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A History of Christian Island and the Beausoleil Band

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A HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN ISLAND AND THE BEAUSOLEIL BAND
VOLUME 3

Prepared for
The Museum of Indian Archaeology (London)
and
Christian Island Indian Reserve
The Beausoleil Band Council

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Bruce Bowden,
Project Co-ordinator.
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Christian Island's importance has always been directly tied to its location in Georgian Bay two kilometers west of the entrance to Matchedash Bay. Christian Island is the largest of three islands which together mark the seaward passages into the harbours of Penetanguishene and Midland. They are just south of the "thirty thousand islands" which honeycomb the shoreline of Georgian Bay and close to the mouth of the Severn River in Matchedash Bay and the Nottawasaga River flowing into Nottawasaga Bay. These rivers have been the two traditional water routes to Lake Simcoe and on to Lake Ontario either at the Bay of Quinte or at Toronto. The island, with its sandy soil and gently rolling hills is part of Ontario's arable land, yet is situated close by the rocks, lakes and forests of the Shield.

The region first enters recorded history when on August 1, 1615 Champlain, travelling south from the French River, crossed Matchedash Bay and arrived at the small Huron village of Otouacha near modern Penetang. From there he quickly proceeded on to the larger palisaded village, Carhagouha near Thunder Bay almost overlooking Christian Island. Champlain's fall attack on the Onondaga south of eastern Lake Ontario began in the lee of this island before he and the Huron war party walked overland to the location of present day Orillia and then canoed down Balsam Lake and the Trent River. Having been wounded in this unsuccessful campaign Champlain travelled overland with his party through eastern Ontario before arriving back at Carhagouha just after
Christmas 1615. In February he skirted Christian Island as he visited the Pétun nation on the southwest shore of Nottawasaga Bay.\textsuperscript{1} Thus in 1615 Christian Island was the westernmost outcrop of Huron country.

Although a 1623 Jesuit map placed four villages on the island, Isle St. Joseph as the Jesuits now named it, was propelled into Canada's historical record by the dramatic events of 1649-51. The sudden attack by the Iroquois in the late winter of 1649 soon turned into a devastating Huron rout. Huron villages were abandoned even before they were attacked and the undefendable Jesuit mission St. Marie Among the Huron on the Wye River was scuttled after the martyrdom of Bréboeuf and Lalemant. In their despair the Huron turned to Christian Island as their last refuge in Huron country. This, despite Jesuit entreaties to journey further northwest to Manitoulin Island; indeed the apparent safety of that larger more distant island which seemed so evident to French minds might have been quite another matter for a defeated people entering Algonkian lands, and Iroquois attacks on Odawa villages there in 1652 were also successful. Christian Island's tragic events then marked the last stand of the Huron nation as an organized people, and of the little Jesuit Mission.

A stone fort was built on the leeward shore of the island. Unfortunately canoe travel to and from the island was easily visible from the shoreline; too many Hurons, perhaps as many as 8000, fled to the island; hunting parties were defeated by pursuing Iroquois and insufficient supplies of food and nuts
could be purchased from Algonkian allies further up the coast. In the spring of 1650 the Jesuits, and 300 Hurons escaped to the French River and early in 1651 a final Huron party also got away. The destruction of Huron country was complete.\textsuperscript{2}

After the Jesuit departure, the region is seldom mentioned in recorded colonial history until after the American Revolution. Its role in native history remained active because of the area's strategic and economic importance. Burial remains and Ojibwa and Iroquoian oral traditions suggest that a large Iroquoian war party suffered a devastating defeat in the 1690's from the Ojibwa close by the Nottawasaga River overlooking the Island. The most important route west from Montreal to Michilimackinac and Green Bay thus remained under Ojibwa control and the Iroquois were denied the use of the northern hinterland which had briefly been secured in 1650. Indeed they could not even use the various water routes north from Lake Ontario in complete safety. Nottawasaga Bay's strategic importance had thus been born out, and in the eighteenth century Iroquoian expeditions into the Nipissing area stopped\textsuperscript{3}.

There is corroborative evidence to support these historical conclusions. E.S. Rogers believes that until 1690 Southern Ojibwa peoples (Chippewa, Saulteux, Ottawa, Mississauga, and Potawatomi being the terms preferred by French and English writers of the time) securely held the northern shore of Lake Huron. By 1702 groups were at Fort Frontenac (Kingston) and the mouth of the Humber River. By the 1720's, perhaps 300 Ojibwa were living in a village "at the north end of Lake St. Clair."
French documents mentioned groups along Matchedash Bay in 1718 and again in 1736 when estimates for southeastern Ojibwa settlements in southern Ontario suggest "perhaps in all 1,000 - 1,500 people."^4

Generally, these bands were so tied into the fur trade that villages became established close by French military and trading posts. The largest of these were Fort Frontenac, Fort Niagara, Fort Detroit, Michilimackinac and La Baie (Green Bay), but an entire string of these communities stretched from eastern Lake Ontario into Wisconsin and beyond Lake Superior into Minnesota and Manitoba--Brule (Toronto), St. Ignace in Michigan, Fort Beaugharnois in Minnesota, Michipicoten, Nipigon, and Kaministiquia in Lake Superior country. At these military/trading posts Iroquoian, Ojibwa, Fox, Miami, Sioux, and Creek groupings often were in close contact with each other. Southeastern Ojibwa communities mixed an economy based on hunting, trapping, berry picking and fishing with the cultivation of maize.^5 The Matchedash Bay area, while not occupied by a French post, offered the Ojibwa what it had provided the Hurons--rich resources for their mixed economy, and direct water and portage access both to the Toronto region and the Quinte-Kingston portions of Lake Ontario where French posts did exist by 1720. Small wonder that oral tradition thinks of the period as a time of plenty.

In 1795 the British negotiated a provisional agreement which had to be re-signed in 1798 giving them access to Georgian Bay.^6 The treaty between the British and the Chippewa was signed by
five chiefs including John Assance. Because of subsequent settlement patterns these men now have been associated together as Chiefs of three bands of Ojibwa. These bands now occupy three different reservations (Christian Island, Rama on Lake Couchiching, and Georgina Island in Lake Simcoe) and still retain a sense of common identity under the terminology of the Tri-Council. In fact each chief signed the treaty of 1798 by affixing the sign of his family totem. Assance, the Chief of what was to become known as the Beausoleil Band used his family totem of "the otter". Although bands were the basic socio-political units, they were also cut across by totemic clans. These cross divisions are still discernible in the social structure, possibly still affect voting patterns in elections, and are referred to in oral tradition. Thus, for example, although a representative for Assance signed the agreement of 1795, and he himself signed the Treaty of 1798 ceding the land stretching from Thunder Bay to both shores of Penetanguishene Bay, his family's tradition still holds that there were family hunting grounds within this area near Thunder Bay.\textsuperscript{7} Band members also speak of traditional hunting grounds south of Nottawasaga Bay in lands covered by the 1815 cession of lands.

The agreement of 1798 may be regarded somewhat differently than many of the treaties negotiated in southern Ontario immediately after the American Revolution. The Treaty's purpose arguably was limited just as the land area was restricted—to obtain a secure harbour to replace a more westerly naval base which Jay's Treaty of 1796 was likely to award to the Americans.
Indian title to a significant-sized tract was not being expunged just before colonial settlement was about to occur as in Eastern Ontario and in the Niagara Peninsula before the arrival of the Loyalists; nor was a territory being reserved for Indian peoples as in the Grand River basin. In a sense the British were repeating French patterns of coexistence. Indeed the "Chippewa of Lakes Huron and Simcoe" were regarded as important military allies; they were an essential support to British sovereignty in the upper Great Lakes. In 1813 Assance and members of the Band responded with military aid during Admiral Chauncy's attack on York (Toronto); the family still possesses two commemorative medals given to him for his role in this conflict. Band members of the Tri-Council groups also mustered at Holland's Landing in 1837 during the Rebellion at York. In 1815 a larger land cession which had been negotiated in 1811 was signed\(^8\); the timing was fortuitous for the Treaty of Ghent ending the War of 1812 had cost the British their naval base on Drummond Island at the western entrance to Lake Huron. With that treaty, signed 200 years after Champlain first saw Christian Island and Thunder Bay, the balance shifted from European penetration into the Matchedash Bay region to European control of what was to become Simcoe County.

The exact location of the Tri-Council Bands before 1830 is not known. Almost certainly Assance's band was in the Nottawasaga Bay-Matchedash Bay region. Oral tradition from some band members holds that much of this time was spent around the Nottawasaga River and the Beaver Valley.\(^9\) Certainly, subsequent
events suggest that this Band had an unbreakable commitment to southern Georgian Bay, a sense of place grounded in a minutely detailed knowledge of the region. Even when, in the 1830's, European ways had to be tried at the village of Coldwater, just east of Matchedash Bay, this difficult transition from a more traditional way of life had not removed them from their "place". Europeans moved into Penetanguishene in the 1830's; the French-speaking settlement of Lafontaine began in 1830 close to where Pere Le Caron had celebrated mass for Champlain in 1615, but the region still supported the Ojibwa Band which had not yet been assigned a specific location by British authorities.

In 1830 Lt. Governor Colborne created an experiment in group settlement--the Coldwater settlement. The Tri-Council bands were settled across the divide from the mouth of the Severn River to "the Narrows" between Lakes Simcoe and Couchiching. Assance's band was located in the new village of Coldwater, two miles inland from Matchedash Bay. Although they remained in touch with their Georgian Bay home and ways of sustaining themselves, the results were nevertheless wrenching. Coldwater was to be a model Upper Canadian village complete with log houses, grist and saw mills, an Anglican church and a school. To this were added the tasks of clearing fields and completing a public works project--the opening of the Coldwater Road between present day Orillia and Georgian Bay. These European goals were in competition with each other at times of the year which were critical for a successful harvest; Colborne's goals were still more confounded by interdenominational tensions and by the continuance of
traditional and essential activities like hunting, fishing, maple tree tapping and berry picking. Increased settlement pressures, northward from Holland's Landing and eastward from Penetang made the group settlement inexpedient. Lt. Governor Frances Bond Head, who was prone to sudden and arbitrary changes of course, abruptly discontinued support. After 1838 Coldwater was left to wither away, to fall into disrepair and become overgrown, or else to become a European village. Assance's band was faced with very hard choices.

Coldwater is a chapter in Canadian history, not just in Ojibwa history. For urban Canadians of course such a group settlement is a distant time with foreign values long since forgotten except by those who study the difficult puzzle of Canadian Indian policy and its effects. For many Band members of Christian Island, Coldwater and its aftermath is a recent past—a trial which a few loyal families endured, a trial whose effects lasted long after Indians returned to Christian Island as a place of permanent residence, a trial which still affects political and social patterns within the Beausoleil community. ¹¹

Assance led his people back to the western portions of Matchedash Bay—especially the unpromising soil of Beausoleil Island, in preference to a new government experiment on Manitoulin Island. For historians, Assance's devotion to the increasingly restricted area on the fringes of Simcoe County and Muskoka District has echoes of the Huron decision almost two centuries before. Quite possibly the reasons had also changed little. Beausoleil Island, just north of Penetang's harbour,
principally offered a location from which traditional patterns of hunting, trapping, berry picking and fishing might be re-established. The twenty year period 1837-1856 was, however, characterized by sectarian divisions between Catholics and Methodists, geographical splintering of the Band with some groups departing for Manitoulin Island, nomadic wandering in the area before Beausoleil Island could be occupied, hunger and outright famine, repeated petitions to the government and the death by drowning in 1847 of this remarkable chief. Some efforts at farming were made both at the village on Beausoleil Island and in plots on Christian Island to the west. Thus it was to this group of 3 islands--Christian, Hope and Beckwith--that the Band turned in its effort to find a permanent reserve.

