americans in 1781, new political borders were set in place. Yet, as recent archival and archaeological studies have revealed, Métis and Ojibwa peoples of the Great Lakes continued their strategies of mobility and persisted in travelling along established circuits, across imagined boundaries and within a large geographic expanse to receive British government presents, hunt and fish, and maintain kin networks well into the first decades of the nineteenth century (Ferris 2009; McDonnell 2009; Rogers & Smith 1994; Sims 1992). British imperial powers, accustomed to administering a frontier economy based on the extraction of furs, shifted to

the administration of a colony as immigrants from the British Isles began to settle in what would become Upper Canada.

It was at this time that the Ojibwa, who hunted, fished and camped in the area between Georgian Bay and Lake Simcoe, and their land came into historical focus within an emerging Canadian nation-state. At the end of the eighteenth century, the British sought a strategic military route from York to the Upper Great Lakes during a period of increasing American-British tensions in northeastern North America. John Graves Simcoe, the first Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, visited Penetanguishene and saw the protected harbour as a potential site for a naval base to shelter war ships that might be needed to protect British interests in the Great Lakes region. To build roads into the bay, Native lands in the region were surveyed by Europeans and land surrendered by indigenous peoples. These land surrenders were also a part of a larger process that saw huge tracts of land along the shores of the St. Lawrence and the northern shores of Lake Ontario and Lake Huron transferred to the British between 1781 and the first decade of the nineteenth century. The first three land settlements in the Lake Simcoe-Georgian Bay area, The Collins Purchase (1785), the Penetanguishene Treaty (1798) and the Lake Simcoe Purchase (1815), were all for military purposes. It was not until 1818 that the Lake Simcoe-Nottawasaga purchase was made, primarily for the purpose of settlement (Innisville Library n.d.; Surtees 1983). The immigration of a large number of British settlers into Upper Canada after the War of 1812 resulted in a second set of land surrenders in exchange for annuities or one-time payments distributed to the Ojibwa in the form of presents. The acquisition of land and its settlement was also a means to

protect British North American interests from encroachment by the Americans (Surtees 1966, 1983). Figure 9 is a map outlining these four land-surrender treaties.

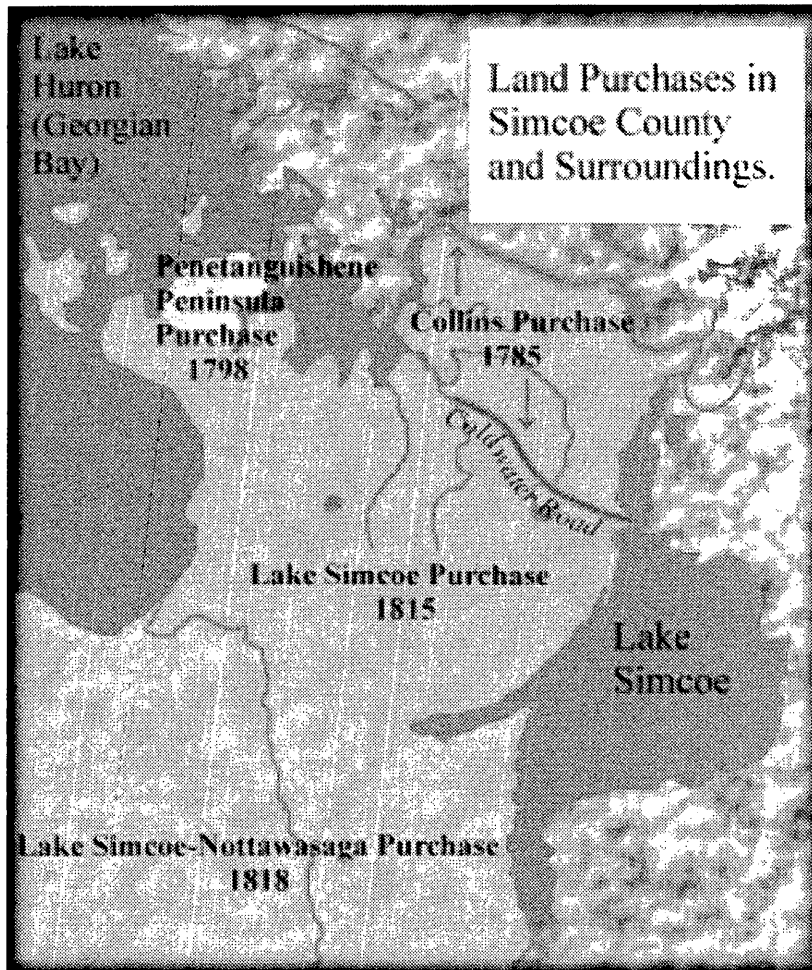


Figure 9 Land Purchases in Simcoe County and Surroundings. (Innisville Library)

The word “acquired” is highly problematic as the terms of the treaties were often unclear, unfulfilled, or misunderstood by the Aboriginal signees. The Anishinaabe peoples of the Great Lakes—including the Ojibwa of the Georgian Bay-Lake Simcoe region—when they signed treaties in the late and early parts of the nineteenth century could not possibly have envisioned the large White settlements that would eventually

occupy their land, and for that reason early land alienation processes were not of any immediate interest to them (Surtees 1984:10). Aboriginal peoples often entered into treaties to establish relationships with the Crown that would allow them to continue to fish and hunt on their lands, often mistakenly believing that they were only giving a right-of-way on the land being negotiated. Negotiations were also understood as a nation-to-nation process and as a means to peaceful co-existence, not as agreements that would replace the existing Native legal structures, land base and subsistence practices (Willow 2009). Misunderstandings regarding the meaning and processes of treaties have been identified as part of the “catastrophic bureaucracy” of Indian policies of this period (Ferris 2009). Those negotiating on the side of the British would wrongly identify which bands occupied what lands, resulting in treaty signatures that did not always match those of the holders of the lands surrendered (Schmalz 1991:126). As the minutes of the meeting described above record, the Ojibwa bands were considered to be “wandering,” which was a misrepresentation of the way in which these Native peoples honoured demarcations between tribal lands (Surtees 1984:5).¹⁴ Furthermore, the cultural accommodations between the Anishinaabeg of the Great Lakes and the imperial French and British powers in the Great Lakes region described by Richard White in *The Middle Ground*—if they did indeed exist—ceased to exist after the War of 1812 when Aboriginal chiefs lost their power due to the decreasing importance of the fur trade and as the British

¹⁴ For a full account of the Indian Land Treaties of southern Ontario, the one-sided nature of these agreements, and the incompetent, deceitful and coercive ways in which they were enacted see Schmalz (1991:120-146) and Surtees (1983,1984). Cohn has observed that treaty diplomacy was a form of European knowledge production. Even the “sensitivity” that Indian agents needed to show towards Native peoples to make treaties and settle them on reservations was a form of cultural knowledge that worked to create a set of lopsided relationships that enabled colonial rule (Cohn 1987b:55).

shunned their former trading and military partners (Chute 1998; White 1991). The post-1812 period also saw a drastic change in British Native policy, whereby the Ojibwa came to be viewed as wards of the state, and this was reflected in the terms of the land surrenders as they changed from one-time cash payments to annual issues of supplies as presents (Ferris 2009; Surtees 1983).

After 1830, Indian policy in Upper Canada, influenced by the missionary-led humanitarian movement in Britain, changed from one of conciliation to one of civilization (Milloy 1983). As I describe in Chapter Three of this thesis, the Ojibwa were settled on reserve lands in Simcoe County where colonial administrators aimed to control their daily lives and turn them into settled farmers. The reserve lands were often close to traditional hunting and fishing areas, and the Ojibwa continued to defy authorities and live a relatively mobile existence until the 1840s when the impact of settler colonialism drastically changed the landscape and the coercive powers of the state radically reshaped traditional land use practices (Ferris 2009).

Although the displacement of Indigenous peoples through the multiple land surrender treaties was becoming highly effective by the beginning of the 1840s, the meeting at the Narrows, described at the start of this chapter, attests to the continued involvement of the Ojibwa and the area populations that still maintained a strong presence on the newly transformed colonial landscape within the realm of state bureaucracy. Historical nation-building narratives as well as images produced by military men and travelers through the region often depict Upper Canadians as being alone in the

wilds of this area—something that more recent approaches have aimed to correct through attention to the relationships between Aboriginal people and colonizers (Errington 2012:xix).

In the case studies presented here, the voices of the Aboriginal communities in Simcoe County are unfortunately faint. The archival record focuses, for the most part, on the words and actions of the imperial powers and the colonial administrators. The Ojibwa people who farmed, hunted, fished, lived and travelled through this area before the mid-nineteenth century only appear as a backdrop to the larger actions of Captain Anderson, Dr. Edmund W. Bawtree, Felix Martin, Pierre Chazelle and Joseph-Charles Taché. It is through the archaeological archive of human remains and site reports that Aboriginal culture is materialized and becomes a kind of colonial text that aims to speak about the formation of colonial knowledge, the relationships between imperial centre and the colonial periphery, and the manner in which race was codified through the practices of nineteenth-century archaeology in Simcoe County. Chapter Seven, the conclusion to this study, raises questions about the effects of nineteenth-century colonial and archaeological knowledge production on contemporary First Nations politics and lived realities. Here I raise second questions including: how can the archaeological activities described in the case studies put forth in this thesis be understood as shaping not only the colonialism of the distant past but also colonialism in the present? In response I suggest that the assembled archaeological archive described and discussed in this thesis resonates in the present, not as an assemblage of autonomous relics or shards of the past, but rather as evidence of how Aboriginal societies, lands, resources and culture—through the

processes of mapping, description, appropriation, classification and excavation—were fashioned into European forms of knowledge that continue into the present.

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

A short distance from this spot a similar discovery has been made on Bantry's Island, by some Canadians who were digging, and found a large worsted belt, bearing the indication of its having belonged to the sacerdotal office. With this were some pieces of copper, of an isosceles triangular form, each weighing two to three ounces, and an agricultural implement, made of copper and fixed in a wooden shaft. The skulls found are of a retreating character, in the portions allotted by phrenologists to the perceptive and reflective faculties, bearing a marked resemblance to the early Egyptians. Nor are the utensils of which we haven spoken without the evidence of their pattern having an Eastern origin, as will be palpable to all who shall examine the specimens in the hands of Major Anderson... We are neither antiquarians nor archaeologists; would that we were, but we do not feel the less anxious that, those whose acquirements fit them for, and whose engagements are consonant with such inquiries, should devote their attention to the subject. "Truth is strange, stranger than fiction," and it may be that even here some information, all important in our reading, lies hid. However other relics and remains may have puzzled the inquirer heretofore, we do not recollect any circumstance forcing on the mind such important questions, as does the discovery of these Indian remains at Penetanguishene.

—British Colonist (Toronto), 24th Sept., 1847 (cited in Hunter 1899:15).

Beginning in the early nineteenth century, European settlers in north Simcoe County often unearthed Aboriginal burials, village sites, and middens while plowing or clearing fields for farming. The descriptions and the location of these sites became part of the public imagination, as finds were reported in the newspapers and romanticized or exoticized within the pages of popular travel narratives and historical novels (Hamilton 2010:6; Trigger 1985:8). These reports also encouraged a destructive curiosity that resulted in widespread looting, the establishment of private "Indian" curio cabinets, and the reuse of artifacts and human remains for other purposes.¹⁵ Hamilton notes that even as the fallen Aboriginal soldiers who fought alongside the British in the War of 1812 were honoured and their graves

¹⁵ Human skulls were planted with flowers or displayed in the windows of homes, seventeenth-century copper kettles found in Huron burials were used to store farm feed, iron axes abundant in the Huron graves of North Simcoe were purchased by scrap-metal dealers and bones were ground up for use as construction materials (Hamilton 2010:6; Trigger 1985:8).

marked, the destruction of earlier Indian cemeteries was taking place (2010:6). An attempt to stop the rampant desecration of Aboriginal sites was made by the Canadian Institute when it was established in 1852 as the first scientific society in Canada. The Institute distributed a circular throughout Ontario that urged the public to record Indian sites and donate all artifacts to the society's museum (Killan 1980; Trigger 1985:8).

However, a close reading of the newspaper report that introduces this chapter brings another layer of interpretation to these events and prompts the following questions: Why were Aboriginal remains and artifacts being torn from their original contexts and reinserted as new forms of knowledge into European historical chronologies (Cohn 1987b)? What role did colonial administrators, doctors, missionaries, and settlers play in the creation of ethnographic practices and the development of anthropology as a discipline (Pels & Salemink 1999)? How can we expose the power relationships that turned human and artifact remains into forms of cultural knowledge? How are digging, mapping and collecting to be understood as part of the culture of knowledge production intrinsic to the colonial project? And finally, how does one take an anthropological approach to understanding these events situated in the colonial past? These are questions taken up by historical anthropologists who have identified the production of cultural knowledge as intrinsic to colonial power and as part of an ongoing process with lingering effects in the present.

In this chapter, I describe a shift in studies of colonial conquest from a historical focus on economic, military and political domination to an anthropological analysis of the culture of colonialism (Ballantyne 2008; Dirks 1992:3; Stoler 2002:10). Writers, identifying the roles

played by colonial knowledge and culture in enabling rule, have described how Europeans in the colonies transformed not only the physical landscape but also the conceptual and cultural data of Indigenous peoples into new modes and forms of knowledge (Cohn 1996; Dirks 1996; Thomas 1994). The suggestion that the production of European colonial knowledge shaped colonial domination and rule all over the globe has also brought to light the ways in which colonialism was neither monolithic nor hegemonic (Cooper & Stoler 1997; Thomas 1994). Colonial knowledge production was often partial and contradictory, and Europeans, and in this thesis Euro-Canadians, were often plagued by uncertainties as they worked to fit pre-established European categories onto often slippery and mobile indigenous epistemologies that refused to be easily contained. In the four case studies that follow, local practices of archaeology are considered as a means of producing colonial knowledge. Techniques of observation include identifying and surveying sites, excavation, and recording information through maps, reports and images. All of these techniques are contextualized within the “historically specific relationships of power” between Aboriginal populations and colonial administrators, missionaries and settlers (Pels & Salemink 1999). Viewing these practices as such offers an alternative perspective on a set of varied archaeological practices situated in Simcoe County, Ontario in the nineteenth century than that which existing conventional historical narratives have presented (Hunter [1909] 1995). As well, approaching these archaeological practices in this way draws our attention to a form of knowledge production and a significant colonial archive that is often overlooked in the work of historical anthropologists.

As I describe in the first section of this chapter, *The Relationship Between History and Anthropology Over Time*, both disciplines—history and anthropology—share common roots in the Enlightenment project of classification and comparison that brought together collections and documentation of unrelated cultures to create universalizing histories of mankind. These earlier methodologies of comparison, classification and historicization—as strategies of colonial control—influenced the later collection and analysis of archaeological artifacts and human remains like those sought in Simcoe County in the nineteenth century. Furthermore, these processes of observation and collection undertaken by administrators, missionaries and medical men like Anderson, Bawtree, Chazelle, Martin and Taché need to be understood as part of the history of anthropological fieldwork methodologies that emerged as a result of colonialism (Pels & Salemink 1999; Pels 1997; Salemink 2003). This brief genealogy of the relationship between history and anthropology outlines how, at some points in time, history and anthropology have used overlapping methodologies (Kretch 2000) or genres whose boundaries are blurred (Dirks 1996). Meanwhile, at other times in the history of the discipline, anthropologists have been charged with distancing themselves from historical, diachronic studies, working instead to produce synchronic depictions of culture (Evans-Prichard 1961). The upcoming section, *The Rise of Historical Anthropology as Method and Practice*, tracks how the anthropology of colonialism or historical anthropology came out of a kind of convergence or “rapprochement” between history and anthropology in the 1950s but did not really gain wide acceptance as a method and theory until the 1980s (Cohn 1987a, Cohn 1987b). Special attention is paid to the influential work of anthropologist Bernard Cohn and his identification of the pivotal role knowledge production played in

enabling colonization and formulating the imperial imagination. This section also discusses the influence of Michel Foucault on historical anthropology as a method and theory, and how his concept of western “governmentality” has been applied to an understanding of the arenas of power within the imperial world—both the colony and the metropole. I also describe historical anthropologists’ more recent approaches to the study of colonialism, which focus on the networks and influences that ran both ways between the imperial metropole and the colony, and how the production of knowledge for colonial rule was varied, historically contingent, and often uncertain. The final section of this chapter, *Historical Anthropology and the Archaeological Archive*, examines the relevance of colonial knowledge as a mode of analysis for addressing some of the particularities of settler colonialism in Simcoe County in the first half of the nineteenth century.

The Relationship Between History and Anthropology

Writers have noted the complex, often contradictory, yet deeply entwined relationship between historians and anthropologists (Cohn 1987a; Cohn 1987b; Cohn 1987c; Kretch 2000).¹⁶ Historical anthropologists have described how historians and anthropologists have shared roots in a European historical project that began during the Enlightenment (Cohn 1987b). Set in motion by the encounters of the sixteenth century, travelers and early

¹⁶ There have been many attempts to map out the relationship between anthropology and history, particularly on the part of historical anthropologists describing the development of the anthropology of colonialism. Here I draw heavily on Cohn’s famous paper “Anthropology and History in the 1980s: Towards a Rapprochement” (1987b). After mapping out the long, intertwined history of the disciplines, he concludes that while they have common subjects of interest they do not necessarily “share a common epistemological space” (68). A number of other historical anthropologists have also given summaries of how their theoretical approaches evolved (Axel 2002b; Cooper 2002; Cooper & Stoler 1997:15ff; Hall 2000; Pels 1999; Stoler 2002:9ff). See also, Harkin 2010 for a description of how ethnohistory sees itself as blend of the two disciplines.

missionaries collected natural history specimens and recorded, through images and words, the social institutions and religious practices of Indigenous peoples all over the globe (Stagl 1995). Once brought back to Europe, these disassociated collections would be classified, compared and reinserted into historical sequences that could give insight into Europe's own prehistory. Believing that Indigenous peoples lacked historical understanding, the imperial metropole took it upon itself to fashion a past on their behalf, deciding what should be collected, preserved or rejected. Modern history was built upon relics collected in the imperial world but was tethered to the conceptions of time provided by religious institutions situated in the metropole (Dirks 2002:61). Through a monogenist perspective, Europeans believed that customs, manners and even morals must necessarily be universal as they all derived from a singular human condition. By comparing institutions like the family, religion and marriage, one could chronologies that charted humankind along a lineal axis from least to most complex (Cohn 1987a; 1987b).

Historical anthropologist Bernard Cohn has noted that, "The capacity to control the past, by defining it as history, and to establish classification which differentiate Europeans from others, are part of what we call the history of the modern world" (1987b: 66). As the case studies of archaeology in Simcoe County that follow attest, as powerful discursive strategies, historical documents, images and ethnographic and archaeological collections were instrumentalities through which categories of difference were shaped. History, composed by the state, was also a means to justify its political policies and practices (Dirks 2002:61). Although begun in the sixteenth century, the creation of universal narratives of history from the collected customs and artifacts of colonized

peoples continued well into the twentieth century. Darwin's publication of *Origin of Species* and *Descent of Man* in 1859 raised a new set of questions shared by the biological and historical sciences: what was the origin and age of man and human civilization (Stocking 1968:74)? Although Darwin's direct influence would not be felt until after 1860, as early as early as 1857 Huron skulls collected by Dr. Bawtree in Penetanguishene in the 1840s appeared in an imperial publication on comparative anatomy that made explicit relationships between brain size, shape and race, and pre-dating similar kinds of data collection and interpretation that would be first published in 1872 the ethnology journal *Notes and Queries* (Williamson 1857). Evolutionary anthropologists in the period between 1860–1900 borrowed data gathered from earlier questionnaires concerning Indigenous peoples that had been sent to administrators in the colonies to create linear, evolutionary sequences of human progress (Kretch 2000).

Post-Darwin, there was a rejection of the biblical foundations of human history. Questions about human history, framed by monogenist and polygenist theories, were replaced with models of human evolution that suggested humans evolved through a series of gradual, progressive stages from savagery to barbarism and then to civilization.¹⁷ Historical anthropologists suggest that studying the pre-professionalized practices of collecting and documentation reveals how anthropological fieldwork could only become

¹⁷ As Stocking demonstrates, there were multiple intellectual frameworks that structured interests in human social and physical history throughout the nineteenth century (Stocking 1968:75). Although it was widely believed that humans as a single species necessarily moved from savagery to civilization from the end of the eighteenth century, there were many influential thinkers even in the second half of the nineteenth century who continued to hold polygenist views, including several of the presidents of the emerging anthropological societies in Great Britain.

professionalized after the mid-nineteenth century, at a time when missionaries, Indian agents and travelers stopped collecting fieldwork data (Salemink 2003:8). This is significant insofar as it links pre-professionalized archaeological collecting practices, like those recorded in the case studies that follow, with the later, professionalized ethnographic fieldwork methods (Pels & Salemink 1999; Pels 1999; Salemink 2003).

In the early twentieth century, in reaction to the racist and unsubstantiated evolutionary and diffusionist theories of the nineteenth century, anthropologists distanced themselves from conjectural history.¹⁸ Fieldwork became the main methodology for anthropologists. Anthropologists like Bronislaw Malinowski and A.R. Radcliffe-Brown wrote ethnographies based on fieldwork studies that proposed that the functioning of a “primitive” society could be understood without knowing its history.¹⁹ Fieldwork studies that were hostile to history did not take into account the extent to which the societies they observed in the field were overwhelmingly shaped by the power of European colonial rule—even if it was indirect rule. As the four case studies of archaeological knowledge

¹⁸ Between 1890 and 1925, some European anthropologists, seeking an alternative to evolutionary, historical explanations of history, posited that the distribution of similar cultural elements in different geographical regions was caused by cultural diffusion. The more extreme proponents of diffusionist theory were taken to task for being unscientific and historically inaccurate (Kretch 2000).

¹⁹ There were exceptions to the ahistorical approaches of the functionalists and historical particularists. A. L. Kroeber and E.E. Evans-Prichard, for example, challenged anthropology’s lack of concern with history (Richardson & Kroeber 1940; Evans-Prichard 1961). In Evans-Prichard’s 1950 lecture, he criticized the functional school of British social anthropology for assuming that the workings of societies could be reduced to a set of general laws. He called it absurd that an anthropologist could know anything about the functioning of a society without understanding something about its history. He claimed that anthropology had more in common with the methods and theories of history (1961). Schapera (1962), in response to Evans-Prichard’s attacks on Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown, claimed that anthropology’s lack of interest in history had been grossly overstated. He cites functionalist ethnographies that discuss history in the introduction to their ethnographies and also describes his own use of the colonial archive as a source for histories of cultures without written records. Schapera concludes by emphasizing the importance of the colonial archive as a valuable source for anthropologists.

production in Chapters Three to Six demonstrate, the surveillance and mapping that occurred in the nineteenth century allowed for the penetration, conquest and settlement of the colonies. Functionalists claimed they were concerned with existing and not past political systems, and that colonial rule was part of administrative problems and therefore not of interest to anthropologists who emphasized the study of witchcraft, kinship and social status (Asad 1973).²⁰ One lone voice was that of sociologist Georges Balandier, who in his 1951 essay “The Colonial Situation” called for a new unit of analysis that would bring an anthropological approach to the study of contemporary French Algeria, which was still under colonial rule. Balandier recognized the complexity of the cultural, economic and political relationships of power within the “colonial situation” and the need to expose them within a particular historical situation as “a single complex, as a totality” (1966:60; Cooper 2002:47).

The Rise of Historical Anthropology

Balandier’s study of the colonial situation in Algeria in the 1950s had significant influence on the anthropologist Bernard Cohn and the debates he has generated on the production of knowledge by the British in South Asia. Shortly after Balandier published his sociological study of “the colonial situation,” Cohn used a similar analytical model to investigate the British administration in colonial South Asia in the nineteenth century. Like Balandier, he approached the colonial situation as an ethnographic field site. Yet for

²⁰ Asad points out that anthropologists avoided seeing how colonialism was woven into the local structures of the cultures they observed. He gives the example of Meyer Fortes’ study of the Talensi (1945, 1959) where there are only a few references to British rule and the District Commissioner is not even identified as a local representative of imperial rule (Asad 1973:108).

Cohn, his research of nineteenth-century colonial practices was undertaken through an examination of the vast archive of land surveys, censuses, ethnographies and other documents and forms of statistics produced by the British and housed in the colonial archive.²¹ Viewing the archive as a field site, he observed how the documents contained within it both produced and reflected the nuanced relations of power that existed between British colonial authorities and their Indian subjects. His fieldwork in the archive also made it evident to him that the British capacity to rule rested on the collecting and codifying of vast quantities of information. It was not military might or economic power that undergirded colonial rule but the culture of knowledge production (Cohn 1996).

By bringing the British and their Indian subjects together under a “single analytic lens,” he exposed how knowledge was a central element in the political structures that underpinned colonial rule in South Asia. Moreover, Cohn revealed how the colonizers’ knowledge of the colonized could only be produced within the relations of authority and subordination that constrained the latter (Guha 1987:xix). For Cohn and the historical anthropologists that followed him, colonialism was a cultural project of control (Dirks 1992,1996). Viewing the “colonial situation” as a place to observe the relations of power between the colonizer and the colonized, Cohn opened up new perspectives on

²¹ For an excellent overview on the influences on and development of Cohn’s ideas regarding colonial knowledge production, see Guha 1987.

colonialism and imperialism that differed from established models that focused on imperial economics and politics (Ballantyne 2008).²²

In his original essays on the colonial legal system and the census, collected and republished in *An Anthropologists among the Historians* (1987), and in his influential later papers collected in *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge* (1996), Cohn described the extent to which the British in India mapped and surveyed local lands, took censuses of the inhabitants, learned local languages, collected ancient artworks, identified and excavated ancient burial sites, and recorded local histories. Once this knowledge was gathered, the British in India ordered, collated, and categorized the information and turned it into new epistemologies that had little relationship to the actualities of indigenous thought or life; the maps, surveys, grammars, dictionaries, museum exhibitions, legal codes and ethnographies produced by the British became a means to represent and manage the vast population of South Asia. Collected information was turned into “facts” and “administrative power stemmed from the efficient use of these facts” (Cohn 1996:4). As Dirks, in his forward to Cohn’s *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge*, describes:

It has not been sufficiently recognized that colonialism was itself a cultural project of control. Colonial knowledge both enabled conquest and was produced by it; in certain ways, knowledge was what colonialism was all about. Cultural forms in societies newly classified as “traditional” were reconstructed and

²²Although Cohn began publishing his studies of the British in India in the 1950s, his ideas about colonial knowledge at first influenced, for the most part, studies of British colonial power in India (see Ballantyne 2008 for a review of these sources). It was only in the 1980s, when Cohn’s essays were collected and republished, that his ideas concerning culture and colonialism became influential within a wider, changing field of imperial studies, and colonial knowledge production became part of the larger conversation within postcolonial studies, as I discuss below.

transformed by and through this knowledge, which created new categories and oppositions between colonizers and colonized... (Dirks 1996:ix)

Cohn identified six main “investigative modalities” upon which colonial power was built, some of them quite general, like historiography and museology, while others were very specific practices, such as the use of surveys, censuses and surveillance. The knowledge produced through these investigative modalities could be directly related to the administration of the colony, as was the case with censuses and the surveys, while statistics produced through the observation of the land, the human body and its health, agricultural production and indigenous social practices became the sciences of cartography, medicine, economics and ethnography, respectively (1996:5ff).

Images as Colonial Forms of Knowledge

Documents, museum collections and images—as early ethnographic accounts—were forms of colonial knowledge that worked to identify and define, for Europeans, social classifications like tribe and caste.²³ The kind of rule required for the colonial project necessitated the identification, essentialization and categorization of subjects (Cohn 1987b; Pels & Salemink 1999:23).²⁴ Colonial ethnographic knowledge shaped the categories and ideologies that further facilitated colonial rule. Through collecting,

²³ Caste in India and tribe in Africa and Canada were colonial constructs, ways to make otherwise confusing cultural and political relationships more understandable and thereby easier to control (Cooper & Stoler 1997:11).

²⁴ Hodgen, in her study of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century ethnographic collecting practices, notes that collectors of manners and customs of indigenous peoples needed to first differentiate between cultures or nations as “wholes,” and only then were they able to dissect them and analyze them in terms of their individual parts (Hodgen 1971:165).

categorizing and preserving, museums, like archives, turned objects and documents into knowledge that could provide a supposedly objective narrative regarding past and future generations (Dirks 2002:61). As I describe in Chapters Three and Five, archaeological images as distinct forms of knowledge worked as discursive strategies that were a particularly powerful means of bringing Indigenous peoples into historical trajectories that were external to them.

Furthermore, the illustrated comparative histories published in the eighteenth century shaped the future production of ethnographic imagery of other places and other peoples (Mason 1990). The juxtaposition of various cultural motifs from different time periods and geographic regions within a single picture frame is a common characteristic of this genre of illustration. For example, an illustration that accompanied the publication of French Jesuit Joseph-Francois Lafitau's *Moeurs* (1777), a comparative study of "primitives" and "ancients," shows a figure of a Scottish Pict standing within the same scene as a Mohawk Indian. The author's monogenist conviction regarding the existence of a unified humanity is suggested by this conjoining of two aleatory figures and the conflation of time and space, but it also functions to bring Ancient Britons together with Native Americans as "equally exotic and equally distant" (Pratt 2005:65). McClintock's trope of "anachronistic space" may be effectively borrowed to describe how geographical difference is figured across space as historical difference across time in an arbitrary and constructed notion of human relationships and progress (1995:40).

Literary critic Edward Said has famously suggested that these depictions of others need to be analyzed “as representations,” created as a result of the historical processes of imperialism in which they were made and received, and not as “natural depictions” (1978:21). Early ethnographic texts, drawings and collections all created typologies and systems of classifications that worked to portrayed cultures as knowable and concretize their meanings. Thus, the authority of the Western eye was produced through colonial observation and descriptive practices (Blackburn 2000:18; Edwards 1992; Pratt 2008 [1992]). Through colonial surveillance, the European observer, separated from his or her subject, could better discern the historical and universal nature of the Asian, Oriental, African or Amerindian (Fabian 1983; Pels & Salemink 1999:4; Said 1978). In addition, authors have identified how colonialism was a spatializing project that relied heavily on scenic images of landscapes—and as I suggest, archaeological maps and artifacts—to delineate national borders and boundaries both above and *below* the ground (Axel 2002b:25; Ballantyne & Burton 2009; McKay 2011; Scott 2008). All images cannot be assigned to a particular discursive system, however, and images can move through a variety of discourses as they are created, appraised, valued and appropriated (Poole 1997:10). As I describe and track the production and movement of the archaeological and ethnographic images produced in and of Simcoe County in the nineteenth century, it becomes evident that their meanings can be considered historical, scientific and aesthetic—varied strands within a singular, albeit complex, colonial project.

However, as Salemink has suggested, collected images and artifacts need to be analyzed within the historical/social/cultural contexts of their

production/collection/documentation to reveal “the historical transformation of knowledge that was necessary to create the impression that others’ realities *can be* represented by ethnography” (2003:19). Extending this idea, I explore the production of archaeological knowledge in early Simcoe County *as* a form of ethnographic knowledge. Pels and Salemink (1999) use the concept of the “preterrain” of disciplinary development to identify the spaces where pre-professionalized ethnologists, within “a broader field of ethnographic activity” (Pels 1999:165), collected and documented indigenous material culture, and manners and customs for purposes of comparison, which later became the facts that underpinned the professional practices of ethnologists. Studying “other-than-academic-locations” discloses how measurements, images and other forms of documentation were forms of colonial knowledge that came out of particular dialectical relationships between colonizers and the colonized. Thus, as Pels concludes:

Anthropology, therefore, needs to be conceptualized in terms of governmentality...an academic offshoot of a set of universalist technologies of domination—a *Statistik* or “state-craft” at least partly based on ethnography—that developed in a dialectic between colonial and European states. (1999:165)

The Influence of Foucault on Historical Anthropology

Bernard Cohn, influenced by the work of Michel Foucault, conceptualized ethnography as well as historiography, censuses and survey as forms of governmentality, yet his recognition of colonial knowledge as a technology of governmental control also predated some of Foucault’s writings (Lal 2004). Cohn’s work, in many ways, anticipated Foucault’s ideas concerning the relationship between knowledge and power:

While Michel Foucault's insistence on the inextricable relationship between knowledge and power has had a major impact on the last decade of colonial scholarship, such questions were not prompted by him alone. Bernard Cohn's work... has long emphasized the conscious way in which a model colonial regime—the Raj—went about creating the categories in which “British” and “Indian” were to define themselves. (Cooper & Stoler 1997:11)²⁵

In his essay, “The Command of Language and The Language of Command,” Cohn effectively borrows Foucault's notion of *discursive formations* to describe how the British in colonial South Asia transformed the languages that the indigenous population spoke and wrote as a means to create and reify newly-transformed social categories and to create a discourse of difference. The British in ruling positions in South Asia did not trust local translators and therefore went about learning local languages to recruit for the army, to issue commands and to create diplomatic relationships:

Political strategies and tactics had to be created and codified into diplomacy through which the country's powers could be converted into allied dependencies. The vast social world that was Indian had to be classified, categorized and bounded before it could be ordered. As with many discursive formations and their discourses, many of its major effects were unintended as those who were to be the objects produced by the formation turned it to their own ends. (1985:282)

Scholars have discussed the limits of extending Foucault's modes of governmentality into the colonial/imperial context, as well as the limited degree to which the culture of colonial knowledge is a form of governmentality (Axel: 2002b:8; Ballantyne 2008:188; Cooper 2002). Some have asked if the disciplinary mechanisms Foucault identified within Northern European and French hospitals, prisons, schools and

²⁵ See also Dirk's forward to Cohn's *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* on how Cohn's insights into the relationship between knowledge and power, identified within the colonial context, anticipated the work of both Foucault and Said (1996:ix).

factories can also be identified within colonial contexts (Cooper 2002).²⁶ Foucault himself never applied his notion of power to the colonial situation (Stoler 1995).²⁷ While some disciplinary techniques identified in Europe by Foucault were replicated and even perfected within the colonies, others were not. Cohn describes how the extensive British census in India, beginning in the early nineteenth century, asked questions about every aspect of Indian life, including religion, language, literacy, health and caste, as means to compile information into categories that could be used for governance (1987d). Yet, his archival research revealed that early nineteenth-century censuses in India were unable to define the Indian family or who was an agriculturalist, resulting in inaccuracies that required the redoing of the census. Curtis, in his study of the first census in Canada, applies Cohn's model of knowledge production to the colonial context in Upper and Lower Canada. Similarly, his research reveals that in nineteenth-century Upper Canada, census-making as a form of knowledge production has also been described as "messy, inchoate, incoherent, and antagonistic" (Curtis 2001:312). While numerical census-making worked to centralize knowledge as a disciplinary technique, examining the first censuses in Canada from the nineteenth century reveals how First Nations and Métis populations challenged the ambitions of a census that tried to fit the reality of existing social relations into tightly-defined and prescribed categories (Curtis 2001:307). Perhaps

²⁶ Timothy Mitchell, in *Colonizing Egypt*, argues that modes of surveillance, confinement, regulation and supervision, "disciplinary mechanisms" described by Foucault, were developed not in Europe but in the colonies and were essential to the re-ordering of places like Egypt. For example, Mitchell cites the invention of the panopticon structure in colonial India and the "monitorial method of schooling" in Egypt (1988:35).

²⁷ See Stoler's *Race, Education and Desire* (1995) for a broad discussion on how Foucault's theories on the intersection of sexuality and politics can be used to understand the history of the construction categories of race in the nineteenth-century colonial/imperial context.

when surveys and censuses described, codified and transformed local populations and their economies, in multiple colonial contexts the control was never totalizing (Ballantyne 2008:188).

Official state investigations and commissions into the activities in the colonies that were often translated and compiled—as forms of knowledge production—and then printed and stored in the archive did not always become an effective means for pursuing power and justifying that pursuit. As the meeting between Aboriginal leaders and government officials at the Narrows, described in the introduction to this thesis, demonstrates, marginalized peoples often represented themselves through government-issued pamphlets that recorded interactions between the colonized and the colonizers, thereby foiling government efforts to erase Indigenous peoples from history or to render them silent. Questionnaires like those sent to the Indian Agent Anderson, described in Chapter Three, suggest that governments had difficulty controlling the gathering of facts through the survey process. As Oz Frankel, in his study of nineteenth-century public inquiries and print culture, observes, there were no standards for collecting data and the dependence on local agents did not allow for a centralized governmental voice; thus, the knowledge collected was often “ungovernable” (2006:3-4). The insertion of Native burial sites, bones and burial goods into established European chronologies of history also proved difficult. At the start of this chapter I present a passage from the newspaper report on an early archaeological excavation in Simcoe County that reflect these same difficulties. The writer describes the excavation and then wonders aloud about the

“anxious” “puzzle” the remains present and how they require “fictions” to be transformed into “truths” (Hunter 1899).

An overview of the methods and theories of historical anthropology needs to recognize the impact of Edward Said’s contributions to the identification of the intrinsic relationship between race, representation and colonial knowledge production. Also influenced by Foucault’s recognition of the relationship between power and knowledge, Said has shown how set ideas about the Orient were embedded within the fabric of canonical European texts and images; the power of representation worked to fix ideas of both the Other and the European (1978:21). As forms of knowledge production, European constructions of the Orient created a set of hierarchical binaries that, aside from military or economic rule, enabled the colonizer to assert superiority over the colonized (1978:123). Said’s *Orientalism* has immeasurably influenced both literary and postcolonial studies since its original publication. Although his intention was to critique European scholarly production about the “East,” his work has also been critiqued for its creation of a dichotomy between colonizer and colonized that is too stringent, that does not take into account the , local historical circumstances in which these power relations were produced, nor does it question how Orientalist productions of knowledge were specifically linked to colonial domination and coercion (Appadurai 1993:115; Bhabha 1997; Cooper 2002:59; Salemink 2003:19). Since the 1990s, historical anthropology has questioned “Manichean” descriptions of the relationship between colonizers and their subjects, resulting in a new set of questions structuring the inquiries of historical anthropologists (Cooper 2002:65).

Historical Anthropology Since the 1990s

Anthropologists and historians re-examining the quotidian practices that occurred within multiple sites in the colonial context have described how, while the regulatory mechanisms of the colonial state produced difference, they did not always create neat demarcations between colonizer and colonized. The distinctions between rulers and ruled were not homogenous, not always self-evident, nor were they as easily maintained as earlier histories of colonial rule had described (Cooper 2002:65; Cooper & Stoler 1997; Hall 2000:7; Thomas 1994). Nuanced studies of the colonial context and the production of knowledge since the 1990s have revealed that unequal relationships produced by imperial polities were not fixed but were often fluid and in flux. As Cooper notes:

Empires necessarily reproduced difference, but they did not necessarily reproduce a self/other distinction. Imperial rule always entailed command, but patrimonial forms of authority, systems of rule that recognized corporate structures within empires, rule via ethnic networks and group structures, and recruitment of high-level administrative personnel from conquered provinces complicate the relationship of ruler and ruled, of insider and outsider, in imperial politics. (2002:65)

An example of the often-porous boundary between insider and outsider in colonial rule is discussed in the case study presented in the following chapter. There, I describe how Captain T.G. Anderson, the Indian Agent in Simcoe County in the 1830s, worked with various missionary groups to settle and Christianize the local Ojibwa population. The strategies used to assimilate and bring the Ojibwa of Simcoe County into the nation, inspired by humanitarian movements taking place in Britain, included incorporation through education and the adoption of farming, European clothing and

homes as a means to make Aboriginal peoples work, think and look like Euro-Canadians. Yet, these efforts took place within the confines of Indian reserves that aimed to isolate Aboriginal peoples and maintain difference. Another example of the contradictory nature of the colonial project is seen in the ways that some Europeans went “native” and moved between the worlds of the colonizer and colonized (Cooper 2002:62), or the manner in which indigenous leaders became evangelicals, giving them unusual access to diverse communities. For example, in Simcoe County the Anishinaabe leader John Sunday, cited in the introduction to this thesis, continued to have an influence over his community even after he became a Methodist minister. It has been suggested that Aboriginal leaders needed to show themselves as civilized or “become European” as a means to access power for their people on the diplomatic stage, further complicating their status as outsiders and their relations with insiders (Elbourne 2005:80-81).

Miscegenation is site focused on more recently by historical anthropologists studying knowledge production within the “colonial situation.” Scholars have identified how racial categories and imperial rule were worked out on-the-ground in the colonial context. Stoler has written extensively about the anxieties raised by the offspring born to Dutch colonials and their Indonesian mistresses and wives (1995, 2000; 2001; 2009). The “mixed” identity of these children brought attention to the cracks within a colonial system of control built on regulating sexual reproduction and the production of knowledge concerning the classification of racial types. Stoler’s examination of the Dutch colonial archive also reveals how late nineteenth-century governmental commissions produced an inordinate number of documents on the poor moral “character”

of “mixed-blood” children and the proper methods for child rearing. She reads these documents as revealing the “implicit anxieties about subject formation,” which she interprets as being at the heart of colonial projects (2000:25; 2009:141ff).

Although this thesis does not directly deal with the issue of “mixed-blood” children, Stoler’s identification of “epistemic uncertainties” found in the colonial archive has influenced my reading of the documents and material artifacts produced by the colonial agents who are central to this work. The meanings of archaeological artifacts and even human remains were ambiguous to the eye of the colonial collector, and therefore were spaces where multiple narratives could be fashioned. As Foucault argued, archaeological objects as “silent monuments, inert traces, objects without context, and things left to the past attained meaning only through restitution of a historical discourse” (1972:8). The practices of digging, collecting and documenting Aboriginal history entailed delineating the categories in which people belonged. In the four case studies that follow, I suggest that archaeological practices worked out within the “pre-terrain” of colonialism demanded a constant reassessment of what could be known and how (Stoler 2009:39).

Producing Colonial Knowledge Between Metropole and Colony

Stoler’s study of mixed-race children in the Dutch Indies points to an important issue that has been central to recent studies of colonial knowledge production: the highly politicized struggle over the production of knowledge as it moved between and within the colonial and larger imperial worlds. Since the 1990s, colonial studies have focused on how the creation of the European bourgeois identity was cultivated through the

movement of ideas, images, and Indigenous people from the core to the periphery of empire, as well as between imperial spaces (Cooper & Stoler 1997; Stoler et al. 2007). Conceptions of what constituted proper, middle-class European sexuality, morality, hygiene and forms of domesticity were also formed in contradistinction to the imagined practices of Indigenous peoples, described in writings, images and through the collections of those who travelled between metropole and colony (Arnold 1993; Comaroff 1987; Cooper & Stoler 1997; Thorne 1997). Cultural knowledge related to the “primitive” or “noble savage” produced in the colonies provided social categories for thinking not only about race but also class and gender within Europe (McClintock 1995; Stoler 2000; 2009). As I note throughout this thesis, Simcoe County was drawn into these transatlantic knowledge-forming projects. Indian Agents in Canada after 1830 were sent surveys that questioned the “moral conditions” of Indigenous peoples under their supervision. These surveys, along with the eyewitness reports of the missionaries who travelled to the colonies, were used to formulate ideas and language through which the poor in Europe were defined (Thorne 1997). The convergence of race and class came out of comparisons made between the “heathen races” in the colonies and the labouring classes at home (Cooper & Stoler 1997:238).