Once again "whites" who were closest to the Band's decision disagreed with the choice--this time because it was an island cut off by ice for a third of the year. But the closeness to Simcoe County and Matchedash Bay was precisely the issue. Once again Christian Island was a refuge--this time from white settlement--which had agricultural potential but which was integrally joined to the economy and geography of their home. These links were given physical form by the building of the "Imperial Tower" lighthouse on Christian Island's southern point just as the reservation was being created in 1856. By World War I, Beausoleil Band members were model representatives of the supposed efficacy of Indian Affairs' promotion of subsistence farming. Band members were also important sources of labour to the region's economy--as guides for cottagers, as log drivers at
Muskoka Mills north of Honey Harbour, as guides and workers at Iron City further up the coast toward Parry Sound and quite probably as creators and sellers of baskets, furniture and other items which became highly prized in "cottage country". A new symbiotic relationship had been formed, albeit one which gave the Band little hope of breaking out of the subsistence nexus.

The creation of the reservation centering around Christian Island in 1856 ended the Band's nomadic existence in which it had been forced to relocate itself at least five times. Although some band members continued to reside on Beausoleil Island into the twentieth century, most Ojibwa and the few Potaganeshi families who had been welcomed into the Band by Chief Assiance in the 1840's moved to the leeward shore of Christian Island where already some Potawatomi and Ottawa families were residing.

Oral tradition holds that families settled where they wished, usually "up the hill" away from the water—thereby repeating patterns from Beausoleil Island. In 1899 the island was surveyed and an unsurveyed tract along the gently curving leeward shore was retained as a village site. Band members might build a house on a two acre site within this area and receive a "location ticket" which could be exchanged for a surveyed piece of land in the interior. Land was usually worked and good character demonstrated before a location ticket was granted. Typically these lots were fifty acres in size. Frequently the land was left as bush lots, but up the road across the centre of the island, several farms were developed. The mixed bush of
beech, oak and maple was important—as a provider of fuel, timber for the squared log buildings constructed on the island, and for maple tree tapping as maple sugar was extensively used. Typically families might have a village house for winter use and some sort of spring and summer dwelling in the interior of the island.

The Department of Indian Affairs, through its policies, its control of band funds and its directions to the Indian Agents who visited the island (and often were residents of northern Simcoe County), tried to promote subsistence farming. By 1899, 237 band members lived on Christian Island. Eighty per cent of band members were listed as Methodists and twenty per cent as Roman Catholics; several Potawatomi families remained unbaptised. Of 843 acres which had been cleared, 543 were being farmed or used as pasture. There were already four frame buildings, forty log buildings and ten barns. Besides three hundred and fifty steel traps and eighteen fish nets, there were twenty-five ploughs and one threshing machine. Band members owned sixty-six horses, eighty-five steers and cows, over one hundred pigs and four hundred fowl. Crops included oats, wheat, corn and eighteen hundred bushels of potatoes.¹⁸

Government statistics suggest that farm production began to decline as early as World War I, a fact partially corroborated by groves of 30-50 year old summach in fields of the Copegog farm.¹⁹ By the 1950's the island's agricultural phase, except for ventures such as beef production and a pheasantry, was past. Farming on Christian Island never did enter the age of the
tractor, combines or silos; the passing of draft horses and the farming generation occurred together. Despite the importance of farming, tree harvesting was always significant both as a source of cash and as a component of the subsistence economy. By the 1940's marketable timber was becoming scarce, although the band's sawmill at the waterfront near the dock did survive until the early 1960's. The farms had been comparatively small and little money could be extracted from the band funds managed by the Indian Agent for new equipment. Nevertheless, the seasonal activities associated with farming, sugaring, berry picking and logging are remembered by those who grew up in the 1940's as a time when there was a strong sense of community.

Co-existent with this, however, were strains which were destructive to a small community. The reservation had two confessional schools, two churches and a village which at times almost seemed to have two geographical zones divided by religious affiliation. As currency became more necessary, families had to seek work off the island; in several instances entire families had to seek work off the island; in others, the chief bread-winner would be absent for long periods. This pattern was compounded by the effects of poverty and the death of parents; frequently children were cared for by the "extended" family or other members of the village. Before the Depression children such as Leonard Monague who were considered bright by the local teacher might be sent to Muncey until the completion of Grade Eight, at which point schooling abruptly ended. In the next generation many children journeyed to residential schools at
Chapleau or Brantford, but often this wrenching separation had been caused by the death of a parent and the disruption or impoverishment of the family. The decision might have nothing to do with family choice and everything to do with government funding directives being carried out by the RCMP or Indian Agent. Happy memories about the residential school experience seem to be scarce! By the mid-1920's the Band was so fortunate as to have residing on the island a permanent Indian Agent and some of these men tried their best to do a difficult job. The fact, however, that a permanent Indian Affairs presence on the island signified progress is eloquent testimony to the crushingly paternalistic system which Department regulations imposed upon Canadian Indians. The smallest financial decision had to have the Agent's approval; at least in the 1930's he also helped by wintering the band's bull.

Since 1940 the island's visage has dramatically changed. The possible location of farm homes and orchards are now marked by single apple trees standing in the middle of abandoned meadows. Barns have disappeared; the lightkeeper's house is a romantic stone ruin and the village log houses have all disappeared save one. Family land holdings remain much the same as in the 1930's in the village, but expansion has occurred east and west along the main road. Two-storey houses are fast disappearing and three bedroom compact single floor houses, which lined street after street of the 1950's suburbs in Ontario cities are now the village's ubiquitous structure. The village core has been redeveloped with a new band council office dominating the
waterfront, a public school, the present modern log band office, a store, a day care centre and a modern health care facility.

Community activities have also evolved. Elders remember horse racing and distance running with the legendary Tom Longboat. Gone too is the brass band, the Fall Fair, the raised platform in front of the old community hall where baby and Indian princess contests were held. Baseball and hockey continue largely off the island since only an outdoor rink is flooded on the island; dinners are held for the elders and special events include Native Awareness Day and Little Christmas, usually held on Epiphany. Most interesting of all are the elections of the chief and councilors.

The tradition of earning income off the island became a hard necessity after WWII. Servicemen found that they had skills needed in the construction boom of the 1950's and 60's. Working "up the rocks" and employment as fruit pickers in Peel, Halton counties and the Niagara peninsula continued as seasonal activities; indeed the population of the island remained stable as families moved away until retirement age. Only recently has the population doubled to nearly 800. Local government with its provision of social services and policing has created some employment on the island. Nevertheless the community has not escaped unscathed. In recent years the band was particularly scarred by the accidental death of children and the suicide of some young people. So too excavations at the fort have disturbed "traditionalists" on the island.
The future development of tourism and the island's natural and heritage resources are going to be a watershed every bit as important as the end of farming. If guests are to be welcomed to the island in significant numbers - without causing disquiet in this enduring but vulnerable small community - they must be introduced to the island's and the Beausoleil Band's distinctive history. The band has already developed a tradition of commissioning external appraisals and reports. At no time has it been more important that the band implement recommendations in a manner which will enhance the band's sense of community. Outside expertise will quite likely be needed at the early development stage as has been the case in the study phase, but tourism must enhance the village's life, contribute to the Band's own cultural development, and be designed so that it can be largely sustained by band members themselves.
Endnotes


5. Ibid., pp. 763-771.


13. NAC, R.G. 10, Vol. 411 Indian Affairs, Superintendent Records, Central (Toronto) Superintendent, Correspondence 1852-1858, R. Bruce to T.G. Anderson, July 12, 1852.


17. Ibid.


20. Interview, L. Monague, M. Assance Beadie.


22. Interview, L. Monague.
CHAPTER II
THE BEAUSOLEIL BAND:
1790'S TO 1856

Between the 1650's and the 1670's, the Iroquois who had dispersed the Hurons, Pétuns, Neutrals, and some of the Ojibwa people used what is now southern Ontario as their hunting grounds.\(^1\) During the 1680's, these Iroquois Indians established settlements primarily on the north shore of Lake Ontario where they cultivated crops, trapped, fished, and continued to trade with Algonquian Indians living further north.\(^2\) By the 1670's, groups of Ojibwa people who were active in the fur trade with the French moved south from the north shores of Lakes Superior and Huron into the area just north of where the Hurons had been living. In the mid-1680's, these Ojibwas began attacking the Iroquois who, debilitated by disease and warfare, retreated by 1701 to their lands south of the lower Great Lakes. Following this victory, increased numbers of Ojibwa people migrated south to occupy the territory bounded by Georgian Bay and Lake Huron on the north and west, and Lakes Erie and Ontario to the south and east.\(^3\)

Although the Indians who defeated the Iroquois referred to themselves as "Anishinabeg," meaning "human beings," or "men par excellence," the Europeans whom they met assigned them other names.\(^4\) During the early nineteenth century, those Indian people who in English were known as the "Ojibwas" or "Chippewas"
occupied the regions around Lake Superior, on the north shore of Lake Huron, and in what became southern Ontario; those who were called the "Ottawas" or "Odewas" were living on Manitoulin Island and in what is now northwestern Ohio and northern Michigan; and those named the "Potawatomis" were based around the eastern shore of Lake Michigan. The word "Mississaugas" was applied to those "Ojibwas who had settled on the north shore of Lake Ontario as well as to other Algonquians who lived in the same area.\(^5\)

The ancestors of the Beausoleil Band were living around Matchedash Bay on the southeast shore of Georgian Bay by the late eighteenth century. They, like other Ojibwas living around Lake Simcoe, regarded themselves as distinct from the Mississaugas who mostly lived to the south and east of them and from other Ojibwas who occupied the lands to the north of them.\(^6\) According to oral tradition, these Matchedash and Lake Simcoe Indians had been living around Lake Superior, in the territory which later became the northern parts of the states of Wisconsin and Michigan, before they migrated to the Georgian Bay region.\(^7\) Their hunting grounds covered "the vast tract stretching from Collin's inlet, on the north-eastern shore of the Georgian Bay, to the northern limits of the land claimed by the Mississaugas."\(^8\) Within this area, the ancestors of the Beausoleil Band used the rich resources of the beaver Valley and of the Nottawasaga River in particular.\(^9\)

The interest of outsiders in the lands and the other resources which these Ojibwa people possessed was an important
factor in shaping their history. British officials expressed their awareness of the strategic significance of the Matchedash Bay region during the late eighteenth century. In September 1793 John Graves Simcoe, Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada between 1791 and 1799, wrote to Henry Dundas, the Secretary of State for the Home Department, outlining the purpose of a trip he was making to explore the area:

I have information of an Harbour which is described to be an excellent one, three leagues to the southward of Matchedash Bay, on Lake Huron, and of a River some few miles beyond it, whose entrance is said to be navigable; this River I apprehend to be the same which the Indians mention as affording a communication with the main branch of the La Tranche (or Thames).\textsuperscript{10}

At the time of Simcoe's trip, the area was not easily accessible from York; the "new route", referred to as Yonge Street, had only recently been opened as far as thirty-two miles from the bay at York.\textsuperscript{11}

During his journey to Matchedash Bay, Simcoe visited with the Indians who had settled at "Lake La Claie," which became known as Lake Simcoe, and at Matchedash Bay. He advised these Indians "to attend to their hunts" and stated that "he wished for nothing more than seeing them and his children, the whites, live in harmony together and mutually to assist each other."\textsuperscript{12} These words were consistent with his Indian Policy which recognized the importance of cultivating native peoples as allies of the British Crown.\textsuperscript{13} The thrust of the policy during this period was not to change the Indians' lifestyle but rather to encourage them to continue to participate in their traditional activities. Some of
the ways in which the British relied on the native peoples were obvious during Simcoe's trip; Indians not only worked as guides and sternsmen, but they also provided food and performed another essential task when they expertly gummed the officials' canoes. Alexander Macdonell, Sheriff of the Home District, indicated in his diary of the trip that the chief at Matchedash gave Simcoe a present of twenty-four ducks. He, like the chief at "Lake La Claie," realized that Simcoe's goodwill could be useful to his people. Simcoe, in turn, demonstrated that he recognized the importance of this gift exchange. When strong winds prevented Simcoe and his party from reaching Penetanguishine, they landed on an island which voyageurs called "Isle du Traverse" because it stretched across the mouth of Matchedash Bay; although this island was labelled "Prince William Henry" on maps, residents in the area began referring to it as Beausoleil Island after a fur trader named William Beausoleil who settled there during the early nineteenth century.