Goods and ideas that travelled through vast imperial networks influenced the production of popular music, books and exhibitions, which in turn shaped the fabric of everyday life in Victorian England as well as within the colonies themselves (Burton 2000:139). As discussed in Chapter Five, the mid-nineteenth-century Canadian pavilions at both the London and Paris exhibitions organized Aboriginal culture into new forms of

knowledge that inspired the imaginations of the large viewership that these exhibits attracted. Cohn identified exhibitions themselves as forms of knowledge production (Cohn 1996). The polymath Joseph-Charles Taché, who is the focus of my case study presented in Chapter Six, excavated in Simcoe County, and through his discursive and exhibitionary practices, constructed an image of Canada as a nation with distinct multiple racial populations at a time when ideas surrounding citizenship were influencing both Europe and settler colonies like Canada. However, Taché's exhibitionary practices and writings, and his interest in archaeology, belie the widely held colonial settler belief that civilized men would inevitably replace the savage through the mapping, surveying, exploring and transforming—above and below the ground—of former Aboriginal territories.

In the same years that Taché's curated exhibition of porcupine quill baskets and embroidered moccasins were being displayed as evidence of living Aboriginal ethnicity and difference in London and Paris, Huron skulls collected in Simcoe County by Dr. Edward Bawtree were being displayed in a medical anatomy museum outside of London. As I discuss in Chapter Four, Huron skulls looted from burial sites and moved to Britain were incorporated into larger narratives about racial difference. Bawtree excavated, collected, ordered and illustrated Aboriginal remains as part of the developing scientific project of defining race in the mid-nineteenth century. The application of physical anthropological and archaeological methods to Aboriginal remains created narratives about both power and race. Bones were regarded as texts that spoke for Native peoples. Local administrators, settlers and colonial doctors like Bawtree did not believe that

Aboriginal peoples had knowledge of their own history, instead believing that they were morally or philosophically inferior and uncivilized, and therefore unable to represent themselves. As the case studies of Anderson's and Taché's archaeological collecting also reveal, the making of difference through the movement, curation and classification of human remains as forms of knowledge was both political and scientific at the same time.²⁸

The Production of Categories of Difference

Historical anthropologists have focused on the ways in which categories of race and difference was produced in the metropole, the colony, and across the empire. Within colonial situations scholars have identified the Euro-centric and pluralistic readings of indigenous histories that created racial categories while simultaneously describing a hybrid culture with Occidental origins. Silverstein (2002), in his discussion of the nineteenth-century French colonial reading of Berber history, describes how archaeological and physical evidence was used to suggest a variety of historical explanations for the Berbers as a discrete race. Multiple origin narratives produced in the nineteenth century included the proposal that the Berbers migrated from Europe across the Mediterranean, while another narrative constructed history mapped out their descent from the Canaanites who had been chased out of the Holy Land by the early Israelites (144ff). Like the historical narratives that aimed to explain the racial origins of the Indigenous peoples whose burial sites were identified and looted in Simcoe County, the

²⁸ See Beider on the relationship between the looting of Aboriginal burials, science and racial politics (1992).

myths about the Berbers as a race grew out of the larger debates circulating in Europe during the nineteenth century. These debates about the possibility of common racial origins also had practical purposes. As civilizing missions spread throughout French and British colonies the notion that Indigenous peoples were the “vestiges” of European civilizations justified these missions claiming that once the baser ethnic characteristics of the colonized were removed “civilization” would be possible. Silverstein makes the larger point that production of hybrid or conflicting racial categories points to the “structural ambivalence” of the colonial project set on mapping out ethnological differences to produce “facts” as part of the practical aims to centralize authority (2002:146).

Stoler also focuses on how colonial authorities created racial taxonomies of difference that separated the colonized from the colonizer yet also addressed what races had the potential to become civilized and modern. While Silverstein describes how the French in Algeria believed that once the “bark of Arab and Islamic civilization had been stripped away”(2002:146) the Berbers could return to their historic roots as part of the European race, Stoler explores how debates on racial membership in the Dutch colonies were as much about “moral virtues” as the colour of one’s skin. The Dutch East Indian archive reveals the extent of the debates that circulated between the colony and metropole and within the imperial world on the relationship between civilizing and “affective character,” and how rationality and moral integrity could be monitored, measured, controlled and cultivated (2009: 64ff).

Knowledge Production in the Settler Colonial Context

In his study of settler colonialism, Patrick Wolfe puts forth his theory of the “logic of elimination” (2009). He contends that although settler colonialism can result in genocide, the desire for access to land more often results in policies that aim to assimilate or amalgamate Indigenous peoples into White society.²⁹ The elimination of Native peoples, according to Wolfe, was not a singular “event” but a “structure,” while a colonial encounter that aimed to extract labour or resources is more likely to be seen as an “event” that produced genocide. The expropriation of land for colonial settlement was a process that replaced indigenous social and cultural systems through a variety of means, over time and across space (Wolfe 2006; 1999). However, as suggested above, the desire for land was ultimately generated not from the metropole but rather through the desires of settlers seeking capital through farming and other land-based opportunities (Ballantyne: 2008:185; Harris 2004:174).

In Canada, early relationships between Aboriginal people and Europeans were based on the fur trade. From the late seventeenth century until the beginning of the nineteenth century, French and later, British fur traders built trade networks and alliances with the mobile peoples of the Great Lakes region to extract furs but with little interest in establishing permanent residences or settlements. With the move to create settlements in the nineteenth century, land took on new meanings. The desire for land by settlers often

²⁹ While Wolfe argues that policies of forced assimilation and land expropriation did not always result in genocide, studies of disproportionate violence acted upon members of contemporary Aboriginal communities root this violence in histories of colonization. Writers like Perry (2008) describe how hate crimes aimed at American and Canadian Native communities (and particularly women) derive from colonial practices that not only appropriated land and forced assimilation but also created racial categories that remain and justify violence in the present.

necessitated that Aboriginal peoples be removed from traditional territories and placed elsewhere, thus leading to the reserve system established in Canada, which is described in Chapter Three. The structures that underlay the reserve system came from the self-interest of the settlers themselves, the imperial state and colonial culture. The practices of colonial culture that characterize settler society include the production and codification of restrictive racial categories, the mapping and renaming of territories, encouraging miscegenation, the ceding of Native lands through treaties, “civilizing” through religious conversion, re-socialization through boarding schools and the replacement of existing indigenous architecture (e.g. homes, meeting places), amongst others features of statecraft—most of which are discussed in the following case study of the Indian Agent T. G. Anderson (Harris 2004; Wolfe 2006).

Wolfe’s acknowledgement of the multi-faceted informational orders necessary for the establishment of a colonial land base dovetails with historical anthropology’s goal to expose the nuances of the culture of colonialism, as outlined in the first chapter of this thesis. As well, Wolfe’s contention that we need to look at the “specific connections” of local practices of colonization (1999:11) seems to concur with the aims of historical anthropologists who focus their ethnographic lens on the “microphysics” of everyday colonial life and thought whereby they aimed to measure, classify and know subject populations (Dirks 1996: xvi; Stoler 2009).³⁰ In other words, while economic, legal power and violence were intrinsic to colonial governance, the rule, control and

³⁰ Wolfe differs from historical anthropologists like Cohn, Dirks, Stoler and Thomas who have influenced my reading of the archaeological archive in that he sees colonial power in settler colonies as “hegemonic” and totalizing (1999).

assimilation of indigenous populations were equally dependent on the production and manipulation of knowledge within the colonial context.

Conclusion: Colonial Knowledge Production Exposed Through an Archaeological Archive

In conclusion, in this thesis I critically draw upon the methods and theories developed by historical anthropologists to explore how a wide range of archaeological practices *as* forms of knowledge production contributed to the operation of colonial power in the context of nineteenth-century Simcoe County. Through an examination of travel writings, images, artifacts, government landscape surveys and missionary reports, as well as descriptions of collections of human remains—all brought together in an archaeological archive—I expose how knowledge was produced and discursively implemented in ways that shaped nation-building efforts in Upper Canada and the governance of Aboriginal peoples. Furthering the theories and methods of historical anthropology, this thesis exposes how mapping, surveying and excavating as a linked set of archaeological practices transformed the natural world (Dirks 1997:2). Historical anthropologists have approached archival sources with an ethnographic eye to examine the quotidian practices of colonial life and, more importantly, to explore the multiple ways in which knowledge was made within both the colonial and wider imperial context (Stoler 2009). These studies have brought to light the complexities of colonial knowledge production, how the meaning of knowledge was at the same time both “plural” and “particularized” (Thomas 1994), and how the making of knowledge was often an

uncertain process (Stoler 2009). The following chapter focuses on the uncertainties that surrounded the “settling” and “civilizing” missions that took place in Simcoe County in the 1830s. By closely examining the writings of T.G. Anderson the uncertainty of producing knowledge and the concomitant strain of controlling those under his jurisdiction are brought into focus.

CHAPTER THREE

THE CERTAINTIES AND UNCERTAINTIES OF A COLONIAL AGENT

This chapter focuses on the place of knowledge production in facilitating settler colonization in Simcoe County in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Here, I gather together in an archaeological archive some of the writings of T. G. Anderson (1779-1875). Anderson was Indian Agent in Simcoe County and later Superintendent of Indian Affairs in what is today Ontario. I consider the ways in which Anderson interpreted and drafted the blueprints for settler colonial rule in Simcoe County, how he enacted both imperial and colonial reforms and policies, and how he was drawn into transatlantic debates concerning the morality and virtue of both settlers and Aboriginal people (Elbourne 2003). Anderson's aim as an Indian agent to "civilize" Aboriginal peoples was inextricably bound up with the Christian missionary and humanitarian efforts that connected the metropole to the colony in the first decades of the nineteenth century (Comaroff & Comaroff 1992). Anderson also participated in some of the earliest recorded archaeological excavations in the area, and his interpretation of the artifacts he uncovered was published in an edition of the *British Colonist* newspaper. By looking at Anderson's administrative and archaeological activities in Simcoe County, I meet Stoler's challenge to "extend our historical imagination in often unrehearsed and awkward ways—to consider social imaginaries of high and low, colonial subjects, agents

and architects that spanned continents and traversed empires and national borders” (2006b:4).

The sphere of Anderson’s “social imaginary” is not easily defined. Anderson’s interactions with Native peoples occurred on multiple fronts and throughout his long life. Anderson began his career as a fur trader at the very beginning of the nineteenth century, during the Anglo-American occupation of the Upper Great Lakes, a time when the French imperial foundations of the trade were quickly being replaced by powerful British and American individual traders and monopoly companies. Moving between fur trade posts at Prairie du Chien in the Upper Mississippi Valley, in what is now the state of Wisconsin, Fort Mackinac at the straits of Lake Michigan-Lake Superior, and Drummond Island in Lake Huron, Anderson traded ballshot, blankets, pots and pans for furs with the Algonquian peoples of the Upper Great Lakes and the emerging Métis communities in this region.³¹ Oral history reports have Anderson participating in the “custom of the country” and marrying Margaret Mar-pi-ya-ro-to-win, or Grey Cloud Woman, the daughter of a Sioux Chief, at Prairie du Chien, with whom he had three children—leaving them behind when he moved on to other trade posts.³² Two of his Métis children would

³¹ See Jacqueline Peterson’s “Many Roads to Red River” (1985) for a description of Métis ethnogenesis and the culture of these trade posts at around the time when Anderson would have been a trader. Anderson also seems to have been interested in identifying and counting the emerging Métis populations during this period. As a footnote in a contemporary journal notes: “In 1828 Major Anderson, who later became an Indian agent, computed the number of Canadian and mixed breed married to Indian women, and residing on the north shore of Lake Huron, and in the neighborhood of Michilimackinac, at nine hundred. This he called the *lowest estimate*” (Jameson 1938:188n).

³² For a discussion of the culture of fur trade marriages see Jennifer S.H. Brown’s *Strangers in Blood* (1980) and Sylvia Van Kirk’s *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur Trade Society 1670-1870* (1980). For a more critical reading of “mixed-marriages” as sites of production of colonial inequities, see Stoler’s *Tense*

later work for him at the Coldwater Reserve.³³ At Drummond Island he married a second time, to the daughter of a British military Captain, and had seven more children.

Anderson is said to have spoken a number of Indian languages and had a reputation for fair dealing with his Aboriginal trading partners.³⁴ His linguistic skills must have served him well as he was employed by the Indian Department first as a storekeeper, clerk and interpreter at Mackinac, then as Indian Agent—with the rank of Captain—at Drummond Island, Penetanguishene, and then as Superintendent at Coldwater, and the Narrows (in what is now Simcoe County) and then Manitoulin Island, and later as Chief Superintendent for Canada West from 1845-58.

As an Indian agent and superintendent in Upper Canada, he was given the task of “settling” the Ojibwa or Chippewa peoples under his jurisdiction through the establishment of the first experimental Indian reserve in Canada at Coldwater and the Narrows in Simcoe County (Surtees 1966). Anderson worked to “fix” subject populations through a program of forced relocation to farms at the margins of settler communities. This would also entail the transformation of established Aboriginal domestic patterns through the replacement of mobile wigwam architecture with Euro-Canadian homes and

and Tender Ties (2001). Peterson’s study shows that at the fur trade post of Michilimackinac, between 1765 and 1838, about 55 percent of marriages were between Aboriginal women and Europeans.

³³ Anderson’s ‘mixed’ marriage is missing from his entry in the Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online. (Peter Davis, Huronia Museum, Midland, Ontario personal communication April 27, 2012).

³⁴ Details of Anderson’s biography were taken from the Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online where it also says that Anderson traded with the Sauks, Winnebagos, Potawatomis and Santees tribes (Millman 2000). Anderson’s knowledge of multiple Aboriginal languages can be compared to what Cohn has said about British colonizers learning local languages in India: “The knowledge which this small group of British officials sought to control was to be the instrumentality through which they were to issue commands and collect every-increasing amounts of information”(1985:81).

residential schools. The lieutenant governor of Upper Canada, Sir John Colborne, in a letter to the Colonial Department in London in 1829, suggested that creating “order” and regularity amongst the Indians of Upper Canada would “raise” them up from their condition of “wretchedness” as well as save money for the imperial government. The reserve system, he suggested, would be a means to settle “roving” Aboriginal people in villages where they would be given implements and seeds, and be taught how to support themselves through agriculture (Scott 1914).

Ordering Aboriginal territory into a Euro-Canadian reserve and turning mobile hunting and fishing communities into settled farmers meant producing local knowledge through a diverse set of practices and making changes in the landscape *from the ground up*. As described below, Indian Agent Anderson organized the mapping, the surveying of land, the building of roads and the clearing of land for farms and garden plots for the experimental Indian reserve. Anderson also had the job of disassembling the reserve and removing the Chippewa in 1836, when the burgeoning settler population demanded the surrender of the lands on which the reserve at Coldwater and the Narrows was built. Attempting to lay down new structures of assimilation, Anderson and his family moved to Manitoulin Island to form “one extensive Establishment for the Purpose of leading them [the Aboriginal peoples] to Exercise of the Arts of civilized life” (Anderson 1835:np). At the Manitoulin reserve, his “suggestions for improving” and “ameliorating the condition of the natives” resulted, after nine years, in another failed project. A reflection of this frustration can be read in the following memo (Anderson ca.1840:np):

A three page [draft] [for submission to the government] document handwritten in blue ink and pencil, undated, believed to be by Thomas Gummersall Anderson, outlining a course of improvements to the [Indian] establishment at Manitowaning, Manitoulin Island.³⁵

[Page 1]

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In offering suggestions for improving the arrangements at Manatoulin [*sic*], I would beg leave to remark that will be something of a speculative nature in them because, tho' it may appear very well on paper, it may not be so easy to reduce to practice ~~

Not much, beyond paving the way as it were, can be done until after the next issue of Presents when a tolerable idea may be formed of the numbers of Indians to be dealt with __

In the mean time it is suggested that [:]

Schools

That the persons here employed shall be unswerving [?] in their exertions to forward the [views *crossed out* wishes *inserted*] of the Govt. to ameliorate the condition of the natives by Christianising [*sic*] and Civilizing them, and if any prove careless, indolent or, troublesome they [should, *crossed out*] may be dismissed on the spot by the Suptd ~~~

[*Line entirely crossed out*]

That the control of the Establishment, [*cross out*] and all its departments be under one head, [whose *crossed out*] his duty

³⁵ This is the transcription of a memo written in Thomas Gummersall Anderson's handwriting. It is part of a collection of documents donated to the Huronia Museum in Midland, Ontario, by Anderson's great-great-great granddaughter in 2005, transcribed by Peter Davis of the Huronia Museum, Midland Ontario.

it should be to communicate, thro' the proper chan
=nel, to Head Quarters. To divide and subdivide
the Establishment into various departments vizt –
the Missionarys department would be his own parti
=cular duties as minister, Supervisor of the Schools
&c &c – The Surgeon would have his own Dept – The
Master Carpenter, the Mechanic's Labourers &c ~
The Farmer also his department & [illegible]

[Page 1 ... *overside at the top*]

The Storekeeper who must also act as Clerk to
the Suptd has his Dept. (Anderson nd).

The 1830s and 1840s constituted a period of change for Native policy in Canada. The Colonial Indian Office in Great Britain established commissions on Indian Affairs to gather a diverse range of ethnographic information from administrators in the colonies as a means of establishing racial membership. Lengthy surveys included questions on a variety of topics, such as language, religion, morality, habits, social organization, the role of women, and the ability to take instruction, ameliorate and progress, as well as inquires about the physical characteristics of the colonized. As an Indian agent in a time when surveying and gathering ethnographic information was important for governments set on classifying and controlling Native subjects, someone like Anderson would have been considered a valuable asset. Steinmeitz has identified how Native policies of the 1830 period all over the imperial world depended on a supposed knowledge of the “character of the colonized” produced by colonial agents ‘on-the-ground’ (2003). Anderson’s

prolific writings, filled with his observations and descriptions of the peoples of the Great Lakes region under his jurisdiction reflect this assumed knowledge. Yet, his large archive also needs to be understood as a discursive strategy that produced knowledge that both justified colonial rule and shaped future perceptions of race. As is discussed below, his answers to the surveys sent out by the British Indian Department became published as part of the larger interest in improving “Aborigines” throughout the empire.

In addition to his everyday duties performed for the Indian department, Anderson also mused over the origins and histories of the Aboriginal peoples under his jurisdiction. During Anderson’s tenure with the Indian department in Simcoe County, he set his sights on the local indigenous burial sites, as artifacts were uncovered in the region through the processes of land expropriation. The discovery of human and material remains intrigued him as both proof of Indian alterity and confirmation of his Christian belief in the link between Native peoples and Europeans through common origins. As well, the dark side of grave looting confronted Anderson. As Indian agent, he was forced to negotiate the tensions caused by settlers excavating Aboriginal graves, controlling the flared passions of his Indian subjects who challenged colonial officials about the treatment of their revered burial sites and the bones of their ancestors.

As I argue throughout this dissertation, archaeology in nineteenth-century Simcoe County needs to be explored as part of the nuances of local colonial knowledge production that re-organized space to make colonial sense of the landscape. As indicated here, Anderson’s various mid-century projects and colonial visions—often, but not

always, guided by European plans—can be considered what Pratt has called “interlocking information orders” (1985:144), or what Harris describes as “the different components of the colonial arsenal” (2004:168). I argue that a case study of Anderson’s wide-ranging projects has the potential to reveal the mechanics of settler colonial structural frameworks, the tensions between settlers and Indigenous peoples, and the relationship between the metropole and colony in terms of the civilizing of Native peoples during this period. The archaeological archive assembled in this chapter gives us a view into colonial imaginaries and their vulnerabilities

Reading Sentiment in the Archive

Although the focus of this chapter is on T.G. Anderson and his role as Indian agent in Simcoe County, this inquiry into his thoughts and actions is not a historical biography. Historical anthropologists have been warned of “the danger of biography” in historical writing, which gives the impression that modes of inscription like life histories, diaries or journals can be read as objective views into the past, or that individuals can be independent, rational movers of history (Comaroff & Comaroff 1992:26).

Anthropologists have also been cautioned to pay attention to the social and cultural forms that are productive of, and produced by, human action, including how colonial encounters played out in the small details of everyday life (Perry 2003:604). John and Jean Comaroff have called on historical anthropologists to eschew “the very possibility of a realist, or an essentialist history” (1992:20) and to create new forms of archives, to “work inside and outside the official record” and “create new colonial archives of our own” (1992:34).

While some anthropologists have responded to this call by interrogating modes of

inscription like images, others have approached old archives with new questions and frameworks of analysis.

Stoler, for example, suggests that colonial documents be approached not as sources for historical extraction but as “condensed sites of epistemological and political anxiety” that reveal the uncertainties that plagued colonial officials (2009:20). Indian agents like Anderson could not appeal to an established common sense when it came to settling Native peoples or dealing with their growing objections to settler colonization of their territory. The assured sense of colonial order and common sense written within official colonial language and forms, when read “along the grain,” suddenly reveals a sense of unease about the nature and success of colonial projects:

Wedge within those folds of truth-claims emerges something else: uncensored turns of phrase, loud asides in the imperative tense, hesitant asides in sotto voce. These register confused assessments, parenthetical doubts about what might count as evidence, the records of eyewitnesses with dubious credentials, dismissed rumors laced with pertinent truths, contradictory testimonies called upon and quickly discarded. These too were assessments that implicitly weighed the stature and sensibility of their author, and the distance that separated their words from received scenarios of colonial common sense. (Stoler 2009:23)

Searching for the “sentiment” that underlies archival forms, Stoler invites us to consider not only archival content but also the varied archival modes: “prose style, repetitive refrain, the arts of persuasion, affective strains that shape “rational” response, categories of confidentiality and classification, and not least genres of documentation...[focusing] on archiving-as-process rather than archives-as-things” (2009:20).

In this study, I draw upon Anderson's copious contribution to government surveys, reports, pamphlets and newspapers as well as his published and unpublished letters and memorandums. Large collections of family papers, diaries, notes and memorandum are held in public repositories—and some of these documents have been included in this study.³⁶ As the numerous writings cited in this chapter indicate, Anderson was a great observer and recorder of the Aboriginal people of Upper Canada he encountered. Many of Anderson's writings reveal his struggles, unease and anxieties surrounding his dealings with his Indian subjects and plans for civilizing. Yet even as a description of what Stoler has described as “non-events” volumes of colonial documents like these had a certain heft or weight and political effects of their own as part of the accumulation of official colonial knowledge (Stoler 2009:139). These letters, reports, memorandums and personal observations as discursive strategies also produced knowledge that shaped ideologies of colonial rule and defined racial categories. As writers studying colonial missionary and administrative reports have demonstrated, power relations were entrenched in letters, documents, reports and archives. Colonial archives and the documents they contained both justified and acted as technologies to support colonial rule (Blackburn 2000; Cohn 1996; Dirks 1992; Stoler 2009).

Colonial documents, however, also lend themselves to multiple interpretations. By this I mean, that while documents relay orders and describe actions taken they also reveal the details of “failed projects” and “short-lived experiments” and “unrealized and

³⁶ See Millman (2000) for a list of the collections of Anderson papers held at various locations in both the United States and Canada.

unrealizable plans” (Stoler 2009:106). One example is the memorandum cited at the beginning of this chapter. The document records Anderson’s imaginings of “improvements” for the establishment at Manitoulin Island, a second experimental reserve that was to be built on the shores of Northern Lake Huron. Although the first reserve set up at Coldwater and the Narrows in Simcoe County by Anderson was fraught with difficulties, due to both the lack of co-operation on the part of many of the Indian residents and the pressures of adjacent settler communities desiring land, Anderson was still determined that an Establishment could be built where Native people would be settled and civilized according to Christian values set out by the Church of England (Sims 1992:301). As he described in a letter to the Colonial Office in 1836:

If concentrated and civilized, the Indian Nations would be useful and loyal Subjects during Peace, and in the event of War might become an important Support to the Government. Our Indian allies emigrating from the United States, and seeking our protection, as well as the British Indian whose Means of Subsistence are exhausted, have Claims on our humanity, which would be most easily satisfied by forming one extensive Establishment for the Purpose of leading them to the Exercise of the Arts of civilized life. (Anderson Sept. 24, 1835)

From the outset, the removal of the Chippewa to Manitoulin Island, due to its remote location in Northern Lake Huron, proved highly unpopular with many of the Native peoples that Anderson was determined to settle (Baldwin 1846). Nonetheless, Anderson worked tirelessly to implement an agricultural colony with a residential school and mission. No doubt recalling logistic and administrative failures at the first Indian reserve he helped to set up at Coldwater, his memorandum, cited at the start of this chapter, relays his strategy to “control” through “dividing” and “subdividing” to

“ameliorate” the condition of the Indians. One wonders whom Anderson is referring to when he writes about “dismissal” if “they” prove to be “careless, indolent or troublesome.” Did the problem lie with the Native residents of the Establishment or the administrators? Moreover, what tools were at hand to enact the suggestions outlined in the memorandum, for as Anderson conceded, it was easier to work out the contingencies of rule on paper than the dilemmas that often resulted from these plans.

What Stoler has identified as the “uncertainties” that lie within the colonial archive might be identified here. The memorandum provides insight into how the details of settling Native peoples were constituted not through the labour of large colonial apparatuses, or how they worked out colonial policy on-the-ground, but rather through the imaginations of agents. This is reflected in Anderson’s own admission of “the speculative nature” of his plans (Stoler 1992a:152). The deletions, insertions and reiterations in this memorandum reveal the struggles—the doubts and debates—implicit in the imagining, articulating and actualizing of colonial administrative practices; Anderson’s writings need to be viewed thus not as biased accounts but as windows into the epistemological and political uncertainties of colonial administration (Stoler 2009:20). As this chapter goes on to discuss, the processes of laying down the “structures” of settler colonialism—how the details of governance in terms of both scope and scale were worked out on the ground—require further elaboration within the context of the region of Simcoe County.

Colonial Native Policies: Theory and Practice

In the years between 1815 and 1843, during which Anderson was an Indian agent, Anishinaabe leaders were uninterested in ceding their territories even after imperial powers dictated new national frontiers and boundaries in the Great Lakes region after the defeat of the British by the Americans. Native peoples vigorously resisted colonizers' efforts to restrict their access to resources, their traditional culture and belief systems, as well as their cross-border kin connections, despite efforts by imperial governments and local colonial officials to "settle" and "civilize" the population (Sims 1992:412). Chiefs of the Anishinaabe peoples of the Great Lakes regions refused to allow British or American powers to completely control their destiny, even as imperial powers aimed to construct *imagined communities* on the framework of this immense Great Lakes region that was well mapped by Indigenous peoples through their ancient commerce, kin and religious networks. As Ballantyne and Burton explain:

Empire was a *self-conscious* spatializing project, with colonizers attempting to impose their topographies on conquered space and—to the extent they were aware of or interested in local apprehensions of space on the ground—to unmake pre-existing maps of native communities or refashion them to suit their own political, economic, and military ends. (2009:3)

As Anderson's correspondence attests, the unmaking of existing, indigenous maps was violent. In addition to the geographical maps that united the peoples of this region, a sense of nation was also reinforced through the multiethnic and intertribal communities that were a long-standing feature of the Great Lakes community. In her study of *nindoodemag*, Anishinaabe clan signatures found on treaties, Bohaker demonstrates how established cross-cultural alliances—mental maps—continued to structure political and

social life into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Bohaker 2006). McDonnell, in his study of the female Métis trader Angelique Langlade who travelled along the ancient water routes of the Great Lakes and who lived out her final years in Penetanguishene (Simcoe County) at the end of the nineteenth century, also describes the difficulty of refashioning existing community structures. He describes First Nations and Métis peoples in the fur trade and post-fur trade period as moving subjects within the Great Lakes region (2009:162). Anderson himself was very familiar with these moving subjects through his close business and affective relationships with the Métis and Native peoples of the Great Lakes both as a fur trader, a marriage partner and, later, as an Indian agent. Like Bohaker, McDonnell suggests that even after the American Revolutionary War, when new national borders cut through the former imperial boundaries, they struggled to convince Aboriginal peoples of these new spatial parameters and political borders. This was because colonial and imperial powers in this region rested upon long-established Aboriginal structures of “spaces, mobilities and intimacies” (McDonnell 2009:162). Not seeing themselves as either British or American, the Aboriginal peoples of the Great Lakes continued to move with ease along ancient, established trade routes that solidified kin networks and alliances, across new national borders that they did not see as a reality. In doing so, they posed a potential threat to both sides into the first decades of the nineteenth century (Sims 1992). Most importantly, Aboriginal mobility as well as Aboriginal resistance to and manipulation of systems imposed upon them needs to be acknowledged as intrinsic in both the shaping of European settler communities in Simcoe County and the managing of subjects by administrators responding to dictates from the

British Indian Department and the colonial administrators in Upper Canada to settle and “civilize” the Ojibwa of this region.

Before people could be physically settled, the “wandering” peoples of the Great Lakes needed to be observed, mapped and fixed on paper. In a letter to his superior in London, published in the *British Parliamentary Papers*, Anderson gives the following graphic description of the conditions of the Ojibwa or Chippewa bands living on the North Shore of Lake Huron, although a similar description might have been given of the Ojibwa residing in Simcoe County prior to their settlement on the reserve at Coldwater and the Narrows. The letter, from 1837, is transcribed as follows:

All these Tribes are wild and uncultivated; they hunt Furs during the great part of the year for the Hudson’s Bay Company. In the winter they live principally on the precarious and scanty Hunt of Hares, Partridges, and occasionally they kill Reindeer; in the summer months they subsist mostly on Fish; and many of them are clothed in Hare skins sewed together with Bass Wood Bark. It can scarcely be said that those Tribes who resort annually to the Borders of Lake Huron have a fixed place of residence, for though many of them endeavor to cultivate small patches of corn and potatoes, still, hunger calling them from their little garden in search of food, they seldom remain more than two or three weeks in the same encampments. (Anderson 26th July 1837)

As writers on colonial discourse have identified, colonial subjects are often represented and made knowable as a homogenized group (“They”, “Those”, “Tribes”), stable and untouched by history (Blackburn 2000:9; Pratt 1985). Nicholas Thomas, in his description of colonial control of the Fijians, identifies the state’s interest in moving “isolated” populations closer to centres as a means of keeping them within the vision of colonial administrators. Although Anderson details the wild nature of Aboriginal peoples,

efforts aimed at settling and civilizing might have been more connected, as Thomas suggests, to the desire of colonial and imperial powers to render the colonized visible to facilitate management and control for any possible disorder or political upheaval (Thomas 1990).

The imperial government looked upon the Indians as *their* responsibility from the outset of relationships with the Canadas until Confederation in the 1860s. Powers located in the metropole aimed to determine Indian-White relations in British North America, believing that the control, protection and “civilization” of Native populations could not be maintained through colonial self-government alone (McNab 1983:99). Sims points out that even after the Lieutenant-Governor in Upper Canada, John Colborne, proposed the building of a reserve at Manitoulin in 1835, he was forced to wait until the Secretary for War and Colonies in London approved this decision (1992:200). This was because the Colonial Office was fiscally responsible for Indian affairs in Canada until the 1860s. Anderson described this historic relationship to an assembled group of Chiefs in 1846, as follows:

The British adopted your ancestors as her children, before any of you who are now present had seen the rising sun... And from that time to the present moment, as you all know, she has continued her parental care over you, watching over your best interests with more thought than your own mothers have watched over you. (Baldwin 1846:6)

The *parent-child* trope is commonly found in discursive texts that produced colonial knowledge of Native-White dependence (Blackburn 2000). However, the Colonial Office was constantly faced with the problem of managing the uncertainties within this “family” relationship from a distance (Surtees 1966:58). One solution was to

impose imperial authority between the local government, settlers, merchants, traders and Indians, all of whom had diverse and conflicting interests and ambitions (Milloy 1983:9). Agents like Anderson functioned, so to speak, *in loco parentis*, with a certain amount of autonomy due to the inability of the Colonial Indian Office to supervise his work on a daily basis. Thus, Indian Agent Anderson was in charge of communication with Native peoples, the paying of annuities, the supervising of trade, the distribution of annual presents and the policing of lands that had not as yet been ceded from settler encroachment (Surtees 1966:9).

Yet, as Surtees points out and Anderson's correspondence with his superiors in both the Colonial Office in London and those in York (Toronto) attest, although Indian agents in Upper Canada were expected to "spearhead" the civilization of Native peoples in the 1830-1840 period, while they worked independently within the local context, they were tied financially to "haphazard control from the centre" (Surtees 1966:76). The giving of presents was an important political, economic, social and symbolic event for both the British in the Great Lakes and their Aboriginal allies in the region. The Anishinaabe peoples believed the presents to be an inalienable right (Sims 1992; Surtees 1966:82). The giving of presents was an important reason for the peoples of the Great Lakes to gather together, many of whom had been separated from extended kin and clans once borders between the United States and Canada were erected (Sims 1992). Through the distribution of traditional material trade goods like cloth, blankets, knives, needles, shot, gun powder and flints, colonial and imperial powers re-established their alliances with Native peoples in the Great Lakes region who would gather for these annual

festivities. These more traditional gifts would later be substituted at Coldwater and the Narrows for agricultural implements; this was done as part of the “civilizing” process whereby cultivating the soil was equated with cultivating the soul (Blackburn 2000:42-44; Surtees 1966:82). These were also significant occasions for colonial administrators like Anderson, as they offered a time to *perform* British imperial authority, and acted as a means to reinforce loyalties based on former military alliances. As he describes in a letter sent to an official in London:

During the War the Indians were made use of, and, by their firm Attachment and Exertions at that Period, earned their Reward, which was indeed promised to them by the then Commander in Chief in the Name of the Government. On the Cessation of Hostilities many of the Tribes...stayed in US but continue to come annually to come for their Presents, and express their Loyalty (Anderson 1835:120).

Anderson’s duties included the interpretation of British legal culture within the colonial context. The appropriation of vast tracts of land after 1812 for increased colonization and settlement was justified and codified through the tradition of English property laws that circulated between metropole and colony (Harris 2004:176; Milloy 1983:14). The treaties and purchases of Indian lands in the years 1785, 1798, and 1815 gave the British government much of the land between Lake Simcoe and Georgian Bay. Another treaty signed in 1818 (the Nottawasaga Purchase) saw the acquisition of another 636,000 hectares of land westward and southward of Lake Simcoe—this was the first treaty that was motivated primarily by European settlement (Surtees 1983:80). However, the colonial land acquisition policy of the 1820s and 1830s was not without its paradoxes. While Britain began to fashion itself as a “liberal” state at the end of the eighteenth

century, Native land surrenders in the colonies could only be achieved through coercion, false promises of payment or, often, theft (Elbourne 2003). English common law was imposed to normalize transactions and manage people, albeit at the expense of local customs (Harris 2004:177). This resulted in Aboriginal peoples suddenly being subject to property as well as fishing and hunting laws that redefined their lands and livelihoods in accordance with the transplanted traditions of English society. What is today Simcoe County settler property rights were codified in treaties that, when signed, were not fully understood by all the signatories. Land was often ceded without Aboriginal peoples fully understanding the terms of the annuities or payments (Surtees 1966:40). However, by the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century, treaty records demonstrated an increased understanding of the treaty process on the part of local Ojibwa chiefs in Simcoe County (Surtees 1983:80).

Anderson's correspondence reflects the challenges and uncertainties he faced as a colonial administrator once the Ojibwa began to challenge the legal system from within. As part of his duties as Indian agent, Anderson would meet with local Chiefs to negotiate prior to formal surrender councils. As the following letter from Anderson to his superior James Givens in York suggests, by at least 1830 Ojibwa band Chiefs were beginning to utilize the framework of imperial law as a means to ensure their own rights. According to the letter, dated 26th July 1830, Chief John Assance came to Anderson to complain that settlers were cutting hay from the marshy area in Matchedash Bay, which he claimed

violated the terms of the original agreement signed by his ancestors.³⁷ Chief Assance took it upon himself to interpret the original treaty and told Anderson that the agreement between his people and the imperial powers “reserved the waters, Islands and game,” and since the hay being cut by the Canadians was on marshy ground, “he claimed it as produce of the waters” and therefore rightfully the property of his tribe. In response, Anderson asked Assance if he was “acquainted with the situation in which his ancestors sold this land.” Claiming he was not, Chief Assance then requested that Anderson appeal to “His Excellency to let him know the terms on which his lands were ceded.” The letter goes on to reveal that a few days after this meeting a group of Canadians came to cut more hay from the Bay, distributing whiskey to get the local inhabitants inebriated so they could cut hay without interference.³⁸ Anderson encouraged Chief Assance and his men to “turn them off from the Hay grounds.” How this was done is not recorded in the letter. Yet Anderson was “anxious” and unsure if he was acting within the bounds of his duties as Indian agent, and uncertain of his encouragement of what might be interpreted as violence, as he discussed in the following letter to his superior:

Whether my conduct in this case will meet His Excellency’s approbation or not, I Am anxious to know, because I am fully disposed to proceed on the same system whenever whiskey comes within what I consider the limits reserved for the Indians. I trust next Post will inform you that the road is finished. I intended...to beg His Excellency’s permission to pay the Indians for clearing 20 or 30 Acres of Land to get in some fall wheat; if I did not ask the question, will you have the

³⁷ For an account of the life of Chief Assance that combines Native oral historical accounts with European documentary sources, see Catherine Sims (1996).

³⁸ Métis people are often referred to as “Canadians” in primary sources prior to 1820. For a detailed discussion of the problem of documenting Métis in Ontario from this period, and with some references to the identification of Métis in the Simcoe County area, see Reimer and Chartrand (2004).

goodness to inform me whether His Excellency would be pleased to permit my incurring the Expense of six or eight dollars per acre. (Anderson 1830:np)

Without courts or lawyers at hand, Anderson struggled with protocol both within and outside of the colonial apparatus, as he attempted to meet the demands of settlers while also protecting the often-conflicting treaty, environmental and property rights of Native peoples. This letter reflects how Anderson struggled to construct the “system” of colonial settlement—what Wolfe would call the structures of settler colonialism (2006).

Anderson was, on the one hand, autonomous, and, on the other hand, simply the middleman between his Aboriginal constituents and a higher authority. He also used this opportunity to remind his superiors of their fiduciary obligation to the local Ojibwa who cleared the road between Coldwater and the Narrows. As Anderson’s inquiry to his superior reveals, negotiating the displacement of old systems and their replacement with new colonial ones was an anxious endeavor. This letter can be said to “register” what Stoler has identified as “the febrile movements of persons off balance—of thoughts and feelings in and out of place...the rough interior ridges of governance and disruptions to the deceptive clarity of its mandates” (Stoler 2009:2). Anderson contended with the changing nature of imperial mandates at the centre. Multiple factors in both the metropole and colony influenced the broad changes that were made to the design of Native policies in Simcoe County in the post-1830 period. Native policy fashioned in the imperial centre was re-imagined when implemented on the ground within the context of indigenous–settler relationships at the periphery (Steinmeitz 2003). By 1830, Native peoples in the Great Lakes region and the Lake Simcoe area were no longer seen as military partners by

the British. As well, the Chippewa/Ojibwa bands in the Simcoe County area were not used slave labour, as in both Upper and Lower Canada settlements were built around family farms. In addition, the Aboriginal population was not large enough to be useful as a potential market for British goods (Upton 1973:51). Reports and surveys issued by the Colonial Office reveal an increased concern for the success of the British Empire in economic terms (McNab 1983:87). The costs accrued by the distribution of presents in the colony were difficult for politicians to justify to metropolitan taxpayers. European publics were not generally happy with footing the bill for colonial rule, especially when no coherent agenda was given to support these projects (Cooper & Stoler 1997:6).

In London England , the morality of the colonial project came under fire as reports of the violence, coercion and theft needed to secure settler lands throughout the empire were debated. This brought to the fore questions about the morality of both settlers and Indigenous peoples. Settlers within the colonies often used class and race as a means to justify the seizure of Aboriginal lands, pointing to their superior moral character as grounds for their actions (Elbourne 2003). As Stoler points out, although nineteenth-century imperial/colonial powers may have agreed upon the essential importance of morality to the colonial project and the civilizing mission, it was not always clear how to define or account for it. Was morality determined through reasoned judgment or through feelings and affections? Stoler argues that in the colonies what was moral was constantly being worked out on the ground and within historically specific political contexts (2009:67-8). Letters between Indian agents and their superiors in Upper Canada written during the first decades of the nineteenth century reflect these tensions concerning what

constituted morality for both settlers and colonized peoples. In the following letter from an Indian superintendent to his superior in Upper Canada, Anderson describes how a group of Indian Chiefs have come to him with a list of complaints that challenged the morality of land treaty practices as well as the behavior of settlers who squatted on their land and even disinter their graves;

The Indians themselves, but tenants on sufferance, cannot give any title for occupation. At any rate, it would be a most happy thing for the Indians could they get rid of their White neighbors, who treat them in the most infamous manner, shooting their pigs and dogs, stealing their corn, potatoes, & even horses, & in several instances having actually taken possession of their clearings & ploughed up their graves, for which you are aware that they entertain the most profound veneration. (Keating 1839)

In the Simcoe County context, the Ojibwa had been relatively cooperative in land treaty dealings, yet, as is demonstrated below, there was a sustained belief that “the ability of the colonized to move suddenly and unexpectedly from a position of similarity to one of difference could... put the colonizer at a strategic disadvantage” (Steinmeitz 2003:45). The possibility of unrest also opened up theoretical discussions on the *nature* of Aboriginal peoples and their potential for “civilization” and “settlement,” as well questions surrounding the virtues of settlers, their ability to control their own affairs, and how and if citizenship for Indigenous peoples was possible in the colonies (Elbourne 2003).

Discussions of the true nature of Aboriginal peoples were increasing during this period of British colonial expansion and the formalization of attendant institutions in the colonies. Most importantly, a “humanitarian” movement was sweeping Britain in the 1830s, and it rallied against colonial abuses and generated discussions on the “noble” or

“savage” nature of Indigenous peoples within global colonial contexts (Ellingson 2001:222; Surtees 1966:23). In London, political organizations like the Anti-Slavery Society and the Aboriginal Protection Agency advocated for educating, teaching agriculture to, Christianizing and “settling” Native people. As Ellingson notes, both these groups concerned themselves with the “protection” of Indigenous peoples all over the colonized world and promoted “civil rights” for Indigenous peoples. However, as he points out, while human rights are shared by all of mankind, the civil rights advocated on behalf of Native peoples could only be enjoyed within the context of a particular society—a British one, thereby criticizing and justifying the colonial project at the same moment (Ellingson 2001:223).