Simcoe's visit strengthened his belief in the importance of the area. In 1794, for example, he informed Lord Dorchester, Governor of Canada between 1786 and 1796, "...The necessity of occupying Matchedash and Long Point become to me every hour more evident, in particular as I know of no other Ports, in which our shipping could find shelter, should the army of the States occupy Detroit." Simcoe's immediate plans for the area where these Ojibwa people lived were consistent with his long term goals, of which he wrote, "I consider the utility of the Colony to Great
Britain and its own existence to depend upon the erection of a Naval Power and the absolute control of the Lakes." Other officials, including Henry Dundas, agreed with his assessment.\textsuperscript{18}

Consistent with the terms of the Royal Proclamation of 1763 which specified that Indian lands had to be alienated to the Crown before they could be used by non-Indians, government officials approached the Ojibwa Indians living in the vicinity about ceding some of their lands in this strategically important area. On 19 May 1795 representatives of the "Chippewa Nation" signed a provisional agreement at York. This document indicated that if they received goods worth 100 pounds in Quebec currency, they would cede the lands "from the head of Opetiquawsing to Nottoway Sague Bay, including the harbour of Penetangushene [sic]."\textsuperscript{19} [See Appendix A] Among those listed in this document was "Keewaycamekeishcan" who used the otter totem as his mark.\textsuperscript{20} [See Figure 1] Because this name so closely resembles the Ojibwa word "Keewaynakeishcan," meaning "He went in place of somebody," this man likely signed the tentative agreement in the absence of one of the chiefs.\textsuperscript{21}

The government took no immediate action, however, to fulfill the terms of the provisional agreement. While no money was given to the Indians, no attempt was made to take possession of the lands. Simcoe left the colony in July 1796, and in his absence Peter Russell became Administrator of the Province. In November 1796 two chiefs from Lake Simcoe and the Matchedash region, "Keubegone Onene and Escence," reminded Major Samuel Smith,
Sketch of the Indian Purchase at Penetangushene

Scale of Miles.

Figure 1: Sketch of the Indian Purchase at Penetangushene (sic).
Commander at York, of promises which Simcoe had made to them:

Father, Our Great Father Governor Simcoe before he went away told us before several of you green coated Officers, That he was going over to the Great Lake, where his Father and our Great Father the King was, and in his absence the Council Fire would be kept alive by you, and that whenever we had anything to say to our Father, we should come to this fire, and that we should be assisted in our distresses...  

Stressing that contrary to this declaration, they had been neglected, one of them added: "Father, I am sorry we are thrown away. And that our Great Father Governor Simcoe should have a sweet mouth..." In response to these words, Smith gave the Indians some provisions.

After receiving a copy of this speech, Simcoe noted that the chiefs' words demonstrates "the necessity of the most speedy determination on this, or some other mode of preserving their affections." Because he believed that these Indians, as well as others in the colony, were essential for the "defense of the King's possessions against his Foreign and especially, domestic enemies," he stressed the importance of maintaining their loyalty. Yet at the same time, he was concerned about preventing these Ojibwa Indians from associating too closely with the Six Nations, then under Joseph Brant's leadership. Because he did not want these Indian groups gathering together when they collected their annual presents, Simcoe recommended the establishment of an additional post for that purpose at York. William Henry, who succeeded Henry Dundas as Secretary of State for the Home Department, succinctly expressed the overall
objective of this policy when he stated that "the best and safest line of Policy to be pursued in the Indian Department is to keep the Indian Nations separate and unconnected with each other, as by that means they will be rendered in proportion more dependent on the King's government." Simcoe asserted that Lieutenant James Givens of the Queen's Rangers, who knew the Ojibwa language and who had been helpful during his trip to Matchedash Bay, should be chosen to command the post. Referred to by the Indians as "The Wolf," Givens was appointed in 1797 to serve at York and was directed to take "Charge of all Indian concerns from thence to Lake Huron, by the Lake Simcoe, and to Burlington Bay at the head of the Ontario." In addition to overseeing the annual distribution of presents, he was told to discover the "Dispositions, Movements, and Intentions of the Lake Indians towards Lakes Simcoe and Huron." The creation of the post at York and the appointment of Givens to it demonstrated the extent to which officials both valued and feared these Indians in the period before 1815.

But before the news of Givens' appointment reached the "Chiefs of the Chippewa Nation from Lakes Huron and Simcoe," they travelled to Newark on the west side of the Niagara River, where they told Russell in September 1797 that they were disheartened because they had not received the presents promised to them by Sir John Johnson, Superintendent General of Indian Affairs since 1782. Again emphasizing that they, unlike other Indians, had been neglected, they wondered why they had been treated with
indifference. They stated, "Father, We are very poor and not able to buy Guns and Ammunition - We hope therefore that you will take compassion on us, and give each of us a Gun, and some Powder and Ball, and a few Articles for our old Women whom we left at home." Russell responded by explaining that some provisions and guns would be given to them and by telling them that in the future they would receive presents annually from their "friend" Givens. Asserting that the English were their "Sincerest and best friends," he proclaimed, "The Great King your father will always shelter you under his Wings." Yet the government did not send the order directing that the goods for the Penetanguishene purchase were to be sent with the annual presents for the "Chippewas of Matchdash and Lake Simcoe" until October 1797. According to a treaty of 22 May 1798, the "Chiefs, Warriors and People of the Chippeway Tribe or Nation of the Indians" ceded their "land lying near the Lake Huron or butting and bounding thereon, called the Harbour of Penetangushene [sic]" along with "the Islands in the said Harbour." [See Appendix B] The 101 pounds paid in goods included such items as blankets, brass kettles, calico, Irish linen, and butchers' knives. Among those who signed the treaty was Chief "Aasance" who, like "Keewaycamekeishcan" in 1795, used the otter totem. The description of the ceded territory was vague, and the maps accompanying the treaty demonstrated the extent to which the surveyors were unfamiliar with the area. [See Figure 2]
Figure 2: Sketch of the Indian Purchase at Penetangushene (sic).
Francis Gore became Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada in 1806, and he believed that before the Penetanguishene peninsula could be developed, the government would have to build a road leading to it from Lake Simcoe. He asserted that the government should purchase the lands in this vicinity not only to facilitate road building but also to open the area for settlement.\textsuperscript{35} In June 1811 he sent William Claus, Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs to negotiate a provisional agreement with the Ojibwas of Lake Simcoe and Matchedash Bay. This treaty specified that if the Indians received 4,000 pounds worth of "Goods at Montreal Prices," they would cede 250,000 acres of land "situated between Kempenfelt Bay, on Lake Simcoe, and Penetanguishene Bay on Lake Huron."\textsuperscript{36} Although these goods were sent from England the following summer, they were needed by the government for other purposes and therefore were not used to purchase the land. But with the outbreak of war with the United States in 1812, the government believed it could no longer postpone creating a naval base in the area. Claus assured the chiefs that although the government had sent troops "to open roads and form an Establishment on Lake Huron," it recognized that "all the Lands north of Lake Simcoe" were "still the property of the Indians."\textsuperscript{37}

During the War of 1812, the Ojibwas from Matchedash and Lake Simcoe demonstrated their loyalty to the British Crown. In April 1813 they were crucial to the British attempt to prevent the American forces commanded by Isaac Chauncey from capturing York. Troops from Chauncey's sixteen boats landed west of the
unfinished fort where the military commander, Roger Hale Sheaffe, had concentrated his force. Only the "Mississauga and Chippewa Indians" were on the shore where American infantrymen began landing.\textsuperscript{38} The Indians' position during this attack was particularly vulnerable and important because a company of the Glengarry Light infantry who had been ordered to support them were mistakenly led in the wrong direction and therefore arrived to assist after many American troops had landed. Unlike most of the British defenders who had me the enemy "in a thick wood," the Indians were unprotected at the shore.\textsuperscript{39} Sheaffe estimated that the Americans' numbers ranged from 1,890 to 3,000.\textsuperscript{40} He had about seven hundred "regulars and militia" and between fifty and one hundred Indians.\textsuperscript{41} The Indians' actions in defending the shore demonstrated their bravery and their willingness, when necessary, to engage in a form of warfare completely different from that which they traditionally used.

Military and other officials who were critical of Sheaffe's leadership emphasized that the Indians "were not supported, and after losing some of their men, one chief killed and another wounded, they retreated through the woods."\textsuperscript{42} William D. Powell, a member of the Executive Council and a friend of Sheaffe's, concluded his analysis of the battle by asserting, "Had the Indians been supported it is supposed that they would have harassed the first landing party so much that the others would not have advanced."\textsuperscript{43} In reporting to Sir George Prevost, Governor of the Canadas from 1811 to 1815, Sheaffe too paid
tribute to the "spirited opposition from Major Givins and his small band of Indians."\(^{44}\) The American forces, however, succeeded in capturing York. Sheaffe noted, "A few of the Indians, (Missassaugas [sic] and Chippewas) were killed and wounded, among the latter were two chiefs."\(^{45}\) One of these wounded chiefs was the Lake Simcoe chief Yellowhead, whose son also known as Yellowhead or Musquakie later succeeded him as chief.\(^{46}\)

Oral history and military documents indicate that these bands were also active on the Niagara frontier.\(^{47}\) In July 1813, for example, these and other Indian people were camped at the Cross Roads, three miles from Niagara.\(^{48}\) From here they engaged in skirmishes with the Americans who controlled Fort Niagara until 19 December 1813 when it was captured by the British and their allies. In recognition of their service during the War of 1812, the chiefs of the Ojibwa bands from Matchedash and Lake Simcoe, including John Assance, received medals from the British Crown.\(^{49}\)

During the war, British officers had recognized the importance of the region north of York. Like Simcoe, they realized that a road away from the American border was needed to connect York with the upper lakes.\(^{50}\) Lieutenant General Sir Gordon Drummond had planned to order the building of gunboats at Penetanguishene and the creating of a provisions depot on Matchedash Bay.\(^{51}\) His idea for Penetanguishene, however, was not implemented because access to the harbour by land would have
required the opening of a thirty-mile road, a project for which there was insufficient time to complete.\textsuperscript{52} During the winter of 1813-1814, the Matchedash Bay depot was created. Although the Americans were unable to find this supply depot, Lieutenant George Croghan reached the mouth of the Nottawasaga River in August 1814 where he ordered the burning of a schooner and the British blockhouse.\textsuperscript{53} In November 1814 a military road was finished stretching from Kempenfelt Bay on Lake Simcoe to Penetanguishene, and in 1815 a blockhouse was built at that harbour.\textsuperscript{54}

After the war ended, the government redirected its attention to obtaining a cession of the lands north of Lake Simcoe. In November 1815, "Kinaybicoinini, Aisaince Musquuckey, the Principal Chiefs of the Chippewa Nation of Indians" signed a treaty agreeing to cede 250,000 acres "Lying between Kempenfelt Bay upon Lake Simcoe and the Lake Huron" in exchange for "four thousand pounds of lawful money of Upper Canada.\textsuperscript{55} Although these chiefs acknowledged in October 1818 that they had received this money, the treaty which they had signed in 1815 contained no reference to the blacksmith which these chiefs had requested in 1811; no mention was made of the promise Claus had made in that year that the Indians could continue to use their gardens at Penetanguishine "until the settlers arrived."\textsuperscript{56} [See Appendix C]

Between 1780 and 1812 the population of the province of Upper Canada grew primarily through the arrival of the "Loyalists" and the "Late Loyalists" who had settled along the
border with the United States in the southwestern, south-central, and southeastern parts of the province. During Simcoe’s tenure as lieutenant-governor, Upper Canada had resembled "three virtually unconnected mini-colonies" because of the distances between these pockets of settlement.57 By 1800 the population of Upper Canada was almost 32,000, excluding the Imperial troops and an estimated 3,000 Indians living along Georgian Bay and the edge of the Canadian shield.58 Despite the influx of non-Indians, the size of the Indian population remained significant. In 1801, for example, Military Secretary James Green noted that 485 members of the "Chippewa Nation residing at Matchedash and Lake Simcoe" had travelled to York to receive their presents.59 In that same year, the population of York was 336, with another 345 people living in the townships of York, Scarborough, and Etobicoke.60 These figures suggest one of the reasons why administrators of the province attempted to secure and maintain the good will of the Indians. Whereas the population of Upper Canada was around 65,000 in 1812, officials estimated that the Indians numbered about 6,500.61

But after the War of 1812, increased numbers of British immigrants arrived in the colony; the population of Upper Canada after 1815 rose by "five to seven per cent a year, for most years up to 1840."62 The number of people living in the province increased to 157,923 in 1825 and to 321,145 in 1834.63 The demand for additional farming lands also grew, prompting expansion beyond the three major patches of settlement.64 Both
the increase in the size of the non-Indian population and the desire for fertile agricultural lands had serious ramifications for the Indian peoples living in the province.

Before 1815 British policy toward the Indians of British North America had been shaped primarily by the government's desire to ensure that the Indians would assist in defending the colony against American invaders. But with the formal declaration of peace in 1815, the importance of the Indians' role as military allies declined. This reality, coupled with an increase in the number of British settlers who were eager to acquire land, prompted questions regarding the future of Indians and of their lands. Another consideration affecting Indian policy arose from the British government's commitment to reducing expenditures; this factor, in turn, raised the issues of what purpose the Indian department served and whether it should be abolished.65

Among those who asserted that the Indian department still had important functions was Sir James Kempt, Administrator of the Canadas from 1828 to 1830. In 1829 he suggested that the department could be instrumental in facilitating the assimilation of Indians into Upper Canadian society. He argued that the department could encourage bands to settle together in communities where, "with due portion of land for their cultivation and support," they could be supervised by departmental officials, missionaries, and agricultural instructors.66 He also believed that the department could assist
the Indians in building homes and in obtaining seed and agricultural implements. Through these policies the Indians would become ready, he maintained, to integrate themselves fully into colonial society.67

Like Kempt, Major-General H.C. Darling, Superintendent General and Inspector General of Indian Affairs, noted that although the process of "civilizing" the Indians would involve additional expense, the cost would gradually decrease as the Indians became more self reliant within their altered circumstances. This idea appealed not only to those concerned with fiscal matters but also to reformers within British parliament and at the Colonial Office and to religious groups who sponsored and were involved in missionary work among the Indians. Sir George Murray, Secretary of State for war and the Colonies from 1828 to 1830, agreed with these suggestions, and he, along with the Lords of the Treasury, approved the adoption in 1830 of the policy focussing on the establishment of Indian reserves in Canada.68

Sir John Colborne, Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada from November 1828 to January 1836, oversaw the implementation of this policy in that province. Like Kempt and Darling, he asserted: "Under the superintendence of attentive resident agents, civilization may be extended to the whole of the Indians of this Province, and [a] fund created for their future support by granting basis of their lands, and selling part of them."69 He appointed T.G. Anderson, a member of the Indian department since
1815, to so superintend the creation of a model Indian settlement where the Ojibwa Indians from Matchedash and Lake Simcoe were to become self-sufficient farmers and loyal supporters of the Church of England.\(^70\)

The reserve, consisting of about 9,000 acres and located ninety miles north of York, was "bounded at the North West end by the Township of Tay" and stretched from there southeast "for about fourteen miles until coming to Lake Simcoe."\(^71\) Although the government had originally planned for the Indians to establish farms around the Narrows of Lake Simcoe and at Matchedash, as well as along the road the Indians were to build linking them, the soil at Matchedash was too poor for farming.\(^72\) Coldwater, located along a more direct route between the Narrows and Penetanguishene, became the centre of the government establishment.\(^73\) The government anticipated that the Indians who cleared the fourteen mile road could later earn additional earn additional money by becoming involved in the transportation business. This scheme would not only provide employment but would also supply the additional funds necessary for making the Indians self-supporting.\(^74\) Because this reserve was located close to Penetanguishene, a centre where the Indian department distributed presents after 1828 to visiting as well as resident Indians, the government hoped that its success would encourage other Indians to abandon their nomadic habits and become farmers.\(^75\)
But the establishment at Coldwater and the Narrows failed to become the model Indian settlement Colborne had imagined. Methodist missionary James Evans noted one of the fundamental problems with the project:

No wonder the Indians here make but little improvement in farming, such a thing being impractical -- stony, sandy and swampy being almost the only quality of land being seen...however good the design may have been in settling here, nothing much is certain than that they can never make much improvement on their present location.\textsuperscript{76}

Another important consideration which the government overlooked was that although the Ojibwa people traditionally planted squash, turnips, and corn, their economy was based on hunting and fishing, activities which required them to leave their farmlands.\textsuperscript{77} Unwilling to abandon their traditional lifestyle, they were disinterested in the transportation business and in farming plots individually.

The Indians were also unreceptive to the teachings of the Anglican missionaries. Many of these bands had been converted to Christianity by the iNDian missionary Peter Jones who had visited them at Lake Simcoe and at Matchedash. Among his converts in 1826 was Chief Snake, one of the chiefs at Lake Simcoe. Both William Yellowhead and John Assance, a chief whom Jones considered "a man of considerable thought and understanding," also became Methodist through his preaching.\textsuperscript{78,79} The denominational conflicts which arose between the Anglican missionaries and the Methodist Indians were augmented when some of the Indians became Roman Catholics through the influence of a
compelling Ottawa Indian chief, Jean Baptiste Assignack. Among his converts was John Assance who allied himself with the Potaganasee Indians, a group of Roman Catholic Ojibwa Indians who had been encouraged by the government to leave Drummond Island and to settle on the reserve around Coldwater and the Narrows. In his survey of 1833, William Hawkins noted that there were one hundred Roman Catholics and 434 Methodist Indians. Neither of these Indian groups was interested in co-operating with the Anglican missionaries. Even Anderson was forced to concede that "much opposition has continually arisen from the necessity of mixing different religious Persuasions."

Sir Francis Bond Head, Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada from January 1836 to March 1838, was aware that the "experiment" at Coldwater and the Narrows had failed. He did not share Colborne's belief that the Indians of the province should be "civilized." Instead, he believed that the Indians were doomed to "wither, droop, and vanish before us like Grass in the Progress of the Forest in Flames." He argued that the most humane way in which to treat the Indians who lived in the settled parts of Upper Canada would be to create a sanctuary for them on Manitoulin Island where they could enjoy their final days. His "self-righteous humanitarian rhetoric" however, masked his ambition of wanting to secure more land through his own version of the American policy of removing Indians. By making more land available to settlers, Head hoped to win the votes of men who might otherwise have been tempted to vote for the
Reformers.86 His political agenda therefore had repercussions for the province's Indians.

In 1836 Head secured the cession of Indian lands on the Bruce peninsula, at Amherstberg, and at Moraviantown. In addition, he secured the consent of the Ottawa and Ojibwa people living on Manitoulin Island to allow Indians from other parts of Upper Canada to reside with them.87 He also apparently persuaded the "Chiefs and Warriors" of the "Chippewa Tribe of Indians of Lakes Huron and Simcoe" to sign a proposal agreeing to cede the tract "on the public high road leading from Coldwater to the Narrows of Lake Simcoe" to sign a proposal agreeing to cede the tract "on the public high road leading from Coldwater to the Narrows of Lake Simcoe."88 According to this agreement, the bands were to receive "annually the interest of one-third part of the proceeds of such sale," with another third of the interest money "to be applied for the general use of the Indian tribes of the said Province" and the last third to be used for "any purposes (but not for the benefit of the said Indians) as the Lieutenant Governor may think proper to direct."89

The Indians, however, challenged the validity of this agreement. They appealed to Sir Charles Bagot, Governor General of British North America from 1841 to 1843:

We wish to state to Your Excellency that when Sir F. Bond Head insisted on our selling this Land and the bargain he had previously drawn out for us to sign, we were not made sensible of the full purport, so that we knew not the nature of the bargain.90
Among the chiefs who signed the petition which also contained questions regarding such issues as the amount of money the sale had generated was Chief John Assance. These issues were not easily resolved.

Despite the problems which Bond Head's ideas and actions had caused the "Chippewas of Lakes Huron and Simcoe," they remained loyal during the rebellions of 1837-38. They responded to the call to arms from Head's successor, Sir George Arthur, Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada from March 1838 to February 1841, who wanted forces ready to defend the province against American border raids. During November and December 1838 and January 1839 eight chiefs and 140 "warriors" remained on alert at the Holland Landing camp. They emphasized that they had delayed their trips to their hunting grounds because they were "always ready to serve their great Mother when called [sic] upon."92

The "Chippewas of Lakes Huron and Simcoe" refused, however, to move to Manitoulin Island. Like most Indians living in Upper Canada, they regarded that island as barren and remote. Their experience at Coldwater and the Narrows heightened their reluctance to become part of another of the government's settlement schemes. Instead, they dispersed into three main groups after 1836, relocating in areas where they had been living before 1830. The smallest band, under Chief Snake, returned to an island in Lake Simcoe. In a petition to the Governor General, these Methodist Indians, who in 1842 number 102, expressed their
frustration, for during their forced absence, the lands they had cleared ten years before had become overgrown with weeds. Although they were able by 1841 to cultivate 150 acres, they wanted assurances that they would not again be required to leave. 93

Another group of these Ojibwas, under Chief Yellowhead sought security through other means. They decided to use their annuity money to purchase lands in Rama township along the eastern shore of Lake Couchiching. In submitting his report in 1842 about these 184 Indians, whom he noted were all apparently Methodists, Anderson admitted that he did not know whether the Roman Catholic members of this band who had settled at the Narrows had become part of this settlement or whether they had settled with other Roman Catholic Indians under Chief Assance. Like Chief snake, Chief Yellowhead emphasized that he would not again leave the lands of his forefathers. 94

The largest of the three main groups of these Ojibwas was led by Chief John Assance. These Indians had moved back to the Matchedash region, with most living on Beausoleil Island. In 1842 Anderson reported that most of these 232 Indians were Roman Catholics, and although they were occasionally visited by the Roman Catholic priest from Penetanguishene, they had no church nor school. 95 Gradually, however, their settlement included a chapel and a school, as well as log homes. Because of religious differences, one group of Assance's band, who had remained Methodists, had settled at the mouth of Severn River in 1840.
But five years later, after the Indian department granted funds to build them houses on Beausoleil, most of them moved to that island. A group of the Pontaganasee Indians, however, chose to move from Beausoleil to Manitoulin Island.96

The movement of band members from one settlement to another made it difficult for Indian department officials to keep track of these people. Especially when band members were away hunting, a season when they were "scattered about in the various parts of the Georgian Bay," Anderson found that locating them, even to distribute their annuities, was difficult.97 Thus although Anderson's statement in 1856 that there were 231 persons in the Beausoleil Band suggested that the size of the band had remained constant, this figure was only his estimate.98 The superintendent explained that the difficulties he had in preparing a census of the Lakes Simcoe and Huron Bands "in their subdivided state, because they are in some way or another related to each other and consequently families, as well as individuals are constantly changing their residence from one village to another."99

Thus although the Lakes Simcoe and Huron bands had dispersed, strong connections drew them together. Trips by those living on Beausoleil to fish in Lake Simcoe not only illustrated how these band members shared their resources but also indicated another of the ways in which contact involving these groups was maintained.100 The three bands held joint council meetings where they discussed government actions and planned for the future. A
petition resulting from a council meeting in February 1848, for example, expressed the bands' requests for statements pertaining to their annuities, for copies of the treaties which they had signed, and for explanations outlining what actions the government had taken relating to them.\textsuperscript{101}

These bands also acted together in September 1850 when W.B. Robinson, chosen by the executive Council to negotiate the cession to the Crown of the lands on the north shores of Lakes Superior and Huron,\textsuperscript{102} did not include them in the negotiating or signing of a treaty concerning lands bordering on Lake Huron. Assance, Snake, and Yellowhead met with Robinson one week after the Robinson treaty had been signed, and they asserted that a tract of land on Lake Huron between Penetanguishene and the Severn River belonged to them and had never been ceded to the Crown. In response, Robinson gave each of the three chiefs and their four headmen four dollars to cover their expenses and promised that he would investigate the matter at the government offices.\textsuperscript{103} Robinson later recorded: "Should it appear that these chiefs have any claim I think I could get their surrender of it for a small amount, and there remain sufficient funds at my disposal for the purpose."\textsuperscript{104} The commissioner was mistaken, however, in predicting that the issue would be easily resolved.