Furthermore, “humanitarianism” was deeply conflated within particular notions of civilization; to civilize was *to make* Native peoples human according to Western European understandings of ‘human.’ This is made clear in the following passage from Anderson’s diary:

As soon as they can raise a bow or hold a stick...his natural desire is to make sport of every living thing which crosses his path except for his fellow man, and in this instance he is perhaps only restrained by the fear of the consequences. Humanise [*sic*] them by civilization and render them fit for social intercourse with their fellow human beings. (Anderson 1848/9 np)

Here, the trope of native peoples as stick-wielding savages is used to justify the colonial civilizing mission. Yet even the savage brute, with all his differences could be convinced to drop his “stick” and be humanized and incorporated.

Tensions between incorporation and differentiation are evident in the questions posed by metropolitan authorities and in the answers given by colonial agents, many of whom acted as pre-professionalized ethnographers. The imperial surveys on the nature of Aboriginal peoples in Canada undertaken in the 1830s and 1840s, were part of the practical strategies devised by the Colonial Offices in response to the British-based societies that were calling for the protection of Indigenous peoples. Salemink (2003) has suggested that the collection and organization of knowledge on the condition of Indigenous peoples throughout the British Empire produced through these governmental surveys would have a direct influence on the development of anthropology as a professionalized discipline. For example, he compares the format of the surveys sent out in the 1830s to colonial administrators with questionnaires used by the Royal Anthropological Institute's *Notes and Queries* and suggests that the former influenced the latter (Salemink 2003:12). The dissemination of the 1830s surveys through the new technologies of mass printing developed during this period also reinforced the relationship between power and knowledge. Printed governmental reports, as important forms of knowledge production, aimed to both "capture" and "commemorate" Native life (Frankel 2006:4). Steinmeitz suggests that officials in the metropole and colony "competed with one another for the cultural capital of *ethnographic acuity* or ethnographic discernment, a form of capital that structured the internal field of the modern colonial state" (1993:42). The following quotation is an example from a Colonial Office survey sent to Anderson in 1839 (the report was compiled and published in 1844–1845), in which Anderson is asked for his observations on Aboriginal character:

Their particular moral as ground for active or sluggish Intelligence, active or dull. Temperament reserved or suspicious. Honest and loving truth, or false and knavish or perfidious, possessing perseverance in any pursuit, and firmness of purpose, or otherwise, showing forethought or improvidence: The Military tastes and courage, their comparative bodily size, strength, and activity? (Anderson 1844-5)

Several strategies may be at play here in this early form of ethnographic inquiry.

First, the question—formulated as a set of binaries—aims to objectify and construct the image of Native peoples along a sliding scale in relationship to European culture—even though *total* identification with the colonizer was contradictory to a colonial project based on difference (Steinmeitz 2003:47). Second, there seems to be a suggestion in the questions posed in the above quotation concerning possible inclinations towards potentially deceptive and maybe even dangerous behavior. Words hint at unpredictable actions that could result in potential military reprisals. Nineteenth-century Europeans prided themselves on the rule of reason, and yet Native subjects defied being understood through established rational models. Colonizers were faced with the challenge of dealing with subjects that they viewed as outside of “the prescribed sociological order” (Cohn1996:10). The documenting of both the moral and mental states of the colonized could be a means to predict deviancy. As Stoler notes in her study of the Dutch colonial archive in Indonesia:

Authorities sought to identify habits of the heart, to assess the presence of resentment, rancor, impudence, and disdain, the degrees of and potential for affective intensity amidst those categories of people whose dispositions were thought to incline toward danger. (2009:101)

Thus, the kinds of questions asked by metropolitan authorities reflect how knowledge about race, in the context of Upper Canada was based less on physiology than on perceived moral characteristics and temperament.

The following response from Anderson to metropolitan interlocutors reflects his assured sense of the moral/affective “character” of the colonized as well as a desire to relieve any fears of potential violence:

Neither their habits, customs, or morals, are a fit ground on which to raise a more perfect structure; and as wild land is prepared for culture, and planted with good seed, so must every thing offensive be eradicated by degrees, and replaced by principles more permanently beneficial. The heathen Indians living in the settled parts of the Province and its vicinity, are widely different in manners and customs than those more remotely situated; while the latter are active, acute, open, and confiding; but as with the whites, there is amongst the Indian Nations some honest lovers of truth, others false, knavish, and perfidious; where an undertaking is pleasing to them, they are firm and preserving in the performance of it seldom making preparation for the future; they are invariably improvident. They are generally friendly and sociable with their neighbors. They have all a taste for Military glory, according to their own usages, but their courage does not consist in open exposure, but rather in a cunning or fox-like surprise of the enemy. Their size is generally that of the European; their strength is not equal to his, but their activity is perhaps fully so. (Anderson 1844-5)

Anderson’s answer to the survey questions about the “particular moral ground” of those under his charge reveals that colonial categories of both difference and incorporation were articulated and constructed, and how colonial officials could not easily define racial membership. It also seems that for imperial authorities and colonial administrators like Anderson, belonging to a racial category was as much about “culturally trained moral values” as it was about the colour of one’s skin (Stoler 2009:64). As well, Anderson’s categories of “savage” and “civilized” are perhaps

unknowingly derived from established discursive strategies. Here, we see the well established trope of Native peoples as “wild land to be tamed by agriculture” identified by Blackburn in her study of the seventeenth-century Jesuit *Relations* (2000). In addition, in providing ethnographic observations, Anderson proves himself to be an expert witness, needed by armchair political and social theorists outside of the colonies, grappling with the construction and articulation of settling and civilizing projects.

Metropolitan and colonial governments during this period had difficulties controlling and gathering facts through the survey process, as there were no standards for the collecting of data, and they were thus forced to depend on local agents like Anderson. Furthermore, knowledge of the character of Aboriginal peoples in Canada produced through government surveys was also very difficult to govern (Frankel 2006:3-4). For example, in the metropole concerns raised by “the Native question” in Canada were taken up by Herman Merivale, an Oxford educated lawyer. Never travelling to the colonies but only gaining his information on colonized peoples from ethnographic reports from agents like Anderson and the Methodist missionaries in Upper Canada, he suggested four alternatives as solutions to avoid potential conflict between Aboriginal peoples and settlers within Canada: extermination of Native peoples, slavery, insulation or amalgamation (McNab 1983:87). He concluded that amalgamation through miscegenation and acculturation was the best and perhaps only solution (Harris 2004:174; McNab 1983:88). However, Merivale conceded that amalgamation would not be easy due to the perceived savage nature of Indigenous peoples in the colonies. As the following description of the building of the Indian reserve in Simcoe County suggests,

while the ethnographic observations on the Native peoples of Canada gathered through the use of surveys encouraged the civilizing missions of the 1830s, they had far less influence on how these colonial projects were implemented on the ground.

The Experiment at Coldwater and The Narrows

During the winter of 1829–1830, Anderson was “summoned” to York (Toronto) by his superior Sir John Colborne, Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, and “ordered” to undertake the settlement and civilization of three tribes of Chippewa Indians under the chiefs Yellowhead, John Assance and Snake on a 9,300 acre Reserve at Coldwater and The Narrows, on a tract of land on the northwest shore of Lake Simcoe (Millman 2000). By 1830 all three Native bands had ceded much of their lands, although they still held some hunting territories in the region. Few published accounts of the Coldwater Reserve either while it was active or in the century and half since it has been dismantled exist. Robert J. Surtees has done the only detailed academic study of the so-called experimental reserve as part of his larger study on reserve policy in Upper Canada. A contemporary account of the reserve was written by the surveyor William Hawkins, who visited it in 1833, and his counting, measuring and mapping fits into what Cohn has identified as the “officializing procedures of colonial rule that extend their capacity in a number of areas through the classifying and defining of space” (1996:6). These cultural formations of colonialism include the creation of divisions between public and private space and the sale of property—both of which were being enacted at the reserves at Coldwater and the Narrows. The surveyor Hawkins suggests in a report to the government that Indian portages (private) be opened up to use by settlers (public). Inserting his opinion in a

report filled with measurements, censuses and descriptions of soil types, he writes:

If the Conversion of the Indian (of which there can not be any doubt) be the primary object in going to so much labour & expense with their Establishments, there is no Medium or Means by which it can be effected with more facility than by a free intercourse with the European and other settlers. If they (even at their own desire) debarred from Society of this land, there is no doubt but there will always remain Indians to be converted. (Hawkins 1833:np)

Another example of an eyewitness account of this reserve in the nineteenth century was that of the female British travel writer Anna Jameson, who visited Simcoe County in 1836 and wrote a travelogue of her journey entitled *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*. Along with cartography, travel writing played a significant role as a form of knowledge production that made indigenous landscapes easily decipherable and desirable as a place for potential immigration and settlement for readers in the metropole (Ballantyne 2008:185). Jameson was interested in documenting Indian life as it was not usually seen by colonial tourists.³⁹ As she notes:

The country here is very rich, and the settlers fast increasing. During the last winters the bears had the audacity to carry off some heifers to the great consternation of new settlers, and the wolves did much mischief. I inquired about the Indians settlements at Coldwater and the Narrows; but the accounts were not encouraging. I had been told, as a proof of the advancement of the Indians, that they had here saw-mills and grist-mills, I now learned that they had a saw-mill and a grist-mill built for them, which they never used them-selves, but *let out* to the White settlers at a certain rate. (1838:351)

Jameson's account pits wild animals against domestic ones, demonstrating the battle for

³⁹ For more on tourism in Ontario during this period and some interesting comments on Jameson as an early female adventurer and tourist, see Patricia Jasen's *Wild Things: Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario 1790-1914* (1995).

the possession of land as colonial structures of settlement were being enacted not only within the human sphere but also within the natural world. The travel narrative as a discursive strategy also works to confirm established stereotypes of the colonized as lazy and unwilling to participate in the kind of sanctioned, industrial labour of the European or Euro-Canadian miller. As the narrative attests, the adoption of western technology would serve as proof of advancement.

At Coldwater and the Narrows, Anderson, now with the title of superintendent, supervised members of the Ojibwa into work platoons to clear land for roads and farms, to build houses, a sawmill, schools, a mission building and meeting houses, and to plant crops (Surtees 1966:101). The settlements were intentionally wedged between two settler communities at Penetanguishene and Orillia. Anderson orchestrated a plan that would have members of the Ojibwa clearing land for each nuclear family that would provide a lot of sixteen acres to farm. There would also be experienced settler farmers and mechanics that would teach, demonstrate, and generally model appropriate civilized behavior for the Ojibwa (Surtees 1966:9). These farms, it was imagined, would provide food for the Aboriginal residents and thus help to reduce the costs of their welfare. The whole “experiment,” it was hoped, would act as an example of the superiority of settled farm life over traditional hunting and fishing practices.

In a letter addressed to Lieutenant Governor Colborne in 1835, Anderson reviews the “progress” made at Coldwater five years after taking on the directorship there. He admits that the results were not as good as he had hoped for, but that any judgment of the success or failure of the “experiment” must keep in view “their [the colonized] actual

state before measures were taken to assist their civilization (Waddilove 1838:75).” He gives the following description of the life of the Ojibwa in the area prior to his undertaking the establishment of the Reserve:

Their suffering and misery were strongly marked in their personal appearance and the condition of their wigwams, the later imperfectly made, and the very insufficiently supplied with fuel, could scarcely be said to afford shelter to the ragged and emaciated frames of the elder Indians (Waddilove 1838:76).

An important strategy for settling and civilizing the Chippewa tribes gathered at the reserves at Coldwater and the Narrows was the replacement of the traditional wigwam with European-style dwellings. The flexible semi-permanent structure of the wigwam was to be replaced by European-style architecture in the form of reserve housing, mission and school buildings. For colonial authorities in multiple colonial locations, order and regiment, manifested through the rational, linear geometry of the European house structure, would facilitate settlement and conversion, as it would contain both the bodies and the minds of peoples accustomed to less settled forms of social and cultural patterns of habitation (Comaroff & Comaroff 1997; Perry 2003). Gordon has noted that a similar strategy was used in the design of the seventeenth-century Jesuit mission of Sainte-Marie (2004:508). The building was divided into quadrants and sections as part of the missionary strategy to control and convert the Huron-Wendat in terms of mind, body and soul.

Aboriginal homes were also often the site for colonial representation in a number of forms. Drawings, descriptions and later photographs found in travelers’ reports all document the wigwam as an example of the last vestiges of a peoples doomed to

extinction, caught in the inevitable wave of “progress” and civilization brought on by colonization. However, these images of the bark, mat, skin and small timber domiciles are often contradictory. Like the discursive strategies on savagery employed during this period, the wigwam was a metaphor for a lack of civilization, and an example of the Indigenous peoples closeness to nature. On the one hand, Aboriginal dwellings are described in terms of their ecologically adaptable materials and their efficient design that harkens back to a simpler and perhaps “nobler” time in their history. Paul Kane’s painting of the Ojibwa encampments, painted in the 1840s on Lake Huron just north of the Coldwater Reserve, is an example of this kind of romantic rendering of the other that distances them in time (Fabian 1983; Hutchings 2009). On the other hand, discursive strategies that include descriptions of traditional wigwams can be seen as bringing the colonized close, to compare their domestic habits with those of Europeans.

Additional evidence related to the oscillating function of the wigwam in colonial discourse can be found in Anderson’s journals of trip he took with Adam Elliot, an Anglican missionary who worked with Anderson at Coldwater. Elliot describes a trip taken by the two of them in 1832 when they walked from Coldwater to Georgian Bay “to ascertain some facts with regard to the real mode of life of the Indians” (Waddilove 1838:12). They decided to visit every wigwam to, “*observe* [my italics], [the] distressing pictures of extreme misery and destitution...Hunger, filth, and ignorance, with an entire absence of all knowledge of a Supreme Being” (Waddilove 1838:12). This journey and its documentation reflect what Braun has identified as a new way of seeing Native peoples in Canada in the post-fur trade period. During the fur trade period, European

traders traveling *en déroutine* would seek out Aboriginal peoples to trade at their lodges to establish essential networks of social and economic exchange (Braun 2002:220, Podruchny 2006:17). Here, Anderson and Elliot were on a mission to observe, record and create ethnographic knowledge about the Ojibwa of northern Lake Huron in a pre-disciplinary ethnographic manner (Pels & Saleminck 1999). Writers examining travel accounts as a means to legitimate colonial expansion demonstrate how first-hand or eyewitness accounts are made authoritative through material details that also delineate cultures as knowable entities (Blackburn 2000:8-9; Pratt 1985).

Anderson and his missionary colleague Elliot came upon a wigwam that was occupied by a young man and “his wife” and gave the following description:

We were soon made welcome, and I had leisure to look round me in admiration of the comfort displaced in the arrangement of the interior. A covering of the fresh branches of the young hemlock was neatly spread all around. In the centre of the right hand side as we entered, the master of the lodge was seated on a large mat; his wife occupied the station at his left hand: good and clean mats were spread for myself and my guide...[there were] three dogs by the fire...fine dishes and wooden spoons of Indian and European manufacture...a small chest and bag...a European gun...sugar...and bright blazing fire and kettles...all gave promise of comfort to a weary traveler. We had scarcely time to remove our leggings and change our moccasins, preparatory to a full enjoyment of the fire, when the Indian's wife was prepared to set before us a plentiful mess of boiled fish; this was followed in a short time by soup made of deer flesh and Indian corn, and our repast terminated with hot cakes baked in the ashes. Before daylight on the following morning, we were about to set out, but could not be allowed to depart without again partaking of refreshment, Boiled and broiled fish were set before us, and to my extreme surprise the young Indian before partaking ...knelt to pray aloud. (Waddilove 1838:14)

Here, the described order and cleanliness of the wigwam can be understood as a reflection of an ordered mind and body, brought about through the adoption of

Christianity. Elliot and Anderson seem to have stumbled upon an English country bed and breakfast that conforms to European conventions of hospitality in the middle of the Canadian wilderness, however the knowledge produced concerning the wigwam travel lodge notes that it is a hybrid and contradictory space: Europeans are wearing leggings and moccasins, travel on snowshoes and enjoy boiled fish, deer flesh and Indian corn, and Aboriginal people own European guns, are wife and Master, and pray to a Christian God. Anderson's description thus posits Native and European identity as highly fluid.

This travel narrative is worth exploring further as it also reveals some fundamental aspects of colonial logic in terms of what constitutes a proper home, and the kinds of social and cultural behaviors that can be performed within domestic spaces. As Perry argues in her study of nineteenth-century colonial encounters in British Columbia, for Europeans homes shaped what it means to be a male, female or a family member, as well as larger notions of gender, sexuality and family social relations (Perry 2003). For missionaries, settlers, Indian agents and superintendents, Aboriginal forms of housing were not only described in opposition to the form and content of civilized European homes, but they were also *responsible* for the uncivilized character of First Nations culture (Perry 2003:591). The unmaking of established domestic patterns was at the heart of colonial rule. These patterns *could be* and *were* interrupted throughout the colonial world through the management of not only the forms of domestic spaces but also what went on within the intimate spaces of the home. As Stoler points out, domestic habits, including who slept with whom and how children were nursed and reared, were integral to the making of racial categories and imperial rule (2002:829).

Like domestic arrangements, dress as a cultural space was also specified and regulated through the “rule of difference” (Asad 1992). As Anderson describes:

Another strong mark of amendment is the article of dress. All the Indians here, compared with Indians in a wild state, are well clothed have in most instances abandoned the Indian dress for that of their white neighbors; they have also become anxious to possess furniture, and some have exercised their ingenuity in the manufacture of articles of household furniture for themselves. All have advanced to a knowledge of the difference between barter and cash transactions...fishing for profit not just for themselves. (Waddilove 1838:77)

Although Anderson sings the praises of his social engineering project at Coldwater in letters to his superiors in Canada, in reality the reserve was fraught with difficulties. In letters to the Colonial Office, Anderson reveals that the Native residents at the reserve were considered by him to be “too indolent” in their work habits and had difficulty completing their work on the proposed roads, as well as with the cultivation of their farm plots (Surtees 1966:104). There were also problems with the local settler-laborers who could not be relied upon to finish the log homes for the residents. Anderson’s correspondence from this period also relates his anxieties over finding responsible (White) people to help with the general management of the reserve, and his frustration with the governmental forms and the necessary accounting that appear to have been beyond his administrative abilities (Surtees 1966:110). Furthermore, as much as Anderson aimed to contain, educate and Christianize the residents at Coldwater and the Narrows he was unable to “wean them from their wandering habits” and prevent families from taking their children out of school and away from mission meetings to engage in traditional seasonal activities of hunting and fishing (Surtees 1966:101).

Another site of anxiety for Anderson was the rivalries between evangelists for the control of Aboriginal conversion during this period. White and Native missionaries—Methodists, Anglican and Roman Catholics—fought over the rights to convert the residents at the reserves (Surtees 1966:101). Missionizing was not simply a matter of ‘us’ and ‘them,’ there were rival civilizing missions who fought for the souls of Native peoples in Upper Canada in the post 1830 period. As a devout Anglican, Anderson was particularly suspicious of the methods of Jesuit missionary activities in the area. As he wrote:

The Jesuit here, as well as elsewhere, tries to influence the Indians with his way of thinking not only as regards his erroneous creed, but also as regards the duties of our mission, not because he is familiar with our object but because he fancies he can direct the Indians and thus influence the Government into what he considers a good bargain for the natives and ultimately that he might get their cash to the exclusive benefit of his Priest craft, but of this the Government must be on their guard. (Anderson 1848/9:np)

Ultimately, the disassembly of the reserve was a result of the expansionist program of settler society in Simcoe County that only served to further dispossessed the Ojibwa of what was left of their lands. This was facilitated by a change in colonial policy that moved from a belief in the possibility of Native amalgamation to the necessities of isolation. Sir Francis Bond Head, then the Lieutenant Governor, broke up the reserves as part of his new apartheid Native policy and tried to convince the Chippewa bands to surrender the reserve in 1836 and move to Manitoulin Island in the north of Lake Huron (Hutchings 2009: Scott 1914). Bond Head was influenced by romantic/imaginative ideas of the purity of the noble savage that were generated through the contemporary transatlantic movement of ideas about “romantic ecologies,” and the purity of savages

derived from their close association with the environment (Hutchings 2009). He strongly believed that civilizing missions were doomed to fail.⁴⁰ As the new lieutenant governor of Upper Canada, he proposed saving primitive people through their removal and isolation away from any contact with civilization, something that he believed would ultimately destroy them. Although Bond Head's ideas about the character of the colonized as noble and pure is simply another form of constructing race and alterity, his writings from this period reflect his understanding of settler colonialism as a spatializing project that necessarily altered the indigenous landscape, as graves were dug up in the formation of a Euro-Canadian place. He describes the "Red Inhabitants of America" as "the real Proprietors of its Soil but now that we have succeeded in exterminating their Race from vast Regions of Land where nothing in the present Day remains of the poor Indian but the unnoticed Bones of his Ancestors" (Bond Head 1857:351).

Despite Bond Head's policy against civilizing indigenous peoples, Anderson was still determined that the unsettled Aboriginal peoples of northern Lake Huron should be gathered together, civilized and converted. Anderson was to continue his civilizing project by setting up another Indian reserve at Manitoulin Island (Surtees 2010). This project too would end in failure. Attention needs to be given to this gap between Anderson's praises for his civilizing project at the reserves and the problems he encountered. Anderson's letters describe the reserves as if they were utopias, where Native peoples were "capable of supplying selves with food and clothing" and through

⁴⁰ Bond Head also believed that the extinction of the Native peoples in Upper Canada was inevitable. As he wrote to the Colonial Office: "I do think that enjoying as we do, possession of this noble Province, it is our burden and Duty to consider as heir-looms the wreck of that simpleminded, ill fated race, which, as I have already stated, is daily and yearly fading before the progress of civilization" (Bond Head 1857:347).

“studious attention to their habits and prejudices” had conditionally “acquired sufficient knowledge of the arts of civilized life to avail him of these advantages” (Waddilove 1838:77).

Here, at the intersection of Anderson’s aims and the actual events, something *outside* of established histories is potentially revealed. The imaginaries of administrators can perhaps be gleaned from these gaps where troubled sentiments rest in the archived documents and letters that both legitimate and undo the structures of colonialism. Projects never fulfilled are a productive site for further comprehending the politics of colonialism. Stoler suggests that students of colonialism shift their attention from the actual “events,” like those at Coldwater, as historical moments, to the “non-events” that appear “in drafts of proposals, in unrealized and unrealizable plans, in short-lived experiments, in liabilities and in failed projects” (2009:106). She asks:

“How should we treat the history of what was deemed possible but remained unrealized? What can we learn about colonial cultures and the states they sustained from their aborted projects, from proposal whose circulation was interrupted, from the (blue) prints that were ultimately scrapped?” (2009:108).

For Stoler, the answer is that the unfulfilled imaginings, or the “visions of colonial futures” of agents like Anderson, teach us something about the architecture of colonialism and the different forms of knowledge that can be found within these documents (2009:106). As I suggest in the final section of this chapter, “visions of colonial futures” also included imaginings about Native pasts. Archaeology, in both theory and practice, was part of Anderson’s ethnographic interests and cannot be

detached from his overall contribution to both the laying down of the structures of colonialism and the production of colonial knowledge.

Anderson's Archaeological Encounters

As Wolfe has suggested, the laying down of these “structures” of colonialism—like the reservation system—was intrinsic to the dispossession of Native lands (Harris 2004:174; Wolfe 2006, 1999). The new geographies of settler colonialism included the colonization of territory that lay beneath the ground. Recent scholarship on the geographies of colonialism has suggested that more attention needs to be paid to the colonization of subterranean spaces and how colonial and imperial powers took possession and attributed meaning to what lay beneath the earth (Scott 2008). Here, I identify the multiple ways in which Anderson negotiated the tensions over ownership of the underground and interpretation of the ruins of Aboriginal peoples’ pasts that excavations revealed. In the following excerpt from Anderson’s journal of 1832, an exercise of power is related concerning the violence of Native grave looting and disrespect for the dead. In it we see a confrontation between colonizer and colonizer that can be compared to the discussion described above between Chief Assance and Anderson concerning Aboriginal environmental and treaty rights to hay grown in Matchedash Bay. In both instances, the First Nations accusers do not seem afraid to manipulate the externally imposed system of Western law. In turn, Anderson asserts his authority as Indian Agent through both the tone and form of his questioning, as well as the documentation of the events—an authority that might have been undermined when the

accusers went directly to his superior to report the looting of Native graves. The debate over the looting of burials is presented in full as follows:

Antoine Fortune, relate what you know on this subject. ⁴¹

– On one Saturday Morning my child or son was ill of a pain in the stomach. I went into a house near this and saw there three heads. I then asked a Doctor for some peppermint. I asked what is this, are these Americans' heads? Then they laughed. ~ I took up a Coat which was laying there, put my hand in the Pocket and took out a large piece of Silver, and asked where did you get this? I found it somewhere, was the answer. While holding the Coat, I attempted to feel in another pocket and he took the Coat and put it on. I then took a head in my hand and carefully examined it. ~ I then got the peppermint and went Home.

Whose House did you go into?

– Drs. Darling and Campbell.

Which Dr. did you ask for peppermint?

– Dr. Campbell.

Who laughed?

– Both.

What kind of silver was it?

– A large Silver Broach.

You say that you took one of the heads in your hand & carefully examined it; was it an old decayed head or a fresh one?

– It was an old head of a long time back – the lower jaw was with it.

Have you seen the Graves that are said to be dug up?

– No.

Have you anything more to say?

– I did not hear of the Graves being opened until the Monday following, and then told my friend that I supposed the heads I saw were from those Graves. ~

~~~~~ his

Antoine X Fortune

<sup>41</sup> I have kept the original format of Anderson's notation of the events, according to the transcription done by Peter Davis, volunteer at the Huronia Museum, Midland Ontario.



mark

To Thomas Shilling. You said in your statement that you had seen the graves in question. Were they opened with Spades or Tools of that kind, or how do you suppose they were opened?

– I saw the mark of what you call a Spade when an attempt had been made to open another Grave – but the Spade had only been stuck in to the earth without removing the earth from the Grave. On examining one of the Graves which had been opened and recovered, and on removing the earth to see if the head was there, I found it not.

~~~~~

By Dr. Campbell to Antoine Fortune. Which Coat did you find the Broach in?

– Dr. Campbell's.

Why did you put your hand into my Coat Pocket? What was your motive?

– I merely put it in to feel – no other motive.

To Antoine Fortune by Mr. Miller. ~ When you say the heads at the Doctors', did you know them to be Indians' heads?

– I did not believe them to be Indians' Heads.

By Dr. Campbell to Timothy Shilling. ~ How do you know the Graves were opened by English people lately from England?

– The English people formerly living here never did anything of the kind – and I suppose the new comers did it.

To the same by Dr. Darling. ~ What induced you to fix upon me?

– Their heads having been seen at your house and not finding the one I searched for in the Grave which I before mentioned, is the reason.

Do you suppose that Dead men's heads could not be got except by digging up your Graves? And I tell you, there are very few young Medical Men without them.

– It was our opinion in the first instance that those heads had been brought from some other Country – but not finding the head before alluded to, we thought they must have come from the Graves in question.

You have perhaps seen a dead man's hand which I brought with me across the Salt

Lake. ~ If you had not seen those Skulls we have, you probably would not have suspected us of opening the Graves.

– If we had not seen the heads or the Broach we would not have suspected you – but recollecting that a broach had been buried with one of our women and seeing the Skulls made us suspect you.

Do you suppose that if we had opened the Indian Graves and taken the heads away, we would have exposed them at all hours of the day where you could see them?

– I certainly would have supposed, had you opened the Graves, you would have hid the Heads. But seeing the broach made us suspect you, otherwise we should have concluded the heads had been brought from elsewhere.

Could not the Broach have been brought from elsewhere, and are you sure that individual broach had been buried in a Grave?

– It is true the broach might have been brought from elsewhere, but it is likely, had it been so brought, it would have been more bright.

If it had been found lying in the bush, would it have been bright?

– We sometimes lose our Silver Ornaments and find them again but they have not the dull appearance which the one in question had. ~

Narrows of Lake Simcoe, November 5th 1832.

T.G. Anderson

S.I.A.
(Anderson 1832:np)

In addition this dialogue between Anderson and his interlocutors reveals how archaeology and physical anthropology are, as Haraway has pointed out, essentially a political discourse about the body (Bieder 1992:21; Haraway 1989:188). As Foucault has described, with the rise of the hospital at the end of the eighteenth century, doctors were able to gather bodies together for observation and dissection. Under a medical gaze, as a technology of power, what had formerly been the house for the soul began to be viewed as scientific data, readily analyzable (Foucault 1973). Due to the collecting of more

bodies for observation for burgeoning anatomical museums and medical schools, the way that bodies were handled also changed. In Western Christian theology, the body was considered personal and sacred (Bieder 1992:22). Yet when excavated and dissected for scientific observation, bodies could be held and touched without emotion and observed in an objective manner. This was particularly true when the majority of bodies for scientific study, beginning in the early nineteenth century, came out of the graves of the poor and non-Whites in both Europe and the colonies (Bieder 1992:23). Hence, the colonial production of knowledge through surveying and mapping was not limited to geographical land, bodies too were surveyed and mapped, viewed, measured and represented. In the above debate we hear Dr. Darling, the medical surgeon posted to Simcoe County, speaking about human heads and hands in a dispassionate tone as the necessary focus of medical men engaged in the practice of science.

As this discussion also reveals, once dug up, bodies became mobile forms of data. Human hands moved “across the Salt Lake” and heads were hidden, found and transported. As elaborated in the case studies presented in both Chapter Four and Chapter Six, in the nineteenth century human skulls were easily circulated between metropole and colony. Once gathered together they were measured, compared and made legible to fit colonized peoples into linear narratives of western history and civilization that scientifically produced knowledge related to racial hierarchies and difference. By contrast, Aboriginal peoples in what is now Ontario did not, of course, share this view of the remains of their ancestors as specimens for scientific study. On the contrary, they organized petitions as early as the end of the eighteenth century to be sent to the colonial

government to protest the looting of their ancestors' graves (Hamilton 2010:4). Indeed, as part of larger arguments concerning the decolonization of archaeology, scholars have described how in the past, and continuing into the present, many First Nations in Canada maintain the belief that once a body has been disinterred the soul/spirit of the dead is released and cannot rest until it is returned to the earth (Ataly 2006; Beider 1992; Dewar 2007).

Furthermore, in this mock court case skulls become evidence in the continuing debates that took place in Simcoe County during this period over who were the “real proprietors of the New World” and who were “the usurpers of their soil” (Bond Head 1836). Settler morality is also called into question as Anderson and those under his charge argue over where the skulls have come from and who exactly is responsible for digging up Native burials. Anderson, throughout his long career of working with Native communities, had a number of other opportunities to contemplate the often uncertain issue of the ownership of what lay below the ground, as the spatializing project of colonialism dug deep to transform the indigenous landscape into a Euro-Canadian one. For example, as Indian Superintendent he traveled to Northern Ontario to negotiate land treaties for mining projects. Like the division of territory through survey, the building of roads, the creation of mines was part of the colonial processes of redesigning Aboriginal space (Banivanua-Mar & Edmonds 2010). On occasion, the opening of mining pits revealed archaeological evidence of the mining ventures of Aboriginal peoples from an earlier period. Finds like large accumulations of copper, stone tools and former pits raised questions about how the ancestors of contemporary “savage” peoples could have had the

technology to exploit mineral resources. In a mine near Fort William in northern Ontario, Anderson was confronted with evidence of this technology and concluded “the stone hammers would indicate their having been used by a rude people unacquainted with the use of iron...”(Anderson 1848-9 nd).

Likewise, in the same time period a report in the *British Colonist (Toronto)* (1847) described an excavation in Simcoe County that revealed the remains of a Huron communal burial of 50 skulls, kettles, beads and iron axes, which caused Anderson to question the history and origins of the local Aboriginal peoples in a pre-colonial context, as well as how they could be fitted into a Western narrative of civilization and progress. The newspaper article states that “Major Anderson of the Indian Department” provided details of the finds but no description is given of his techniques of excavation. Aiming to explain the finds within both a biblical paradigm and in terms of his concerns with “civilizing” Aboriginal peoples, he suggested that:

Some of the forms of the Israelitish faith were received by these poor Indians, long before Columbus crossed the Atlantic, and retained by them, till the gigantic strides of *civilization* made, subsequently to 1550, reduced them to their present abject state. We are neither antiquarians nor archaeologists; would that we were, but we do not feel the less anxious that, those whose accoutrements fit them for, and whose engagements are consonant with such enquiries, should devote their attention to the subject. (Hunter 1899:14-15)

The discovery of archaeological remains in the early nineteenth-century inspired multiple mythic narratives that created a link between contemporary Native peoples in North America and lost civilizations (Carpenter 1950:6) As Stocking notes, the Bible was the first paradigm in anthropology that generated serious questions about mankind

(1974:411). Anderson believed the world was divinely created and that it could be known empirically through the collection of facts—here in the form of artifacts. Despite this, as the *Toronto Colonist* article suggests, for Anderson the archaeological evidence challenged his religious beliefs and his private assessments of race. He wrote of having “anxious” feelings that his uncertainties about a pre-colonial Native past produced. Echoing Bond Head’s feelings concerning the ultimate failure of the civilizing missions, he expressed his sentiments that civilization itself is what caused the “abject” nature of Aboriginal peoples.

The feelings of “unease” related to his civilizing projects that have been discerned from Anderson’s correspondence at both Simcoe County and later at Manitoulin Island are again displayed in a meditation on the “imaginative geography” (Scott 2008) of the Lake Huron landscape, as he travelled on a boat north to Manitoulin Island in the 1840s. Not unlike the representations of landscape produced by military artists and travelers through this region, described in the next chapter, Anderson’s view of the geography and landscape in which he worked and lived reflects a Christian belief in the region of Simcoe County as a kind of postlapsarian Eden and the nineteenth-century Aboriginal peoples as Fallen. Traveling with 200 Aboriginal people onboard the vessel, he recorded his own imagining of the past and made the following remarks:

Our route lay thro’ hundreds of beautiful islands of all sizes and shapes covered with verdure: where, no doubt, that aboriginal ancestors of our present passengers luxuriated on the abundant game to which those islands furnished rich pasture, and who reveled in the sunshine of perhaps, unhappy ignorance, but certainly with the glorious convictions of independence, which we, the Whites have certainly

torn from them and prostrated them to the lowest stage of degradation to which human beings can be reduced. (Anderson 1848/1849:np)

Anderson's interest in Indian pre-history was perhaps inspired by changes in Aboriginal relationships with Euro-Canadians, the dynamics of colonial-imperial orientations, and the transformation of Aboriginal space into a Euro-Canadian place through the clearing of land for European settlers that he *himself* witnessed between the end of the eighteenth century and the mid-nineteenth century. As a fur trader in the Great Lakes region, he would have looked toward London as the political metropolis while working to maintain alliances with Native trading partners. As an Indian agent in the first decades of the century setting down the structures of colonial settlement, he sought direction with regards to Indian affairs and financial support from the empire, but he was also implicated in the production of colonial knowledge generated from emerging national, colonial effects, as he worked to break up traditional alliances through the settling and civilizing of the Native peoples with whom he once traded. As Indian agent in Simcoe County, he also saw first-hand the great influx of immigrants and the signing of treaties as former hunting territories were mapped, surveyed and cleared for farming.

Conclusion: Identifying the Production of Colonial Knowledge in Minor Histories

Although the establishment of reserves at Coldwater and the Narrows only included the attempted settlement of 500 to 600 Aboriginal people, I follow Ann Stoler's suggestion that "minor" histories should not be mistaken for unimportant ones. This does not mean that these events that involved smaller numbers or had less of an impact at a

global level are “microcosms” of larger events. Stoler says that small events have import as they demonstrate a different “political temper and a critical space.” “Minor history,” she contends, “attends to structures of feeling and force that in ‘major’ history might be otherwise displaced... a diacritic of sorts that accents the epistemic habits in motion and the wary, conditional tense of their anticipatory and often violent register” (2009:7). In sum, Anderson’s varied accounts yield the nuanced practices of colonial knowledge production as well as the uncertainties that often undergirded them. I have drawn upon Anderson’s writings not only as a window into the particularities of colonial practice in Simcoe County in the nineteenth century but, more importantly, as offering a view of how narratives of the certainties of colonial projects can be contrasted with clearly different forms of knowledge. On the one hand, communications with metropolitan and local administrators relay the certainties of knowledge, and the calm and hopeful future of Native settlement and civilization. On the other hand, records of meetings between Natives peoples and colonizers display the tensions derived from the complexities of land expropriation, Native dispossession and the establishment of settler societies.

The formation and implementation of Native policy in Canada was and still *is* an ongoing process—both contradictory and ambiguous. The 2011 offer made by the Canadian Government to settle outstanding land treaties at the former site of Coldwater-Narrows Reserve is an example of how Native policy is still being negotiated in the present. As discussed above, due to the demands of farmers and settlers, and despite Anderson’s efforts to establish the reserve, the Ojibwa living at Coldwater and the Narrows were asked to surrender their lands in 1836. At the time, the residents tried

unsuccessfully to get deeds to the land. The descendants of the original Ojibwa residents are today claiming that the surrender was not done in a timely fashion and the land was sold at a price below its actual value (Aboriginal Affairs 2010). These recent events need to be understood within the wider framework of the post 1830 period described in this chapter, like much of the administrative practices that secured land surrenders for incoming settlers to Simcoe County, and the social imaginaries of agents like Thomas Gummersall Anderson that formulated colonial categories of difference and the regulation of Native people's lives.

In the case study presented in the following chapter, I turn to a more sustained exploration of the networks that linked the metropole to the colony and transported archaeological evidence of Native people's pasts between them. Writers have suggested that studies of particular colonial situations need to be undertaken to question the monolithic nature of imperial power and to critically read local practices within the margins. Attention also needs to be given to the nature of intra-communications and communications between colony and metropole (Ballantyne & Burton 2009:4; Coombes 2006:3; Lyons & Papdopolous 2002:7). In Chapter Four, I contextualize the archaeological practices of the medical surgeon Edward W. Bawtree, stationed in Penetanguishene, a remote naval post in the 1840s. Tracking the production of Bawtree's archaeological reports and drawings also reveals how his collecting practices were embedded in the networks of scientific knowledge production that existed within and between the colonies and the metropole during this period. As this next chapter demonstrates, travel accounts, images of the landscape, the identification of

archaeological sites and their documentation constituted multiple forms of knowledge production that worked in tandem to colonize the landscape of Penetanguishene.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SURVEY, MAPPING AND EXCAVATION AT A MILITARY OUTPOST

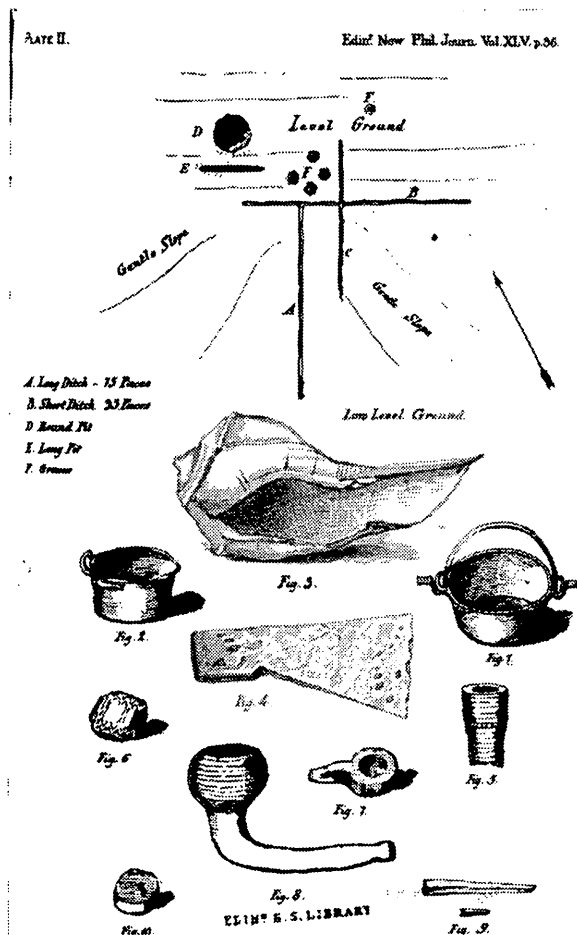


Figure 10 Illustration from Edward W. Bawtree's "Brief Description of Some Sepulchral Pits" (1848).

The image above appeared in the 1848 issue of the *Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal* as an illustration for “A Brief Description of Some Sepulchral Pits of Indian Origin lately Discovered Near Penetanguishene.” This published article was based on the archaeological surveys, excavations and collections made by the army surgeon, Edward W. Bawtree, stationed in one of Britain’s most remote military posts: Penetanguishene, Canada West. Despite the distance of Penetanguishene from Edinburgh, the images and archaeological survey moved at a surprisingly quick pace between the colony and the metropole. Dr. Bawtree had not even finished his four-year posting in Canada when the article was published in the *Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal* in an issue of a containing articles titled “Some additional Observations on the Urinary Excrement of Insects,” “On the Erratic Basin of the Rhine,” “On the Cause of the recent Oscillation of the Waters in the Lake Ontario,” “On the Glaciers and Climate of Iceland,” “On the Depth and Saltness of the Ocean,” and “On the Comparative Value of different Kinds of Coals for the purpose of Illumination.” (*Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal* 1848). Although geographically dispersed, when placed side-by-side in the *Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal*, these varied observations made by colonial agents throughout the imperial world become part of the journal’s mandate to “Exhibit a View of the Progressive Discoveries and Improvements in the Sciences and the Arts.” Generated in disparate colonial locations, these studies of the earth are linked through a particularly nineteenth-century gaze that aimed to solve what Alexander Von Humboldt has described as “the great problem of the physical description of the globe” (cited in Pratt 1985:144), as part of what McClintock has identified as “the emergence of a new global order of

cultural knowledge” (1995:3). Moreover, the colonial enterprise of surveying, mapping and naming local terrains and excavating artifacts has also been described as involving acts of “geographical violence through which virtually every space in the world [was] explored, charted, and finally brought under control” (Said 1993:271; Dirks 1992:6; Scott 2008:1857). As I argue in this thesis, colonial efforts to control territory necessitated not only gaining or creating knowledge of the surfaces of local terrains but also what lay beneath them.

Historical anthropologists have consistently argued that that during the nineteenth century British colonial powers entered a new world that they tried to comprehend using their own forms of knowing and thinking. More precisely, colonizers believed that the land and societies they conquered and governed “could be known and represented as a series of facts” (Cohn 1996:4). Peoples, geographic landscapes, and even material and human remains excavated and looted from ancestral burial sites became part of large documentation and fact-making projects that rendered territory—both above and below the ground—familiar. Dug-up objects, once collected, ordered, classified, and recorded in visual forms, were then transformed into archaeological published reports, histories, encyclopedias and museum collections—readily identifiable to a European viewer (Cohn 1996:3; Richards 1993:3ff; Stocking 1985). However, and most importantly, the varied and linked forms of colonial knowledge production did not merely represent “an objective reality, but rather, called that reality into being in ways that served the interests of the colonial state” (Wagner 2003:784). Through surveying, mapping, and exploring both above and below the ground, Upper Canada, later Canada West, was made familiar

to the local administration, and a consolidated image of indigenous peoples and their territories was created that had little to do with *their* realities, to facilitate rule. In other words, fact-making practices were an effect of colonialism that enabled the disenfranchisement of people from their land.