In July 1846 the government called a meeting where it again proposed a scheme to gather the Chippewas of lakes Simcoe and Huron, together with other Indians including the Mississaugas from the Credit River and from Rice Lake, into one large
settlement, this time to be located on the Bruce Peninsula where, through the use of their annuities, a manual labour school would be built. Assance resented the government for summoning him to Orillia at a time of the year when he was busy "cutting hay for his cattle." Forcefully he criticized the government policies, noting the repetitiousness of the promises, and the gap between rhetoric and actions. He recounted how the band had lived at Coldwater "scarcely seven years when our white Father asked us to give it back." He refused to agree to another plan which sounded so familiar, arguing that his people would not move nor donate a portion of their annuities to the project:

I do not wish to remove. I have already removed four times, and I am too old to remove again. You always credit me with too little in the account; when I ask you for anything, you answer, "Where shall I get it." You have not the means of purchasing such articles. That is why I object to devoting any portion of my annuity to the Schools. The Scripture says, we are told it says, we must love one another; but now, if we give up our money for the benefit of the young, who will take care of the old people.\textsuperscript{105}

Although Assance and Yellowhead were the only chiefs who declared their opposition, the plan was not implemented because even the Credit River Indians who had been persuaded of the benefits of the plan by their missionary, Peter Jones, refused to move to the Bruce Peninsula once they saw how rocky the lands were there.\textsuperscript{106}

But while Assance and his band would not relocate to the Bruce Peninsula, they had already realized that the sandy soil of Beausoleil was incapable of providing much food. Assance blamed the government for the difficulties his band had encountered,
noting the contrast between their situation before and after 1836:

...when we were comfortably settled by the council and aid of our good Gov't at Coldwater with houses and Lands of very good description we were contented to remain there, but it being suggested to us and said to be the wish of the Governor that those houses and Lands we occupied should be sold and that we should be removed to the Island near Penetanguishene - where we are at present situated and where the barren sandy soil will not afford us a garden capable of producing anything for our support. ¹⁰⁷

The band began considering what action they could take to deal with their situation at Beausoleil.

Following the death of Chief John Assance in 1847, his eldest son, also named John, became chief of the band. Like his father, he was a strong advocate for his people and did not passively accept directions from the Indian department. He too had to grapple with the issue of coping with the limited resources of the island. Because the soil on the island became exhausted after only one crop, cultivated lands had to be abandoned after only one season. Although by 1856 the band had cultivated over three hundred acres on the island, only fifty of them were productive. ¹⁰⁸ Hay was cut from marshes about five miles from the island and transported back to Beausoleil, and gardens were planted on the more fertile Christian Island further west. ¹⁰⁹ Trips away from the island for these purposes as well as for hunting, fishing, and working for wages were frequent and necessary. These departures of families resulted in high rates
of absenteeism among the pupils enrolled at the school located on
the island and managed by the Methodists.\textsuperscript{110}

In 1848 Anderson informed Major Campbell, Superintendent
General of Indian Affairs that because Beausoleil was a "bed of
Rock and Sand," the Indians were unable to grow "produce of any
kind to support their families."\textsuperscript{111} He therefore argued that the
band "as well as the other Lake Simcoe tribes" should be
persuaded to move to Alnwick, Rice Lake, or Owen Sound.\textsuperscript{112}
Although the Indian department did not formally adopt a policy of
forced removal such as that adopted by the American government
during the 1830's, it did take action to compel the band to leave
Beausoleil. In 1848 the department refused to approve the Band's
request to use some of its annuities for repairing houses on the
island. Officials informed the band that they would not
"sanction the outlay of any money, or encourage any Indian
families to settle on Beausoleil or any other place where there
is not a fair prospect of improving their condition by farming or
of educating their children."\textsuperscript{113} Because these officials believed
that agriculture and education were so critical to the
"civilizing" of the Indians, they maintained that a location
unsuited for these purposes was unacceptable as an Indian
reserve.

But well before the department took this action, Assance and
other leaders of the band, frustrated by the poor soil on the
island, had expressed their desire "to obtain some spot for
[their] people which they might call their own," explaining how
they had "for some time looked upon Christian Island as one which answer[ed] their chief ends." In a letter of June 1849 to Governor General Elgin, Assance indicated that his band did not intend to move immediately from Beausoleil but instead wanted to proceed cautiously:

...in a few years say as soon as some improvements can be made such as clearing a spot of ground and erecting a comfortable house for each family - a colony of our young married men and women and all others of the younger part who wish to emigrate [sic] to Christian Island, the elder part remaining on this Island. We have removed (but mostly been [his emphasis] removed) five times during the past few years. At present our homes are happy. We are therefore confident that [neither] your Excellency nor any officer under you and over us will ask us again to remove.115

He informed the government that the band wished to spend some of their annuity on building a sawmill at the Severn River and to save that part of their funds reserved for schooling until they were able to "erect a good schoolhouse and establish a good school on Christian Island for the benefit of this Band and the surrounding companies of Indians."116 Although Assance had displayed a commitment to increasing the band's revenues and to educating their children, both ideas which the department had wanted to express, Anderson rejected his proposals:

The plan now proposed to colonize one of the Christian Islands, and build a sawmill is preposterous; because it would divide the Band there into three, the sawmill (even if the land were owned by the Indians) would be more than thirty miles from their new colony, and during the Fall and Spring when the ice floats communication with the mainland is cut off and there is no water power on the Island.117
Instead, the superintendent, who throughout his career with the Indian department had advocated concentrating the Indians in large settlements, urged the band to leave the "unproductive island" where they were living and again proposed that they move to the Bruce peninsula.\textsuperscript{118} His views were shared by Colonel R. Bruce, Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, who believed that the "Christian Islands would be found a very unsuitable place for the Indians."\textsuperscript{119}

Although the Beausoleil Band considered a wide range of options, they remained convinced that they would prefer to move to Christian Island. Their determination to begin a new phase in their history was signified by their decision to include Beausoleil Island in the cession of islands made to the Crown in 1856. They reserved, however, "those three islands, situate, lying, and being in the said Georgian Bay, Lake Huron and forming a part of that group of Islands called and known by the name of 'Christian Islands.'"\textsuperscript{120} By this cession on 5 June 1856 the "Chiefs and Principal Men of the Tribe of the Chippewa Indians residing on the shores of Lake Couchiching, Simcoe, and Huron" agreed to cede four islands in Lake Simcoe, one island in Lake Couchiching, as well as "all those islands lying and being in Georgian Bay, Lake Huron, heretofore claimed by [their] tribe."\textsuperscript{121} "Esh-qua-quin-daig Island, Na-tow-wang-ga Island and Chistian [sic] Island" were not included.\textsuperscript{122} Like the cession in 1836 which had not specified how much money the bands would receive, this treaty stated that the islands would be sold "as speedily as
possible" and that "the proceeds of such sale or sales" were "to be invested and funded in perpetuity for the use, benefits and behoof" of these bands.\(^{123}\) In addition to noting the reservation of the three islands, R.T. Pennefather, Superintendent General of Indian Affairs stated:

\[\text{...the only conditions attached to the surrender are that a sufficient sum out of the principal arising from the sales to build a church be given to the Indians surrendering; the residue to be invested for their benefit, and the interest paid annually for them; and secondly, that a duplicate copy of the surrender be given to the Chiefs.}\(^{124}\)

With this cession a new phase of the Beausoleil Band's history began.
Endnotes


4. Smith, p. 17.


8. Province of Canada. Journals of the Legislative Assembly Sessional Papers, Appendix 21, "Report of the Special Commissioners to investigate Indian Affairs in Canada," (Toronto: 1858), n.p. The committee which prepared this report was headed by Richard T. Pennefather, Superintendent of Indian Affairs from 1856-1860. This report will be hereafter cited as the Pennefather report.


14. The Simcoe Papers, Vol. II, p. 74. Macdonell does not provide the name of the Matchedash chief. He mentions "Chief Keenees" at "Lake La Claie."


Hereafter this work will be cited as *The Russell Papers*. These chiefs' names are also spelt Kinaybicoinini and Aisance. Throughout this section of the report, this name will be spelt "Assance," the preferred spelling of this chief's descendants. Russell later commented on the "irregularity of the Provisional Agreement." See Peter Russell to Robert Prescott, 21 September 1797, *The Russell Papers*, Vol. I, p. 285.

23. Ibid., p. 98.


25. Ibid., p. 274.


31. Ibid., p. 288.


33. National Archives of Canada, Record Group 10, Vol. 1, Indian Affairs, Governor's Office, Upper Canada, Correspondence, 1796-1806, Robert Prescott to Mr. President Russell, 9 October 1797, p. 102.
34. Indian Treaties and Surrenders: From 1680 to 1890, p. 15. This treaty provides no explanation of why the price was raised one pound from the provisional agreement.


36. NAC, R.G. 10, Vol. 4, Indian Affairs, Lieutenant-Governor's Office, Upper Canada, Correspondence, 1815-1816, Francis Gore to Elisha Beamen and Henry Procter, 14 November 1815, p. 1802.


40. Ibid., p. 188.

Whitfield and Turner note that there were "some 1700 United States regulars" (p.795).


44. Sir Roger Hale Sheaffe to Sir George Prevost, 5 May 1813 in The Documentary History of the Campaign, p. 189.

45. Ibid., p. 191.

46. See "Musquakie" in The Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. IX 1861-1870 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), pp. 589-590. This biography was written "In Collaboration."

47. Interview with Merle Assance Beedie, March 1989.


49. Interview with Merle Assance Beedie, March 1989.


53. Stanley, pp. 292-293; Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History, p. 107. Unfortunately, none of the documents consulted indicated whether or not the Ojibwas from Matchedash and Lake Simcoe were present at this battle on 14 August 1814.

54. Stanley, p. 289.
55. Indian Treaties and Surrenders: From 1680 to 1890, pp. 42-45.

56. Ibid., pp. 44-45; Surtees, p. 176 and p. 177. For a further discussion of the background to and significance of this treaty see Johnson, pp. 367-374.


58. Wood, p. 56.

59. NAC, R.G. 10, Vol. 789, Indian Affairs, Indian Department, General Administration Records, 1787-1805, James Green to George Crookshank, Storekeeper, Indian Department, 18 May 1801, p. 6794.


61. Wood, p. 61; Surtees, p. 18. Throughout the years, government officials lamented the difficulty they had in tallying the number of Indians.


64. Wood, p. 65.


73. Surtees, "Indian Reserve Policy," p. 98.

74. Ibid., pp. 99-100.


76. James Evans quoted in Cynthia Wesley-Esquimaux, "Coldwater - Narrows Project Report to the Tri-Council" (Unpublished Paper, March 1987), p. 12. This paper is especially valuable in discussing the views of such Methodists as Egerton Ryerson.


78. 

79. Jones, p. 163.


81. Assance became one of the key spokesmen for the Roman Catholic Indians. For a discussion of these Indians see James A. Clifton, A Place of Refuge for All Time: Migration of the American Potawatomi into Upper Canada 1830 to 1850. Canadian Ethnology Service Paper No. 26 (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1975), Appendix A, "The Drummond Islanders: Potawatomi or Potaganeseey," pp. 105-109. In 1828 the British were forced to evacuate Drummond Island which had been given
to the Americans when the boundary between the two nations was drawn in the aftermath of the War of 1812.

82. Surtees, "Indian Reserve Policy," p. 122, note 89. Surtees also notes other problems such as underfunding which affected the Indian department and the experiment. See Chapter 4 of his thesis.

83. T.G. Anderson to J. Colborne, 24 September 1835, in British North American Provinces, Copies of Extracts of Correspondence since 1st April 1835. Between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Governors of the British North American Provinces Respecting the Indians in Those Provinces. 17 June 1839. Facsimile Edition (Toronto: Canadiana House, 1973), p. 119. This work will be hereafter cited as Copies or Extracts of Correspondence.

84. Sir Francis Bond Head to Lord Gleneig, 20 November 1836, in Copies or Extracts of Correspondence, p. 125.


87. See Indian Treaties and Surrenders: From 1680 to 1890, pp. 112-117.

88. Ibid., p. 117.

89. Ibid., p. 117.

90. Rama, Snake Island and Coldwater Indians to Sir Charles Bagot, 26 May 1842 in Muskoka and Haliburton, p. 115. See also Wesley-Esquimaux, pp. 14-17.


92. Andrew Borland to Alley, 30 January 1839 in Muskoka and Haliburton, p. 114. See also Gerald Alley to S.P. Jarvis, 30 December 1830, in Ibid., pp. 113-114.

94. Appendix EEE, 1844-1845, n.p.; Minutes of the General Council of Indian Chiefs and Principal Men, Held at Orillia, Lake Simcoe Narrows, on Thursday, the 30th and Friday the 31st of July 1846 on the Proposed Removal of the Smaller Communities and the Establishment of Labor Schools. From notes taken in Shorthand and Otherwise, by Henry Baldwin, of Peterborough, Barrister at Law, Secretary to the Chiefs in Council (Montreal: Canada Gazette Office, 1846), p. 20. A copy of this book is kept in the Baldwin Room, Metro Library, Toronto. This work is hereafter cited as Council of Indian Chiefs at Orillia.

95. Appendix EEE, 1844-1845, n.p.


100. NAC, R.G. 10, Vol. 412, Indian Affairs, Superintendency Records, Central (Toronto) Superintendency, Correspondence (H to O) 1852 to 1858, S. James to T.G. Anderson, 27 March 1854, p. 131.


104. W.B. Robinson to Colonel Bruce, 24 September 1850, reprinted in Alexander Morris, The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and the North-West Territories, including the Negotiations on which They were Based, and Other Information Relating Thereto (Toronto: Belfords, Clarke, 1880), Facsimile edition reprinted by Coles Publishing Company, Toronto, 1979, p. 20.


109. NAC, R.G. 10, Vol. 408, Indian affairs, Superintendency Records, Central (Toronto) Superintendency, Correspondence (A to C), 1845 to 1851, John Assance to [T.G. Anderson], 23 January 1845, p. 85; De Gruchy, p. 42.

110. NAC, R.G. 10, Vol. 412, Indian Affairs, Superintendency Records, Central (Toronto) Superintendency, Correspondence (H to O), 1852 to 1858, S. James to T. G. Anderson, 27 March 1854, p. 131.


112. Ibid., p. 318.

113. Quoted in De Gruchy, p. 42.


116. Ibid., p. 374.


118. Ibid., p. 426.

119. NAC, R.G. 10, Vol. 411, Indian Affairs, Superintendancy Records, Central (Toronto) Superintendancy, Correspondence (A to G), 1852-1858, R. Bruce to T.G. Anderson, 12 July 1852, p. 450.

120. Indian Treaties and Surrenders: From 1680 to 1890, p. 204.

121. Ibid., p. 204.

122. Ibid., p. 204.

123. Ibid., p. 204.

124. Ibid., p. 205.
CHAPTER III
ESTABLISHING THE SETTLEMENT

The primary source of information about the Beausoleil band on Christian Island for the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are the sessional papers which contain Indian agent reports and statistics which relate to the band. Some R.G. 10 files in the National Archives of Canada are also important for understanding the period as are Allan Salt's diaries which give first hand accounts of community events. There are some secondary sources such as Andrew F. Hunter, The History of Simcoe County and James P. Barry, Georgian Bay, The Sixth Great Lake which are useful for the history of the surrounding area and the development of the logging and shipping industries.

The timber industry has had a long history on Christian Island which began in this time period. Farming also had an important role in the island's economy and reached its peak in the early 1900's. This reflected the desire of the Indian Affairs Department to encourage agriculture on the island and the efforts seem to have been briefly successful. New schools and churches which were erected during these years gave heightened significance to these institutions which directed the moral life of the community. A new community hall which became the centre for many social activities for years was also built.

The population of the island grew from 1870 to 1926 but there appeared to be few variations in the community's living
patterns. This reflected either poor reporting by the Indian Agents or a stable community fairly isolated from mainland events. One important ingredient which is missing for this period are documents created by the band. Oral history did not reach back this far except in rare instances. Thus we have history told mainly by the Indian Agents' official reports.

General Trends 1870-1926

William Plummer made the first detailed report about the Christian Island band in 1875. The report included details of a large amount of land under cultivation and fishing, hunting, and the loading of lumber barges during farming season as good sources of income. Plummer's next report in 1876 duplicated much of the 1875 report, but he also mentioned Indians employed in saw mills.¹ The diary of Allan Salt, the Methodist missionary for Christian Island, listed Muskosh as the site of the mills: on August 20, 1876, Salt noted that the congregation was small as the Indians were at Muskosh loading a lumber barge. [Figure 3] Throughout the diary, Salt detailed the men going to Muskosh to work and the women and children accompanying them to pick blueberries and other wild fruit.² Plummer noted in his 1880 report that the Indians had a comfortable living, and mentioned the north shore of Lake Huron as a source of employment for many, but in his 1883 report he was concerned with the infringement upon Indians' "rights and privileges" by white fishermen in the area.³ [Figure 4]

H.H. Thompson was the first Indian Agent, though he only
Aug. 1876.

near Killington, Feb. 1855. At the same time, I baptized David, son of James & Eliza Flanchagnough, born at Fortoufam June 1863. Also, Mary, daughter of James and Eliza Flanchagnough, born at Fortoufam. June 1872. 7th. Sall.

Sunday 20th. Our congregation was small. The Indians are away to Fort. Beach loading a large wharf with lumber.

Friday 25th. Chief James Adams being very sick, I read a part of the 14 Psalm. The chief and prayed with him. After which he asked me, Let me see the size of the book you read! I handed him the small Testament, and with deep emotion said, in my

dream last night, I saw the book, and what you read. I heard last night. 'Judge you. Read two I would ask one by one.' I gave him the book, and he was very thankful.

Saturday 26th. I visited John Adams, he is better in body, but not altogether right in his mind.

Wednesday 30th. I baptized a dying child, Margaret, daughter of John King, born June 30th 1876. at S. Island. 1st. Sall.

Tuesday Sept. 1st 1876. Margaret dies.

Saturday 2nd. Buried the child Margaret.

Thursday Sept. 28th. George H. S. of Rome and Susan H. of Rome, were united in wedlock. This evening...
CENTRAL SUPERINTENDENCY,
Toronto, 23rd November, 1882.

The Right Honorable
The Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs,
Ottawa.

Sir,—In addition to the tabulated statistical statement forwarded to you on the 18th instant, I have the honor to submit the following Report on Indian matters in this Superintendency for the year ended 30th June last.

Considerable improvement in agriculture has been made during the year on many of the reserves. This has been more especially the case as regards the Chippewas of Rama and that portion of the Chippewas of Snake Island residing on Georgian Island. These Indians have shown a very insatiable desire to improve, and their efforts in this direction are deserving of much credit.

A greater extent of land has been cultivated and larger crops realized than ever before.

A considerable amount of labor and some money has been spent on roads through some of the reserves. Statute labor is exacted from all able-bodied men, failing to perform which an equivalent in money is deducted from their annuities to be expended on the roads. The result is that the roads on many of the reserves are very passable, in some cases better than in new white settlements in the vicinity.

The fishing operations of some of the bands residing on reserves bordering on the upper lakes have been very successful, but at some points, notably Saugan and Christian Island, they have been greatly interfered with by white fishermen.

Owing to the generally isolated situation of Indian reserves, the Indians are cut off from pursuing the ordinary avocations and industries carried on in white communities, and to a great extent deprived of the privilege of a market for the produce of their gardens and farms, and as grain is now very scarce, they rely upon their fishing operations to a large extent for their supply of food during the winter.

I think their rights and privileges in this respect should be strictly guarded.

In addition to farming and fishing, large quantities of baskets, mats and other articles are manufactured by the women and children, for which they find a ready sale.

The general health of the Indians has been good, with the exception of those on the Rice and Mud Lake Reserves where they are subject to material fever which seems to render them susceptible to diseases of the lungs, terminating in consumption, a majority of the deaths being from that disease.

The total increase for the year was 22.

There are fifteen schools in operation in the Superintendency, but the complaint is still made of the difficulty in getting the children to attend regularly, and their parents to take a sufficient interest in school matters. I am glad, however, to be able to report that in some places there is an improvement also in educational matters, the Indians striving to have better school accommodation, and the schools are generally better conducted. This is especially the case at Tyendinaga, and may, I think, be attributed to the regular inspections made by the Public School Inspector, which might be extended to all Indian schools and, from which I am sure good results would follow, both as regards the efficiency of the teachers and general school work.

Although the Indians have still much to learn, they are improving in every respect.

They are generally comfortably clad and observe more strictly the decency of life. I have found but few cases of real want and destitution, and when these occur I find the chiefs and leading men are generally willing to give temporary relief, or, in the case of old persons, small pensions for life.

With some bands the greatest drawback to material progress is the unfortunate habit of drinking, but there are many noble examples of self-denial; and, considering the love they have for intoxicants and the many temptations set in their way, one cannot but sympathize with them and admire their self-control.

In nearly every Indian village I find temperance societies which it should be made the duty of all Indian agents to foster and encourage.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,

WM. PLUMMER,
Superintendent and Commissioner.

Figure 4: Report by William Plummer, Superintendent and Commissioner, Department of Indian Affairs to Right Honourable Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, Ottawa.
went to Christian Island occasionally as he had a business in Penetanguishine. He issued his initial report in 1884, complementing the Indians on their farming techniques: "A considerable number of acres are under crop with a good promise of abundant yield. They have an excellent potato crop which is superior to our own race." He indicated the regions of Lighthouse Point, Thunder Bay Point, Beckwith and Hope Islands as sites of Indian fishing, and reiterated that white fishermen were infringing upon these regions. Thompson also listed Muskoka Mills as a site of Indian employment, the first time the mill was named.\(^5\)

Thompson's 1885 report indicated that the fishing grounds had been secured. He noted the prevalence of fishing: "large quantities of fine white fish and trout [were] being caught quite close to the island."\(^6\) Road improvement and well paying jobs at Muskoka Mills were also noted. A second 1885 report, issued by John A. Macdonald, Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, was more agricultural in focus, noting an increase of seventeen acres in the area of cultivated land, but a problem with the corn crop.\(^7\) [See Appendix I for description of island, 1885]

Thompson's 1886 report described a further thirty-four acres of arable land, and the prosperity of all Christian Island families during the winter. The Indians purchased a threshing machine with money from their account though some families remained off island working in the mills and harvesting wild fruit. [See Appendix II] The development of cottages in the
Collingwood area increased the demand for lumber, and provided further employment for Indian boatmen. The addition of 450 acres under tillage, and the laying of the cornerstone of the national memorial commemorating the martyrs Bre'beuf and L'Alleman were noted in the 1887 report.8

The death of Chief Noah Assance was noted in the January 1, 1889 report of E. Dewdney, Superintendent General of Indian Affairs. Dewdney referred to the Chief as a man of considerable energy and a practical example to the others for his efforts to promote agriculture. Thompson's report in the same year noted that lumber from the North Shore would pass through the vicinity of Christian Island. Farming had declined in the 1890 report as most men had found employment in the mills. The Indians constructed a small wharf which was used to land and ship such goods as lumber and agricultural products.9

An improvement of farm product yield over the previous year is noted in the 1892 report by H.H. Thompson. Thompson notes also the re-election of Chief Assance, a reflection of the change in the hereditary chief tradition that occurred around 1876 with the Indian Act.10 Thompson's appointment apparently ended in 1893, as he is no longer on the government's payroll in 1894.