I demonstrate in this chapter, the practices of documenting and looting Aboriginal burial sites in Simcoe County and the collecting and codifying of bodies in the first half of the nineteenth century need to be considered outside of specific national narratives or histories of archaeology in Ontario. Collecting and mapping in the region were tied to what Stoler has identified as wider imperial desires for knowledge and power (2006b). Recently, Stoler et al. (2007) have also invoked the term imperial formations to describe the less-bounded nature of imperial states, how “cross-imperial knowledge acquisition and application” became possible through the “portability of practices and ideas be it in form or goal across imperial systems and within them.” Their observations provoke scholars of historical anthropology to think more broadly and make comparisons between and within European colonial cultures, as well as to observe the “movement of people and projects” and the “circulation of knowledge” they see as a defining feature of imperial power (2007:5-6). Although recent studies of the colonial production of cultural knowledge agree that imperialism needs to be reframed as more than a territorial project (Burton & Ballantyne 2008:10), and that metropole and colony should be treated as one analytic field (Burton 2000; Cohn 1996), the particularities of colonial cross-continent knowledge production practices within the historical context require further analysis (Stoler 2009:88).

This chapter focuses on the years between 1835 and 1848, when British and Euro-Canadians traveling through and living at the remote military station in Penetanguishene observed and documented the landscape, local Aboriginal populations and their burial grounds. The observations produced by these colonial ventures resulted in the movement of reports, maps and images, as well as Aboriginal artifacts and body parts from Penetanguishene to the metropolitan centres, as part of the larger circulation of things and ideas across imperial networks (Edwards et al. 2006; Poole 1997). Travel accounts, scholarly publications, human remains, artifacts and images were all mobile spaces for the entextualization of narratives that worked simultaneously to map out space for settlement, displace Indigenous peoples from their own histories and territories, and classify racial differences. Here I address the role played by knowledge production in aiding the colonization of Penetanguishene and the areas to the north of Georgian Bay in what is now Ontario. Through the use of images, surveys, travel narratives and archaeological observation, documentation and collection, Aboriginal territory was deciphered and made intelligible within an imperial/colonial paradigm of landscape and space. The British military played a decisive role in training army officers to observe, document and record peoples and places during this period. I begin with a discussion of Penetanguishene, *the place*, how it was mapped and surveyed. I then turn to look more specifically at the archaeological activities of Dr. Edward W. Bawtree in Penetanguishene. Bawtree's reports on his excavations and the images of his evidence disclose the mechanics of the imperial gaze whereby facts were created through a combination of objective science and the creative imagination.

Penetanguishene

Located on the windswept southeasterly tip of Georgian Bay, the natural harbour and the territory around Penetanguishene were originally acquired through a treaty with the Ojibwa as a site for a naval base in the late eighteenth century (Hunter [1909] 1995). The harbour was envisioned as an ideal location for communication and the defense of British North America's trade posts further north and west in the Great Lakes, and as a strategic link between York (now Toronto), on the shores of Lake Ontario, and Georgian Bay. Following the boundary realignment with the United States in 1828, the British garrison at Drummond Island was transferred to Penetanguishene. This change in political boundaries resulted in an influx of migrants to Penetanguishene. The population included not only British military personnel associated with the garrison, but also what an early nineteenth-century local historian called "a strange and heterogeneous people" who had formerly gathered around the fur posts at Michilimackinac and, later, Drummond Island (Osborne 1901:147). These "hybrid" immigrants were the Métis descendants of French-Canadian fur traders and Native peoples—known during this period as "half-breeds" or "mixed-bloods"—whose long-established and wide-ranging social and political connections in the Upper Great Lakes often defied the imposed national, cultural and racial boundaries of the post-American Revolution period (McDonnell 2009; Reimer & Chartrand 2004). Penetanguishene continued as a fur trade centre into the 1860s but it gradually declined after the 1840s. It was also an annual meeting place for various tribes of Great Lakes First Nations. During the early 1830s, over two thousand Native peoples—from both sides of the new national borders between Canada and the United

States—came to Penetanguishene on an annual basis to reaffirm kin relationships and to continue the tradition of receiving presents that were given for their support of the British in past military campaigns (Sims 1992). By the 1830s, the garrison at Penetanguishene was no longer of any strategic naval significance. The so-called ‘Establishment’ remained only as a military base, and the navy forces were withdrawn. On the property of the military Establishment there remained a small hospital served by a British military surgeon who attended to the remaining officers, their families and servants, artificers, commuted military pensioners, and local Native peoples as well as Métis traders (de Pencier 1987 39-49; Jury & Jury 1959; Triggs 2005).⁴²

A recent archaeological excavation by Triggs at the former Naval Establishments offers some interesting insights into the nineteenth-century architecture and arrangement of space. The excavation revealed spatial patterning based on military status, economic status and ethnicity. Beads, assumed to belong to local Native peoples, were found on the very edges of the site, separated from the housing for the officers and the soldiers by the natural geographic features upon which the Establishment was built. The officers’ quarters were situated on the hill overlooking the Penetanguishene Bay, physically situating them above the artificers who were ranked below them. Triggs concludes that the military Establishment at Penetanguishene, in the first decades of the nineteenth

⁴² Wounded British army veterans were awarded a pension that they could exchange for a land grant and money if they immigrated to Canada. Many of these so-called “commuted pensioners” lived in poverty and ill health in the colonies and eventually became wards of the local colonial administrators. The British government refused to support these people in Canada and they were often sent to the remote, lonely and wild location of Penetanguishene, where they were taken care of by the army surgeon at the garrison (de Pencier 1987:40).

century, was organized as a microcosm of contemporary British society (Triggs 2005:109). Yet, as Stoler points out;

Colonial cultures were never a direct translation of European society planted in the colonies, but unique cultural configurations, homespun creations in which European food, dress, housing, and morality were given new political meanings in the particular social order of colonial rule (1992b:321).

White settlers, transient European residents, Ojibwa, Métis and former French Canadian fur trade communities did not necessarily have common concerns or the same power.

During the first decades of the nineteenth century, Penetanguishene was a place where new constructions of European and Euro-Canadian identity were being worked out through the observation and documentation of other peoples and alternate landscapes, produced by surveyors trained by the imperial military.

The Military's Role in the Production of Colonial Knowledge

Many observations of the colonies came from military men and, frequently, medical doctors and surgeons who had a broad training in multiple scientific disciplines (Arnold 1993; Pels & Salemink 1999; Pratt 2003, 1985:14). The physical transformation of the colonies depended on the development of metropolitan cultures, intuitions and departments that produced “imperial ‘hands’” (Said 1993:109; Mitchell 1988). British military culture—unique during this period—trained army men not only to fight in wars but to engineer the building of fortresses, roads, harbours and canals, to establish settlements, to provision garrisons, to produce cartographic, geological and geological surveys, as well as to artistically render conquered territory (Burant 1988:33). Many of these imperial military men were part of the rising bourgeoisie whose status and wealth

were not based on business or inheritance but rather on intellectual achievements attained through their training at the British Royal Military Academy. John Comaroff, studying the same social context in Britain in the early nineteenth century (but focusing on the rising class that produced nonconformist missionaries), notes that with the onset of the Industrial Revolution, the making of the bourgeoisie was connected to a dominant view that stressed the virtues of individualism and the possibility of becoming a self-made man, as well as the idea that science and technology were intrinsically bound up with progress (Comaroff 1989:665).⁴³

Imperial military doctors and surgeons were also directly involved in projects that promoted the image of the empire's progress through science and technology, as well as through the classification and definition of territory. Moreover, colonial medicine was not merely a healing science but contributed to the larger colonial order through the development of medical practices of observation and taxonomy (Arnold 1993:8). As part of colonialism's interest in the collecting, circulation and classifying of objects—what Cohn has identified as the museum investigative modality—medical men posted throughout the empire were encouraged to obtain natural science specimens, including human remains, for observation and classification (1996:5).

Arnold, in his study of the colonized body in India, describes what he calls the “exploratory classificatory grids” of medicine that worked to colonize and regulate the

⁴³ Comaroff is making the point that settlers, administrators and missionaries in nineteenth-century South Africa had been morally shaped by the changes in class structure that accompanied the Industrial Revolution, and that this in turn impacted their dealings with Europeans and indigenous peoples on the colonial frontier (1989:665).

landscape (1993). Through the use of medical topographical surveys, British colonial medical military men stationed in South Asia would document the sites of identified diseases and their association with particular climactic conditions. Arnold interprets these colonial medical mappings as powerful forms of knowledge production that defined India as an exotic, unfamiliar and dangerous environment, while at the same time developing theories on environmentalism, sanitation and hygiene that impacted both colonial and metropolitan projects (1993). Medical mappings of nature, climate, and insect and animal populations offered documentation of what was to be considered “unhygienic” colonial locations. Similarly, but in a very different colonial context, in a report from July 1833, Dr. Joseph Skey, an Inspector of Army Hospitals visiting the military Establishment at Penetanguishene, observed how the ground near the barracks of the Establishment needed to be level to eliminate pits that held stagnant water and which could contribute to disease in hot weather (de Pencier 1985:41). Observations of the colonial ecology could be further honed and focused through the use of military medical architecture. The construction of hospitals, jails, army barracks and institutions like garrisons were colonial innovations that functioned like scientific laboratories, allowing military doctors an opportunity to witness the effects of things like diet on disease (Arnold 1993:28). As Arnold notes in his study of state medicine in colonial India, colonial medicine must be understood as part of a “diverse array of ideological and administrative mechanisms by an emerging system of knowledge and power that extended itself into and over...Indigenous society” (1993:9).

One of the recognized tools for the production of imperial/colonial knowledge was the rendering of sketches and water colour paintings to accompany the plethora of travel, exploration and cartographic surveys that characterize this period, which were often produced by military men. Naval and army officers were trained to “capture” on paper harbours, profiles of coasts, and topographical and landscapes features. Army and navy officers trained at the military academy at Woolwich, England would receive drawing instruction in the topographical art style alongside instruction in topographical surveying and training in engineering in a time before the use of cameras (Burant 1988:34; de Pencier 1987). This style of illustration, developed during the European Enlightenment and the period of the first imperial incursions into North America, narrowed the colonial gaze and produced a singular, specific view of places and objects.

However, topographic art and other forms of imperial/colonial visual representation, as Said famously demonstrated, did not only aim to create scientific, objective visual recordings but also inserted poetic and exotic depictions of others into these images (1978). In the Canadas in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, for example, painted and sketched scenes would often contain the figure of the Indian as sublime or exotic, juxtaposed with colonial administrators who were rendered in a realistic style and in more genteel positions and dress (Doyon 2012).⁴⁴ Through image production using the topographic art style, indigenous territory could be transposed in a variety of ways: as a *terra nullius*, a primeval forest where “wild” Aboriginal people

⁴⁴ For an example of the different styles of depicting the colonized and colonizers, see Benjamin West’s *The Death of Wolfe* (1770) and other works by this painter.

dwelled, or as a settled, European “civilized” space (Jasen 1995:9). Penetanguishene Bay, harbouring both European boats and Indian canoes, was a popular subject for military men *cum artists* during this period. Figure 11 is a view of the bay painted by army medical surgeon George Russell Dartnell, who was posted to Penetanguishene in the late 1830s, just prior to Edward W. Bawtree’s arrival at the Establishment. This representation of the harbour shows the influence of the military tradition of making facts through images that created and normalized colonial space through a distinctly European framing (McKay 2011:10). McKay in her study of the “re-presentation” of the Canadian landscape through artistic means notes how a panoramic view allows the viewer to feel like they are conquering space (2011:9).

During his posting to Penetanguishene, Dartnell also became interested in the contemporary political situation of the Great Lakes Anishinaabe people who had fought alongside the British in the War of 1812 but who, after the war, found themselves on the American side of the newly established border. The Potawatomi, residing in what had become Michigan, at first appealed to the British to protect their territories from the Americans and later sought refuge in Upper Canada (de Pencier 1987:45).⁴⁵ Dartnell did several ethnographic depictions of the Potawatomi and their birch bark lodges during his time at Penetanguishene (de Pencier 1987: *figures 56. and 62.*). While most of the images produced by Dartnell while in Penetanguishene provide details of the dense forests, the pine trees that line the banks of Penetanguishene Bay, and the topographical features that

⁴⁵ For a full discussion of the migration of the Potawatomi from the United States and their refuge in Upper Canada see Clifton (1975).

surround the garrison, his portraits of the Potawatomi lack any recognizable setting. As seen in Figure 12, *A Potawatomi with spear, 1838*, the figure of a blank-faced man in full warrior regalia is placed against a blank ground, anticipating the portrait-type ethnographic photographs that represented Indigenous peoples as exotic racial and cultural stereotypes later in the nineteenth century (Edwards 1992). Dartnell's hasty sketch becomes a form of visual evidence of the "savage" races and their inevitable disappearance that, according to his perspective, needed to be recorded as quickly as possible. Although this non-scientific image may have influenced future scientific-ethnographic forms of recording others, the depiction of feathers as part of indigenous costume was a long-established trope of Indian alterity and savagery found in the earliest images of Indigenous peoples produced in the Americas (Sturtevant 1976). As well, the impressionistic style of the image and the lack of detail is a kind of "reductive process" through which stereotypes of Indians were often produced by tourists or military artists in the colonies (Phillips 2004:602). In this next section, I turn to the examination of several nineteenth-century accounts of the Penetanguishene and Georgian Bay area to demonstrate how travel/exploration reports, like picture-making practices, framed both indigenous landscapes and their inhabitants through a series of established European tropes of wild places and wild peoples.

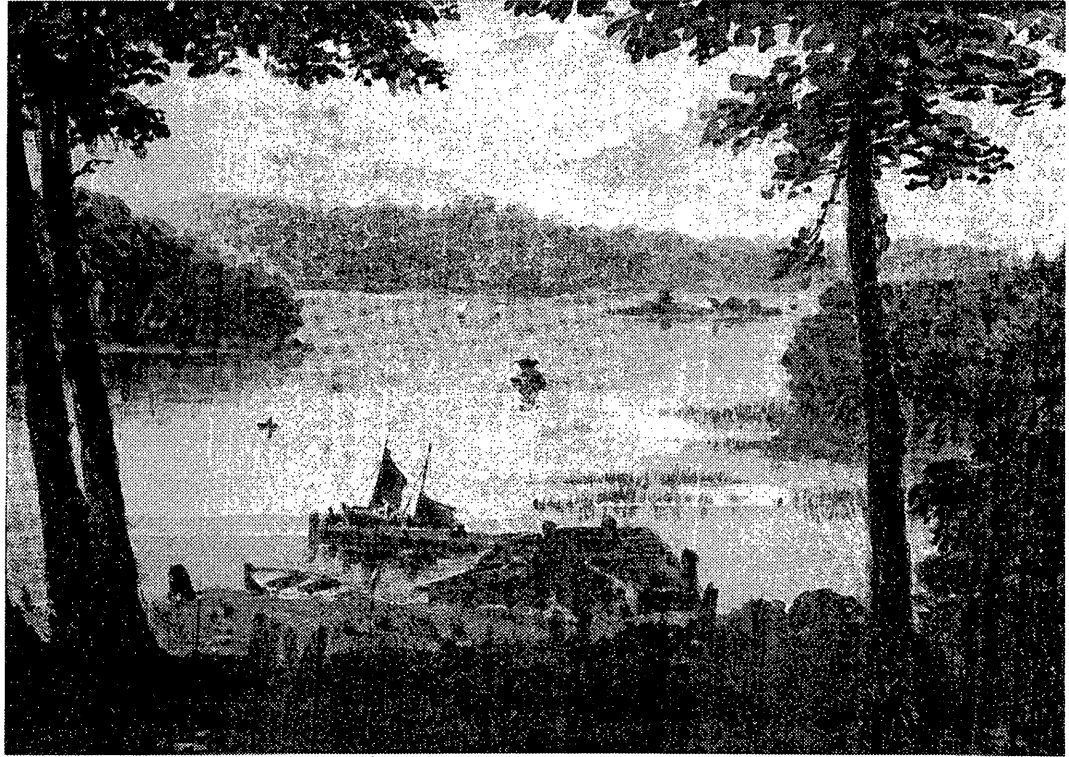


Figure 11 G. R. Dartnell *Penetanguishene Bay*, 1837 (de Pencier 1987:46).



Figure 12 G. R. Darnnell *A Potawatomi with Spear*, 1838 (de Pencier 1987:47).

Landscape Surveys

Travel accounts of Penetanguishene and the area to its north can be considered as discursive strategies, a genre of writing that has been well documented by historical anthropologists as a means to articulate colonial relations of domination and produce

forms of knowledge that enabled and perpetuated rule (Blackburn 2000:10; Dirks 1992; Pratt 1985, 2003; Said 1978; Thomas 1994). An example of fact-making through colonial travel surveys can be seen in the eye-witness account of Frederick Henry Baddeley. In 1835, the Lieutenant governor of Upper Canada, Sir John Colborne, ordered an exploratory expedition to investigate the possibility of settling the shores and islands of Lake Huron to the northwest and northeast of Penetanguishene, as far as Lake Nippising. This government-sponsored colonial project was led by the soldier and geologist Baddeley, and included a group of surveyors traveling in canoes paddled by Indian guides. The explorers mapped the natural features of the area and cut and continued a survey line between the Home and Newcastle districts of Upper Canada, examining the soil for its potential for farming and settlement as they traveled. While the mission of the expedition was ostensibly to search for arable land for settlement, the survey is typical of the colonial period in its mapping of multiple aspects of culture and landscape as part of a single colonial project. The expedition resulted in the publication of a report that identifies the varieties of tree species located in the dense forests and the geological features, as well as including mappings of the celestial landscape, such as bearings taken of the pole star and the sun—all as a means to lay claim to the land. The report contrasts the loamy fertile soil of the undulating hills and valleys of the Penetanguishene area with the red and yellow sandy soil that barely covers the large outcroppings of granite of the Precambrian Shield to the north, which the report suggests would prove difficult to farm.

Although Baddeley's report is given in a dispassionate voice that aims to recount objective geographical knowledge, placed within the lines of the report are affective

judgments about the quality of the “untamed” landscape. Fertile soil is described as good, while sandy soil is indifferent or unpleasant and barren. The report demonstrates how, to imperial observers in the nineteenth century, “new landscapes”—including subterranean spaces—became readable as texts (Zeller 2000). Furthermore, Baddeley’s words also reflect the belief that the geography, geology, botany and agriculture of the colonized world were “natural orders” that could be known and thereby defined through the senses (Pratt 1985:144, Cohn 1996). The explorers listen for the echoes of their voices as a means to map out the bays they travel through, and the unbroken, natural, indigenous landscape was made tractable through their gaze: “The ground has a most rugged and unfarmed like appearance, and its only when you look from it to the smooth waters of the bay and its little picturesque island, that the eye becomes pleased” (Baddeley 1836-7:22). Baddeley’s report ends with a series of numbered facts about the landscape that the explorer and his crew derived through the use of their scientific instruments. The sextant, the well-regulated chronometer and the agricultural probe described by Baddeley were all essential tools for transcribing Aboriginal territory—both above and below the ground—into colonized land. Yet both forms of colonial epistemology—the affective and the scientific—are conjoined in the way they present the colonizer’s view as distanced, natural and universal (Pels & Salemink 1999:4). Pratt, in her discussion of travel writing of this period, sees a sharp contrast between what she calls the “sentimental” and “information” traditions of writing. In the sentimental form, the traveler is the protagonist and main character in the account that produces knowledge of the other not through the use of science but via the traveler’s personal experiences (1985:150). She makes the case

that this kind of “subject-centered, experiential discourse” (1985:153) presented a challenge to “scientific, informational travel writing,” revealing the “polyphonous” nature of nineteenth-century travel writing (1985:160).

An example of the more sentimental form of discursive strategy as a mode of producing knowledge about Aboriginal peoples in Upper Canada at mid-century is Richard Bonnycastle’s description of Penetanguishene and Georgian Bay found in his travel memoir *Canada and the Canadians*, published in 1848. Bonnycastle, a military-trained engineer, surveyor, geologist and artist, was a member of the emerging middle class of the imperial military bourgeois of this period (Raudzens 2000). Although his travel description of Upper Canada is offered in a personal memoir, a footnote to the text lets readers know that he was asked by the government to report on the condition of the indigenous population. Similarly to Baddeley, the vocabulary Bonnycastle uses to describe the region rests on an established iconography of wild peoples and places:

Penetanguishene is at present the *ultima Thule* of the British military posts in North America. It borders on the great wilderness of the North, and on that backbone of primary rocks running from the Alleghenies, across the thousand island of the St. Lawrence, to the unknown interior of the northern verge of Lake Superior. (Bonnycastle 1848:154-5)

The Latin phrase *ultima Thule* is an interesting choice of words here, as it links Penetanguishene (the New World) with an Old World imaginary tradition of wild, northern spaces. The *ultima Thule* is defined as “a distant unknown region, the extreme limit of travel and discovery” (OED online 2009, *ultima Thule*) and was often located on medieval cartographies as an imaginary place existing beyond the borders of the known

world. Mason (1990), in his study of the deep roots of literary constructions of the other, has called this a “double reduction construction,” a way of bringing together the old and new worlds within a single frame (25). McKay (2011), in her survey of artistic depictions of the Canadian landscape from initial contact in the sixteenth century until the twentieth century, identifies how these representations are deeply embedded in larger, established western discourses and conventions of landscape depiction. Gathering together a wide range of landscape images over a vast period of time she points out how numerous landscape images render Canadian geography as a civilized space surrounded by wilderness where strange and dangerous peoples reside. McKay suggests that this “nomadic” concept of geography can be traced back to Homer, but took on new currency during the Renaissance with the exploration, conquest and settlement of distant lands and that the “nomadic conception of landscape supported the creation of an empire” (2011:81). As well, from the end of the eighteenth century into the first half of the nineteenth century the “nomadic” idea of territory became enhanced by the contemporary ideals of the Romantic Movement that influenced a burgeoning travel industry that sold adventures in foreign lands like Canada (McKay 2011).

Jasen (1995), in her study of tourism in Ontario during the nineteenth century, also notes that the phrase *ultima Thule* was an established trope was still in use during this period and was often found in travel literature, which was used to describe the Upper Great Lakes region as lying beyond the boundaries of the colonized, civilized frontier. Lake Superior, Lake Michigan and northern Lake Huron were regular settings for adventure and wilderness travel that was intrinsically bound up with nineteenth-century

imperialism. Early tourists to the region sought a romantic idyll within the Canadian landscape and, not unlike military artists and government-sponsored surveyors, they actualized or turned their touristic experiences into facts through the documentation and publication of personal travel narratives or diaries that became popular reading in contemporary Britain (i.e. Jameson 1838; Jasen 1995).

The iconography used to represent the forest setting in the various travel and exploration accounts of the Upper Great Lakes region was, however, configured in often-contradictory ways. On the one hand, the woods were represented in text and images as an idealized, primitive space suggestive of an unspoiled, new-born world of a past time. On the other hand, the forest could be a place of claustrophobic darkness and danger, inhabited by “wild” animals and peoples (Jamieson 1839:444). McKay does not see these two representations of Canadian geography as necessarily contradictory. Images that produced knowledge about Canada for potential settlers from Europe incorporated two views within a single frame, one that is available for settlement and the other permanently “wild” or untamed (McKay 2011). Other writers have noted how, beginning with the Jesuit *Relations* in the seventeenth century, travel, missionary and exploration reports on Georgian Bay created parallels between the hostile, wild and uncultivated landscape and the perceived wildness and uncultivated nature of the bodies and souls of the indigenous inhabitants (Blackburn 2000; Campbell 2002:39). Yet these contrary tropes of wild landscapes and peoples intersected in their underlying assumption that the local Native peoples were doomed to extinction and that Euro-Canadian expansionism and concomitant civilization would ultimately triumph (Hutchings 2009).

This rhetoric cannot be disengaged from nineteenth-century civilizing missions and their connection to the establishment of the taxonomies of race and difference that circulated between colony and metropole (Thorne 1997). Only a few years after Bonnycastle and Baddeley observed and recorded the landscape of Penetanguishene and the areas north of it, Bishop Strachan, an Anglican missionary, visited this same region. He traveled from the Military Establishment at Penetanguishene to the rocky islands to the north in Georgian Bay to see for himself how the Anglican missions were progressing, because, as described in the previous chapter, the civilizing missions were in full effect during the post-1830 period in Upper Canada (Milloy 1983; Upton 1973). Like Baddeley, Strachan describes the rocky islands with their lack of vegetation and shrubs, what he calls the “sterility” and “melancholy” nature of the coasts, and the “wretched” condition of the Georgian Bay landscape. In a letter from Manitoulin Island to the chief justice of Upper Canada, dated 1842, he asks, “for what purpose were such regions of absolute barrenness created,” then quickly answers his own question with the retort, “faith suggests that under an administration infinitely aware and good some necessary purpose is served by their existence” (Strachan 1842:np).⁴⁶ As Pratt notes, colonial travel narratives often used a literary form that moved from description to reverie, anticipating, as is the case in this example, an allusion to prospects for missionary activity (Pratt 1985:145). In addition, missionary reports and land surveys, as varied forms of discursive strategies, need to be considered as intrinsically linked to the economic mandates of

⁴⁶ This letter, along with the rest of Strachan’s correspondence from this particular trip (AO F983.1 MS 35 reel 4) was brought to my attention by Peter Davis a volunteer at the Huronia Museum, Midland who did the transcription.

colonial rule. Both Baddeley's government-sponsored fact-making report and Strachan's personal letters are underpinned by a belief that land is worthless unless it has potential for capital expansion. As Pratt has described, nineteenth-century exploration and travel writing join an expanding interest in documenting the natural history of the globe with a simultaneous focus on capitalist economic expansion (1985:144).

The underground, with its mining resources, was an essential source for capitalist expansion. Travel descriptions of Georgian Bay, just north of Penetanguishene, reveal that colonial efforts to control territory included not only the surface landscape but also the vertical dimensions of indigenous geography. Bonnycastle, visiting the region twelve years after Baddeley, gives a vivid description of his predecessor's mapping and appropriation of the underground landscape. In the following passage Bonnycastle's discursive geography is linked with Baddeley's embodied practices of underground exploration, both of which constitute forms of colonial knowledge production:

The plan adopted was to cut out this line, and diverge occasionally from it to the right and left, until a great extent of unknown land on the east, and the distance between it and Lake Huron, which contained a large portion of the Chippewa Indian hunting-grounds, was thoroughly surveyed.

In performing so arduous a task, much privation and many obstacles occurred—forests, swamps, rivers, lakes, rocky ridges—all had to be passed.

To the eastward of the main line, and for some distance to the westward, good land appeared: and, as the agricultural probe was freely used, chance was not permitted to sway. The agricultural probe is an instrument, which I first saw slung over my friend Badley's shoulders and of his invention. It is a sort of huge screw gimblet, or auger, which readily penetrates the ground by being worked with a long cross-handle, and brings up the subsoil in a groove to a considerable depth. Specimens of the soil and of rocks and minerals were collected, and a plan was adopted which is a useful lesson to future explorers. A small piece of linen or cotton, about four inches square, had two pieces of twin sewed on opposite

corners, and the cloth was marked in printers ink, from stamps, with figures 1 to 300. A knapsack was provided, and the specimens were reduced to a size small enough to be carefully tied up in one of these numbered square clothes; and, as the specimens were collected, they were entered in the journal as a number and locality, strata, dip and appearance. Thus a vast number of small specimens could be brought on a man's back, and examined at leisure. (Bonnycastle 1848:158-9)

As this description demonstrates, imperial geographical sense-making projects—including archaeology, as I suggest in this thesis—often entailed the excavation and collection of samples that were to be “brought on a man's back” and “studied at leisure” to be transformed into European or Euro-Canadian cultural knowledge. Performed at the micro-level, these subtle transformations of the underground landscape were connected to the larger macro-imperial networks of knowledge production. As Hall describes:

Settlers had to become colonizers, had to learn how to define and manage the new world they were creating. Whether as missionaries, colonial officials, bounty hunters, planters, doctors or military men, they were in the business of creating new societies, *wrenching* what they had found into something different. (Hall 2000:13, emphasis added)

Like their land, Aboriginal peoples—observed, drawn, described and classified in Penetanguishene and the areas north of it—were also seen by Euro-Canadians as being in need of transformation. Descriptions of the Ojibwa/Chippewa who hunted these supposedly unsettled lands are a subtext to the narrative of nature and the potential for capitalist expansion and geological science. However, documentary reports and images were not simply reflections of European pre-established notions of what constituted civilized landscape and peoples. On the contrary, colonial surveys and reports were spaces where imperial ideas of what it meant to be civilized were produced and

sharpened (Perry 2003:590; Stoler 2009). In Baddeley's geological survey, the dense description of the landscape results in the background and the foreground becoming reversed, as the colonized play what Stoler has described in another context as "only walk on roles" (2009:275). Pratt too has noted how travel journals and reports from this period devote more attention to descriptions of the "face of the country" than to descriptions of the people encountered. Like the image of the Potawatomi in Dartnell's sketch seen in Figure 12, imperial travel writing often "textually split off" Indigenous peoples from the territory they inhabited (1985:145).⁴⁷

In the following cartography of colonialism, Baddeley shifted his gaze from the geographic to the ethnographic. Here, he describes a "spectacle" performed in Penetanguishene in 1836, on the occasion of the distribution of presents to the peoples of the Great Lakes who were former military allies of the British Empire. The Potawatomi tribe, pleading their case to the colonial Indian agents gathered at Penetanguishene, are described by Baddeley as a species to be observed, and like the land they are to be cultivated and civilized:

We were invited to see an Indian War Dance performed by a party of Pottawattamis Indians who having been lately driven from their own territory were now seeking a refuge in ours. They were dressed or rather undressed, after the fashion of their savage tribes, with the usual proportion of red paint, feathers, and tattooing. Some of their young men, whose faces were abundantly covered with the first of these, were mistaken by some of our party for young women, a mistake that the absence of all beard served to render more natural. This dance

⁴⁷ Extant maps created by the Native peoples of the Great Lakes region in the nineteenth century, now in museum collections, demonstrate widespread indigenous map-making traditions. Inscribed on birch bark, these maps confirm the efficiency with which the Ojibwa and Algonquian peoples communicated through picture writing, using symbolic and representational elements, and the extent to which the land was known, named and inhabited (Warhus 1997:10-14).

was the first of the kind I ever saw, and it excited my desire to not to see another for it gave me too humble an opinion of the species-in general in its original and uneducated stated. It is degrading to see men, whose natural intellects are so good, making fools of them. The practice, however, now is much discouraged, particularly by those Indian who are converted Christianity, and their religious instructors. (Baddeley 1837:11)

Nearly a decade after Baddeley witnessed the giving of the presents at Penetanguishene, the colonial administration shut down the reserve at Coldwater and the Narrows described in the previous chapter, and under the Indian Agent Anderson the Indians were removed to a new Establishment at Manitoulin Island, to both isolate Aboriginal peoples and to protect them from further land encroachments by settlers, as well as to settle them as part of the larger civilizing mission of this period. In the following passage from Bonnycastle's travel narrative, a description of the transformation of Penetanguishene reveals the colonial logic that justified the removal of Aboriginal peoples while denying any claims to rights they may have had as citizens.

Penetanguishene, pronounced by the Indians Pen-et-awn-gu-shene, "The Bay of the White Rolling Sand," is a magnificent harbour, about three miles in length, narrow and land-locked completely by hills on each side. There is always a steam-vessel of war, of a small class, with others in ordinary, stores and appliances, a small military force, hospital and commissariat, an Indian interpreter, and a surgeon. But the presents are no longer given out here, as in 1837 and previously, to the wild tribes; so that, to see the Indian in perfection you must take the annual over night trader, and sail to the Grand Manitoulin Island, about a hundred miles on the northern shore of Lake Huron, where, at Manitou-awanning, there is a large settlement of Indian people, removed thither by the government to keep them from being plundered of their presents by the Whites, who were in the habit of giving whiskey and tobacco for their blankets, rifles, clothing, axes, knives, and other useful articles, with which, by treaty, they are annually supplied. (Bonnycastle 1848:147)

Bonnycastle goes on to describe daily life at the Military Establishment at Penetanguishene. He expresses his surprise at the lack of drinking and gambling. He accounts for this by commenting on the British army's policy of recruiting married men for this British post. As well, a school and library with "selected books" was created for the men and their families by the local commanding officer, who also encouraged gardening, cricket and other games throughout all the seasons: "he knew how to keep their minds engaged" (1848:153). It was during this period that Dr. Edward W. Bawtree was stationed at Penetanguishene as the medical surgeon. To keep his mind "engaged," and to respond to the larger imperial demands that medical doctors engage in collecting and surveying, he scoured the landscape and worked with local informants to identify archaeological sites in the region. Discovering traces of the past in the landscape, he excavated Huron-Wendat burials, documented their contents, and then sent his observations, images and objects back to his military superiors in the metropole. Yet, as I suggest in the next section of this chapter, Bawtree's archaeological activities need to be considered within the same colonial context as the other mapping and surveying projects undertaken by the army's trained engineers, surveyors and doctors, described above. Colonial maps, travel reports, images and archaeological surveys were all "conceptually and politically tethered projects" of knowledge production. These diverse projects "cut across the imperial globe" (Stoler 2009:132) and "constitute an imaginary and physical space in which the inclusions and exclusions built in to the notions of citizen, sovereignty and participation were worked out" (Cooper & Stoler 1997:3).

Archaeological Surveys and the Production of Facts

The colonial military imperative to collect and classify human and natural history objects no doubt influenced Dr. Edward W. Bawtree's collecting practices in Penetanguishene. Trained as a military surgeon at the military college at Fort Pitt Chatham, he would have been exposed to the vast collections of anatomical and natural history specimens there, as well as drawings and maps donated by military men from all over the colonies that formed a museum in the front hall of the academy (Kauffman 2006). Begun as a collection of anatomical and pathological specimens, the museum at the Royal Army College soon expanded to include natural historical items, botanical items and mineral samples. A circular sent to Medical Army Officers stationed in the colonies, found in the archives of the Royal Army Medical Core (RAMC), London, specifies that the inspector of hospitals "requires" every individual member of the Medical department to make collections to "cultivate comparisons" of morbid anatomy, to execute drawings, to help create natural history collections, and to furnish "communications for the contemporary scientific journals" (RAMC 1826). By 1833, the Royal Army Medical College at Fort Pitt had assembled a museum collection that included 14,000 human anatomy and natural history specimens, as well as a large collection of maps drawings and paintings. The collection—catalogued, classified, and displayed in the front hall of the college—continued to grow substantially between 1833 and 1845 (Kauffman 2006). All the artifacts were donated to the museum. There was no need to purchase specimens as the Royal Army Medical College had created a corps of

doctors and surgeons as state servants and fieldworkers, trained to contribute to the exploratory and classificatory discourses, and to collect and bring home the exotic.

Between 1846 and 1849, military assistant surgeon Edward W. Bawtree was stationed at the military Establishment at Penetanguishene. The archival record only reveals glimpses of the daily life of the military doctor at this remote post.⁴⁸ However, as Bonnycastle describes, these postings allowed for a certain amount of leisure time during which military men traveled within the area and produced observations of local geography and peoples (de Pencier 1985). Bawtree busied himself with a local archaeology project, and in 1848 Bawtree's report on his site identification and excavations appeared in the *Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal*, discussed in the introduction to this chapter. Bawtree gives the following description of the discovery of a local burial pit:

The land belongs to a Mr. Galbraith, an intelligent Highlander, who gave a very distinct account of the exploration of the pit. It had been cleared for several years, and no notice taken of the pit till the above time, when a new settler built a shanty nearly over it. A French Canadian happening to come there to work at the house, immediately recognized its peculiar appearance, and told the people that if they would dig there, they would certainly find plenty of bones and twenty-six kettles,—a prediction which was speedily verified. ... The bones were scarcely covered with earth; they were of all sizes Galbraith himself made a rough calculation of their number by counting the skulls from measured space, which gave to the whole no less than fifteen hundred; though they undoubtedly amounted to several hundreds. They were in good preservation; on some pieces of tendon still remained, and the joints of the small bones in some cases were unseparated [*sic*]. It was noticed that only a few of the skulls bore marks of violence. One which was exposed in our presence had a circular perforation on the top resembling a bullet hole, and other, it had been observed, bore the appearance of having been "tomahawked." (1848:90-91)

⁴⁸ See "The Migration of Voyageurs from Drummond Island to Penetanguishene in 1828," by A.C. Osborne, published in Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records, Volume 2, 1901 Toronto 123-166.

Here we see how land in the region during this period had already been appropriated from its indigenous inhabitants and was owned as property by not only a European but also an intelligent one. His intelligence is demonstrated by his ability to survey the pit and count the bones. Galbraith's European intelligence is contrasted with the French Canadian's unscientific, affective or traditional knowledge of the landscape, which guides him to the pits; the rational and the sensory are juxtaposed in the search for what lays beneath the ground.

Scott suggests that the colonial interest in the underground landscape, while bound up with capitalist expansion and developing scientific knowledge production, was also governed by established European imaginaries of what lay beneath the surface of the earth (2008). Running parallel to colonial discourses of modernity and rational science were western superstitions about buried treasure and fantastical notions about subterranean peoples and geographies (Scott 2008). Settlers, turning the soil for cultivation and accidentally disinterring Aboriginal graves, as well as local curiosity seekers with more directed aims of forming bone collections, were often also in search of buried treasure, and they would consult with local indigenous inhabitants for information about the location of burial grounds and village sites (Osborne 1901). McClintock (1995), in her analysis of representations of colonial South African mining, suggests that this form of underground exploitation has been figured as European and therefore masculine,

progressive and rational, in contradistinction to a feminized Indigenous knowledge that does not recognize or have the ability to exploit natural resources.⁴⁹

McClintock begins her book with a psychoanalytic analysis of a buried treasure map, one of the “scores of treasure maps that emblazon colonial narratives” (1995:2). The map of the route to King Solomon’s mines, she suggests, supports contradictory readings. The map is from a novel and thus is fiction, but is still representative and relevant. On the one hand, it represents male, imperial authority over the female body that, once easily traversed, leads to the mining treasure-capital found beneath the ground. On the other hand, an inverted reading places the colonized woman’s body upside down, thereby making the treasure inaccessible. She concludes that the complex and contradictory nature of imperial projects is such that imperial power cannot exist without its opposition—anti-imperial power (McClintock 1995:8). I point out this interpretation of treasure maps not only because of archaeology’s association with the search for treasure but also because the map that McClintock reproduces in her book has features in common with the small map found on the image that accompanies Bawtree’s article, which is reproduced at the beginning of this chapter. Both maps use stylized conventions to denote pits, paths and directions, but neither map provides substantial context, demonstrating the relationship between the scientific, the imaginative and the archaeological.

⁴⁹ For a further discussion on gender and colonized geography, see Blunt & Gillian (1994).

Returning to Bawtree's archaeological report, we can identify a similarly detailed yet detached and distanced description of one of the "pits" he excavated:

The form of the pit is circular, with an elevated margin; it is about fifteen feet in diameter, and, before it was opened, was probably nine feet deep, from the level of its margin to the centre and bottom; its shape, in one word, funnel-shaped. It is situated on the top of a gentle rise, with a shallow ravine on the east side, through which, at certain seasons, runs a small stream. At the present time, there is nothing peculiar or striking in its position, except, that, perhaps the spot being nearly central on the peninsula which extends into Lake Huron, between Gloucester and Nottawasaga Bays, and which is deeply indented by Thunder Bay and Penetanguishene Harbour, and from both which bays the spot is nearly equidistant. The locality is not elevated above the surrounding country; the soil is light, free from stones and dry a permanent stream runs within a quarter of a mile to Nottawasaga Bay; and there is a fine spring of water within a few hundred years. The character of the bush surrounding it seems similar to that elsewhere; the timber is generally of hardwood, and well used; a small ironwood tree, about two inches in diameter grows in the centre of the pit. (Bawtree 1848:87)

Pratt points out how words like "fine," as in "there is a fine spring of water," suggest the landscape's potential for future colonization or capitalist development, sought out and identified by the knowing I/eye (1985:144), and how these kinds of words are part of an established vocabulary used in travel and exploration narratives from this period.

In the following passage from his report, we see Bawtree musing on Huron origins while also creating a racial taxonomy of the Indigenous peoples of the region:

For the origins of these sepulchral pits (for that appears the most appropriate name to give them) we must refer to the time when the Huron tribe of Indians inhabited this part of the country. That they are connected with a form of sepulture in use among these original occupants of the soil, there can be little doubt, although the exact explanation of each does not seem to be quite so satisfactory, owing to some apparent inconsistency, which will be presently notice in the character of the deposit found in them.

As relics of a nearly extinct race of Indians, these remains are highly interesting; for although a remnant of the original Hurons still remains in the neighborhood of Quebec, they have long since entirely disappeared from the shores of their own lake. It is now Iroquois, and these again have been expelled by the Ojibbeway[sic] or Chippeway Indian, who came down from Lake Superior, and whose claim to the land must have been of distant date, as it was by them ceded to the Crown; and though they so lately owned the country. And still occupy that in the immediate neighborhood, they hold no traditions concerned these pits, and have no customs that show any connection to them. The Chippeways have ever formed a wandering nation, without any settled residences. Their habits have little interest; but the Hurons were far different. One of the most powerful and numerous of the Indians tribes of “new France” the French were glad of their alliance. They found them, Charlevoix says, spirited enterprising, industrious and brave, with considerable ingenuity and eloquence. (1848:94)

Looking at the underlying logic of this account, we see how the Huron are figured as relics, inert and powerless as dead artifacts. Yet, they are made to be autochthonous, “the original inhabitants of the soil.” This designation works to separate imagined seventeenth-century Huron-Wendat peoples from the contemporary nineteenth-century Ojibwa or Chippewa, whose “claim to the land” is secondary to that of the Huron and therefore illegitimate. While the Chippewa are regarded as an “unsettled” and “wandering” nation, the Huron are, according to Bawtree, “powerful,” “spirited,” “enterprising,” “industrious” and “brave.” As discussed in the previous chapter, not only physical but also moral categories were essential to the formation of the racial categories that justified colonial rule. While the Algonquian peoples are described as wanderers and of “no interest,” the Huron, as farmers and former allies of the Jesuits, bear characteristics that are more closely aligned with British moral values.

Bawtree’s interest in the “relics” or the “scraps” of once “great” peoples can be compared to Alexander Humboldt’s interest in the archaeological remains he encountered

in his travels to America (Pratt 2003) or the studies of ancient India produced by the British surveyor Col. Colin Mackenzie (Cohn 1996; Wagner 2003). Humboldt's copious descriptions and images of archaeological sites brought unknown or forgotten ancient civilizations to the attention of Europe in the early nineteenth century. Pratt suggests that Humboldt's interest in American antiquity:

Valorizes America by European standards-it too had its great cities, but, by the same token, it reduces current American societies to vestiges of a glorious past. In this framework, disruptions and transformation of indigenous ways of life do not destroy anything of current value but simply dispose of scraps or leftovers in preparation for a new transformation. (1992:149)

Furthermore, by conducting archaeological research and replacing or "transforming" existing systems of history, Bawtree produced knowledge that created a violent fissure in the established historical ground of the First Nations who inhabited the land that became Simcoe County. As one writer notes, "There can be no significant continuities across the great rift generated by colonial knowledge, for all indigenous forms of knowledge and bodies of cultural practice are effectively superseded and displaced through the imposition of new imported epistemes" (Wagner 2003:784). Cohn, in his study of the "investigative modalities" produced by colonizers in India, identifies the "power to define the nature of the past" as "one of the most significant instrumentalities of rulership" (1996:10). Archaeology in Upper Canada, as I argue throughout this thesis, was complicit in this process of constructing new pasts and origins—an essential form of knowledge production that was bound up with the colonial displacement of Native peoples from their lands. Furthermore, Bawtree utilizes these

seventeenth-century reports to make imperial sense out of the bones and artifacts he excavates, and his archaeological survey might be therefore understood as doubly politically charged. Pratt describes this power of archaeology as follows:

European discourse of landscape deterritorializes indigenous peoples, separating them off from territories they may once have dominated, and in which they continue to make lives. The archaeological perspective is complementary. It, too, obliterates the conquered inhabitants of the contact zone as historical agents who have living continuities with pre-European pasts and historically based aspirations and claims on the present. (1992:135)

As the next section goes on to discuss, Bawtree's archaeological enterprise in Simcoe County contributed to the making of racial identities through his collection of crania. Today, in London at the Museum of Natural Science, his collection of skulls excavated in and around Penetanguishene remain as part of the Williamson crania collection. Imperial military medicine during this period produced facts within a number of domains. Through the colonial gaze, land was surveyed, depicted, described, comparisons were made and objects were identified as tangible evidence of racial hierarchies and difference.

The Cultivation of Comparisons

In a handwritten ledger, now kept in the library of the Natural History Museum in London, the curator of the Army Medical Museum at Fort Pitt, Surgeon-Major George Williamson, neatly recorded the details of the Fort Pitt Museum collection of 450 human crania, which he would publish as one of the first works on the ethnological implications

of craniometry.⁵⁰ Between the documentation of a “Skull of a Parriah lowest class” and the skull of a “mandingo...the best formed of the negroes in the collection,” we find the offerings of Dr. Edward W. Bawtree: five Indian skulls, probably Huron, collected in the vicinity of Lake Huron (Williamson 1850:np). Collecting skulls, measuring them, ordering them and “forming comparisons” was, according to Williamson in the introduction to his ledger, “the only way to become intimately acquainted with the subject” (Williamson, undated). The colonial gaze was an essential tool in the “taxonomic management of things” that characterized colonial culture; the boundaries between the human and natural worlds blurred in the face of collecting and categorizing strategies (Pels 1999:175; Thomas 1994). However, these patterns were not benign, as the collecting practices of military men abroad were part of European social theories and polygenic classificatory models that were being formed during this period as a means to reshape the lives of others within the colonies and the metropole. Medical military anatomical collections were intrinsically bound up with the dislocation and appropriation of human skulls as part of “the creating of new subjects” (Stoler et al. 2007:8). Furthermore, worldwide cranial collections were enacted within a system that found its power in its ability to form schemas of classification for peoples and societies (Karp 1992:88; Peers 2009).

⁵⁰ While the Fort Pitt Collection, like many anatomical collections from this period, no longer exists, the Williamson Collection still remains intact in the Museum of Natural History. It was originally loaned by the army to Oxford University and then was moved to the Museum of Natural History in the 1940s. Only the tattooed Maori skulls were kept by Oxford, and these have become the focus of recent repatriation cases by contemporary Maori people (Fford 1992; Peers 2009).

The looting of burials all over the imperial world in the first half of the nineteenth century, performed to gather human crania for the purpose of constructing racial categories, has been well documented (Bieder 1992: Fford 1992: Gould 1980; Peers 2009). However, the very first publication to suggest the ethnological implications of craniometry was Surgeon Major George Williamson's *Catalogue of the Specimens in the Collection of Fort Pitt* (1857), which included the specimens of Huron crania "donated by Edward W. Bawtree," which were looted from burials in Penetanguishene. Arranging skulls collected from all over the colonized world into classes, Williamson used the new photographic technologies of the period—anticipating the use of photography for ethnographic documentation later in the century. In printed editions of Williamsons' book, photographs of the human crania that were looted from indigenous burials and removed from colonial medical surgeons offices all over the imperial world are individually cut and pasted into the books. Furthermore, museum accession numbers have been etched on the human skulls, giving them a new identity that placed them within a racial schema and distances them from their once-living selves (Peers 2009:85). Bodies as sites of colonial power were, as Arnold has said, "counted and categorized...disciplined, discoursed upon and dissected" and turned into "facts" (1993:9). Today, the Williamson collection is part of the battle being waged in Britain over the legal, moral and scientific issues that surround the repatriation of human remains (Peers 2007, 2009). In the next section of this chapter, I analyze how archaeological images contributed to the production of scientific data about colonized peoples and their pasts. As the following discussion on the production and circulation of Dr. Bawtree's

archaeological illustrations suggests, once examined, these images poised as objective, documentary sources reveal their embeddedness in the colonial imagination.

Archaeology and Visual Data

Sociologists of science have documented how, during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, images were seen by emerging scientists as “readable as constructions of visual knowledge” (Jones & Galison 1998:6). Scientific illustrations, including archaeological images—as a means to produce facts—were often more significant, vibrant and enduring than the text itself (Bateman 2006; Daston & Galison 1992:86; Moser 1992). However, scholars from a variety of disciplines have also questioned how scientific observation and the production of scientific images become standardized (Daston & Galison 2007), how knowledge was predicated on sight, and how as appropriate for codification as “visual data” (Blum 1993:11; Evans and Hall 1996:6; Lynch & Woolgar 1990; Lynch 1985). Examining the production of archaeological images in the nineteenth century, Lewuillon (2002) describes a shift in the way that archaeological images produced knowledge of the past. Earlier European archaeological illustrations aimed to create artifact types, rendering excavated materials as devoid of rust, dirt, deterioration or restoration. This was followed by a more “objective” form of archaeological illustration that tried to distance archaeology from the more romantic understandings of prehistory and make the images appear to be more objective and scientific (231).

Far from the excavations being undertaken in Europe, Dr. Bawtree and his local assistants in Penetanguishene were confronted with similar issues when faced with the

visual mechanics of how to present a group of excavated objects in a way that would reflect objective, scientific knowledge. However, the images in Bawtree's collection also reflect the more ethnographic aspects of his archaeological excavation and documentation. By assembling his collection, seeking out racial typologies and shaping his "finds" into new forms of knowledge, Bawtree's archaeology was an observation and documentary project concerned with Aboriginal peoples and their pasts that, in many ways, anticipated later academic ethnographic fieldwork methodologies (Fabian 1983; Pratt 1985; Pels & Salemink 1999:7). The Archives of Ontario holds a collection of 24 as yet unpublished pencil, pen and watercolour images that document the pottery, stone and iron tools, and European trade goods found in the burials opened up by Dr. Bawtree.⁵¹ When the naval surgeon returned to England after his posting in Penetanguishene, he took his collection of human crania, artifacts and these illustrations with him. Medical doctors were called upon to observe, document and move collections along the established circuits of imperial knowledge production during the nineteenth century. Towards the end of his life, Bawtree sent this group of images back to Canada for his "scientific" archaeological observations to become part of the collections of the newly established Canadian Institute, the first professionalized society for archeologists in Canada, and to become embedded in the history of archaeology in Ontario (Bawtree, Canadian Institute Collection nd.; Killan 1998).

Pels and Salemink (1999) suggest that to fully understand colonial relationships, the "practical relations" through which observations about Indigenous peoples by

⁵¹ Archives of Ontario Reference Code F1052-7 File Item Code F1052-7-0-1

colonizers were made should to be brought to light. Discourses like maps, surveys and images, as both forms of cultural knowledge and the material manifestations of ethnographic encounters, need to be *re-inserted* within the “historically specific relations” that came out of colonial settlement, military and missionary activities, and travel in the nineteenth century (Pels & Salemink 2009).

Some of the images in the Bawtree archive are signed with the name “Hallen,” and tracking this family’s involvement in his archaeological project gives us some purchase on the “historically specific relations” through which the images were produced. The Hallen family settled in Simcoe County in the 1830s, and the family’s journals and diaries are now in the Library and Archives of Canada. The family’s contribution to the documentation and representation of the local Ojibwa populations as well as the daily life of the settlers in Simcoe County has also been acknowledged by historians (Murdoch & Rowan 1982). George Hallen, chaplain to the military at Penetanguishene during the years in which Bawtree was posted there, aided the Jesuit Father Felix Martin (whose activities are described in the following chapter) in the identification, surveying and mapping of the ruins of the seventeenth-century Jesuit mission at Ste. Marie.⁵² In this period, women rarely drew landscapes, although some portraiture and depictions of everyday events were considered acceptable. Female artists like Hallen’s daughters were confined, for the most part, to the depiction of less outwardly politically charged topics, like flowers, butterflies and still life compositions (Murdoch & Rowan 1982:27). Mary Hallen, however, was influenced by the popular topographical art style that was taught to

⁵² This survey is in the Hallen Family Fond, Library and Archives Canada R10700-0-5-E.

surveyors and military engineers at the Royal Military academies in Britain, described above. Topographical art in the mid–nineteenth century was oriented toward “fact”-making through detailed observation, as opposed to the production of the ideal types that natural history drawing aspired to (Daston & Galison 2009; Doyon 2010 Smiles 2005:139). Figure 13 is from the Archives of Ontario collection and was most likely drawn for Dr. Bawtree by Mary Hallen. Through a careful use of scale, composition and shadows, the burial goods are rendered in a manner that presents them as scientific, stable and rational objects.

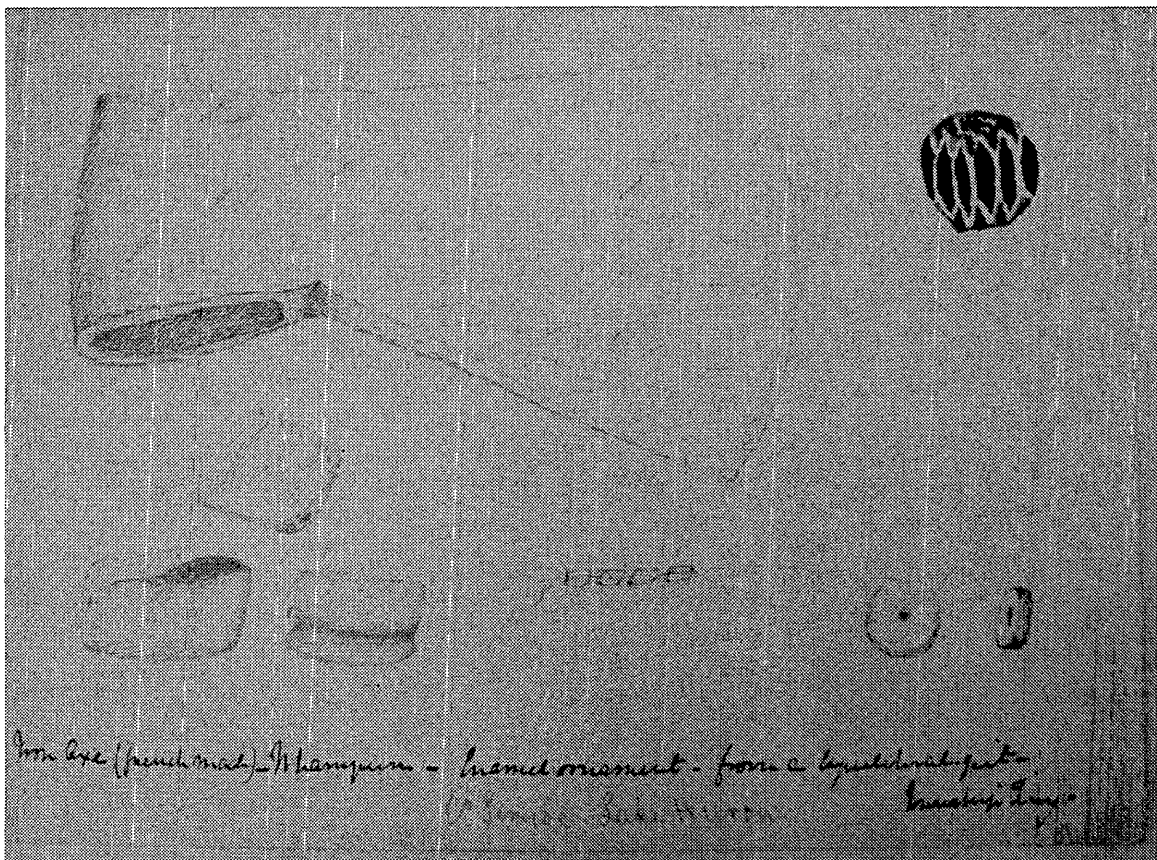


Figure 13 Mary Hallen Depiction of Iron Axe and Whampum ca 1844.(Courtesy of the Archives of Ontario F1052-7-0-1)

In Figure 14, *Contents from an Indian Grave*, letters and a brief description of each object are inserted as forms of graphic notation that provide the found bits of pottery and stone, formerly part of a indigenous burial, a Western, textual authority that disciplines the objects and turns them into archaeological artifacts (Smiles 2005:151). Figure 15 depicts objects identified as “the awl for joining the birch bark of canoes” and a “stone button,” which was more likely a stone drilled with a hole to be worn as a pendant. The use of dark pencil shading presents a different mode of vision than the previous two images. By describing their cultural functions, the image takes the awl and “stone button” out of the world of science and places them in the world of an imagined past.

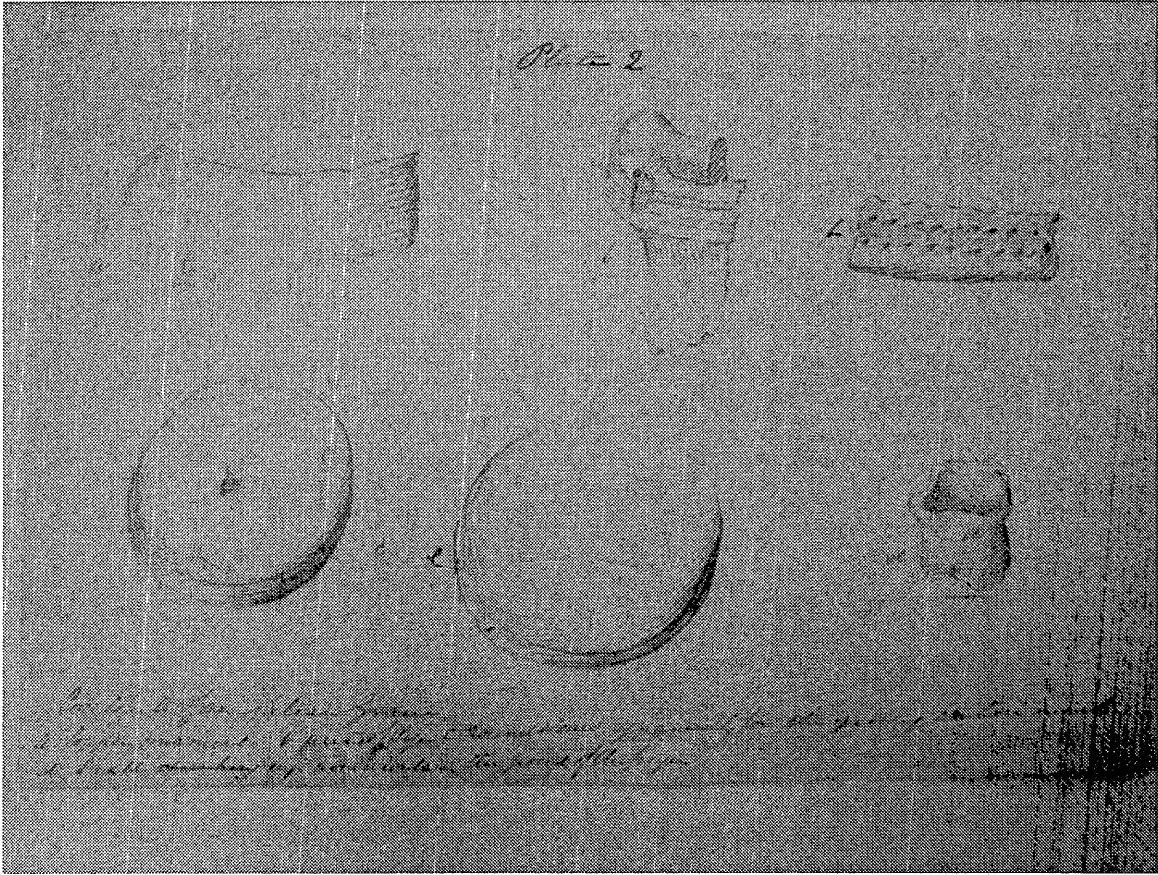


Figure 14 Mary Hallen Contents From an Indian Grave ca 1844 (Courtesy of the Archives of Ontario F1052-7-0-1)

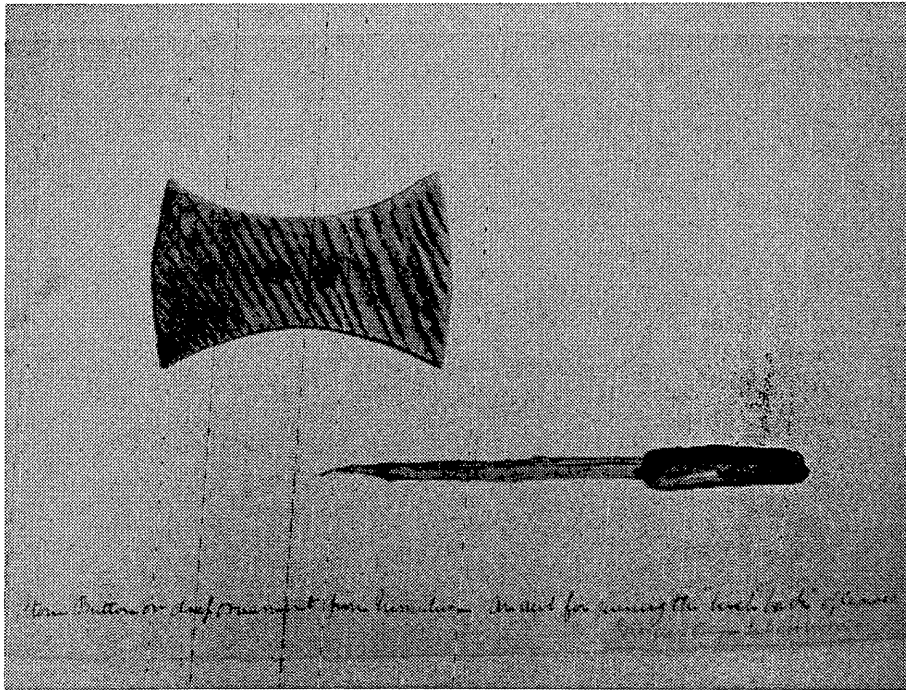


Figure 15 Mary Hallen Stone Button and Awl ca 1844. (Courtesy of the Archives of Ontario, F1052-7-0-1)

In his discussion of archaeological images and their contribution to “envisioning the past,” Smiles (2005) questions if this genre of illustration only has scientific merit through the presentation of empirical evidence, and how artistic style contributes to the presentation of mimetic and rationalized forms. He wonders how the poetic or romantic can co-exist with the scientific within an archaeological illustration. I suggest that scientific projects like Bawtree’s cannot be disengaged from the larger imaginaries concerning Indigenous peoples and their pasts and the political construction of colonial knowledge that worked to master and control local cultural forms. Mary Hallen attests to this in an 1848 entry from her diary, where she writes:

Dr. B brought up some pieces of old Indian earthenware for me to copy & to make into fancy vases or jars 7c, he showed us some he had done which looked very well but it is all gefs[guess] work as the larget [largest] pieces are not more than four inches square if so much. He must have an inventive brain. I do not feel much inclined to make elegantly shaped vases on paper that never existed when I offered to assist him I ment [meant] to copy not to invent. (cited in Murdock & Rowan 1982:27)

Figure 16 is a coloured image of a pot that demonstrates Mary's efforts to invent. The vessel has been imaginatively reconstructed from the two fragments of pottery (pictured to the right) that were found in one of the "sepulchral pits" unearthed by Bawtree. Although the detailed shading and the use of colour gives the pot a sharpness that adds to its reality, the position of the vessel hanging in the middle of the blank page emphasizes the fabricated, artificial character of the image (Smiles 2005:139).

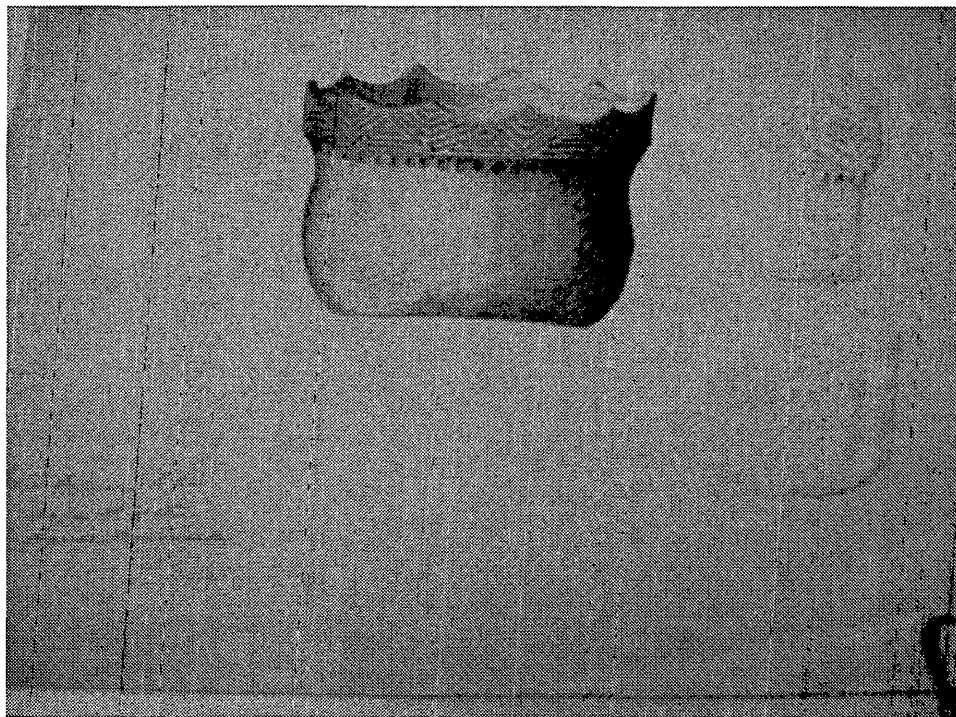


Figure 16 Mary Hallen Pottery Vessel Reconstructed from Fragment ca 1844 (Courtesy of the Archives of Ontario F1052-7-0-1)

The Hallen family also participated in the visual documentation and representation of local, Ojibwa in Simcoe County, which can be compared with these archaeological images. In a letter to the *London Illustrated News* written in 1853 and subsequently published in the metropolitan paper, the Hallen children gave an interesting account of what Pels and Salemink (1999) and Salemink (2003) have identified as an “ethnographic occasion” or actual encounter between themselves (as ethnographers) and those they wish to represent (in this case, an Aboriginal elder). The sisters document a kind of field work experience that brought them into the tent of “115-year-old” Abraham Miller, or Pirhikeeooshkeezhik, an Ojibwa Elder, where they were able to observe him and draw his portrait. While usually it was the colonial officer who had the “tent with the view” (Schumaker 1996), here the Hallens describe that Miller has pitched his tent next to their “clearing,” where they are his closest neighbors and are thus able to observe, first-hand, his daily activities. Salemink notes that even “the symptom of accessibility of others [is] created by European colonialism” (2003:19). Within close range of Miller, they give the following description: “As an instance of his strength and vigor, I may mention that on the Thursday before he died, I saw him cutting down a good –sized maple for fire wood, and as I had the axe with me, I assist him in the task” (Hallen 1853:np).

Here we see knowledge being produced concerning the colonizer and the colonized working on a joint project of land clearing. As McKay has identified in her study of colonial representation of Canadian landscapes, tree stumps are a common idiom found in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century images of the colonized landscape.

Established ideas of the picturesque, a land cleared and brought back to a more original “Edenic” state of nature both justified and rationalized settler occupation (2011:82). The Hallens do not want to simply clear land, however, but to capture on paper the image of the Elder. Comparable to the archaeological images discussed above, Mary Hallen draws a portrait of Pirhikeeooshkeezhik that is sent from the periphery of empire, Penetanguishene, to the heart of the empire (Figure 17). The letter that accompanied the sketch reiterates the established colonial notion that the presence and power of the Aboriginal people in Simcoe County was quickly diminishing. As the letter, which was published along with the sketch of Miller in the *London Illustrated News*, also acknowledges, during this period the local Ojibwa population were being denied the annual presents that had been pledged to them by the British, and increased efforts to settle and civilize them were well underway by mid-century: “The Indian are a brave loyal and contented race; their numbers indeed are fast diminishing, and they are weak & feeble as a nation” (Hallen 1853). However, as historical anthropologists have identified, ethnographic practices of observation and description—and, as I suggest, archaeological observation and classification—as linked forms of knowledge production did not just describe a situation but influenced history by creating racial types and ethnic identities that shaped forms of imperial as well as local colonial policy-making (Salemink 2003).

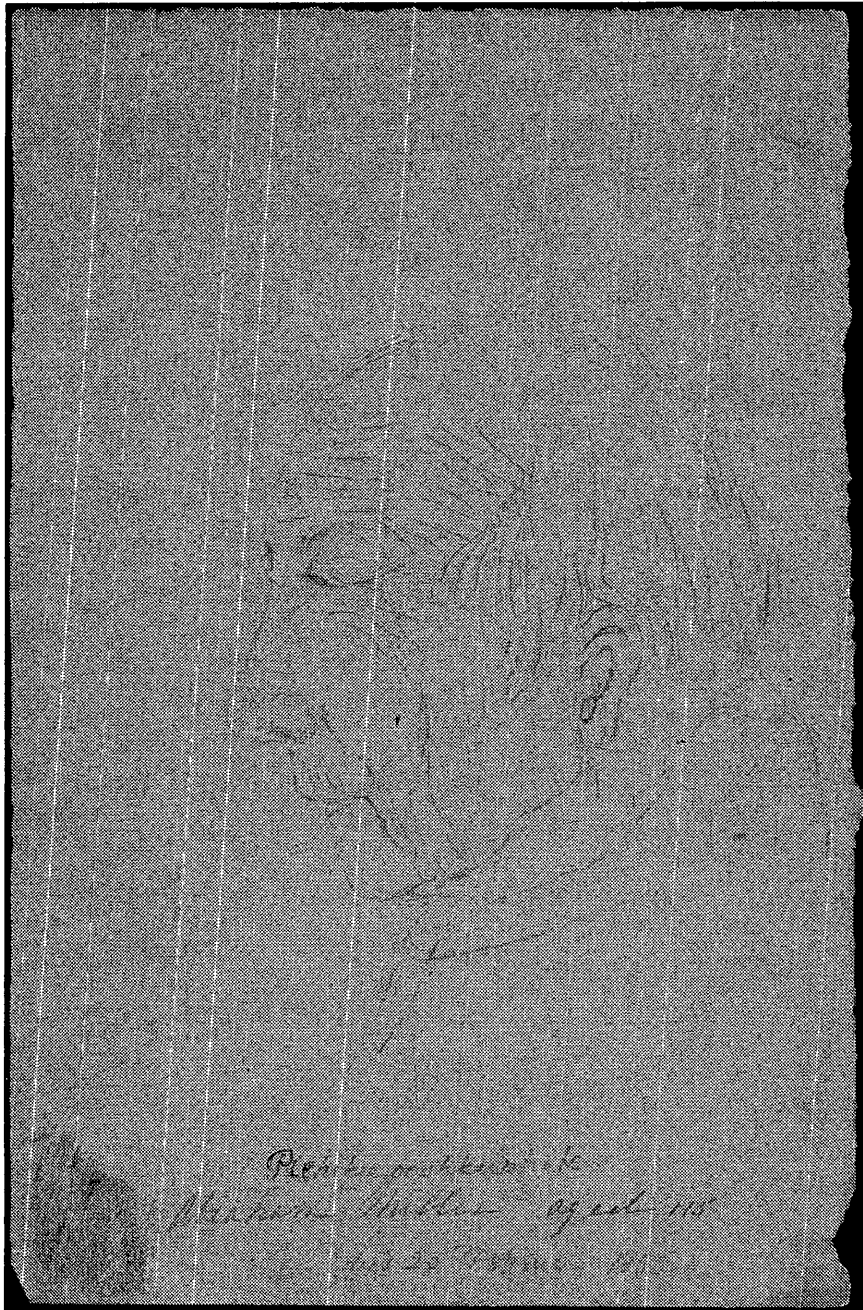


Figure 17 Portrait of Abraham Miller. (Library and Archives of Canada, File Item Code F1052-7-0-1)

Conclusion: Imperial Debris as a Force in the Present

In conclusion, this chapter has demonstrated how imperialism and the culture of production of knowledge through surveys, travel narratives, site reports and images worked in various ways to convert Penetanguishene, its land and indigenous history into social facts. The often-fragmented excavated human and material remains, once documented and collected, were used to support the creation of theories of origin, helped define the science of context, contributed to a narrative of linear progress and, most importantly, helped shape a racial discourse that lies at the base of the modern nation state (Axel 2002b:22; Cohn 1987b). As this case study of Penetanguishene and its survey and documentation reveal, the local, colonial frame was in many ways shaped by broader imperial desires for knowledge and power. These colonial collections assembled in and out of the territory of Penetanguishene, however, have a life of their own in the present. The Huron-Wendat crania, as well as maps and illustrations, take on a new political import as a reminder of the complex processes of colonial epistemologies, the desire to observe and classify peoples and things, and the formation of taxonomies brought about through nineteenth-century imperial circuits of knowledge. The two chapters that follow turn to an examination of a related but different form of appropriation employed within the same archaeological record.

Shortly after Bawtree had returned to the Fort Pitt Royal Military Academy with his collection of Indian artifacts, drawings and Huron skulls, archaeologists with a curiosity fuelled by a religious agenda arrived in Simcoe County. Like Bawtree, they

were set on identifying archaeological sites, and mapping and excavating Indian graves and village sites. Chapters Five and Six examine how their methodologies for producing cultural knowledge through the excavation and identification of Aboriginal sites and remains were deeply embedded in colonial epistemologies, and nationalist and regionalist agendas.

CHAPTER FIVE

DIGGING FOR PRECIOUS SOUVENIRS AND TRACES OF THE PAST

In his book on Québec nationalism in the 1980s, the anthropologist Richard Handler (1988) identifies how an ethnic group or nation is configured as bounded, self-contained, and becomes distinguished through its culture—which both follows from and points to its existence. Twentieth-century nationalist projects in Québec, in many ways, built upon the varied nineteenth-century discursive strategies propagated by a group of clerical-conservatives whose practices lie at the centre of this chapter. In both twentieth-century Québec and what was Lower Canada in the nineteenth century, ethnic identity was configured as connected through direct bloodlines to a set of French seventeenth-century ancestors who first settled the land. This chapter examines how historical and archaeological projects—both as colonial modes of knowledge production—worked to construct facts about French Canadian history as the “lifeblood” of the nation (Handler 1988:17). Both the accounts of seventeenth-century Jesuits in Huronia/Simcoe County and the material traces from this period were resurrected as part of the extensive historical scholarship undertaken by French Canadian nationalists in the nineteenth century. This scholarship aimed to counter modernist and secularist movements of this period in Quebec by demonstrating that French Canadians, as a Catholic race, had deep, historic roots.

Constructing French Canadians as a race distinct from English Canadians meant demonstrating how they were the natural proprietors of their land. Handler also describes how maintaining a historical sense of a nation requires the transformation of “simple intellectual certainty” into “physical facts” (1988:31). Historiographic practices that served nation-building agendas needed to make connections between narratives, identification of places in the landscape and the excavated physical traces of past events. Nineteenth-century archaeological practices—all of which were also rhetorical strategies—were a particularly salient means to achieve this aim. Archival documents, maps, monuments and human crania were all used in tandem to produce historical knowledge that one French-Canadian historian called “the lifeblood, conscience, and foundation of the nation” (Groulx cited in Handler 1988:17). However, historical narratives used in constructing nations need to be fixed or enshrined to become part of a national essence. Cohn and Silvio (2002), discussing the memorialization of the American Civil War, have described the paradoxes inherent in creating a collective memory and the ways in which the meaning of this memory changes and decays over time. As these writers suggest, and as the work of the clerical-historians demonstrated, history-making projects that create knowledge for historical reconstructions come in many forms. Plundering archives as a source of history, creating central sites in the landscape that provide a national historic geography, and the use of mementos, such as relics and human remains, as tangible reminders of the past, are all part of an “experiential memory” that links the past to the present and creates national memory (Cohn & Silvio 2002:222). Yet, as Lowenthal points out, the powerful materiality of

artifacts and remains works in a corresponding yet alternate register: “while history and memory usually come in the guise of stories which the mind must purposefully filter, physical relics remain directly available to our senses. This existential concreteness explains their evocative appeal” (Lowenthal 1985:245). Furthermore, Lowenthal (1985) identifies the power of what he calls “reliquary knowledge” as involving the ways in which an object or “relic” bears witness to the past, conveys memory and has the ability to re-enact and vitalize an otherwise barren and lifeless history.

Nadia Abu El-Haj (2001) in her study of the work of archaeology in the making of Israeli nationalism, also describes the archaeological record as a powerful “discursive invocation” of the past (11). Yet, unlike Lowenthal, her work seeks to uncover how objects come to be understood not only as part of the social imaginary of a historic past but as privileged, empirical facts. She asks: how are historical, political, religious and geographical truths re-made through the archaeological record (2001:10)? Influenced by the analysis of laboratory science by sociologists of science, she approaches scientific knowledge as not *natural* but rather embedded in a system of cultural practices, symbols and networks (El-Haj 2001:12; Hacking 1983; Daston & Galison 1992). Moreover, by examining the practical actions of the scientific laboratory or field site, the ways in which knowledge is constituted become apparent. Applying these frameworks to an understanding of how scientific facts are created through archaeology, El-Haj focuses on the material practices of excavation itself:

In excavating the land archaeologists carve particular (*kinds of*) objects out of the contours of the earth’s depths—depending, of course, on the specific excavating

techniques used, the kinds of remains made visible, and which of those remains are recognized as significant and thus recorded (inscribed as evidence) and preserved. In so doing, archaeologists assemble material culture henceforth embedded in the terrain itself, facts on the ground that instantiate particular histories and historicities. (2001:13)

In this chapter and the one that follows, particular attention is paid to the specific “techniques and technologies” of archaeological excavation used by French Canadian religious-nationalists in Simcoe County. I ask: how were archaeological facts made? What gives the archaeological record authenticity as a form of colonial knowledge? And furthermore, how did the contexts of nineteenth-century religious/nationalist/colonialist research agendas and exhibitions influence the movement of objects from the past to the present and give them value as *ancient* and *authentic* invocations of the past (Holtorf 2005:117-118)?

The Catholic Church in French Canada: Commemorating the Past

The Catholic Church in nineteenth-century French Canada aimed to stabilize modernization through the use of the politics of memory, constructing commemorative histories in a variety of forms. Hagiographies, historical narratives, genealogies, exhibitions, monuments, museums, archaeological excavations and relic collections were all tools used by the Church in Québec to commemorate the past, while at the same time strengthening power structures in the present (Rudin 2003). The creation of historicities was influenced by the rise of the powerful Catholic Ultramontane movement. Introduced into the church in Lower Canada in the 1830s it became a powerful influence on politics, economics and culture after the Union in 1840. As a fundamentalist religious movement,

it was based on a hierarchical social relationship with the Pope as the father of his people. While the British Protestants' imperialism was wary of higher authority and promoted the virtues of liberalism, the powerful Catholic Church in Lower Canada, in reaction to democracy, advocated a simple, rural life with the nuclear family at its centre (Beyer 1985).⁵³ As this chapter suggests, through its many adherents within society's elite, the Ultramontane agenda was inextricably bound up with the politics of state formation.

The multiple forms of history-making projects fuelled by the Ultramontane movement were not, however, about a desire to return to the past. On the contrary, by grounding fundamental religious authority in material and documentary evidence of the distant past, the Ultramontane movement was legitimated and even shown to be part of a divine plan constructed in that past and resolved in the present (Pearson 2008:352). As Cohn has aptly demonstrated, nation states both depended upon and were maintained through "codifying, controlling and representing the past" (1996:3). Hobsbawm and Ranger (1992) famously identified the construction of narratives that claim continuity from the past into the present as "invented traditions." Kohl, however, usefully points out the limits of the concept of "invented traditions." As he notes, "cultural traditions cannot be fabricated out of whole cloth"; Scottish nationalism could not be constructed from the symbols, myths and material remains of China, for example (1998:233). Handler's ethnography on contemporary Québec demonstrates how the efforts of cultural objectifiers in the 1980s built upon and renewed efforts to build traditions that began in

⁵³ It must be noted that not all Catholics in Lower Canada were necessarily Ultramontane.

French Canada in the nineteenth century. As Handler says, “cultural objectifiers are as traditional in French Canada as the traditions they record” (1988:67).

The professionalization of historians did not occur in Québec until after the end of the nineteenth century; prior to this time, history was written by priests or teachers, amateur collectors and antiquarians *cum* archivists (Pearson 2006:344). The clerical historians of mid-century Québec delved into archival research, trying to make sure their work was well-documented and accurate, to root their narratives in the methods of contemporary history and give them added truth claims.⁵⁴ For example, Abbé Cyprien Tanguay (1819-1903), a former schoolmate of Joseph-Charles Taché the French-Canadian politician and writer, created a vast genealogical mapping, or what Axel has called the “fantasy moment of origin” of a nation (2002a:253). Tanguay spent the majority of his life doing exhaustive research in the archives of Europe and Canada to compile a genealogical dictionary of French Canadian families. Part of the doctrine of the Ultramontane mission, and the larger nationalist ideology, was the idea that the foundation of French Canada could be traced back to the original families that had emigrated from France, all of which shared religious, pre-revolutionary beliefs (Beyer 1985:42). Tanguay’s seven-volume work was configured as a scientific reconstruction of the genealogy and demography of the French Canadian population starting with the original families that came with the first invasion in the seventeenth century (Belanger 2000).

⁵⁴ Two well-known examples of clerical historians from this period are Henri-Raymond Casgrain (1831-1904) and Jean-Antoine-Baptiste Ferland (1805-1865).

Yet, as Handler points out, discourses on national identity produced by people like Tanguy construed the nation as not directly linked to imperial France:

The Québécois of today are the “offshoot” of seventeenth-century France, but they are not French. They are not French because their ancestors chose to leave France. Once resettled in the New World, these colonists neither lived in a French manner nor thought of themselves as French. The new style of life, or culture that developed in North America is seen as an original adaption to a new environment, or as a unique cultural product resulting from the formative influence of a particular natural region. (Handler 1988:37)

Digging deep into the French Canadian past through genealogical research, the collection of oral traditions, and the physical act of archaeological excavation might be understood as parallel attempts to *uproot*, *get at*, or *uncover* a useable past and turn it into empirical facts that could be employed as a foundation for the construction of a nationalist vision.

Nineteenth-Century Nationalism and the Seventeenth-Century Jesuits in New France

One particular aim of many of the cleric historians was to counter the secular-liberal and anti-clerical view of Québec history, supplied by François Xavier Garneau in his *Histoire du Canada* (1845-8), with a religious history rooted in the events of the seventeenth-century Jesuit missions in Canada. The researching and writing of new histories of the Church, which took place in Québec after 1840, also took on new import as the Ultramontane movement became a force in opposition to the liberal, secular view (Gagnon 2000). Underlying clerical histories was the assumption that historical events were a result of providence, and the *Relations* were thus mined as sources that held empirical evidence to back up this claim. Identification of the sites of the events of the

seventeenth-century Jesuit missions in New France, now part of Upper Canada and Simcoe County, was a means to substantiate and renew religious epistemologies. The techniques of archaeological excavation which were themselves inspired by these historical inquiries sought out and made manifest material culture, as further factual evidence of religious-historical narratives. As one scholar notes, “It was within the bounds of the new positivist truth structure that the religious heroes of New France were transformed into the national heroes of the Catholic and French nation” (Pearson 2008:347).

The heroes indicated here are the French Jesuits Jean Brébeuf and Gabrielle Lalemant and the mapping of their activities in Huronia/Simcoe County was of great interest to both archaeologists and historians aiming to create “facts” about the French Canadian nation through links to the past. The Jesuit *Relations*, in one of its most famous sections, describes how Brébeuf and Lalemant captured by the Iroquois (Haudenosaunee) were brutally tortured to death in 1649 as they traveled with several Christian Huron-Wendat from the Tionnontaté village in Huronia. The attack occurred during a time of ongoing tensions between the Iroquois and Huron, with the tensions being due to multiple factors, including European-introduced disease, and the economic and socio-cultural ramifications of the fur trade (Trigger 1976). The threats of the Iroquois and the Jesuits to the stability of the Huron Nation during this period were at least equally disrupting forces as the historian Neal Salisbury notes:

They [the Europeans] quite deliberately tied Indian salvation to productive labor for French markets and sweetened the reward for such labor with material

benefits. Then, as the Iroquois threat mounted in the late 1640s the Jesuits and their converts increasingly defied the conventions on which consensus and stability in Huron society were based (1992:18).

The detailed description of the death and torture of Brébeuf and Lalemant at the hands of the Iroquois produced in the *Relations* marks this moment as the apex of the mounting instability witnessed by the Jesuits in seventeenth-century New France.

Blackburn (2000), in her analysis of the accounts, brings to light the underlying logic of the *Relations*, analyzing the seventeenth-century texts not as sources of history but as propaganda or discursive strategies that produced a certain kind of knowledge about Aboriginal peoples. The *Relations* were less concerned with accurately describing Aboriginal peoples in what would become Canada than they were with the fixing of subjects and the creation of classifications of difference (Blackburn 2000:5). Realistic details were used as a means to give authenticity to representations (Mason 1998:48). As a genre of literature, colonizing texts like the *Relations* were tales of alterity, difference, race and othering.

The *Relations* are also part of the larger genre of travel writing produced by missionaries, explorers and administrators that, beginning in the Enlightenment, produced narratives of European superiority and the possession of territory that came with imperial expansion (Pratt 1992). Through the structure of the *Relations*, and the use of literary tropes and metaphors, the Jesuits aimed to produce knowledge of the power of the Jesuits over Aboriginal peoples to justify their colonizing missionary practices. The notion of Aboriginal peoples as savage, uncivilized and in need of instruction animated and informed missionary projects beginning in the seventeenth century and continuing into

the twentieth.⁵⁵ Historians analyzing the *Relations* as an accurate source of seventeenth-century European/Native social relations have questioned the power dynamics in Huronia in the seventeenth century (Trigger 1976). However, Blackburn, using the analytic of knowledge production to critically analyze the texts as discursive strategies, points out that it was writing *itself* that gave the Jesuits their power. Descriptions of Native peoples as uncivilized and savage, once defined, produced and preserved through the *Relations*, became self-fulfilling (Blackburn 2000:10).