A. Dingman of the Deseronto Ontario reserve issued a report in 1895. Dingman provided a brief history of the island in his report, indicating that most families were living on Christian Island itself, although a few still lived on Parry Island and elsewhere. Tougher times on the island were also noted:
"[Indians were] existing in a half starved condition where they ought to [have lived] in comfort and wealth."\(^1\) Without an Indian Agent on the reservation in 1893 and 1894, farming had been neglected, and the wages the Indians earned had not provided enough income to maintain their standard of living. The wharf had proven to be a popular spot for excursion parties, and the Indians made use of this to sell their wares.\(^1\)

Charles McGibbon was appointed Indian Agent for Christian Island in 1896, though his reports were issued from Penetanguishine. His first report noted poor harvests in 1894, requiring the Indians to again sell cordwood to steamboat companies. In 1893, 500 cords had been sold to a Collingwood company at a rate of $2.00 per cord. McGibbon's 1897 report was more promising, and was hopeful of better harvests. As well, the band had adopted a system of road making that was similar to a municipally controlled one.\(^1\)

Hayter Reed, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, issued a report concerning Christian Island on December 2, 1896. To meet the demands of vacationers, Reed promoted the sale by the Chippewas of Beausoleil, Rama, and Snake Islands of some of the 1500 islands in their possession. Reed believed these islands to be of little value to the Indians, save for infrequent use for fishing, and ordered a survey of the islands for the summer of 1896, paid for by the Beausoleil Indians. All sales of the islands were stopped until the survey was completed.\(^1\) [See Appendices III, IV, V, VI, VII for documents
concerning sale of Georgian Bay islands.]

In 1898, McGibbon again noted promising crops and cordwood contracts, as well as basket making and fancy work as good sources of income. The young men of the tribe formed a brass band this year. Two deaths by consumption were mentioned in the 1899 report. Young men had begun to act as guides to tourists, a new source of income, and a thoroughbred Polled Angus bull had been purchased to sire cows and build a better herd of cattle. In his 1900 report, McGibbon noted that most Indians were again involved in the farming process, and doing well with it, though diverse activities continued to supplement this practice. The reports McGibbon issued in the early century, until 1910, demonstrated little variation. Indians were said to be involved in farming, fishing, hunting, stock raising, and other forms of industry: McGibbon emphasized the importance of fishing, and depicted the situation on the island in generally progressive terms, although tuberculosis was the cause of numerous deaths in the era. Vaccinations of the young band members occurred in 1903, and in 1904, the mills were again mentioned as a source of employment.¹⁵

Hamilton Todd of Randolph was responsible for the 1912 report, and it differed drastically from its predecessors. Todd noted a lack of "good dwelling houses," and indicated that the situation was worsening. Only 300 of more than eight thousand acres of farm land were under cultivation, and pasture space for one thousand cattle was occupied by fifty. Todd also reported
that the sanitary precautions that ought to accompany the presence of tuberculosis, such as disinfecting the houses, cleaning, and burning rubbish, had not been obeyed. In fact, small congested houses promoted the disease. Despite McGibbon's reports, and although twenty teams of good working horses were owned, as well as modern implements including a steam thresher, Todd found farming to be on the wane, with the timber industry the chief source of livelihood. The large dog population prevented successful sheep farming, and the hogs raised were of inferior quality. He reported that the Indians did little fishing.\textsuperscript{16} Stated Todd:

\begin{quote}
The Indians are a fairly industrious and law-abiding people, but they don't cultivate because the returns are too slow. They work only for high wages. The older men farmed twenty to thirty years ago. Now the land is overgrown.\textsuperscript{17}
\end{quote}

[See also Appendix VIII for Todd Report]

Todd's report resulted in a visit to the island by Chief Medical Officer P.H. Bryce, and a report issued June 12, 1912. Bryce reported tuberculosis to be a serious problem, resulting in eighteen deaths and fifteen illnesses. Bryce commiserated with the living conditions on the island: "The remarkable absence of any deaths from another cause...serves to accentuate the really lamentable situation due to T.B."\textsuperscript{18}

C.J. Picotte became Indian Agent in 1913, and took up residence on the reserve, with his children attending the island's school. Under his term, the agency house was
constructed, and the agency farm and barn developed to demonstrate farming to the Indians. Picotte confirmed Todd's report that farming was primarily an occupation of the older band members, and that younger men were employed in lumbering and in the saw-mills. In fact, under his administration, a saw mill was constructed on the island. Picotte's 1916 report indicated that the T.B. epidemic had ended, and better sanitary conditions established.19

General Educational Trends, 1870-1926

Six teachers taught on Christian Island between 1870 and 1873, and in this period 30 students attended school. Miss Anna Bella McLean taught 33 students from 1874-75, and she was paid $260.00, jointly funded by the Chippewas of Christian Island and the Wesleyan Methodist Society. Allan Salt, a missionary of mixed ancestry, began teaching in 1877. Salt earned the same salary as Miss McLean had, though the number of students had dropped to 20 by 1880. The subjects Salt taught were reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, and geography, five of the nine approved Indian school subjects: Salt declined to teach history, reading of Indian books, music and drawing. Daily attendance was a problem for Salt: while 27 students were enrolled in 1878, average daily attendance was only 8. Despite the construction of a new school house in 1880, attendance remained very low. In the mid-1880's, two teachers taught for brief periods, Wellington Salt, Allan's son, and Catherine Jackson. Attendance continued
to be a problem.

Alfred McCue, an Indian from the island, became the new teacher in 1888, and he achieved a better attendance ratio than anyone previously. McCue expanded the curriculum to include history, music and singing, and in 1889, drawing, so that all subjects approved of by the Department of Indian Affairs were included. McCue continued to teach until 1895, and H.H. Thompson stated that McCue took a great interest in the children. Not only did McCue attract Christian Island, pupils, a large number of students came from Manitoulin and Parry Islands. Perhaps because of his native heritage, McCue achieved good attendance ratios throughout the 1890's.

From 1896 until 1926, the nature of education on the island was static. There was a high turnover ratio of teachers, between 25 and 35 students from the island were enrolled, and with the exception of Reverend John Wilson, who taught from 1907 to 1910, attendance remained low. Grade levels called "standards" were introduced in 1895, and some students progressed through the system despite the apparent problems. Methodists continued to be deeply involved in the school system until 1926.

Teacher salaries were apparently a great detriment to the educational system on Christian Island. William Plummer, Visiting Superintendent and Commissioner, in 1876 stated: "With few exceptions the teachers in this superintendency are totally unqualified. To mitigate this evil, a much higher salary must be paid, and a higher state of proficiency demanded." Between 1873
and 1909, the salary of the teacher on Christian Island increased from $260.00 to $300.00.\textsuperscript{20}

General Trends 1870-1926 Census for Christian Island

Between 1868 and 1916, the population of Christian Island grew from 192 to 249, an increase of 57 persons, or over 29%. After 1898, the census is divided into age groups, with the group aged 21-65 largest. In the age groups over 20, the number of men is always fewer than that of women. The population was split between Christian and Manitoulin Islands, with the population on Manitoulin varying from approximately ten to thirty per-cent.\textsuperscript{21}

Agricultural and Industrial Statistics

The earliest collection of agricultural statistics for Christian Island was published in 1875. The Chippewas of Beausoleil, which could include property on Manitoulin Island, are credited with 40 log houses and 352 acres of farmland. John A. Macdonald's 1884 Superintendent General of Indian Affairs report listed 2500 bushels of produce and 100 tons of hay, as well as $300.00 worth of furs and $260.00 worth of furs. Macdonald's reports continued until 1887, and detailed an increasing amount of land under cultivation, and generally increasing levels of production. The trend to agriculture continued at least until 1892, with good harvests in 1891 and
pressure from Indian Agents promoting agriculture. In 1894, however, when no agent was present, the amount of land under tillage decreased, though yields were high. Nevertheless, agriculture remained important, and the first decade of the twentieth century was especially successful, with each year surpassing the previous one, until 1910. Despite this apparent success, however, the Indian Agents lamented the yields, believing them to be less than they could have been. The report of Hamilton Todd in 1912 detailed a decline in agricultural production that year, but this could be a reflection of McGibbon's less than accurate reporting in earlier years. Apparently agriculture continued to be important and profitable until 1926, but the statistics for the island are less thorough in this era.²²

General Trends 1870-1926

The Balance Account for Christian Island

Money held by the federal government in a trust fund was the major source of capital for the band. Income as recorded in the Analyzed Balance Sheet from 1870-1875 came from the sale of land, stone, timber and other natural resources, for example; islands for cottage development in the case of the Beausoleil Band. Money given to the band under treaty obligations also comprised a portion of the capital. Loans for major projects, community purchases and individual loans came from this fund. Requests
were subject to the Indian Agents' and Department of Indian Affairs' approval.

Expenditures in the 1870's included salaries, pensions, medical expenses, sundry payments and the distribution of interest monies to the members of the band. The documents in the sessional papers show that monies were paid out of two funds, the capital fund and the interest fund.

By 1885 the analyzed balance sheet was no longer listed and only a Statement of Expenditure was included listing the balance, revenue and sale of resources. In 1899 the sources and value of income were included in the Agricultural and Industrial Statistics but the band's expenditures could not be determined. By 1926 the total income of the band was $28,169.08 compared to 1870 when it was $43,891.91. No indication is given of why the income has dropped. The income figures for the period 1910-1926 are very erratic indicating either a change in accounting procedures, poor reporting or an actual decrease in income; for example the income dropped from $30,000 in 1910 to $5,627.25 in 1912 and went up again to $12,399.18 in 1919 and by 1926 had reached $28,169.08. This occurred at a time when farming was in a slump but when the sale of islands ceded to the government by the Beausoleil Band in the 1926 treaty had recommenced. There is some indication that the government at one time lent money from the Indian bands' capital to business and financial concerns. The total value of real and personal property in 1926 was $67,800. In this category also one can hardly trust the
statistics as presented in the sessional papers. The figures for real and personal property in 1910 show an amount of $216,200.00 while for 1912 the amount is $55,200.00. The condition of the band in 1926 is difficult to determine.\textsuperscript{23}
Endnotes


5. Ibid., p. 18.


   See also National Archives Canada, R.G. 10 2547 A File 111,892 Reel C11236.


12. Ibid., Report, p. 100.

   See also NAC, R.G. 10, V2816, File 166,313, Reel C11, 282.


17. Ibid., p. 8. See also Appendix VII for Todd Report.


21. Ibid.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.
CHAPTER IV
THE CHRISTIAN ISLAND COMMUNITY
IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The documentary evidence of the Beausoleil Band's twentieth century history on Christian Island provides little anecdotal or personal material. Files from R.G. 10 at the National Archives of Canada give an official version of the events on the island and there is one excellent series of Indian Agent's reports from H. Eade, who lived there in the 1920's and 30's. Two band minute books, also from the 1920's and 30's, are in a private collection but access to these was limited and there is one brief history compiled by the Grade 8 class at the separate school in 1967 as a centennial project. A local newspaper The Smoke Signal was available for some years from 1967-1980. The band office burned down in 1984 destroying any records in the band's possession leaving a large gap in its history. Part of the objective of the Archaeological Master Plan study by the Museum of Indian Archaeology, University of Western Ontario, begun in the summer of 1987, was to try to recapture some of this history.

The limited documentation meant that the major component would be interviews. In 1988, over thirty interviews were conducted with the elders and also with people from other age groups. As well, there were informal conversations with band members, but as the year progressed, it became obvious that only a long term involvement with band members would yield more than
the partial history we now have. After some initial hesitation the Christian Island community welcomed the researchers, and after repeated visits to the island one began to feel comfortable in this closely knit community. In general the most useful and interesting information was discovered in casual conversation rather than during the formal interviews.