As well, the act of martyrdom was central to the colonial process of missionizing and a subject of great fascination to the writers, and one assumes also the readers, of the account of the Jesuits abroad. Detailed descriptions of death and torture suffered by the Catholic martyrs in the *Relations* stabilized and enhanced conceptions of Native peoples as savages and worked to justify European financial and political support for the work of the Jesuits. The *Relations* describe Brébeuf's torture by the Iroquois through a series of gruesome vignettes that include beatings over his entire body, roasting his flesh and eating it in front of him, putting burning coals on his wounds, cutting off his lips, and roasting and eating his heart (Campeau 1987:267). Moreover, the suffering, torture and cannibalism graphically depicted in the *Relations* would not have surprised the contemporary seventeenth-century European reader. As early as the time of Columbus' voyages, travelers expected and were convinced of finding anthropophagi in North

⁵⁵ See Comaroff and Comaroff's *Of Revelation and Revolution*, volume one (1991), for an analysis of the links between missionary practices and the civilizing project.

America. These assumptions were based on a vast body of pre-existing, European-written graphic representations of wild men (Mason 1990).

Martyrdom was also the expected and hoped for outcome of Jesuits missions to North America—a mission would not be considered successful unless martyrdom occurred (Greer 2000). In the Jesuit colleges in France, a central component of missionary teaching was to view the colonial context as a place in which to suffer, to be martyred and to act out God’s will. In other words, the Jesuits needed the colonial encounter as a space in which to *perform* martyrdom—savages, torture and concomitant suffering and death were all requisite aspects of the performance.⁵⁶ But their vision of themselves as victims cannot be separated from the construction of accounts of martyrdom that served a larger purpose in terms of the production of colonial knowledge. Martyrdom necessitated death through barbaric means by people who were necessarily savage and in need of conversion. However, as Greer points out, although the pagan savage became an important literary metaphor juxtaposed against the civility of the Jesuits, the Indian as uncivilized was innocent and close to nature, qualities that Jesuit instructors in Europe believed should inspire the purity of the missionaries’ ideals (2000:341-2). Both of these understandings of the pagan savage were part of the larger discursive processes that produced knowledge of Native peoples, albeit in often partial and contradictory ways.

⁵⁶ I have taken the idea of performance to describe the Jesuit martyrdom in colonial Canada from Pearson’s discussion of hagiography and his description of the many different ways in which “holiness” has been “performed” (2008).

The *Relations* as histories of the glorified events of the Jesuits in New France in the seventeenth century are essential to the establishment of what Handler has called the “national being,” which in turn necessarily contribute to the objectification of difference. Lowenthal identifies the power of what he calls “reliquary knowledge” as the ways in which an object or “relic” bears witness to the past, conveys meaning and memory and has the ability to re-enact and vitalize an otherwise barren and lifeless history (1985). The collection, curation and even fetishizing of the material remains of the martyrdom were an essential element of the performance of martyrdom in the seventeenth century. Moreover, as tangible representations of the past, dug-up human remains are a crucial means of making the past come to life, as well as producing knowledge about nation and race. Campeau describes the gathering of the remains of Brébeuf and Lalemant as “a sacred duty” and the *Relations* give the following description of the excavation and exhumation of the missionaries soon after their death:

When we were leaving the land of the Hurons we disinterred the two bodies and boiled them in strong lye. All the bones were then scraped carefully and I was given the task of drying them. Every day I put them in a little earthen kiln that we had, after I had heated it a little. When the bones were ready to be put away closely together, we wrapped them separately in some silken material. They were then placed in two little coffins and we took them to Quebec where they were held in great veneration. (Campeau 1987:272)

This graphic description of the resurrection of the bodies describes their transformation from profane to sacred. By boiling the bones in lye, their human qualities and remaining flesh are erased and they are turned into artifacts that can be touched, held, displayed, preserved and venerated as proof of their historic deeds. Cohn and Silvio

(2002), in their discussion of the creation of historical narratives of the United States during and after the American Civil War, describe how memory-making is a process that begins even in the midst of actions that are taking place. As the Civil War was still in progress, the monuments were being built in both the North and the South to the ongoing battles and the very recent human casualties. They also describe a “state obsession with bones” as part of the iconography of nations. Bones as sites of public, historic signification in the United States began in the Civil War and continued, they point out, with the more recent American state policies over the return of the bodies of soldiers during the Korean and Vietnam Wars.

The holiness attributed to the physical, human remains of the martyrs was also an integral part of the “cult of colonial saints” produced through the hagiographies that were written soon after their deaths (Greer 2000:32). As a literary genre, the lives of the missionary saints were colonizing texts that continued to produce knowledge about the need for civilizing missions in North America and informed the nineteenth-century interest in Jesuit antiquarian relic collecting and archaeology that occurred in Simcoe County. Through the production of hagiographies, the nineteenth-century conservative-clerical historians aimed to revive the details of the events of 1649 to root their teachings in past events while at the same time making them relevant to contemporary ideologies of nationalism and anti-secularism. As Pearson notes, “for the clerical historians of mid-century Québec, the past was not only a tool for contesting modernism and secularism, but could also help to formulate a new church that could meet the needs of a new social reality” (2008:353). Heritage, unlike history, is *presentist* in that narratives, monuments

and material representations of the past need to be revised to suit current political needs and values while giving them legitimacy through an imagined, shared value in the past (Gordon 2004:509). The Jesuit missions to New France in the seventeenth century took on new meanings as clerical historians and writers like Francis Parkman, in the nineteenth century, transformed these events into the central narratives of Canadian history. Efforts to have the seventeenth-century Jesuit missionaries canonized began soon after their death, but were stalled after the Conquest when the Imperial British discouraged efforts to promote French causes.⁵⁷ However, with the rise of the Ultramontane in Lower Canada, efforts to have Brébeuf and Lalemant made saints were revived.

Engaging with History Outside of the Archives

These efforts required the production of a new source of data that would supplement the historical narratives presented in the *Relations*. Some Catholic clerics working in Québec at this time were also interested in engaging with history outside of the archives, identifying traces of the past through pre-disciplinary practices of field archaeology. An interest in a religiously motivated archaeology in Canada may have been influenced by the rise of Biblical archaeology in the Middle East during the nineteenth century. A search for empirical evidence of the geographical places in which the narratives of the Bible occurred brought Christian beliefs and rational science together.

⁵⁷ The Society of Jesus fell out of favour in the courts of Europe at the end of the eighteenth century. While the Jesuits were allowed to remain in Quebec, the British did not allow them to recruit new members and no French priests were allowed to come to Canada until after their order was reconstituted in 1814. The Jesuits were invited back to Canada after 1840 (Thériault and Meehan 2012).

Site identification, excavation, and the preservation of human and material remains all worked to confirm Biblical narratives (El-Haj 2001:15).

In Canada, Pierre Chazelle (1789-1845), one of the first Jesuits invited back after 1840, arrived in Huronia in 1842 with a map procured from the Jesuit headquarters in Paris, anxious to locate the scenes of the events of martyrdom of the religious heroes of New France described in the *Relations*. We learn about Chazelle's field research through a second-hand account of the events recorded by Dr. Edward Bawtree, eight years later. Bawtree learned about the Chazelle's archaeology through a group of "Canadian voyageurs" or fur traders residing in Simcoe County who claimed to have accompanied Chazelle on his search for the places where the events recorded in the Jesuit *Relations* occurred. According to the account told to Bawtree, Chazelle steered a canoe "with ease" up the Sturgeon River, locating sites, digging and finding remains at places not previously noticed (Bawtree 1848:92). While in Huronia, Chazelle identified the ruins of the chief French mission of Ste. Marie and claimed to identify the site of St. Ignace II (Hunter 1900:10). St. Ignace II is the name given by researchers to the mission where Jesuit Fathers Jean de Brébeuf and Gabriel Lalemant were taken after their capture by raiding Iroquois on March 16, 1649, and where they were subsequently tortured and killed. Although the Jesuit *Relations* gives geographic and topographic details of the site, as well as details related to the events surrounding the capture and torture of Brébeuf and Lalemant, St. Ignace II is not indicated on any maps, and its location has long been a source of interest and is still a subject of debate to this day. The account of Chazelle's activities also relates that, eager for tangible evidence of the past, he erroneously dug up

and identified bones as those of Brébeuf and Lalemant, even though the *Relations* describes their exhumation by fellow Jesuits shortly after the event of their deaths in the seventeenth century (Hunter 1900:12).

What makes this description of Chazelle's activities significant is that it illuminates the cultural history of fieldwork methods and the national/religious/political work that they performed (Pels 1999). In addition, Chazelle's site identification and excavation as a set of scientific fieldwork practices can be understood as what Hacking (1983) has called *intervening* as a means to create facts; scientific data does not come ready-made, but rather it needs to be acted upon by humans to make it such. Chazelle was not merely making archaeological *discoveries*, but through his paddling, viewing and digging he transformed natural phenomenon into scientific data (El-Haj 2001:13; Hacking 1983). Historians of science and historical anthropologists have identified how non-professionalized field methods that came out of the colonial situation went on to influence the materials, infrastructure and scientific practices of emerging professionals (Pels & Salemink 1997 Pels 1999; Schumaker 1996; Salemink 2003). As Pels (1999) articulates: "Fieldwork is subject to the way local colonial circumstances shaped the field such as geography, botany, and ethnography, which set up the exotic as a field to be observed" (167). Yet, as El Haj points out, observation alone could not produce historical knowledge; to bolster truth claims through the use of archaeological practices, evidence needed to be accumulated, verified and falsified (2001:15). Therefore, Chazelle's interest in *literally* resurrecting the French heroes of the seventeenth century through his excavations in Simcoe County worked to serve nationalist ideologies that connected the

events of the past to the present. As described above, the identification of the sites of past events and the materiality of the relics—human and otherwise—provided important tangible links to the past that added materiality to historic narratives that were interwoven with religious and hagiographic discourses; Christian faith was rationalized through the use of archaeological evidence as facts (Pearson 2008:330).

Like Chazelle, Father Felix Martin (1804-1886), was also one of the first Jesuits to return to Canada after 1840. Father Martin had a specific interest in making the events of the seventeenth-century French missionaries accessible, as both a source of emulation and as a way of raising needed funds to restore power to the Jesuits in Canada. In the *Catholic World* magazine of 1887, Martin is described as an “antiquarian and man of letters” who has “devoted himself amidst all his onerous duties to the task of *throwing light on all the dark places of the past*” (1887:112, emphasis added). Antiquarianism as a means of knowledge production was a way to create a form of direct evidence of the past that was understood as more enduring and less corruptible than written sources; as a form of specific facts, antiquities could suggest a kind of immediacy with the ancient world (El-Haj 2001; Bennett 2004:4; Wylie 2002:253 n.9,10). Antiquarianism has also been described as a means to create a link between the invisible past and the visible object (Pomian 1990:5). Through the collection and arrangement of artifacts, the past could be “spatialized” and “temporalized” (Bennett 2004:43). In the years immediately prior to his trip to Simcoe County, Martin writes to a colleague, “I never miss an opportunity of

collecting any items that are connected with the memory of our early Fathers and that was the main objective of my little expedition.”⁵⁸ To another friend, he relays that:

It is perfectly natural that everything is precious for us in the souvenirs and little documents from such a glorious age of our Society. The description of heroic virtues whose traces we are finding in every place where our early Fathers visited is well calculated to spur their sons on to a holy emulation (Lonc & Topp 2001:372-373).

Archives, “souvenirs” and antiquities were all part of “the iconography of memory” (Cohn & Silvio 2002) that worked to ground the faith of the Jesuits through an association with material evidence of the past.

Writers on archaeology as an epistemic practice have questioned how meaning becomes embedded in artifacts such that the meaning is not subject to change depending on who views it. What is it about a trace or ruin that makes it a fact about the past as opposed to a reproduction of an artifact? Why do people experience a powerful aura when excavating, viewing or handling ancient objects? Ancient art, monuments or excavated objects turned into material culture are seen as inherently able to produce knowledge about the past, and as such they need to be preserved, yet not to the point that their original patina vanishes (Holtorf 2005:112 ff). The archaeologist Cornelius Holtorf concedes that although authenticity is the single most significant attribute of archaeological finds and exhibitions, it is very difficult to define what it means (2005:115).⁵⁹ Martin’s words suggest that “documents,” “souvenirs” and “traces” from

⁵⁸ Prof. Alain Nabarra, Lakehead University, kindly pointed out these passages to me.

⁵⁹ It must be noted that ideas of authenticity are culture bound. Penny Van Esterik in her book *Materializing Thailand* (2000) details the role of replicas, models and fakes in Thai cultural imagining

the seventeenth-century Christian missions in Huronia have the ability to bring the past into the present.

Martin, who became the Rector of the newly established College Ste-Marie in Montreal, visited Simcoe County and continued the archaeological investigations begun by Chazelle thirteen years earlier. The Hon. Georges E. Cartier, the provincial secretary of Canada, and Sir Edmund Head, the Governor General of the Province, sponsored this research trip as part of larger mid-century history-making projects funded by the government at this time. In Huronia, Martin carried out a survey and partial excavation of the Fort of Ste. Marie, took extensive notes, and made maps and drawings, which are now preserved at the Archive of the Jesuits in Canada, in Montreal (Martin Fonds CACSM, Jesuit Archives of Canada). An unpublished account of his trip, entitled *Voyage et recherches dans l'ancien pays des hurons* (1856), is also part of the archive. In the introduction to this account, Martin situates his research within the wider contemporary provincial government's interests, "pour recueillir et conserver tous les monuments historiques, qui rappellent le evènements dont il a été le theater" (1856:1), [In finding and conserving historic monuments to recall the events of the past] (my translation). Although, at this time, research locates documents in European libraries and archives pertaining to the military, commercial, industrial and travel history of the colonization of Canada, Martin, in the introduction to his *Voyage et recherches*, suggests that the study of local monuments had been neglected:

about the past. Thai art historians and heritage cultural managers put significantly less importance on the preservation of archaeological sites and relics as authenticity and the connection to an imagined past is believed to be enhanced through the replication of original historic sites and artifacts (112-116).

Pour compléter ce trésor venu de loin et à grands frais, il était juste d’y joindre tout ce que peuvent nous offrir de curieux des études et des recherches locales. Il fallait découvrir sur ce sol que nous habitons, jusqu’ aux moindres traces du passage de ces peuples nombreux qui en furent les premiers maîtres et les premiers habitants. Les monuments des siècles passé sont, pour l’histoire, son illustration et en même temps sa preuve. (Martin 1856:1)

[With great expense we have traveled far to be able to do this study and research of the local curiosities. We uncovered in the earth the traces of the past, the peoples who once were the original inhabitants and teachers living in this region. In so doing, by uncovering the monuments of the past, we are bringing to light historical evidence that persuades one of the veracity of past events]. (my translation)

Martin’s report to the government gives a detailed description of his trip to Huronia. His notes and the accompanying drawings can be analyzed as a set of early ethnographic field notes that constituted the production of colonial knowledge. These varied forms of representation laid the foundation for later disciplinary assumptions about the nature of prehistoric and colonized native peoples in this region (Pels & Salemink 1999). Martin’s report displays his efforts to integrate his first-hand geographic and ethnographic observations with the existing descriptions of the region found in the seventeenth-century Jesuit *Relations*. Martin used scientific measurements, interviews with local inhabitants and his own visual renderings to transport himself back to the seventeenth century, to locate and embody the events of the Jesuits missions to Huronia.

Arriving in the town of Coldwater, in the years immediately after the dismantling of the experimental Indian Reserve, an event described in detail in Chapter Three, Martin met a young boy who acted as his guide in the search to “retrouver une des traces le plus curieuses e l’existence des Hurons,” [to find the curious traces of the Huron] (my translation) (1856:5). This quotation is significant insofar as it articulates an essential

motive of Martin's work that can also be seen in the fieldwork of both Chazelle and Taché that is described in the following chapter. That is, the search was not for encounters with living Aboriginal peoples but rather for their traces within the landscape. Similarly, Mary Louise Pratt (1986), in her analysis of travel literature as a form of "discursive configuration," points out how colonial agents travelling in Africa looked for the "scratches" left on the earth by the indigenous inhabitants as a means to configure them as an absent presence (143).

Searching for burial and village sites, Martin visited a local, isolated farm belonging to an Irish Catholic farmer. When he arrived to talk to a farmer named Fox, Martin was told by his wife that he was out in the fields taking care of a problem he was having with bears eating his crops. He describes with admiration how the farmer, through hard work, cleared the heavy forest with an ax, turned his wood into valuable potash and settled his family in a spacious home he had built. Fox arrived home and told Martin that while working on his garden and building his foundation he discovered the remains of a Huron village, the discovery exciting the curiosity of local *voyageurs* (French Canadian fur traders in the region) who were eager to collect and sell archaeological remains that were beginning to create interest (Martin 1856:6). Martin visited this farmer's fields and looked at the spots where archaeological materials had been excavated. He gives a detailed account of the pipes, hand axes and necklaces that the farmer collected and preserved. The government report includes some thoughts on the function of the pipes "a hole might have been used to put a string through" and comments on the artist's accuracy of the eyes and mouth modeled in clay.

This interesting account serves as a discursive strategy that constructs an understanding of the role of Euro-Canadians and the place of the former proprietors of this land. As Martin describes, it was the active labour of the farmer, what Joseph Taché in the next chapter describes as the “stout arm of the labourer,” that cleared the forest (Taché 1856). It is as if this was a virginal place that the Euro-Canadian farmer conquered and made his own. This understanding is reinforced by his description of the Huron as an absent presence, now reduced to the artifact remains that will be collected and drawn as part of the iconography of memory. Figure 18 is a watercolour depiction of some of the artifacts that we can presume were collected by the farmer. The drawing is now part of the Felix Martin Fonds in the collection of the Archive of the Jesuits in Canada in Montreal. In both Upper and Lower Canada farming as an ideal was intrinsically bound up with two different state-forming projects. As will be described in the following chapter, the nineteenth-century agriculturalist movement in what is today Québec idealized the traditional models of farm life that tied people to the land as a means to prevent migration to the urban centres south of the border. In Upper Canada newspaper and governmental reports like this one produced by Martin both reflected the widely held sentiment that farm labour made a society stronger (McKay 2011:11).

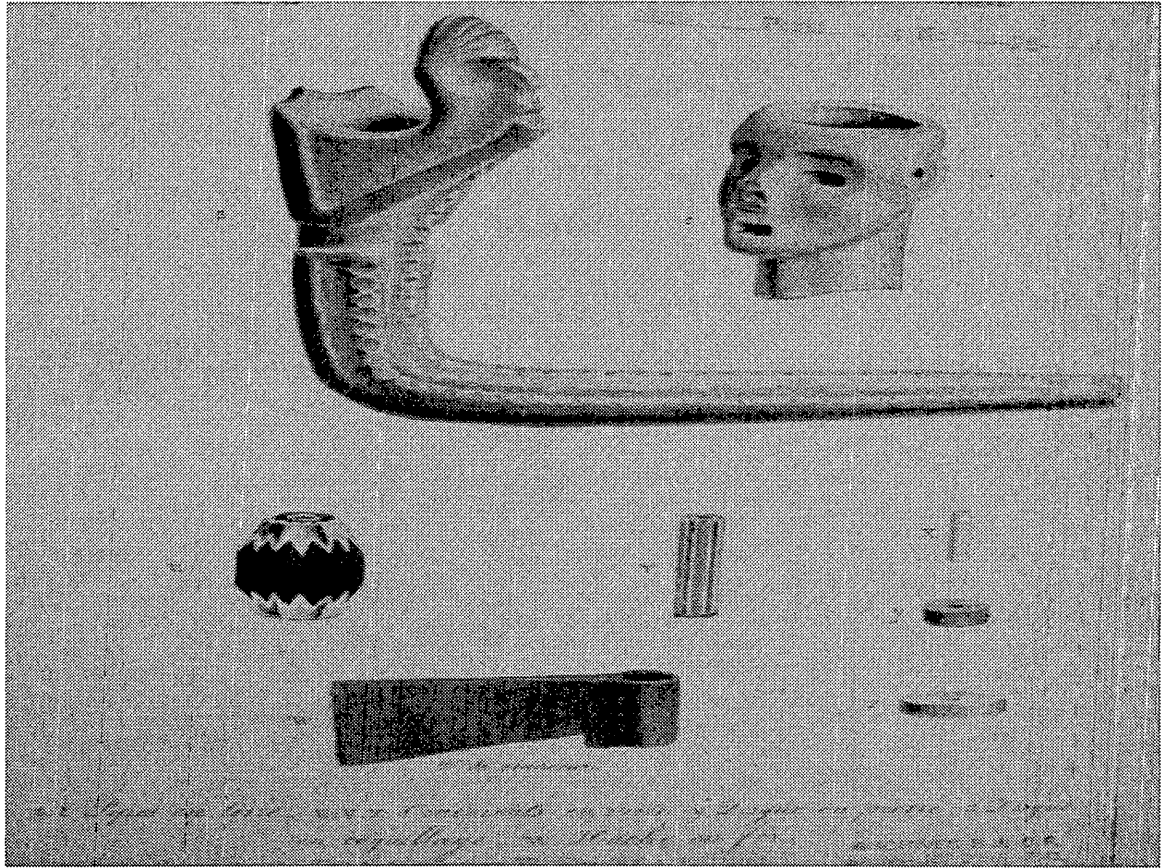


Figure 18 Mary Hallen Felix Martin Collection ca 1844 (The Archive of the Jesuits in Canada, Montreal, Felix Martin Fonds 2206)

As discussed in Chapter Four, image making was a particularly crucial means of asserting control over local, indigenous burial goods. Like the images commissioned by Dr. Bawtree discussed in Chapter Four, the carefully drawn beads, pipes and European hatchet, once detached from their original contexts, become a form of rational, scientific fact through their juxtaposition on the artist's page and the careful application of a lettering system that identifies them. Writers interrogating the representation of North America through images have delineated the desire to document, translate, transport and exoticize artifacts (Mason 1990; Pratt 2003; Poole 1997). The format and style of this illustration also aim to achieve a kind of ethnographic realism that links these images to

representations of Amerindians produced at the time of the earliest encounters in North and South America, as well as the later professionalized documentary practices of ethnography. Writers studying the few extant images from this period, and those that followed, have identified how image-making as a form of epistemology about other peoples and other places necessarily produces “the exotic” through the very act of decontextualization. Once removed from their original context and put within the milieu of a collection, objects necessarily become fragments and assume new meanings (Mason 1998).

Martin’s journal goes on to describe how he travelled to Penetanguishene, where he met Reverend George Hallen. Hallen showed him a copy of the manuscript of Edward Bawtree’s archaeological research and the drawings made by Hallen’s daughter Mary, described in the previous chapter. Martin sought out traces of the seventeenth-century Jesuit missions in the landscape. Identifying the ruins of the Jesuit Fort of Ste. Marie, he sketched and measured the stone foundations that were barely visible in the mostly overgrown site, and in doing so he radically reimages them as icons dedicated to the memory of the past and its reconstruction in the present. It is through the knowledge of local terrains, the identification of traces within these landscapes, as well as the measuring and sketching of places and things in the landscape that Euro-Canadians established their authority over history and geography. Through these varied practices of cultural knowledge production, social relations between the seventeenth-century French missionaries and the Native peoples they encountered are detached from their original contexts and turned into historical narratives that simultaneously serve nationalist and

colonialist agendas. Yet, as discussed above, mid-century French Canadian nationalist agendas were religiously fuelled. Martin was particularly interested in finding the site of Brébeuf's and Lalemant's deaths, and he identified the location of the sites of Ossossane, Saint-Ignace and Saint-Louis using the *Relations* and the Ducruex map as his guide. He also visited the ruins of the Jesuit fort on the island of St. Joseph (also known as Christian Island) in Penetanguishene Bay. The island was a refuge for thousands of Huron-Wendat and a few missionaries after the Iroquois raids of 1649.⁶⁰ In the winter of 1649, many Huron-Wendat died of starvation on the island.⁶¹ Here, the antiquarian Martin quickly measured, drew and described the remains of the fort, while ruminating over the sad end of the mission and the death of the converted Huron: "Qu'il etait beau le spectacle qu'offraient ces enfants de la foi, se pliant avec résignation sous la main de Dieu qui les frappait, et cherchant pour premier adoucissement à leurs maux, les consolations de la religion" [It was a beautiful thing that God gave the children of faith religion to soften their pain] (my translation) (1856:33). Martin's sojourn in Simcoe County wove religious narratives together with colonial practices of observation and documentation as means of establishing the authority of the colonizer over the colonized.

The image of the wild savage is never fully absent from Martin's documentation of his travels. He tells the reader of his report that he borrowed a boat from a local fisherman, whom he describes as living isolated in the "sauvage" wilderness on the coast. From the water, he viewed the "country of the Hurons," embedding memories of the past

⁶⁰ The island today is home to the Beausoleil First Nation.

⁶¹ In the spring of 1650, most of the Huron-Wendat traveled with the Jesuits to Lorette, Québec, while some of the remaining people became part of the Petun Nation, living nearby in southwestern Ontario.

in the landscape but here from a different vantage point, and produced a watercoloured image, preserved today at the Archive of the Jesuits in Canada. He noted the rocky cliffs, the dense forests off the coast, and imagined the impression that the wild geography of the remote, solitary area might have made on the arriving Jesuits, prior to their landing in the seventeenth century (1856:21). Beginning with the travels of Alexander von Humboldt at the start of the nineteenth century, there was a shift to a style of landscape documentation was both documentary and romantic, constructed from the subject-centered perspective of the traveler equipped with what writers have called “mobility of sight” and a “physiognomic gaze,” which mapped a new way of seeing through landscape portraits (Poole 1997:82). While comparing Martin’s travels to Huronia with von Humboldt’s travels to South America may be a far stretch, it would be fair to say that both travelers combined a desire for measured accuracy with romantic landscape presentations and romantic notions of Indigenous subjects.

Martin’s report also contains ethnographic descriptions of the contemporary Chippewa people he witnessed living on the shores of Georgian Bay. Having encountered a group of people in a canoe carrying skins, he describes the skins as being used to cover what he calls “their miserable bark huts” (my translation, 1856:35), echoing the established colonial obsession with the inadequacies of indigenous architecture (Comaroff & Comaroff 1988; Perry 2003). Martin wrote that he was reminded of the Huron from the seventeenth century, who, he comments, wore a similar style of dress. To record accurately the homes he saw and the peoples he met, Martin produced detailed pencil drawings of the Chippewa architecture, a portrait of a woman in skin clothing with

a Western-style hat and a watercolour portrait of a woman in a canoe. These images are currently in the Archive of the Jesuits in Canada.⁶²

Conclusion: Nationalism and Archaeology

This chapter has focused on how the materiality of archaeological research is an essential element in the objectification of culture and history, and the making of national identity. In her work on the role of archaeology as intrinsic to the building of a colonial-national historical and cultural imagination in the State of Israel, El-Haj (2001) examines the practices of individual archaeologists, but more importantly stresses how archaeology itself, as a discipline and institution, is positioned at the intersection of multiple social and political arenas. Furthermore, material culture, being interpretive by its very nature, does not preclude numerous readings of the past. The construction and shaping of heritage is not fixed but always contingent. As the archaeology of the Catholic priests Chazelle and Martin attests, ruins and remains have no *de facto* heritage value. An object's worth as an authentic representation or as a link to the past is imagined through the particular contextual circumstances of the archaeological processes that take place in the present (Holtorf 2005:112ff).

Bruce Trigger was the first historian of archaeology to recognize the significance of social milieu to the structuring of archaeological research. Contesting previous ideas that the discipline of archaeology is a singular coherent tradition, Trigger demonstrated that national variations in both the methods and agendas in archaeology existed within

⁶² These images are in the Felix Martin Fonds in the Archives of the Jesuits in Canada CACSM 1.

both earlier antiquarian and later nineteenth and twentieth-century professionalized contexts (1984; 1989). Looking at the factors that shaped archaeology in different social contexts, he concluded that method and practice *could* be organized into national, imperial and colonial archaeologies. Trigger identifies nationalist archaeological traditions as a way to demonstrate a nation's independence. Archaeological remains can be used to glorify a nation's past and show their greatness. He gives the example of a Danish archaeologist who interpreted prehistoric sites and artifacts as a means to bolster their country's pride after the Napoleonic wars and to distinguish themselves from the Germans in the nineteenth century (1984:358). Trigger identifies a different kind of archaeological interpretation executed in varied colonial contexts. These contexts, he says, are linked through shared assumptions that Indigenous peoples had no prehistory and were culturally static over time. Furthermore, colonial archaeology, as I also demonstrate in this thesis, was a means to justify colonization (1984:360). Imperial archaeology, as differentiated from nationalist and colonist archaeology, uses prehistoric artifacts and sites to narrate a story of progress that accounts for imperial expansionism and world dominance (1984:364). Although Trigger admits that his classifications are not without their problems he concludes that, "archaeology does not function independent of the society in which it is practiced" (1984:368). Kohl (1998) acknowledges the importance of Trigger's history of archaeology but questions the sharp divisions that exist between the classifications he creates. Nationalist archaeologies, according to Kohl, can extend beyond the boundaries of the state. While national archaeology takes place within a nation, nationalist archeology can be performed outside of the state. For example,

French and British colonial officers, as part of larger imperial projects, looted Egypt and Greece and brought home the spoils of their looting expeditions as part of nation-building agendas that were meant to “puff up the glory and sense of self of their employer”(1998:227). Extending this idea, Chazelle’s and Martin’s excavations can be understood within a number of contexts. The French Jesuit mission in New France was originally built as part of a French imperial/colonial project. As well, as Martin’s government-sponsored reports demonstrate, seventeenth-century French activities in Huronia were incorporated into the heroic past of British Canada after the British conquest of French Canada in 1749. In addition, excavations undertaken by the Catholic antiquarian/historians in Huronia cannot be separated from the archaeological interests of British colonial settlers who uncovered remains of the past as land was cleared for farming and settlement. Like Anderson and Bawtree, Martin and Chazelle worked to “throw light on all the dark places of the past”(Hunter 1900). This meant bringing the illuminating frames of European and Euro-Canadian chronologies, religious doctrines and nationalist perspectives to bear upon the underground territory and remains of an Aboriginal past. Ultimately, the archaeology described in this chapter can be viewed simultaneously as nationalist, colonialist and imperialist. In the next chapter, I discuss a set of linked colonial projects that were also influenced by the French Canadian clerical-conservatives of the mid-nineteenth century. The next and final case study outlines the details of several projects taken on by the polymath Joseph-Charles Taché. The description of Taché’s ethnographic interests in French Canada, his role in the production of knowledge about Canada at the Paris Universal Exhibition and his archaeological

expeditions, which followed those of Chazelle and Martin, are by no means meant to be solely biographical. Rather, the study of Taché's varied practices, framed as examples of how colonial epistemologies were made, demonstrates how the scientific techniques of excavation, the manipulation of statistics for creating populations and the use of ethnography for producing literature are all overlapping means of producing colonial knowledge that contribute to regionalism and national identity.

CHAPTER SIX

TACHÉ'S EXPLORATIONS IN HURONIA 1859-1865

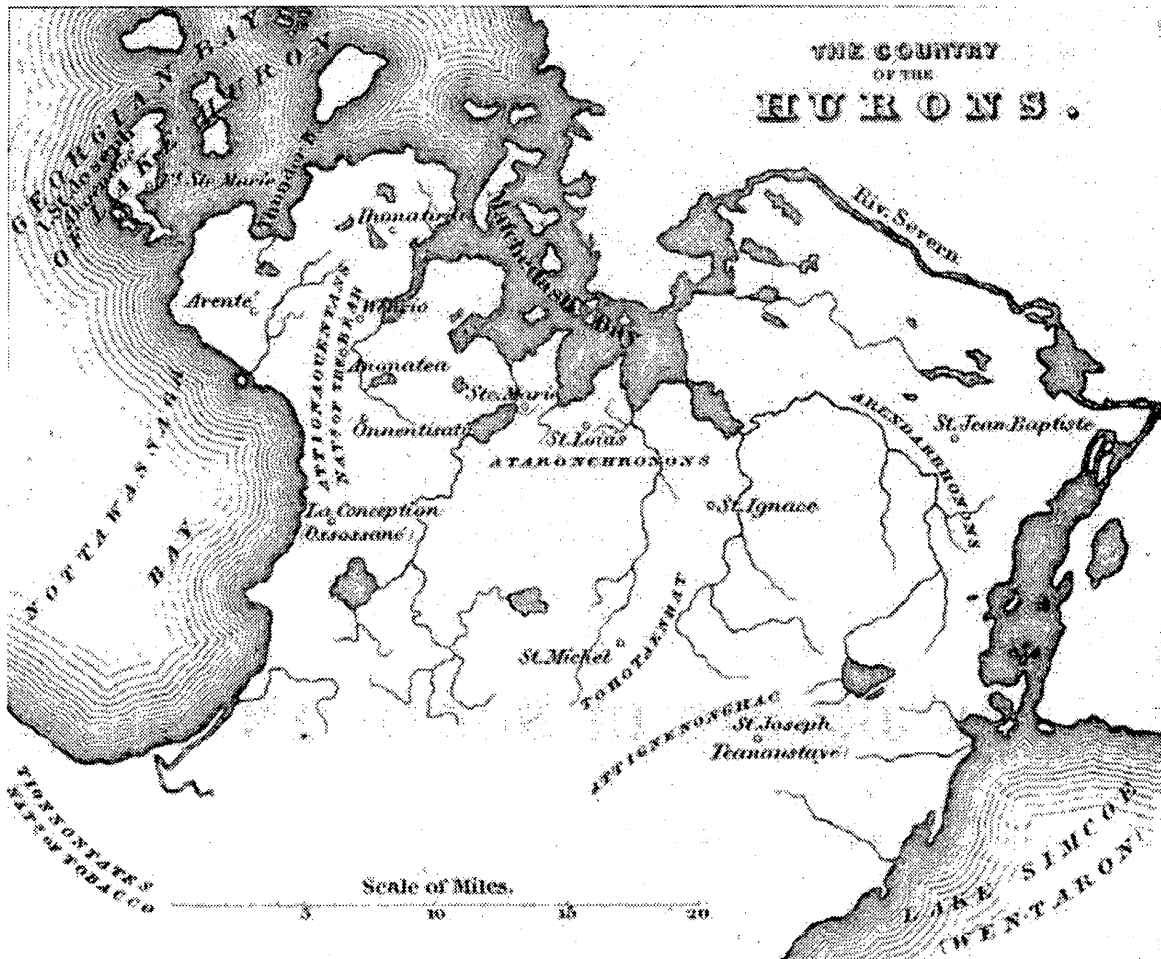


Figure 19 Frontispiece Map. (Frances Parkman, *Jesuits in North America*, 1997).

Pictured here is the frontispiece map that appeared in Francis Parkman's historical monograph *The Jesuits in North America* (1997).⁶³ The map is an essential element in Parkman's influential work combining meticulous historical research on France and

⁶³ Some of the research for this chapter has been used in a forthcoming chapter entitled, Les explorations archéologiques de Joseph-Charles Taché en Huronie de 1859-1865 [Joseph-Charles Taché's explorations in Huronia 1859-1865] in *Joseph-Charles Taché Polymath* Claude La Charité and Julien Goyette, eds. Québec City:Laval University Press.

England's struggle for the control of colonial North America with romance, heroism and adventure. Details concerning the locations of seventeenth-century Huron villages and French Jesuit mission sites, form the backdrop for the action of Parkman's novel, were based on archaeological maps, charts and descriptions provided by Dr. Joseph-Charles Taché and sent to Parkman in 1866. Between 1859 and 1864, Taché devoted as much "leisure time" as he could command to his investigations, performing what Parkman described as a "zealous and minute examination of the Huron country" (Parkman 1997:14 ftnt.1). I question how much leisure time Dr. Taché, the polymath *par excellence*, ever had during his extraordinarily productive and diverse career. In the years immediately prior to his archaeological work in Huronia, Taché was the Canadian representative at the Universal Exhibition of Paris (1855), held a seat in the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada (1848-56), worked as the editor of the daily *Le Courier du Canada* (1857-9), and held a position as the inspector of prisons, asylums and public charities (1859) (Nadeau 2000). He first visited to Ontario after returning from a government-financed trip to France in 1859 to study the science of viticulture. After introducing wine-growing techniques to the farmers of southwestern Ontario, he traveled to Huronia/Simcoe County for his first archaeological explorations (Bossé 1971:203). Unfortunately, he published none of his work and almost all of the detailed field notes and maps that he kept have not been located. The impact and resonance of his contributions to the history of Canadian archaeology are only mentioned briefly in the published histories of the discipline; furthermore, his biography in the *Canadian*

Dictionary of Biography does not include his fieldwork and collecting in Huronia (Killan 1980:11; Martijn 1980:13; Nadeau 2000; Trigger 1985:9).⁶⁴

In this chapter I demonstrate that the fruits of Taché's "indefatigable labours," the digging, measuring, mapping and collecting in Huronia, were motivated by a complex mix of conservative Catholic ideology, scientific rationalism and French-Canadian nationalist-regionalist historical imagination. As discussed in the previous chapter, historians of archaeology have duly illustrated how archaeological remains have been utilized for the purposes of national ideology in various locations and times throughout history (Arnold 1990; Diaz & Champion 1996 El Haj 2001; Fowler 1987; Kohl 1998; Trigger 1984). Taché's archaeological explorations in Huronia can be added to the long list of examples that demonstrate the use of sites and artifacts for the promotion of national and ethnic identities. Yet, as I suggest here, the nation-building practices of Taché were deeply embedded in the larger dynamics of colonization. As linked forms of knowledge production, mapping, surveying, historiographies and archaeological practices were all in Foucault's terms, *disciplinary practices* that worked to tie individuals to both history and place. Furthermore, archaeological practices shaped the landscape and turned what was formerly the territory belonging to Indigenous peoples into a Euro-Canadian place. However, as Taché's busy life demonstrates, colonial knowledge production and the use of this knowledge in creating national identity were iterative processes. Building roads through what was once Aboriginal hunting territories, configuring populations

⁶⁴ For the most part, this chapter only takes into considerations the English sources that discuss Taché, and the influences of the Ultramontane movement. The few French language sources that consider his archaeological activities in Simcoe County have been included.

through censuses and constructing scientific notions of race through skull measurements were not disparate activities but multiple strands of a singular—but often contradictory—colonial project that aimed to position Québec as a distinct region within an emerging Canadian nation.

Bernard Cohn (1987e), in an early study, critiqued the region as a unit of sociological or anthropological study. Regions, he exposed through his study of British colonialism in India, were a result of the bounding and classification of territory and its inhabitants that contributed to the identification of race and difference (Axel 2002a). Cohn defined *region* as “the means of classification of a wide variety of kinds of data,” and regionalism as “the conscious or unconscious symbols, behaviors, and movements which will mark off groups within some geographic boundary from others in others regions for political, economic, or cultural ends.”(1987e:119). Moreover, producing peoples and place through regionalism is not about the creation of static, fixed entities, but rather shifting “spatio-temporalities” (Axel 2002a:233-4) and multiple identities. As Taché’s varied projects attest, different regions need to be configured in different ways both within and throughout different periods of their history.

Ethnographic Collecting and the Appropriation of Culture

Joseph-Charles Taché was born in 1820 in Kamouraska, Québec, into one of the leading political families.⁶⁵ He was born at a decisive moment in French-Canadian history, at a time when French Canada was beginning to be subjected to assimilation by

⁶⁵ The details of Taché’s biography come from Jean-Guy Nadeau’s entry in the Canadian Dictionary of Biography Online (2000) and Curtis (2001).

the British. The main impetus to unite Upper and Lower Canada into a single Canadian province came from the Durham Report of 1839. This report proposed the Union Act, which eventually united Canada into two areas, known as Canada West (what is today Ontario) and Canada East (what is today Québec). A new House of Assembly would give equal representation, even though Upper Canada had only 40 percent of the population and Lower Canada had 60 percent. The resulting solidarity of the Francophone people in their various efforts to protect their nation, language and culture would shape Taché's life and works. At the age of five, his father died and he was sent to live with his uncle, who was a member of the Lower Canada Special Council. His brother, Alexandre-Antonin, and another uncle, Sir Étienne-Pascal Taché, were leading figures in national politics at mid-century. At age twelve, he entered the prestigious Séminaire de Québec, although he left in 1840 without completing his course. At the age of twenty, his burgeoning interest in politics and national cultural/heritage development and preservation were articulated through a prospectus for a literary association that would offer instruction to urban artisans on arts and skilled crafts. As is described below, the importance of non-industrialized modes of work and cultural production undergirded Taché's representation at the Canadian exhibition, as well as many of his future projects presented through the Legislative Assembly. He also began to write poetry during this period. Taché returned to school, changed his course of studies, and graduated as a medical doctor in 1844.

Working in Rimouski, Taché, known as "the Iroquois" among his friends, would often venture into the wilderness country that surrounded this still remote town on the St. Lawrence (Nadeau 2000). In the lumber camps and in the Aboriginal settlements along

the river, he would fulfill his passion for nature, the outdoors and his romantic curiosity about the Algonquian peoples that inhabited the area. These encounters would feed his passion for collecting ethnographic material culture, something that would also drive his later archaeological explorations in Simcoe County. Working in a time when no standards had yet been set for ethnographic fieldwork in Canada, he collected the oral traditions and material culture of the peoples he met. Out of the stories he collected from his Native informants and lumberjacks, he would later craft a national literature for the French Canadian people; connecting places in the landscape with fictionalized events, he shaped a patriotic literary and national heritage—part of a social imaginary that worked to preserve French Canadian culture and language. To this day, Taché is best known in Québec for his legends.⁶⁶

Taché's ethnographic collecting as an essential form of knowledge production was less about conservation than it was about the appropriation and essentialization of culture intrinsic to state-forming projects. As Dirks has noted, "claims about nationalism necessitated notions of culture that marked off groups from one another in essential ways, uniting language, race, geography and history in a single concept" (1992:3). Taché's wide-ranging projects reflect the larger, collective, religious-nationalist desire to construct and promote the belief in a French Canadian race. Making race was an ongoing project; if the nation was indeed a species, it needed to be construed and differentiated in relation to others: "individual persons are equivalent in their particularities to their type

⁶⁶ His best-known novels are *Trois légendes de mon pays* (1876), *Forestiers et voyageurs* (1884) and *Les sablons* (1885).

or nation, and belong to the universal race only in virtue of their national particularities” (Handler 1988: 45). Codifying French Canadian racial difference required the fixing of the Native subject through the multiple normalizing discourses discussed in this thesis. The documentation of Aboriginal material culture as vanishing was no doubt also related to larger concerns with the political economy of contemporary French Canada as part of a burgeoning settler nation. In nineteenth-century Québec, the preservation of Aboriginal settlements was a barrier to the construction and development of railways, roads and modern towns, as well as the expansion of available land for farming. Furthermore, Aboriginal cultural preservation, although useful as a backdrop for folktales or heritage exhibitions, was incommensurable with nationalist interests in promoting a religious-nationalist agenda whose ideology was based on natural attachments to the land and the assertion of the natural rights of French Canadians over and above those of Native peoples.

As a fundamentalist Catholic, Taché’s politics demonstrated a belief in the possibility of a religiously-motivated governmentality: laws for education, agriculture and forms of enumeration, as well as support for historiography—including archaeological surveys and documentation—that reflected, maintained and economically supported the beliefs of the Catholic Church. His conservative-Catholic values—no doubt influenced by the contemporary Ultramontane movement—must also be understood as a reaction to the rapid incursions of modernism, industrialization, urbanization and the resulting secularism of the mid-nineteenth century. Taché, as a member of the educated, political elite, engaged his power and authority to willfully and purposively contribute to

the construction of shared narratives as a means of countering the disintegration of traditions and preserving culture in the present in the face of socio-economic change. Taché's ethnographic collecting in Rimouski, as well as his exhibitionary and archaeological projects that are described below, were in many respects very individual achievements. However, as Salemink points out regarding the production of colonial ethnographic knowledge, regardless of the achievements of the individual ethnologist, the reception of their ethnography was "contingent upon the balance of power within a specific but changing historical context" (Salemink 2003:3). As Handler (1988) demonstrates in his study of Québec in the 1980s, the production of nationalist discourse came not from individuals aiming to shore up traditions but rather as part of a larger cultural process occurring during this period in which people strongly believed in the rightness, or naturalness, of their actions.

Constructing Race and Identity at the Universal Exhibition

Taché was appointed as Canada's Special Commissioner to the Paris Exhibition in 1855. European expositions as spectacles were demonstrations of imperial power. As a point of intersection for the circuits of colonial knowledge, international exhibitions were also places where commissioners, agents and administrators, as curators and ethnographers, perfected their racial taxonomies and sharpened what Stoler has called "common sense categories" (2001:853). As commissioner, Taché was able to gather, collate and distill information in a number of forms. The position included the organization and selection of materials to be sent to Paris, and the publicizing of

Canada's participation through the writing of newspaper articles and a catalogue of the exhibition. In the next section, a description of the role of exhibitions in the nineteenth century is provided, followed by a closer look at Canada's representation of itself in the year 1855. I argue that the use of material objects to metonymically represent larger conceptions of history, identity and nationalism links Taché's work as the Commissioner of the Paris Exhibition to his archaeological project in Simcoe County.

Entering the Canadian Court—proudly located to the right of the British exhibition—visitors to the 1855 Universal Exhibition in Paris must have been struck by the two-story, sixty foot high “Trophy” composed of the forestial products of Canada (Figure 19). Murray notes that in the 1851 Exhibition at London's Crystal Palace displays were organized to showcase Britain and its colonies. The Canadian exhibit was located next to those of other British colonies, like Africa, India and the Caribbean. At the Paris Universal a new logic of the exhibition broke up nations to bring together exhibitions of similar commodities from various locations. Canada, however, argued that, not being a highly developed manufacturing nation, and not wanting to be compared to other colonies, they would be best represented as what Murray calls a “coherent and legitimate geographical entity” (Murray 1999:15). Seen here in Figure 20, the Trophy is a potent symbol of Canada's conception of itself mid-century, as imagined and designed by the elites who constructed the country's contribution to the great exhibition. What looks like a simple wooden country cottage, with its door and window ajar, invites visitors inside, while the upper reaches of the tower are strewn with the prizes of a successful day of hunting beaver and moose in the virgin forests of Canada. The nation is also rendered

through the iconic layering of roughly hewn tree trunks, sheaves of wheat, pelts, antlers, stuffed birds, snowshoes, paddles and embroidery frames, forming a collage on the outer surface of the triangular frame of the Trophy. Yet, the height and pinnacle of the sculptural representation is festooned with flags, also suggesting a nation that is literally on the rise, moving upwards towards modernity. Nineteenth-century exhibitions attested to the fact that modernism is better expressed in objects than ideas. As the Trophy and the exhibition in which it was situated further suggest, objects, and here we are including raw materials, the remains of once-living animals, or goods manufactured from them, have the ability to represent the wide-ranging possibilities of human achievement and culture.

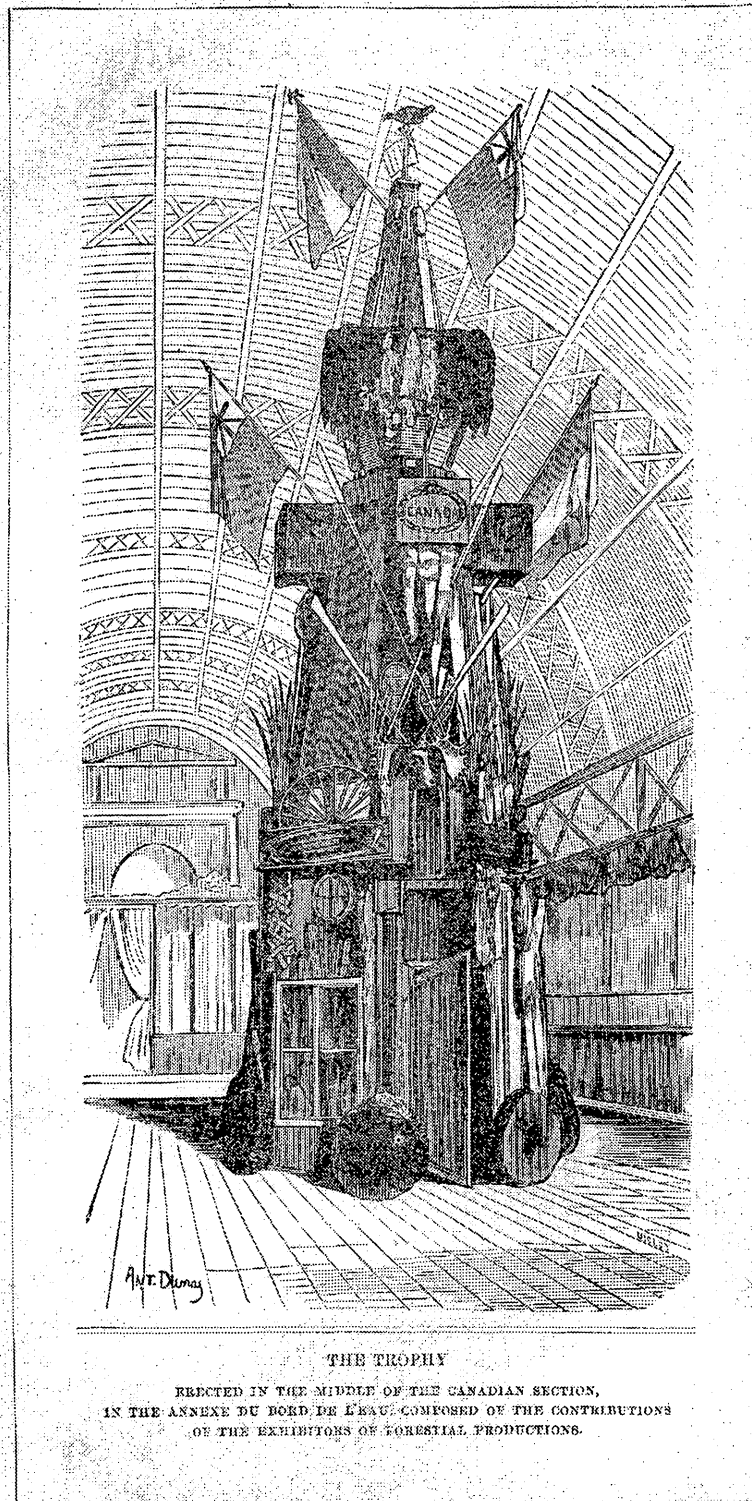


Figure 20. The Trophy. Frontispiece (Joseph-Charles Taché: 1856)

One wonders what provided the model for this imposing structure. The iconic Eiffel Tower would not become a presence on the Paris cityscape until nearly twenty years after this international exhibition, and Vladamir Taitlin's Monument to the Third International, which was a modernist response to the Tower, was not conceived until early in the next century. One report on the exhibition names the German architect and art critic Gottfried Semper as the designer of the Canadian Court, but it is unknown if his commission included this structure (Short 1967:357). The eye-catching Trophy was just part of the larger representation of Canada at the Universal Exhibition orchestrated by its commissioner, Joseph-Charles Taché. Canada had already participated to a smaller extent in the 1851 London Great Exhibition at the Crystal Palace, where printed guides to the exhibition called on "working men" not to miss the "lessons of Canada where modern science and skill had subjugated nature with a rapidity unknown in any past age of the world" (Short 1967:356-7). The Paris Exhibition was a second chance to display the power of Canada as a settler society over the wilderness environment and its vast natural resources, as well as the material progress of the nation. In addition, the exhibition lured labour to Canada in an effort to further settle the land for farming. As Taché writes in the catalogue to the exhibition:

The soil is boundless and fertile, Nature has already provided an abundant return in the forests, which the settler can at once turn to account. The climate is remarkably healthy, the natural productions abundant and various, the scenery beautiful and majestic, all that is wanting is the stout arm of the laborer and the influx of capital. (1856:144)

A tension between agriculture and capitalism may be seen within the goals of the exhibition: on the one hand, the representation of Canada aimed to promote its industrial potential, while on the other hand, an agriculturalist agenda decried modernism and yearned for a sentimentalized relationship between the farmer and his land. Yet, in both narratives potential settlers are assured that the forests have been tamed and civilized.⁶⁷ As demonstrated in the analysis of the Trophy above and the further discussion in the next section of this thesis, multiple and often contradictory discursive narratives were often at play within the exhibitionary order.

Mitchell, in “Orientalism and the Exhibitionary Order” describes the extent to which Europeans in the nineteenth century used “the apparatus of representing” through popular exhibitions of the day as a powerful tool for organizing and displaying the West’s spoils of colonialism (1998). As discussed in Chapter Two of this thesis, Cohn and others have pointed out the importance of the exhibition to the larger colonial project that ordered, classified and re-presented the world of the colonized other. In a similar vein, Mitchell suggests that the-world-as-exhibition is an essential form of ordering that only colonialism can produce; the West believed that through its identifications, classifications, representations and display, meaning and order were constructed in an

⁶⁷ Blackburn (2000), in her interrogation of the seventeenth-century Jesuit *Relations* as colonizing texts, reveals how metaphors of agriculture were often used to make equations between cultivating land and cultivating or civilizing Aboriginal souls.

otherwise meaningless non-Western world (Mitchell 1998).⁶⁸ Pratt (2003) makes a similar argument with regards to the practices of amateur natural scientists in the nineteenth century who collected facts about non-European areas of the world through the processes of observation and taxonomic classification. The attendance of over 4.2 million people at the Paris Universal Exhibition attests to the impact that these kinds of spectacles had during the period. As well, writers analyzing the cultural, social and economic roles of the World's Fair's in the nineteenth century point to the way in which these highly popular public forums were spaces to display colonial holdings (particularly for the British Empire at the London Exhibition of 1851, and for the Imperial French power at the Paris Universal in 1855) through a mixed representation of exoticism and economic potential (Murray 1999:17). Nineteenth-century exhibitions were also fundamentally celebrations of capitalism and commodity production. As Murray describes, the exhibition, in all its chaotic diversity, elevated the commodity to the status of the icon of developing modernity and suggested a teeming surplus of goods of all kinds" (1999:17). The showcasing of raw materials gathered from around the world, as well as manufactured goods, all spoke to the notion of the benefits of colonization, industrialization and consumption, as well as social progress and accompanying prosperity (Murray 1999:16).

⁶⁸ Mitchell is describing how, in the nineteenth century, the image of the Orient was constructed through a variety of means, including romantic novels, museums, architecture, schooling, tourism, the fashion industry and even the commoditization of everyday life (Mitchell 1998:455). Canada at this time was still considered by Europeans as part of the non-Western world, so like the Orient its participation at the Paris Universal Exposition was part of the process of colonial representation.

The selection of artifacts, the organization of the displays and the textual accompaniment to the Paris Universal Exhibition were all vital elements in Canada's presentation of its emerging national imaginary at mid-century. And Taché, with his vast energy, attention to detail, and his statistical, computation and writing skills, was well suited as Commissioner to configure Canada as a nation on the universal stage. Some of what we know of the exhibition comes from contemporary newspapers reports, which favorably acknowledged Canada's "quality and variety of Colonial civilization" (Short 1967:357). But the more detailed description of the exhibition is found in the exhaustive reports, charts and grids produced by the Commissioner himself. His report was published by the Legislative Assembly of Canada as *Canada at the Universal Exhibition of 1855* and included the reports and minutes of the Executive committee, as well as an appendix of three items he originally published in Paris: a detailed account of objects in the exhibition, a statistical geographical and geological pamphlet that won a prize for "containing the most information in the fewest words" (cited in Curtis 2001:242), and an essay entitled *Sketch of Canada* that voiced some of Taché's religious, agrarian, and French-Canadian patriotic views.⁶⁹

Taché's use of numbers and measures to quantify, qualify, define and support the existence and preservation of the French Canadian population is characteristic of his varied projects—including his archaeological work in Simcoe County. As discussed in Chapter Two, Cohn (1996) identified enumeration as one of the six key "investigative

⁶⁹ Canada also won a prize for a geological survey, a collection of minerals and timber, while the Hudson Bay Company won for its display of furs (Taché 1856:346).

modalities” that were essential for the operation of colonial power. Cohn’s (1987) work on the British use of the census in India clearly exposed how enumerating practices worked to create knowledge that circumscribed and situated populations as a particularly salient form of statecraft. Curtis (2001), in his analysis of the first censuses performed in nineteenth-century Canada (including the work of Taché), also describes the politics of counting populations. Influenced by both Cohn and Foucault, Curtis states that the enumeration of populations is “inherently disciplinary” insofar as it works to fix individuals “within an administrative grid” as a means of producing knowledge (2001:19). The census, as an apparatus of modern governmentality, was configured as rational and scientific, but it was in actuality a highly imaginative project (Appadurai 1993). For example, in his discussion of the size of the Canadian population at mid-century, Taché counts the populations of Lower and Upper Canada separately. The numbers he generates also include religious affiliation, and he proudly points out that the colony contains more French Canadians than people of any other origin, and more Catholics than English Protestants.⁷⁰ It is also important to note that First Nations or Métis populations do not figure in his calculations. Censuses were particularly powerful places where race could be delineated and configured. As Stoler notes:

What is striking about the colonial project is that both the notions of a “population” and a “people” often were being crafted by administrators *cum* ethnographers at the same time. As populations were being enumerated, classified, and fixed, “peoples” were being regrouped reconfigured according to

⁷⁰ Curtis points out that Taché’s statistical information taken from the official 1852 enumeration was manipulated to reflect a higher Catholic, French Canadian population (2001).

somatic, culture and psychological criteria that would make such administrators interventions necessary and credible. (1995:39)

Taché, as this chapter demonstrates, perfectly fits the bill of an “administrator *cum* ethnographer,” and his census regrouped and/or erased and reconfigured Aboriginal populations as well as those of French Canadian into distinct racial categories. In his report on Canadian population prepared for the exhibition, he set out the “facts” for why the French Canadian “race” in Lower Canada is larger than the English population in Upper Canada in the following manner:

Lower Canada has not since the Conquest received fifty families of French origin, and it is surprising how its population has increased to its present figure. This extraordinary growth of the French Canadian race, perhaps unequalled in the history of the world, and moreover it is a fact, which goes to prove the high moral and sanitary condition of the people. (Taché 1856:144)

Taché uses the officializing space of the exhibition catalogue to establish truth claims about French Canadian ethnicity. His assertion that blood travelled unimpeded from a group of seventeenth-century ancestors down to a contemporary group of descendants depended on his previously cited census study that excluded Métis populations. Miscegenation, according to the accepted imperial discourse, necessarily led to both cultural and racial deterioration. The “growth of the French Canadian race” emphasized through the exhibition narrative excludes the complex history of *métissage*, which was seen as an instrument of imperial power in seventeenth-century New France (Dickason 1985:19). As Samuel Champlain famously said, “Our young men will marry your daughters, and we shall be one people” (cited in Dickason 1985:19). Yet the rhetoric

of Canada's catalogue for the nineteenth-century imperial exhibition erases the politics and complexities of the "intimacies of empire" that marked the history of the expansion of imperial French and British powers into North America (Stoler 2001). Discursively, the exhibition also contributes to the fashioning of racial boundaries and discriminations that created equations between race, morality, nation and hygiene, and linked French Canadian histories to those of other colonies displayed at the imperial exhibition (McClintock 1995; Thomas 1990).

The literature that accompanies the exhibition also expresses an interest in recruiting immigrants but, at the same time, in safeguarding French-Canadian culture. Belgians and French-speakers from Switzerland, we are told, would be more comfortable in Canada East, while British immigrants are more suited to Canada West. Handler (1988) describes how in the 1980s his informants often identified the French language as the defining characteristic of their national identity. Some people spoke about the "mother tongue" so as to suggest that they spoke French "naturally" and that it was therefore part of their natural or inner being (1988:34). Yet, Canada as a country could contain more than one ethnic group and cultural and religious differences at the regional level—once identified and fixed: "England as a power and a mother country, and the French as a race, and as allies of the former... their interests are one and identical, so far as Canada is concerned" (Taché 1856:144).

The intersecting interests of Canada East and Canada West were also represented through the objects displayed at the exhibition. The wide range of items included were

gathered through government-appointed local commissioners, and agricultural and scientific societies in Montreal and Toronto (Murray 1999:13), an example of the burgeoning governmentality and emerging modes of professionalization taking place in Canada at mid-century. The objects chosen to represent Canada were sent to Montreal where they were displayed and celebrated prior to being shipped to Paris. In the text of the exhibition catalogue, the vast array of objects representing Canada at the Paris Universal are all strictly accounted for and formulated in tables composed by Taché the statistician. The account of the diverse, gathered objects reads like the contents of a sixteenth-century curiosity cabinet: fossil remains of a moose, parasite crustacea of the whale, Indian curiosities, samples of asbestos, a model of a floodgate, a Canadian pleasure sleigh, worsted work, iron silicate, 53 specimens of wood, peat pressed and unpressed, building stone, and fruits and vegetables preserved, drawn and made of wax. Prior to both the Paris and London exhibitions, Canada, being an “underdeveloped” country with a small population and little industry, was reluctant to exhibit its wares, feeling that they did not have material worthy of an international exhibition (Short 1967:353). The exhibition catalogue claims that the goal is to show all of Canada’s “precious rarities”: natural resources, manufactured goods and agricultural wares (1856:150). While the report and displays emphasized the raw resources available for extraction in Canada, they also point out accomplishments in the fields of bookbinding, typography and lithography. While acknowledging that Canada as a colony cannot compete with the knowledges produced in the metropole, Taché wanted to demonstrate that Canada is not “ignorant of these arts of civilization” (1856:152).

However, special attention is also given in his assessment of the exhibition to the druggets and home made cloths produced by the French Canadian cottage industries. According to both Curtis and Nadeau, Taché himself dressed in homespun and refused to buy clothes manufactured in Britain (Curtis 2001:240; Nadeau 2000). Ultimately, his religious, political and nationalist convictions were part of every fiber of his body and (literally) every fiber of the clothes that he wore. Taché's nationalist sentiments need to be understood, however, as part of the wider cultural attachments to traditional folkways. Handler (1988), in his ethnography of Québec nationalism, identifies a similar objectification of the Québécois countryside and the supposedly timeless "traditional folkways" found outside the city, as part of the collective identities being produced in the 1980s. In both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, identity rested on the idea of French Canadians as a rural, agrarian race that emerged out of collective resistance to the forces of urbanism and its associated modernism (Handler 1988:65). A colleague of Taché expressed these sentiments when he stated,

Let luxury, that so hideous and deep wound of societies, be banned from the peaceful residence of the farmer, so that the homespun cloth made with the active hands of the mother of the family may be preferred to the cloth that comes from foreign places and which, often becomes the occasion and the cause of the farmers ruin (Drapeau 1863, cited in Curtis 2001:253).

When the agriculture department encouraged the development of flax and linen mills, Taché opposed the efforts on the grounds that urban industry was demoralizing (Curtis 2001:253).

The catalogue further expresses a tension between the desire to represent Canada as progressive and modern and the demands of conservative-Catholic morality to uphold

a set of pre-industrial values surrounding notions of home and the family unit.

Commenting on the lace industry in Europe, Taché sees it as a possible example of an industry that is able to maintain the kind of social and gendered relations he sees as essential to a French Canadian national imaginary:

It is almost the only one which permits the work people to labor in their own dwellings, and which does not expose them to the dangerous promiscuousness of the factory. At this branch the young mother may work with her children around her, under her husband's own roof, and the young girl in the paternal domicile surrounded by her brothers and sisters under her mother's eye. (1856:337)

A slippage can be identified here, as the report moves from overtly professional, objective, statistical reporting on the exhibition to being used as a platform for expressing religious-nationalist sentiments:

It would be a question worthy of consideration, how far we succeed, by a suitable organization of domestic labor, and in circumstances favorable to substantial competition with the large manufacturing establishments, in producing the same articles, and thus diminishing the increasing centralization of the masses, which is attended, in the large factories, by that mixture of all ages and both sexes, which produces demoralization and wretchedness. (1856:355)

It would only be through the settling of new lands, the promotion and advancement of farming techniques, and the attraction of new immigrants—French-speaking, of course—that Taché believed the mid-century exodus of French Canadians to the urban centres south of the border could be stopped. Factory work in the United States not only drained the French Canadian population but, from a religious-nationalistic point of view, it was also antithetical to the farm family unit and therefore at odds with decent Christian faith and morality. The importance of farming in both economical and spiritual

terms for the peasants of rural Canada East was fully articulated by Taché in the Legislative Assembly debate on the abolition of seigniorial land holdings that was held immediately prior to his assignment as Exhibition Commissioner (Taché 1983 [1854]). Although he opposed the abolition of what Curtis has called the “remnants of feudal relations in Canada,” he knew that it was necessary to get rid of colonial, seigniorial tenures in order for modern towns and railways to be built (Curtis 2001:241). In his positions as a Legislative Representative, Minister of Transportation, and later as a journalist and writer, he spoke out on the virtues of agrarian rural life for French Canadians, the importance of building roads to give greater access to remote lands for settlement and farming, the reform of agricultural education and the promotion of new technologies. The reforms he proposed would include centrally authorized government farm inspections and clerically supervised agricultural colleges. Nineteenth-century colonial religious governmentality, therefore, rested on an authoritarian government that created policies to both intervene in the practices of and instruct the farmer, in the name of progress and religious and moral good.

The historian Michel Brunet has defined the term *agriculturalism* to describe a movement that began in mid-century Québec and which promoted a philosophy that idealized the life of the farmer (1957). It was essentially an anti-modern ideology that fixated on a past and more idealized social order while condemning industrialization. The movement was also bound up with the spiritual beliefs of the Catholic Church. By working the soil, the farmer was closer to God and could commune with nature in the fields while reaping the benefits He bestowed on Man. The agriculturalists condemned

both the materialism of the modern industrial age and the machines that took farmers away from their fields, with their potential to bring swift changes to an agricultural economy. As Belanger (2006) notes, most of the members of the *agriculturalism* movement were Ultramontane-nationalist clerics and not the poor, hard working peasant farmers of mid-century Québec. McKay, in her study of the influence of the clerico-conservatives on the production of images in Québec in this period notes that the debates over the values of rural, agrarian life versus urban were also being espoused through artistic mediums (2011). She calls this genre of image production “Arcadian,” and says that it was based on an established European mode of representation that was effective as a means to “re-present” Canadian geography as an idyllic, pastoral landscape that glorified the culture of the farmer in contradistinction to the urban, industrial scene of burgeoning cities in Québec (2011:5). Stoler identifies this “rural romance” as part of a larger cross-colonial “reformist vision” that also had roots in Europe. Specifically, in the early nineteenth-century poor European youths were sent to work on rural agricultural colonies to reform themselves through bodily labour and a love of the soil (2009:110). One can argue then that the agriculturalism movement espoused what Foucault has referred to as a *disciplinary technique* or a form of regulation of individuals designed by the state to monitor and shape an understanding of Canada and thus manage the population in particular ways.

Foucault’s notion of *regimes of truth*—ways of establishing epistemologies—can also be usefully applied to the construction of colonial categories of racial difference built into the displays of the exhibition. Romantic visions of bucolic nature and pastoral life

also necessitate a darker side in colonial representations; empty lands, available for farming and development, require the appropriation of Indian lands and the absence of indigenous inhabitants. Moreover, the narrative of the exhibition implicitly and explicitly states that badly needed manpower has been, since contact, a necessity for “civilizing” both land and bodies in colonial Canada. The remarkable ability to “hew out wealth and independence for themselves from primeval wilds” was the message read by the *London Times* reviewer at the Exhibition (cited in Murray 1999:21). Similarly, as Taché describes in his history of the geological mapping of Canada set out in the exhibition catalogue:

In a new country like Canada, all these things were wanting, [topographers, geologists and exact maps of the country], the geologist was obliged to precede civilization, and, penetrating into unknown regions, to point out sources of mineral wealth hitherto unknown, preparing thus the way for the industry of civilized men who shall replace the savages” (1856:415).

We might add to this that archaeologist, penetrating into unknown regions through his digging, looting and destruction of native graves, also replaces the savages.

Aboriginal peoples are absent in Taché’s statistical description of Canada at mid-century. However, as much as the designers of the exhibit aimed to promote the colony’s industrial and agrarian potential, the expectations of Europeans to see the exotic Native represented through crafts and images at international exhibitions could not be ignored (Raibmon 2005). As Taché’s catalogue describes:

The visitor, who doubtless expects to find specimens of Indian manufacture, will not be disappointed in his anticipation, he may see these fancy articles, the produce of Indian skill, and he will find among them embroideries which for brightness of color and originality of design may be compared to some of the finest specimens of the art. One cannot behold without surprise, the tasteful reproduction of flowers and forests leaves, the graceful lines of some of these

productions along which the light fingers of the daughter of the forests have been guided by an imagination inspired by a life passed in contemplation, by the perpetual spectacle of a nature as imposing viewing it as a whole, as it is lovely in all its details. (1856:152)

Adele Perry (2005), in her discussion of nineteenth-century Anglican missionary practices in British Columbia, suggests that displaying Indian handicrafts was a means of demonstrating success at reforming and converting Aboriginal women. Indian needlework was a symbol of so-called proper female work, replacing the physical labour that Europeans found offensive for women. As such, it needed to be performed not in temporary, mobile Aboriginal dwellings in the forest, but in proper European homes and within the sphere of European conjugal relationships—as part of the imposition of imperial knowledge on the lives of Indigenous peoples in the colonies (2005:122-125).

Furthermore, as Perry states:

Labour, like marriages and households, bore enormous symbolic and obviously economic meaning in the nineteenth-century world. The necessity of industry and its necessarily gendered character became a hallmark of reform enterprises in both metropolitan and imperial contexts (Perry 2005:122).

A romantic view of the Indian and his relationship to an idealized natural world was also seen in the paintings of the then little-known Canadian painter Paul Kane, whose canvases were also exhibited at the Paris Universal.⁷¹ Kane's paintings further

⁷¹ Paul Kane's work received relatively little critical attention in Paris. Perhaps this was because the French exhibits included the work of the French artists Eugene Delacroix and Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres, both of whom were awarded gold medals. The report recognizes European "advances" in a number of different areas. Taché makes special mention in his report on the exhibition of the new techniques of reproduction on display. By 1855, Daguerre had already developed his early camera prototype and the next generation of photographic technology astonished Taché. He also makes mention of the new processes of

stabilized the rhetoric of the Indian subject, surrounded by a sublime nature that through his romantic painterly style suggests times past Kane painted from sketches he produced through fieldwork among the Indian tribes of Canada, and his observation and documentation practices fit within what Pels and Salemink (1999) have called the “practical anthropologies” produced by colonial missionaries and administrators during the pre-professional period of anthropology (McLaren 2012). Kane’s painting as a discursive strategy is more focused on what Houle has called “the aesthetic of Indian disappearance” than ethnographic accuracy (Houle 2011; Mitchell [1989] 1998:456). In the paradigm of the noble savage, the Amerindian is romanticized, but this does not preclude an understanding that the noble savage or “daughters of the forest” must give way to the civilizing influences of the West, including the work of the “stout arm of the labourer” who will cut down the forest to settle lands.

It would not be until Expo 1967 that Canada would allow First Nations to represent themselves at an international exhibition. At Expo 1967 in Montreal, there was a separate Indian Pavilion that contained a narrative that was meant to provoke viewers from home and abroad to think about the impact and consequences of colonization on Canada’s First Nations. The bitter reality of the poverty-level living conditions of Canada’s first inhabitants was presented through a series of didactic presentations. The disappearing Native was replaced with a new discourse that confronted the public with the stark reality of one aspect of Canada’s internal political situation (Rutherford &

lithography and chromolithography that improved the quality and efficiencies of copying. Perhaps Taché was considering the application of such processes for the dissemination of information, mapping and other colonizing and nation-building practices.

Miller 2006). Yet, through the exhibitionary order as a form of representation and knowledge production, Expo 67, like the Paris exhibition discussed here, was more than a documentation of an internal political situation. Both expositions utilized a rhetoric founded upon constructing an understanding of Native peoples as in need of European intervention. Furthermore, knowledge of the state of Aboriginal peoples was offered through the architectural spaces of exhibition itself. Exhibition halls and pavilions were discursive spaces where narratives were constructed as scientific, educational and open to public scrutiny (Preziosi 1998:453). The presentation of nineteenth-century Indian crafts or images of twentieth-century Aboriginal life in Canada, rendered visible through Indian craftwork or the images of photojournalism, was configured as objective and neutral.

In regards to the nineteenth-century exhibition, Murray notes that “the focus on objects that both [the London and Paris] exhibitions fostered, the idea of the thing functioning in terms of collective representation and especially (given the manner in which the exhibition were organized) the idea of *national* representation, offers a peculiar singular vision on the transformation of colony to nation” (1999:2). Moreover, Canada at the Paris Universal Exhibition presented itself as both a colony of Britain and as an emerging nation with its own self-defined character. Canada’s participation outlined the notion of a nation built on vast raw resources and farmable land, whose products had value as commodities within the wider imperial and global markets, thus reshaping the traditional core-metropole dichotomy. However, Taché’s rhetoric also reflects the complex notions of nation taking shape in Canada at this time. While at mid-century, Canada was posed as a Union to move towards Confederation, French-Canadian social

activists like Taché fought for the conservation of regional differences in a confederated Canada that would maintain cultural, linguistic and religious differences. As this chapter demonstrates, Taché's strategies for cultural preservation were just part of the diverse forms of knowledge production that contributed to the making of French-Canadian regionalism. Both his contributions to the Paris Exhibition and his archaeological interests must therefore be understood within the greater framework of his promotion of a particular set of religious-nationalist ideologies that reified French Canada as a totality or region. In the next section, I outline the details of his archaeological explorations in Simcoe County to demonstrate how the representations of nation and colony made manifest through the narratives of the Paris Universal found new forms as produced through the excavations in Simcoe County.

Excavations in Huronia

Drawing on archival materials, I have been able to piece together some details related to Taché's explorations while in the region. In particular, one unpublished letter that accompanied the maps and charts sent to the American author Francis Parkman by Taché has been most valuable in shedding light on the particulars of his activities during his five seasons of fieldwork. It seems that Taché's archaeological research agenda encompassed four separate yet overlapping fields. Taché mapped the events of the Jesuits in seventeenth-century New France, using the descriptions found in the Jesuit *Relations* as his guide. He examined, measured, recorded and excavated 14 Huron village sites and 16 ossuaries (communal burial pits), establishing limited notoriety as one of the first

archaeologists in Canada (Bossé 1971:204; Martijn 1978:13). Assembling a collection of Native and European-made objects, Taché sent his artifacts back to his burgeoning museum at Laval University. Along with the relics or artifacts he collected, Taché also removed upwards of eighty skulls from Huron ossuaries; in building a crania collection for his museum he actively participated in the new formation of American and British networks of science, and the contemporary racialized debates on human physical variability and Indian head forms as a measure of intelligence. Stoler describes how “critical colonial projects” often depended upon both what could and could not be seen. Evaluating race through measurements was just one way of distinguishing human kinds. Racial distinctions were evaluated based on “cultural competencies” identified through ethnographic evaluations of the colonized (Stoler 2006b:5). Taché’s explorations in Huronia were, no doubt, also motivated by his lifelong interest in Amerindian ethnography, and details surrounding contact between Indigenous peoples and the first French settlers served as a backdrop to his nationalist folktales. His archaeological projects in Simcoe County produced knowledge that can be understood as both embedded in scientific field methodologies that worked to construct facts and as a part of the production of knowledge through a colonial-national and historical imagination.

Taché shared Martin’s and Chazelle’s interest in identifying material traces of the past as a means to authenticate a religious/national/cultural history. Arriving in Simcoe County in 1859, four years after Martin, he also utilized the detailed descriptions of place found in the *Relations* as a means of identifying and tracing the geography of the seventeenth-century Huron country. Priests from the Petite Séminaire de Québec had

prepared a first edition of the Jesuit writings in 1858, with the introduction and annotations prepared by Father Martin, which Taché must have been familiar with and which might have been an inspiration for his own explorations in the area (Latta 1988:9). One of Taché's main objectives was to explore, on the ground, the details of Huron funeral rites. As described in Chapter One of this thesis, every eight to twelve years the Huron-Wendat would disinter single burials and villages would gather together to place the bones of relatives in a large communal pit. The bones would be wrapped in hide and the pit lined with beaver skins along with grave goods, including European-made objects like copper kettles. Taché would have been familiar with the detailed description of the Huron "Feasts of the Dead" through his knowledge of the *Relations*, and the idea of excavating these ossuaries might have been one of the factors that lured him to the region.

We also know that Taché, like Chazelle, was particularly interested in locating the site of St. Ignace II—the site of the deaths of Brébeuf and Lalemant, which would have been a valuable contribution to the conservative-Catholic culture of this period as it aimed to make the events of the seventeenth century relevant and recognize the heroes of New France as a foundational component of a national ideology with historically deep roots. As we have seen, this interest in creating genealogies as forms of colonial knowledge production linked French Canadian culture to seventeenth-century Catholicism and places in the landscape, and it thus underpinned many of Taché's political and literary projects throughout his varied career. In his folkloric literary work, *Trois légendes de mon pays* (1861), Taché expresses this sentiment clearly when he says,

“We were born as a people out of the Catholicism of the seventeenth century and out of our struggles with an indomitable nature” (cited in Curtis 2001:245). This kind of rhetoric, depicting the tensions between the first colonizers in New France and the harsh physical climate of New France, is identified by Handler as an important element of the collective identity of French Canadians that persisted into the 1980s (1988:31). This struggle with nature forged the character of the nation and, at the same time, legitimated European/French rights to Aboriginal territory. Blackburn (2000), in her critical analysis of the Jesuit *Relations* as colonizing texts, identifies how descriptions of the wildness, and the harshness and savagery of the landscape of Huronia, are in parallel with descriptions of the souls of the Hurons. Both land and peoples must be cultivated through European intervention to be domesticated and tamed (Blackburn 2000:42).

Taché describes how his ability to find archaeological sites within the dense woods was due to his close reading of the Jesuit *Relations*. In a letter from 1866, written in response to the American writer Parkman’s inquiries regarding information for his soon to be published *The Jesuits in North America in the Seventeenth Century*, Taché says the following:

From the remains I have found, I can vouch for the scrupulous correctness of our ancient writers they were all (I mean Brebeuf, Sagard and Champlain) children of the truth. With the aid of their indications and descriptions, I have been able to detect the sites of villages in the midst of the forest, and by the study, *in situ*, of archaeological monuments, small as they are, to understand and confirm their many interesting details for the habits, and especially the funeral rites, of these extraordinary tribes. (Taché 1866)

Nineteenth-century nationalist agendas rested on the ability to recreate the past as a collection of objective and verifiable facts. In this passage, the earlier Jesuit accounts of martyrdom are re-inscribed as guiding truths for a nineteenth-century nationalist cartography. In particular, he describes what he believes was positive proof of the site of the martyrdom of Brébeuf and Lalemant: “[it] still bears evidence of the catastrophe, in the ashes and charcoal that indicate the position of the houses, and the fragments of broken pottery and half consumed bone, together with trinkets of stone, metal, or glass, which have survived the lapse of two centuries and more” (Tache 1866). Taché’s description of his archaeological activities in Simcoe County reveals that he had a specific research agenda. He makes it clear that he is not randomly rummaging through Aboriginal burial sites but rather that his excavations are being undertaken in search of scientific evidence that will ground his historical/national inquiry. Like the relics collected by Martin, it is the antiquity of the metal, stone and pottery fragments that gives the trinkets Taché finds the authority to speak about the past. The authority of the uncovered artifacts in turn allows him to make the claim that he has found the site of the “catastrophe,” or the location of the martyrdom.

El-Haj (2010) suggests that a study of archaeological practices should not just focus on what is collected, dug up or described, but that we must pay attention to the “archaeological techniques” which make material culture and give it the status of facts to be used in narratives of nationalism and colonialism:

That which unifies archaeology across multiple local traditions is perhaps best identified as a technique, a specific way of finding out about the past, which in turn, privileges a particular kind of evidence. (13)

Taché's letters to Parkman reveal a number of details about the kinds of techniques that he used and how they led to the evidence he wanted to substantiate his historical/nationalist projects. We learn that he took careful measurements of the size, shape and arrangement of Huron house structures detected through the remains found in the state of the charcoal—the remains of years of built-up ash from the hearths inside Huron longhouses. He also makes note of the origins of local place names and distinguishes between Algonquian and Iroquoian word roots. Turning Aboriginal villages and burial grounds into a landscape defined through a Western-scientific imperative to classify, he produces colonial knowledge through his close observation of local terrain and his descriptions of the local topography, soil types and native trees. He goes on to describe a geometric plan of the ruins of Ste. Marie he has fabricated, and speculates about how ditches and trenches in the area may have been used. A brief description of the bone pits or ossuaries he excavated is given, and he is careful to distinguish between pits that contain European materials and ones that he is able to identify as pre-contact Huron sites. Performing a kind of archaeobotany, analyzing the remains of burnt, carbonized corn and parts of pumpkins and other refuse found in the cinders of the former Huron village sites, he attempts to make his archaeological research scientific. However, Taché mistakenly speculates that the Huron copper, most likely mined by Native peoples living on the south shores of Lake Superior, was obtained through trade with Mexico,

reinforcing a widely held belief during this period that Indigenous peoples of this period—due to their inherent savagery—lacked the technical means to smelt copper.

Taché excitedly describes to Parkman his discoveries in the Huron ossuaries, underlining and emphasizing the vast number of human bones disinterred through his excavations:

I have inspected sixteen Huron bonepits/the approximate situation of which is indicated in a little map I sent you, some of which I have myself discovered, the other having been found by accident by some party or other. They contain (by computation) six hundred to twelve hundred skeletons each, I should say the bones being of both sexes, of different ages and all mixed together. (1866)

The question is also raised in Taché's mind as to the dating of the pits, and if they can be claimed to be from a pre- or post-contact period. He concludes:

With one solitary exception, these pits also contained article of last materials indicating time generally of the period of their having been filled, that is, neither before intercourse with the European or after. The greatest number of these pits has taken existence since the commencement of such an intercourse. (Taché 1866)

These detailed accounts of his fieldwork, including the digging of so-called bonepits and the computation of the bones found within, are “practical actions” that re-present material culture and turn it into a set of scientific facts or evidence (El-Haj 2002:13).

How identification makes an archaeological artifact genuine has also been a part of wider discussions concerning archaeology and epistemology. An object only becomes authentic, genuine or an objective representation of the past, it has been suggested, when it is embedded in the professional networks of archaeology. This means that artifacts get their status through inclusion in discussions between archaeologists, or by being part of

an excavation that is done according to current scientific standards (Holtorf 2005:118). Taché's letter to Parkman, including the details of his methods and the location of the sites he excavated, can be understood as a means to legitimate his finds and produce artifacts as facts.

As noted, artifacts gain status as material evidence of the past through the often-difficult physical processes of excavation. Mapping sites in the densely wooded and most likely bug-infested forests of mid-century Ontario, as well as digging and exhuming materials from them, would have been a physically trying occupation. Perhaps the physicality of locating sites in the dense woods of Huronia was a way of experiencing the struggles of the seventeenth-century Jesuits in Huronia; archaeological practice as a kind of embodiment of the proximity to nature experienced by Catholic ancestors, part of a what Handler has described as a "notion of a fixed national essence" that is carried into the future (1988:44). Taché's obituary, written by his colleague and friend Thomas Étienne Hamel and the only nineteenth-century account of Taché's work in Huronia, indicates as much when Hamel writes:

Parmi les études si variées si sérieuses qui ont occupé les loisirs de Joseph-Charles Taché, se trouve celle de nos antiquités canadiennes. La connaissance qu'il avait acquise personnellement, dans le temps de sa vigueur physique, de la vie des bois, jointe à l'étude des plus anciens documents et spécialement des Relations des Jésuites, lui permirent de reconstituer l'ancien pays des Hurons et de déterminer l'emplacement de certaines bourades, entre autres celui de Ihonatiria [one of the French missions]. Sa détermination fut tellement précise qu'il fixa, en pleine forêt, jusque'à l'endroit où devait se trouver le cimetière de la bourgade, tombeau où, pendant des siècles peut-être, les Hurons enterrèrent leurs morts (Hamel 1895:394).

[One of the studies that occupied Taché's leisure time was his interest in Canadian antiquities. He gained knowledge in this area through both his

physically hard work in the field and his knowledge of the Jesuit *Relations*. Using the text of the *Relations* he was able to determine the location of the Huron villages and the French mission of Ihonatiria. His determination allowed him to precisely fix the location of the villages as well as the ossuaries of the Huron]. (my translation).

The description of the physical labour of excavation as well as the labour itself works to *act upon* or turn the identification of sites into historical facts. Furthermore, as a discursive strategy, the account links contemporary Catholic-nationalism to both the physically hard labour of the excavations as well as to the seventeenth-century events of the missions. We do not know if Hamel had access to Taché's original field notes or if Taché had given him a first-hand account of his archaeological explorations in Simcoe County. Nevertheless, Hamel uses the discursive space of the obituary to further colonial narratives of the transformation of land and the negation of an Aboriginal presence in this land, while also fabricating Taché as a national hero. First, we are reminded that the woods had grown dense in the two hundred years since the destruction of the Huron-Wendat Nation by their enemies, the Iroquois, in 1649 and the subsequent abandonment of the Jesuit mission. Then we are told of how Taché hired a group of local men to perform the difficult task of felling the two-hundred-year-old second growth trees that stood between the archaeologist and his field site. Schlanger (2010) has addressed the relationship between manual and intellectual labour in the production of archaeological knowledge. The tensions that can exist between "brain and brawn" at an archaeological site are apparent in the only description that exists of Taché as an archaeologist. After some time spent at this difficult task, the labourers began to question the purpose of their

extreme exertion, and Taché, not one to waste precious time, responded to their complaints with the following words: “Creusez toujours jusqu’à ce que je vous dise d’arrêter; qu’est ce que cela vous fait? Vous serez payés tout de meme.” [Keep digging until I tell you to stop! I am paying you all the same!] (my translation). It seems their efforts were not in vain, for, as Hamel concludes, “Ils creusèrent donc jusqu’à dix pieds d’abord, puis jusqu’à quinze et vingt, et à leur grand ’bahisement, mirent au jour les trésirs tant cherchés.—Certes c’était bien la propriété de M. Taché et sont ces richesses dont il a volulu faire bénéficier les musees de l’ Université Laval” (Hamel 1895:394). [First they dug ten feet, then fifteen feet, and then twenty feet, and to their great astonishment they came upon the great finds—these were Taché’s treasures, they would benefit his museum at Laval] (my translation).

Some of the material record he assembled while in Huronia still exists as part of the Amerindian collection of the Séminaire de Québec, under the curatorship of the Musée de la Civilization, Québec City. We learn from his letter to Parkman that his archaeological museum had been given to Laval University, but it appears he was too busy in the following years with other political projects, so his archaeological collections from Huronia were never organized or catalogued. After his death in 1894, the collection was moved several times and parts of it were disposed of, although more recent efforts have been made to study and reassemble the collection (Tremblay:1998). The following description is given of the collection:

He collected numerous pieces of pottery, trinkets, and stone implements...and specimens of native art... Among them are included..., weapons, pottery, stone-

pipes, clay-tubes, large tropical shells, specially prized by all the northern tribes, the native wampum, kettles, knives and personal ornaments of copper, beads, and other relics of European workmanship. One prized object of the latter class is a fragment of one of the Jesuit Mission church-bells. (Wilson 1871:121)

Taché's collecting habits have been noted by the ethnologist Laurier Turgeon (1997), in his article on the symbolic significance of the European kettle for both Amerindians and colonists. Turgeon explores the imagined power of funeral objects, dug-up, cleaned and appropriated in the name of science, and wonders if "the Iroquois" (Taché), by resurrecting funeral objects, believed he resurrected those to whom they belonged (1997:19). Turgeon's suggestion concerning the power of excavation techniques to animate historical facts is reminiscent of El-Haj's approach to understanding how practical actions work to transform matter (2001).

Taché's archaeological explorations must also be situated within the wider social and historical contexts of the mid-century, pre-disciplinary development of archaeology in Canada, at a time when standards of practices were in their infancy and self-proclaimed scientific archaeologists tried to distinguish themselves from what they saw as the haphazard collecting of amateur relic-collectors and curiosity-seekers. However, as the case studies in this thesis describe, in mid-century Simcoe County, the development of standards for archaeological surveys and fieldwork was only in its infancy. Relic hunters participated in ossuary excavating "bees" that were as popular as barn-raising bees in mid-century southern Ontario (Fox 2002). Turgeon, studying the appropriation of European kettles that were cherished by the seventeenth-century Huron-Wendat as grave goods, describes how burial looting "express a double movement of opening up and

shutting out” (1997:21). He comments that resurrecting funeral objects—and here I would add human remains as well—creates an affective terror associated with resurrecting the dead. On the one hand, Turgeon suggests that studying, classifying and historicizing archaeological remains are means of palliating the dead—a way to alleviate the fears of retaliation by the dead brought on by exhumation and grave robbing. On the other hand, he suggests that collecting and classifying are forms of re-appropriating human and material remains as a means to turn them into scientific knowledge. Turgeon also spells out what he sees as “shutting out,” reiterating the “disappearing Native” metaphor that appears in many of Taché’s projects when he states:

A scientific discourse aimed at explaining group acculturation also shuts out the other, who is made to disappear, no less. Indeed, the notion of acculturation is based on a negation, for the objective is to retrace the stages of a process by which the other is transformed. In this altered state the Amerindian is, at best, a “metis,” a being that no longer has any claim to authenticity. (Turgeon1997: 21)

Meskill (2002), discussing the contemporary issues of repatriation states that nationalism, and the concomitant search for modernities, constructed through a variety of means are seen to be done at the expense of the erasure of a country’s Indigenous peoples. The representation of Canada at the Paris Universal, the statistical creation of social relations through a national census and the creation of a national literature all aim to dispense with a future and significant Aboriginal presence.

The destruction of the so-called “King Horn Pit”—so named because it was situated on the land owned by the settler King Horn—is a vivid example of the physical removal of all traces of a people through burial looting. An archaeological survey of the

area, done in the late nineteenth century, mentions that Taché was at the opening of the “Kinghorn Pit,” a large ossuary containing over 1200 human skeletons that was ravaged by local looters (Hunter Field Journals, ROM:np). A description of an initial excavation of the pit has been found in the local newspaper from the year 1859—a year that corresponds with the time that Taché was in the region—and it supplies details about the attitudes of the local settlers towards the Aboriginal burials that were being discovered as land was being settled and plowed in Simcoe County. Entitled “Down among the Dead Men,” the article describes the fraternity of grave robbers as follows:

After due admiration felt and expressed by the whole party, we proceeded under the guidance of Mr. Kinghorn Jr. to some Indian mound in the vicinity, well armed with pick-axes and spades ready to dig into these sacred repositories of an almost lost race.

On arriving at the spot we selected one that had been previously partially opened up. Skulls and other bones were profusely distributed around the margin of the pit, the work of other Resurrectionists. This explains pretty satisfactorily the appearance of the burial-place as we found it at Medonte. Two centuries, at least have toiled away since last these poor Indians were disturbed, with a prospect still of having to itinerate [*sic*] still further to gratify the curiosity of the white man. In the peculiar conformation of these Indian skulls we can trace faithfully the marks distinctive of them at the present day. They have lived their allotted time and fulfilled their destiny and before another two centuries shall have become blended with the past, the skulls of those now disturb them will have resolved into their primitive elements unless by change they get rescued from the oblivion of the grave and made the subject of usefulness to future generations in illustrating the anatomical peculiarities of the white tribes of Canada in the 19th century. (Northern Advance and County of Simcoe General Advertiser 1859:2)

As one writer notes, the geography of the Indian skull was increasingly used to make political as well as scientific statements. The collecting of Indian skulls, as a form of gaining scientific data, might be better understood as part of the justification for the

colonization and destruction of Native peoples—part of the political act of restructuring North America and the making of categories of race (Bieder 1992). Collecting and measuring Native crania was intrinsically bound up with the nation-building efforts that codified, controlled and represented the past, as described in this chapter.

It was in this prevailing climate of digging into and looting Aboriginal burials in search of Indian crania that Daniel Wilson, the Scottish pre-historian and English professor, arrived in Toronto, at around the same time that Taché was excavating in Simcoe County. Wilson was instrumental in establishing the Canadian Institute, a men's "learned society," in 1856. He admonishes collectors in an early edition of the Institute's journal not to merely gratify their "aimless curiosity" and desire for rarities but to collect and preserve objects to "furnish valuable scientific or historical truths" (1856:521). What troubled Wilson was not so much the "disemboweling of Indian graves" like those at the Kinghorn Pit as what he saw as the haphazard, unscientific methods of field excavation and site reporting, and the lack of a scientific system with which to interpret Indian remains.⁷² Wilson connected with Taché through the newly emerging networks of science that connected colonial periphery to the imperial centres and through a common interest in the scientific collection and documentation of natural history and artifactual and human remains. The two may have in fact met as early as 1855, when Taché was in charge of the organization of the Universal Exposition in Paris and Wilson was a patron

⁷² In 1855, Wilson went to Fond du Lac on the shores of Lake Superior to examine a prehistoric Indian copper mine. The Chief Superintendent of Education for Canada West noted that Wilson devoted himself to "disemboweling the cemeteries of the Indian tribes in seeking up Tomahawks, Pipes and Tobacco which may be found there and writing essays upon them" (cited in Trigger 1981:72).

of the event. Taché seemed to share Wilson's faith in the power of the meticulously observed and recorded details that would turn artifacts into facts.

The collection of Huron crania and bones looted from the ossuaries of Huronia by Taché and sent to his Laval museum was a significant one. Huron-Wendat crania acquired new meanings in the world of mid-century racist science-in-the-making. At this time, Samuel G. Morton, a Philadelphia physician and the main proponent of the "American" school of anthropology, had acquired a vast collection of crania to measure their volume as an empirical means of determining intelligence and addressing questions of racial difference. In Toronto, Daniel Wilson put together his own Indian cranial collection, which he displayed in his skull room at University College. We learn from Wilson's article that Taché sent ten crania to the London Anthropological Society, further demonstrating his active interest and participation in the nineteenth-century debates on polygenesis and the new discipline of anthropology. At this time, Indian crania were almost a form of currency, collected, circulated and gifted from colonial peripheries to become part of collections in American and European universities and scientific societies. In the 1860 notebook of a local historian, it is noted that Dr. Taché presented a skull to the parliamentary representative of Simcoe County in 1860 (Hunter Field Journals, ROM:np).

In Wilson's article, entitled "Huron Head Forms," published in the *Canadian Institute Journal* of 1871, he presents a complex chart of interior measurements of crania, an example of efforts to "codify," "categorize" and produce knowledge about Aboriginal

peoples. By inserting the numerical measurements into a table he formulates scientific data that suggests a kind of linear directionality through numerical comparison. As Cohn (1996) has noted, diagramming as a means of knowledge production could express the linear directionality of a thing or idea through early stages to a more advanced stage, or it could be used to show degeneration or degradation. Charts were a scientifically valuable means of taming numbers and turning them into statistical facts (Cohn 1996:55).

Wilson's chart includes data gathered while visiting Taché's museum in Québec. The Huron crania were considered particularly interesting as objects of scientific study as they were examples from a "pure race" that had little contact with European colonists until the seventeenth century. Through "detailed observation" and the empirical study of Taché's collection, Wilson came to the conclusion that he was not in agreement with Morton: skull capacity could not be a measure of intelligence, nor was there was a heterogeneous American Indian skull form or even a standard Huron head form.

Conclusion: Archaeology and a Colonial-Nationalist Imaginary

In conclusion, we see that Taché approached the mid-century Ontario backwoods as an archive—with the extraordinary vigor and meticulous attention to detail that attended all his varied projects. By organizing the Canadian display at the Universal Exhibition in Paris and through his excavations and collecting of the tangible evidence of the past in Simcoe County, Taché actively participated in the building of a colonial-national imaginary, contributing to the transformation of what was Aboriginal territory into a Euro-Canadian place. Through his letters to Parkman, we learn something about

his excavation techniques, and his notes, charts and maps that, if published, might have made contributions to the production of scientific knowledge that would have both standardized methods for data collection in Canada as well as further established categories of race based on head measurements. Nonetheless, there are dual elements that comprise the discourse of archaeology, collecting and interpretation. Without the detailed maps and field notes, there remains some uncertainty about the kind of archaeological questions, archaeological interpretations and archaeological explanations Dr. Taché might have had while doing his fieldwork in Huronia.

Through an examination of Taché's diverse—but linked—forms of knowledge production, this chapter has suggested how French Canada as a region was made into an objective and reified entity; the ordering of exhibitions, digging, drawing and collecting all contributed to the making of difference (Axel 2002:234). As this chapter has aimed to demonstrate, Taché's life and work must be understood within the wider, intertwined framework of the religious/nationalist/regionalist goals of mid-century Québec brought on by the impending socio-economic changes that would result from industrialization and modernization *and* the dynamics of nineteenth-century colonialism. By gathering together Taché's archaeological reports, descriptions and drawings into an archaeological archive, it becomes apparent how nineteenth-century archaeologies contributed to the multiple narratives of difference being constructed at this time. As Meskell has noted, "National modernities are constructed through dialogic relationships between archaeological materiality and heterogeneous narratives of the past that recursively offer horizons of hybridization" (2002:288). An examination of the varied projects undertaken

by Taché within his lifetime presents a picture of the *bricoleur* building his national monument brick by brick, through his political representations, exhibitionary ordering, story writing, genealogies, statistical and archaeological projects.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION: THE RUINS OF THE COLONIAL PAST AND THE POLITICS OF THE PRESENT

Below are reprinted two consecutive pages from the field journals of Andrew F. Hunter (1863-1950), a Simcoe County historian, newspaper editor and archaeologist who identified all of the Aboriginal burial and village sites excavated in the region (Hunter 1899,1900,1913). Through pictorial and textual representations as well as the collecting of personal testimonies Hunter recorded how excavations transformed the Simcoe County landscape *from the ground up* during the nineteenth century. By the 1880s, at the time when Hunter kept his field journals, the county was visibly different from the earlier decades of the century when Anderson was the Indian agent, Bawtree the doctor at Penetanguishene, and Chazelle, Martin, and Taché searched for traces of the seventeenth-century Jesuit missions in the area. The settler population of Upper Canada had risen from four hundred thousand to close to a million people in the years between 1851-1871 (Statistics Canada 2008). Concomitantly, the political situation had also changed for the Ojibwa of southern Ontario. As documented in the case studies previously discussed, in an era of Native policy that aimed to settle and civilize the Aboriginal population, relationships between Native peoples, settlers and local administrators were both contentious and contested. Prior to the middle of the nineteenth century, the Aboriginal peoples living within this region worked both within and outside of the legal structures imposed upon them, to protect their rights to occupy their

lands, resist settlement on reserves, continue to hunt and fish on their traditional territories, and to protect the desecration of the bones of their ancestors. By the 1860s, however, the responsibility for Indian Affairs in Upper Canada had been transferred from the British Colonial Office to the Province of Canada, and as Schmaltz describes, “the noose around the necks of the Indigenous peoples was tightened” (1991:180). Attempts at self-determination were further thwarted by the expansion of Native residential schools and the increase in policies to end “roaming” as part of continued efforts to assimilate Aboriginal peoples into mainstream Euro-Canadian culture (Schmalz 1991:181-2).

Although Native policy in Canada may have changed in the second half of the century as the settler population increased, the production of Euro-Canadian cultural knowledge about the landscape and the related production of subjectivities through historical imaginaries, ethnographic accounts and archaeology was ongoing. The structure of the entries in Hunter’s field journals and the descriptions found there reflect the claims made throughout this thesis: that archaeology, as both a discursive strategy and an investigative modality produced knowledge that worked to replace Aboriginal historical and cultural forms, transform the indigenous landscape and territory, and create typologies and classifications of race. It was in Hunter’s published archaeological reports that I first read brief references to Anderson, Bawtree, Martin, Chazelle and Taché, the earliest excavators in the region, who were said to be neither antiquarians nor archaeologists. These words made me pause and wonder what had drawn these men to Simcoe County. How did these colonial and imperial agents, administrators and missionaries produce facts about the past through their varied

archaeological activities? And how did their excavations, observations, documentations and collections contribute to the processes of nineteenth-century colonialism in Upper Canada?

The excerpts from Hunter's field notebooks, seen in Figures 21 to 24, are part of the archaeological archive that lies at the heart of this thesis. These archival forms, like the site reports, surveys, artifacts and personal letters presented in this dissertation, must be imagined as cultural artifacts and understood as kinds of situated knowledge they produced. The archaeological archive assembled, contextualized and analyzed within this thesis reveals the history-making projects that underlie the colonial project (Stoler 2006a:268). This is not to say that the archaeological archive is cast aside as a source of facts about colonial history. Rather, the focus is shifted to look at how colonial facts *were made*: what were the political and social contexts in which colonial administrators and missionaries made observations, assembled and recorded them; how did people make assumptions about what they knew; and what external institutions validated their knowledge? As described in Chapter Two, influenced by Foucault's identification of the relationship between knowledge and power, historical anthropologists have exposed how "cultural sources" were places where exclusion could be represented and, at the same time, where testaments to the nuanced structures of colonial power were substantiated (Stoler 2006a:270).

Figure 21, a passage from Hunter's notebook reveals his musings about the origins of Aboriginal peoples:

Traditions of the temptation and Fall have likewise been found among the N.A. Indians; and the fact that the Karens have been drifting Eastwards, throws light on the probable identity of origin of the Karens and N. A. Indians.

This cross-cultural comparison between the “Karens” and the “N.A. Indians” fits squarely into the established approach taken by eighteenth-century comparative ethnographers like Lafitau, described in Chapter Two.⁷³

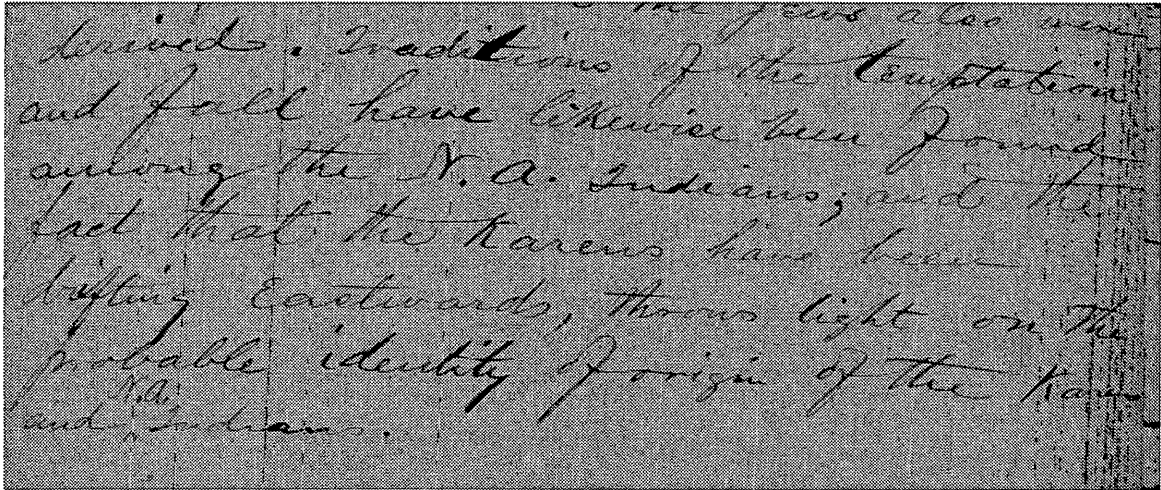


Figure 21 A Passage from Hunter's Notebook. (Part 1 1-93, AF Hunter Barrie Archaeological sites Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum. Field Journals for Andrew F. Hunter. New World Archaeology Archive.)

Like Lafitau, Hunter, writing 150 years later, relied on the doctrine of degeneration and primitive monotheism to create generalizing bodies of knowledge as forms of evidence that interpreted and defined Aboriginal communities and their histories (Lafitau [1727] 1977). Indigenous peoples, as constructed through Western histories, were once part of a powerful people that lost their direction or, as Hunter states, “drifted.” As subjects of Victorian ethnologies that aimed to make cross-cultural comparisons Aboriginal peoples were associated with the biblical fallen world in comparison to Europeans who were cultured,

⁷³ The “Karens” are most likely a reference to the Indigenous peoples of southern and southeastern Burma. Hunter’s attempts at comparative ethnology to create a family of man may have been influenced by the contemporary theories of University of Toronto English professor and archaeologist Daniel Wilson. In Wilson’s *Prehistoric Man* (1862) he tries to create links between what he identified as the Indo-European race and the Indigenous North Americans in order to argue that they were at similar stages of cultural development.

civilized and progressive (Cohn 1987b:51). Discussed in Chapter Three, Indian Agent Anderson made similar conjectures about the pasts of the people under his authority and used bones and burial remains as material evidence of similar scientific theories that justified and legitimated contemporary Native policies focused on civilizing and settlement. Chapter Two of this thesis describes how historical anthropologists identified the ways that the making of relative and chronometric dating and the writing of world history were part of nineteenth-century colonial statecraft; the construction of European written history that aimed to obliterate oral histories of Indigenous populations were bound up with the definition of territory, the control of space and the making of nations.

Directly following Hunter's theorizing about the origins and migrations of North American Indians an eyewitness account of Indigenous migrations that took place in the years 1827 and 1828 appears in this field journal:

Early settlers of Simcoe County speak emphatically of the troops of North Shore Indians that periodically passed through the pioneer settlements on their way to and from the trading post of Holland Landing to obtain the annual distribution of presents '27 & '28 supplies from the depot there. As a rule the excursion was made...

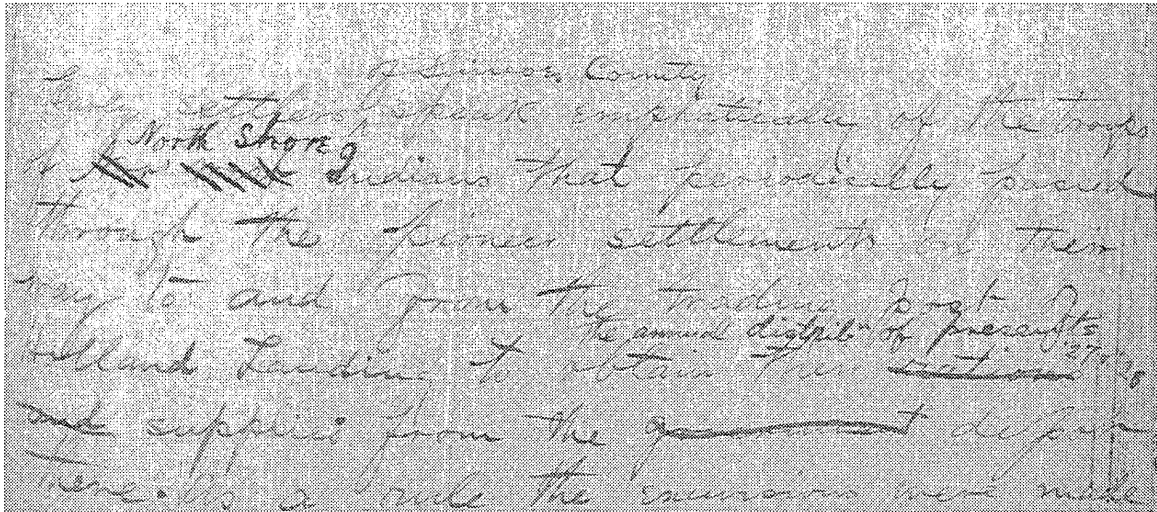
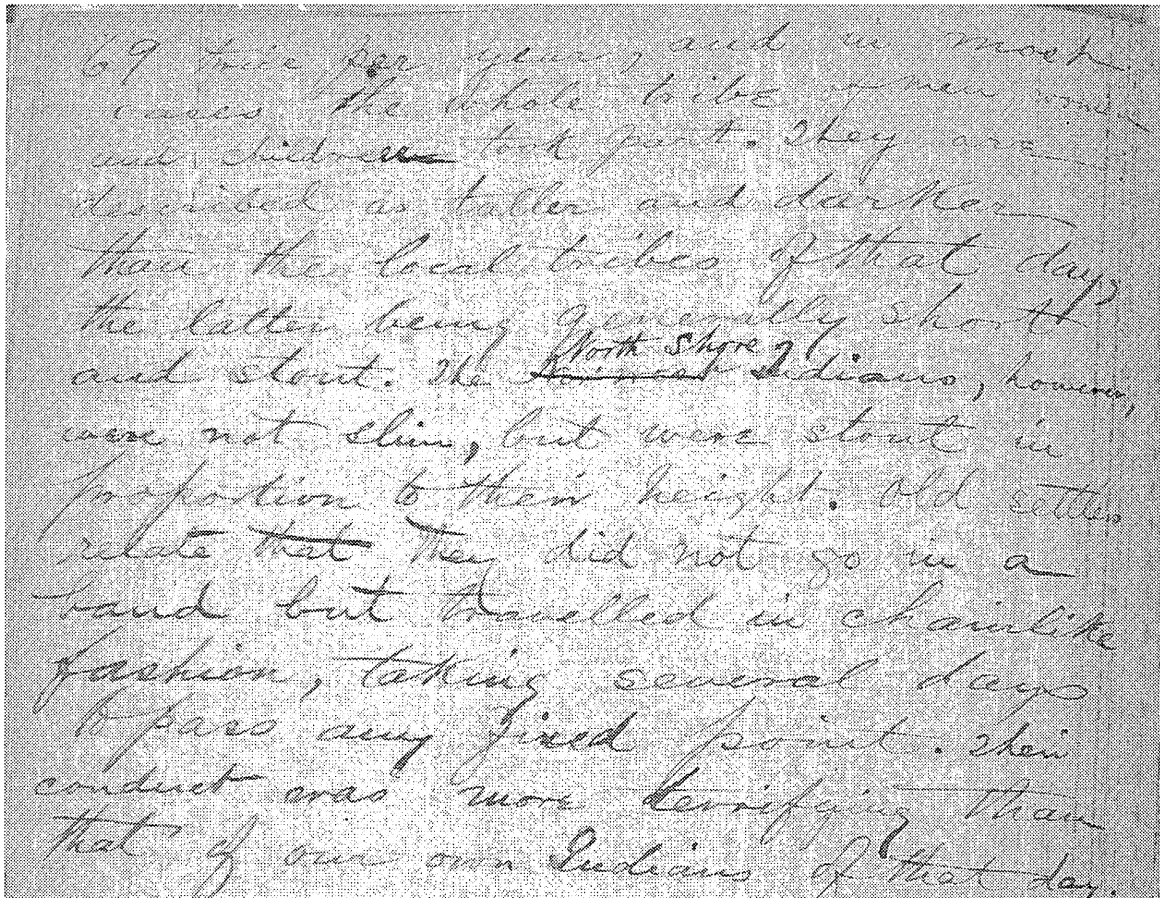


Figure 22 Description Made by Early Settlers and Recorded by Hunter. (Part 1 1-93, AF Hunter Barrie Archaeological sites. Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum. Field Journals for Andrew F. Hunter. New World Archaeology Archive.)

Figure 22 reveals the multiple deletions and revisions that were necessary to set down in writing the settler narratives Hunter had collected, and the apparent drama of these events. The colonial landscape was not just transformed by archaeology and settlement, but personal and collective memories embedded in narratives as discursive strategies served to represent and shape the territory of Upper Canada *from the ground up*. The settler's accounts recorded by Hunter describe how the Algonquian peoples living on the north shore of Lake Huron would often come through Simcoe County on their way to pick up the presents that had been pledged to them by the British for their support in the War of 1812. Knowledge about these so-called wild and savage peoples of the Great Lakes region, and the ways in which the geography of their territories did not easily yield to the forces of colonization, was distilled through the production of maps, surveys and ethnographic accounts, many examples of which have been presented throughout this thesis. A telling description of their excursions continues on the page that follows in Hunter's field journals:

twice per year, and in most cases the whole tribe of men, women and children took part. They are described as taller and darker than the local tribes of that day, the latter being generally short and stout. The North Shore Indians, however, were not slim, but were stout in proportion to their height. Old settlers relate that they did not go in a band but travelled in chainlike fashion taking several days to pass any fixed point. Their conduct was more terrifying than that of our own Indians of that day.



69
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Figure 23. Hunter's Field Journal Continued. (Part 1 1-93, AF Hunter Barrie Archaeological sites. Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum. Field Journals for Andrew F. Hunter. New World Archaeology Archive.)

Pels and Salemink have identified how what began as “practical problems,” between colonial administrators, missionaries, settlers and Indigenous peoples, like issues over trespassing, often transpired into a discourse of difference (1999:9). As described in Chapter One, by the third decade of the nineteenth century most of the Aboriginal territories in

southern Ontario had been ceded and were quickly being cleared for settlement and farming by a large influx of European migrants arriving in Simcoe County. Colonial land surveyors had used their chains to measure and mark the concession lines that divided the county into a neat grid for that created family plots for farming. However, according to this ethnographic observation recorded in Hunter's field journal "whole tribes" of Native peoples moved in a "chainlike fashion," perhaps meaning one after another in single file, through what had become settler property, taking their time to "pass a fixed point" and apparently "terrifying" the settler population in their wake. These words reveal the "micro-politics of resistance" that took place as the Indigenous peoples of the Great Lakes, regardless of land treaties, traveled across what was now understood to be settler territory on their way to Holland Landing to collect their annual presents (Cole 2004:179).⁷⁴

The early settler narratives, recorded for posterity by Hunter over sixty years after the described events, also reveal how Simcoe County, south of the northern shores of Lake Huron, was part of the mental maps of the mobile peoples of the Great Lakes region. As the documents in the archaeological archive collected in this thesis have revealed, while colonial and imperial administrators and missionaries aimed to stop what they described as the roving and wandering ways of the Indigenous people of this region they were frustrated by the difficulty of fixing the Anishinaabeg in one place. Physical actions like moving in a "chainlike fashion" had, over time, organized and encoded social meanings and seasonal

⁷⁴ The giving of the presents in lieu of annuities was stipulated by the series of land purchases that had occurred in the last decades of the eighteenth century and the first two of the nineteenth century and described in the Chapter One. The presents were distributed at Holland Landing until 1828, and after that date they were moved to Orillia, then Penetanguishene and finally to Manitoulin Island where, as described in Chapter Three, T.G. Anderson aimed to promote a government reserve at this location (Barry 1992:23).

rounds into spaces like the paths followed across the landscape that were not easily disrupted by settlers colonialism (Nabokov & Easton 1989:11). A detailed knowledge of the landscape and informal movements within it defied what Cohn identified as the “British metalogic of regularity and uniformity” that underpinned the civilizing and settling missions of this period (Cohn 1985:318) that aimed to set internal clocks to march to a temporal uniformity set in the imperial centre (Nanni 2012).

As demonstrated in this thesis, the survey and demarcation of territory through varied means were essential to the colonial project in Upper Canada. Chain-like movements needed to be rationalized and organized through mechanisms of surveillance, modes of representation, and human geography that produced knowledge of the landscape and established boundaries to keep watch for trespassers on settler property. Survey lines, concession roads, railways and towns reinforced property rights and became the most powerful physical reminders for Indigenous peoples of where they could and could not go within their former territories (Cole 2004: 178-9). The ability of imperial agents and, later, settler colonists, to dispossess Aboriginal territory and manage this dispossession rested upon a set of disciplinary technologies that included maps, numbers, laws, geographic resettlement and as I suggest in the case studies presented here archaeological excavation (Hall 2000:25).

To re-organize established indigenous social spaces, which would in turn created new subjectivities that could be controlled, territory also needed to be reformulated *from the ground up* (Asad 1992:337; Scott 1995:214). Archaeological excavation literally

changed the “footing” of indigenous territory (Scott 1995:214). Furthermore, archaeological maps, site reports and collections, as sites of knowledge production, created facts that aimed to fix categories. Placed on the page of Hunter’s field journal directly below the settler account, another colonial narrative is produced:

The opening of a bonepit. It might not be out of place, while the facts are still green in the memory’s of one who took part in it, to attempt to put on record a few details concerning the discovery and excavation of an ancient Indian ossuary during the summer of 1882.

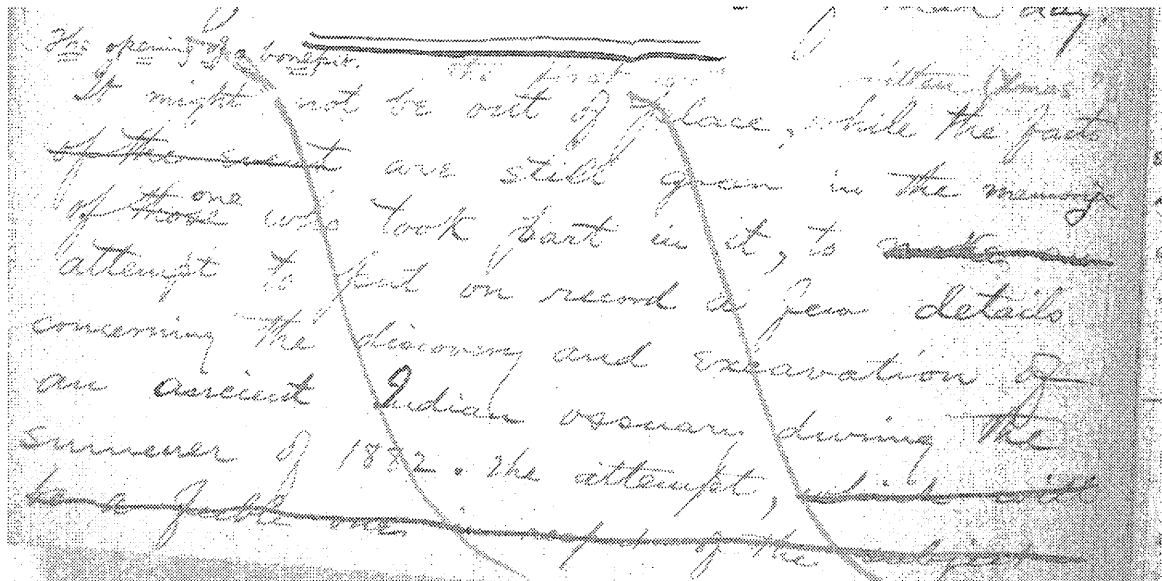


Figure 24. Description of the Opening of Bonepit. (Part 1 1-93, AF Hunter Barrie Archaeological sites. Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum. Field Journals for Andrew F. Hunter. New World Archaeology Archive.)

This passage from Hunter’s field journals reflects how creating colonial knowledge about the past and producing subjects, even those who were deceased, was often an uncertain process (Stoler 2009). The journal entry, relays that “facts” of “events” are not easily put in “place,” and memories of what occurred in the past are “green” or fresh in the observer’s eye for a limited time only, soon to fade. Furthermore, “attempts”

to get down on paper the “subject” of these events are “feeble” leading to uncertainty. In addition, the details regarding discovery and excavation, we are told, are “few.” The four case studies presented in this thesis also suggest that the production of archaeological knowledge in nineteenth-century Simcoe County did not always result in a singular, seamless narrative. The archaeological practices presented in this study demonstrate that while archaeological knowledge represented peoples and their pasts within a set of asymmetrical relationships of power, these relationships were often contested, and the creation of classifications of peoples and definitions of new territories above and below the ground was far from a standardized process.

The archaeological practices of Anderson, Bawtree, Chazelle, Martin and Taché have been brought together in this thesis to expose the diverse ways in which colonial knowledge was made and the socio-political contexts that framed the motives and actions of colonial administrators, military men and missionaries in a particular time and place. The details of their excavations in Simcoe County are also few. Today, the artifacts excavated by Anderson cannot be identified. Bawtree’s collection of skulls remain as part of the Williamson collection in the Museum of Natural Science in London, yet the collection of artifacts that he excavated in Simcoe County and brought back with him upon his return to England have gone missing. While Martin’s drawings are now housed in the Archive of the Jesuits in Canada, the location of the pottery, pipes and beads he documents are not known. As well, Taché’s copious notes and maps of the burial and village sites he excavated are not archived with his professional or personal papers. Working back from these traces I have exposed the power relations that defined colonial

culture and the ways that this set of archaeological practices created evidence about Indigenous peoples that cannot be dislodged from the larger colonial project. Taken together these case studies reveal how the data and practices of early archaeology in Simcoe County were significant forms of colonial knowledge that aimed to tell something about other people's worlds. In so doing, archaeological practices shaped the settler landscape, made efforts to erase Aboriginal conceptions of time and space, and fixed categories of difference that legitimated the dispossession of territory.

The findings of this study could be tested outside of Simcoe County. The histories of other townships in nineteenth-century Upper Canada could be examined to show how surveys, reports and archaeological visual data contributed to the discourses about race that developed between the metropole and the colony. Not only could the geographic area of investigation be broadened, but also the time period of research could be extended into the second half of the nineteenth century and beyond to raise further questions about the role of archaeology in producing colonial knowledge. Future studies might ask: what was the role of the new technologies of mechanical reproduction and photographic images in archaeological survey in the later half of the nineteenth century? How did the dissemination of images through print medium contribute to the production of archaeological knowledge in a period when the discipline was being professionalized and distinctions were being made between amateurs and professionals? An exhibition to juxtapose archaeological maps and surveys with other forms of landscape depictions produced in nineteenth-century Upper Canada might ask: how were seemingly benign recordings of the colonized landscape criteria of evidence that supported the development

of Native policies in the nineteenth century and aided in constraining and authorizing the power of particular groups and individuals, while excluding others? In what ways are the seeds of the politics of the present lodged in these colonial efforts at cultural translation? How can contemporary Indigenous writers and artists redress the colony legacy of nineteenth-century archaeological practices?

Historians and anthropologists have exposed how imperial histories play an essential role in re-thinking the legacies of colonialism in the present (Axel: 2002b; Hall 2000:3; Stoler 2008; Willow 2009). The four case studies presented in this dissertation historicize, particularize and contextualize the production of ruins in the first half of the nineteenth century but these ruins continue to exist today in museum, university and private collections. As literal ruins, artifacts and human remains, archaeological archival reports and images throw into relief contemporary Aboriginal calls to decolonize archaeological practices (Ataly 2006), and to reconsider who owns the past and who controls the knowledge produced through the study and curation of Aboriginal artifacts and human remains (McGhee 2008; Zimmerman 1996) and how laws need to be changed to facilitate the repatriation of human remains in collections in Europe and North America by descendant communities (Peers 2007; 2009).

Stoler has emphasized “imperial projects are themselves processes of ongoing ruination, processes that ‘bring ruin upon,’ exerting material and social force in the present” (Stoler 2009:195). This social force can be identified in the bones dug up in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that according to Aboriginal belief systems are human

souls that will not be at rest until they are returned to their original resting place (Baker 1999; Dewar 2007). In 1999, in response to this social force a cube van was packed with 350 boxes of bones to return them to the site in Wendake where they were first buried in the seventeenth century and later excavated by the Royal Ontario Museum in the 1940s. Members of the Huron-Wyandot from Canada and the United States gathered at an unmarked site close to the original ossuary at the Huron-Wendat village of Ossossané, in what is now Simcoe County, where the bones were first laid to rest. Newspaper reports of the event describe how at a private, solemn and emotional ceremony sweet grass was used to purify the pit and beaver pelts were placed inside before the bones were passed through a human chain down into the common grave (Avery 1999; Baker 1999). As I write the final words of this thesis the social force of the Huron-Wendat bones remains active as a memorandum of understanding between the University of Toronto and the Heritage Trust of Ontario has been signed with the Grand chief Konrad Sioui of the Huron-Wendat Nation to rebury the bones of 1,500 Huron-Wendat ancestors that have been stored at the University of Toronto as archaeological artifacts for the last fifty years. The bones were disinterred from several sites in southern Ontario including the ancestral lands of the Huron-Wendat people. A reburial ceremony took place on September 14th, 2013 at the Glassco site in the City of Vaughn at a burial site to be known as Thonnakona Ossuary (Narine 2013). Ceremonies like these are expressions of how archaeological survey, excavation, documentation and collection of Indigenous human and material remains once supported claims that only the West could produce knowledge of the past and that that these claims, now refuted, continue to reverberate in the present.

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APPENDIX A: TERMINOLOGY USED IN THIS THESIS

Aboriginal: The term Aboriginal is used to denote all the Indigenous people of Canada including the Métis and Inuit, while First Nations and Native people do not include the latter two groups.

Algonquian: Linguists use the word Algonquian for the most populous language family in North America. From the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, Algonquian-speaking tribes occupied areas that included what are today the Maritime Provinces, the state of Maine, New Jersey and New York, and most of the land east of the Rockies, which included the Great Lakes region and what are today western Ontario, Upper Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota (Foster 2012).

Colonialism and Imperialism: Writers have noted how the terms colonialism, colony, and empire are often “slippery,” with meanings that have changed over time and are therefore difficult to define (Hall and Rose 2006). In this thesis, I recognize that empire cannot be conceived as a “steady state” (Stoler et al. 2007) but should be understood as a set of policies or theories on how to extend control and power over another country. Although empires worked as networks through which and within which colonial discourses were made, these discourses were not just transferred and transposed from the metropole but were rather refashioned within particular colonial contexts (Cooper 2002:56).

Colonialism is then the on-the-ground practice of policies of domination and settlement in geographic regions outside of Europe (Hall 2000:5). The study of colonial knowledge

within this thesis aims to reveal how colonialism was a set of asymmetrical *cultural* relationships between the colonizers and colonized (Ballantyne 2008).

Huronia: Used to describe the traditional homelands of the Huron-Wendat, this word does not occur in any seventeenth-century sources. The French called this geographic area *pays des Huron*. *Huronia* first appears in a Jesuit vocabulary written in 1745, referring to *la défunte huronie* (“the deceased or defunct Huronia”). The common usage of *Huronia* began in the latter half of the nineteenth century, when it is often referred to as “Old Huronia” (Gordon 2004:507; Heidenreich 1978). Today, the term is used to refer to the area formerly occupied by the Huron-Wendat during the period of French contact (1615-50). As well, *Huronia* is often used to describe the contemporary area of north Simcoe County, Ontario. It is for this reason that I often use the terms *Huronia* and Simcoe County interchangeably when describing where the events described in the case studies for this thesis took place.

Indigenous: Meaning “native to the area” the term is used in this thesis interchangeably with Aboriginal and Native peoples to avoid repetition. When used as a proper noun for a people the term is capitalized, otherwise it is in lower case (Terminology 2013).

Indian: When maintaining the language used in the nineteenth century, I use the term *Indian* that is often found in the documents that are cited here.

Metropole: In this thesis *metropole* refers to the European imperial centres of power. In Great Britain this includes London and Edinburgh and in France, Paris.

Native: This term is similar in meaning to Aboriginal and Indigenous. As a collective term it is used to denote the descendants of the original people of North American (Terminology 2013)

Ojibwa: In this thesis I use the name Ojibwa (Ojibway Chippewa, Chippeway) to refer to the people who lived in the area between Lake Simcoe and Georgian Bay in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Bishop 2012; Harris 2008:307; Schmalz 1991). In nineteenth-century documents, the term Chippewa is often used to denote the Indigenous peoples who lived in northern Lake Huron, Georgian Bay and Simcoe County. Although this term does not allow for more specific kin associations, it was a self-referential term in the nineteenth century and appears in historic documents (Ferris 2009). Today, the peoples of the Great Lakes refer to themselves collectively as Anishinaabe, with the plural form being Anishinaabeg.

Simcoe County: The Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada established Simcoe County as Simcoe County District in 1843. Its original 19 townships were restructured in 1845. In 1845, Upper Canada moved to abolish districts in favour of the creation of townships. More recently, in 1994, a further reconstruction took place that created 16 local municipalities as well as three Indian reserves. Historically, Simcoe County contained the former *Wendake* or Huron-Wendat homeland.

Upper Canada: In 1841, Upper Canada became Canada West, which lasted until 1867. Although the meeting at the Narrows and other events described in this thesis took place after 1841, for clarity's sake I still use Upper Canada throughout. Upper Canada covered

all of modern-day southern Ontario and essentially all the watersheds of the Ottawa River, Lake Huron and Lake Superior (Harris 2008).

Huron-Wendat: The term Huron-Wendat is used to refer to the Native people who lived in the southeast corner of Georgian Bay, on the land between Matchedash and Nottawasaga Bays, west of the Lake Simcoe area, until their destruction by the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) in 1649. The nineteenth-century documents cited here often use the term *Huron* to refer to these people.