Frequently people do not remember the same events in the same way or they remember different experiences which often cannot be verified. As a consequence considerable caution is necessary in a mainly "oral" history. But a picture of island life from roughly 1930 to the present has emerged, at least as it remains in people's memories. There is a strong oral tradition in native culture and they used it to recall their own history. The project stirred the band members' interest and prompted them to remember forgotten people and events.

I

Political structure on Christian Island, until 1968, centred on the Indian Agent. The Chief and Band Council played supporting roles. The term agent as described in several Indian Acts "means a commissioner, superintendent, agent or other officer acting under the instructions of the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs."¹ In practical terms, the Indian Agent enforced the Indian Act in the reserve and was the means whereby the government maintained economic and social control of native peoples.
The first Agent for Christian Island was appointed in 1884 and a succession of men represented the Department of Indian Affairs there until 1968 when the last agent left.² [Figure 5] Indian Agents' reports appeared in the sessional papers until 1926 and from then on the record is less consistent. The report, as already indicated, relies heavily on the correspondence of H. Eade during the period 1926-1934 when he was the agent on Christian Island.³

The role of the agents in determining the economic direction and well-being of the community was paramount, although their presence on the island seems to have been rather undefined. The impression that islanders give is that unless they had direct contact with them, they do not remember the agents clearly.⁴ One person commented that the agents never mixed with members of the community, and they never visited people in their homes.⁵ Mr. Lumsden impressed islanders with his feeble attempts to teach them farming. He knew less than most band members. Another agent gave the cod liver oil meant for band members to his cows and horses. However, band members could not fail to notice the agency farm and house which was built about 1920 on the west side of the road north of the United Church cemetery. Throughout this period the house was the most substantial one on the island and had a noisy generator which supplied it with electricity long before the other island residences were wired. The agent's house served as an office and dispensary until the office was moved to a room in the old United Church school in 1953 and a nursing
CHAPTER VII

Agents Serving on our Reserve

1856 - 1967

Agent Syle
William Thompson Penetang
Inspector McGibbon Penetang
Hamilton Todd Penetang 1910
Thomas Hornsby Penetang 1916
C. J. Picotte Penetang 1916 Agency House
Lawrence Gregoire Penetang
Captain H. Jo-Eadie Barrie
George Lumsden Waverley
J. D. Allen Collingwood
Ernie Hurl Midland
Henry S. Gauthier Penetang
Fred Savage Victoria Harbour
J. S. Sheane East
Fred Purser P. E. Island
James Powless Six Nations Reserve
Aaron Soney Walpole Island
Harlton S. Rawlings Acting Agent

CLERKS
Albert Lalonde Guy Maurice Gerry Harris

Figure 5: List of Indian Agents from A History of Christian Island and Our People.
station was built in 1954 to provide medical care. Islanders remember the fields at the agency farm and the huge barn used to store crops and keep animals.

The official documents portray a circumscribed society in which members' public activities were subjects of band council resolutions and the agent's scrutiny. A conscientious agent like Mr. Eade sent on these resolutions to the Indian Affairs Department with appropriate comments about most. Mr. Lumsden, Agent in 1938, who apparently did not follow Departmental regulations was bluntly told to sign all resolutions to prove that he had attended council meetings. He was also instructed to express his views on the resolutions forwarded. Although the Band Council resolutions appear only occasionally in the documents, covering letters provide a record of band activities and demonstrate the importance of the Indian Agent in determining the outcome of any request. Often he would recommended outright rejection or significant modification of some resolutions to reflect his own view of the situation.

Most resolutions requested money to purchase property or goods. The band's capital from which each band member received interest payments was kept in a trust fund in Ottawa. The amount of interest money depended on the number of shares a band member held. If the band wished to borrow money from the capital for a major project or if an individual member wished to borrow money - to purchase a cow, or a cream separator, or shingles for his roof - each request had to be in the form of a resolution passed by
the Chief and Council. The requests were then forwarded by the Agent with his comments to be approved or rejected by a government official. A sampling of resolutions contained in Mr. Eade's correspondence includes one forwarded on June 7, 1927, which requested money to make repairs to the front door of the band council office; one forwarded on January 10, 1930, requested $120.00 for Mrs. James L. King to purchase a horse and harness; another sent on August 11, 1930, sought funds to send four people to the Grand Council of Indians and was modified by the agent who recommended that only two people be sent. A request from Josiah Monague in the May 7, 1931 report for a loan was not recommended because contrary to regulations Josiah had pledged his interest money to merchants outside the reserve without the agent's knowledge. Mr. Eade's comment on a request for one loan was, "I have never known an Indian of this reserve to repay a loan from any other source except his interest shares, in view of the fact I cannot recommend this loan." The system fostered situations in which many band members suffered from chronic debt. As long as the debts remained unpaid very few people were able to continue to borrow money from the band's fund. Other legitimate sources from which to borrow money did not appear to exist. Several band members commented that one should not measure the wealth or well being of the band by outward appearances; apparently an accumulation of material goods was often considered of little importance. Thus, the picture drawn from the Indian Agent's reports may be a misleading picture of conditions on the
island. Nonetheless, the early years of the depression were very difficult and some elders have remarked that the situation on the island was close to desperate although the community grew enough food to keep body and soul together.10

From the band's very beginnings on Christian Island the Indian Affairs Department had encouraged islanders to become farmers. The arrival of the Indian Agent in 1884 provided a more direct influence in this direction. In 1920, the establishment of the agency farm by Agent C.J. Picotte and the building of a house which could house his family was proof of this commitment.11 In 1928 Agent Eade urged islanders to take up farming because the lumber was almost gone. During the 1920's and 30's every encouragement was given to those who appeared to want to try farming.12 The band decided in 1930 not to purchase a timber limit which would cost a considerable amount of money and would eventually be exhausted, but to "remain on the Island and to take up agriculture, stock raising and market gardening including strawberrys and rasberrys [sic]."13 Orchards planted in the nineteenth century no longer produced fruit by 1930. Consequently the agent considered the band's request for strawberry plants and fruit trees, in order to produce fruit for sale, a worthwhile attempt to revive this type of agriculture.14

In 1931 the Agent reported that farming had not been good for several years, although several band members had renewed efforts to cultivate the land and plant gardens. Cordwood was purchased by the department of Indian Affairs as a form of
relief.\textsuperscript{15} The band council applied for additional relief in the form of a grant of $2,000.00 from the band fund to improve the road system and at the same time provide some employment. The council had to request money for legitimate public works projects in order to obtain some badly needed cash because the Department did not provide direct relief funds. However the Department refused the request, insisting that people work off the reserve during the summer months while at the same time encouraging band members to stay on the island and grow crops and vegetables for winter.\textsuperscript{16} But Agent Eade, noting the bad winters suffered by islanders, continued to make requests for seed and feed for livestock. One can only speculate about the dilemma which Agent Eade faced. He appeared to be cognizant of the band's needs but instead of suggesting new government initiatives he continued to emphasize the agricultural thrust of government policy.

The Agent's reports for the later years of the 1930's were less detailed than those of the early years but one may assume that like many agricultural communities Christian Island saw little improvement. Band members whom Agent Eade considered good farmers benefited from their industry because he recommended that their requests be granted. For example, Josiah Monague asked permission to buy a mower and because he was "a good farmer and deserves encouragement, he has saved sufficient seed oats from last year's crop for this Spring seeding, he is trying to get along and devotes all his time to the farm, the mower would be of benefit to him with his hay crop."\textsuperscript{17} Albert Monague's request
for money to pay off the debt on the purchase of a cream separator was approved because he had four cows, made butter and sold it.\textsuperscript{18} On the other hand, James Monague's request for a sleigh was not recommended because although he had a team of horses which were useless without a sleigh or wagon James had pledged his interest share to pay for wood and would not be able to repay a new loan.\textsuperscript{19} Eventually Mr. Monague sold his horses because he could not farm due to lack of implements.\textsuperscript{20} The Department of Indian Affairs through its agent attempted to create the same lifestyle for everyone and those who did not fit or were unsuccessful were punished by being denied access to funds.

Agent Eade's detailed reports about his work during the eight years he spent on the island in the 1920's and 30's demonstrate that the federal government hoped to integrate the band members into an agricultural way of life. The official record shows that he slanted his approval of loan requests in ways which would fulfil this mandate. He conscientiously commented on resolutions passed by the band council even though in hindsight his notations appear patronizing and paternalistic. Eade may have been an exceptional agent doing his best in a difficult position. Eventually he was removed from his post for allowing all band members to participate in band council meetings.\textsuperscript{21}

The record for the remaining thirty-five years of an agent's presence on the island is not nearly as consistent nor does it
allow for such conclusions to be drawn. After Eade, the agent's role is less clear but with the decline in the importance of farming the focus of his concerns shifted to other areas. Government documents contain band council resolutions for the 1950's and early 1960's but there is little comment by a succession of agents—six from 1953 until 1968. The resolutions deal with matters such as housing which is an ongoing problem, the wiring of houses after electricity was installed, the timber industry which for a time revived, chronic unemployment and the leasing of cottage lots which the band hoped would provide cash and employment for islanders.\(^{22}\) The agency farm was still in operation until 1968 and the band still had cattle, but these items appear infrequently in the resolutions. Individual requests for loans to buy farm related equipment or animals virtually disappeared. The band council's concerns reflected a shift to matters which affected the community as a whole. This reduced the agent's ability to interfere in individual band members lives in the very personal way in which Mr. Eade had. In 1953, the agency office was moved from the farm to a more central location in one room of the United Church school and in 1954 Agent Savage built a new office in the village, by the waterfront. The Department of Indian Affairs hired a clerk in 1953 and the three men who occupied this position until its demise in 1968 looked after the day to day business of the band. One elder commented that agents were so busy travelling that they had no time to look after the affairs of the band.\(^{23}\) Obviously
the Indian Agent had become more like a business manager than a personal overseer.

Chiefs and band councilors had become more sophisticated politically, and were not so isolated from mainland activities and influences. Leonard Monague, who was twice Chief of the band, knew his Member of Parliament and knew how to circumvent the Indian Agent if the need arose. However, his perception of the agent was molded by frustration and exasperation. Whenever band officials attended meetings the agent was present at their shoulders providing instructions. For practical purposes he still held the reins of power which were economic in nature. For example, in 1960 the Band Council had to work with Agent Purser to plan a suitable winter works project which would provide employment.

The last Indian Agent left the island in 1968 and most band members agree that "things have been better since." The government reorganized the Department of Indian Affairs in 1966, and by 1969 had moved towards making Indian people more responsible for their own affairs. Jean Chretien as Minister of Indian Affairs issued a white paper which called for the removal of their special status but these policies were never implemented. The Indian Agent was replaced by a native band administrator and the first one on Christian Island was Leonard Monague, a former Chief. His assistant, Cynthia Jamieson, later went on to become band administrator. Their work dealt with many of the same matters that had occupied the agent; budgets (the
most important item), complaints about housing and transportation, and interaction with the cottagers. These concerns occupy the administrator twenty years later but the scope of the band's responsibilities has grown to the point where the band council employs people to deal with matters such as housing, education, leasing of cottage lots, roads, ferries and social services. In effect, a form of municipal government is in operation on Christian Island.

Employees working in the band office represent the administrative side of the band government and the Chief and Band Council represent the elected side. The powers and responsibilities of both these groups have increased since the Indian Agent's departure. As long as the agent was on the island and responsible for the band there was the problem of how a Chief and Band Council could operate with integrity, dignity and responsibility when every resolution was first scrutinized by the agent and then by a bureaucrat in the Department of Indian Affairs. The official record and even the band council minute books do not tell us whether the Chief and Council had methods of subverting the system and undercutting the agent while at the same time following the Department of Indian Affairs directives. Differing personalities must have been important and in the case of the agent his effectiveness was reflected, to a degree, in his reports and in one instance in the band's response to a new agent. The Chief and council suspected that Mr. Lumsden who succeeded Mr. Eade as agent was not forwarding their resolutions.
They began to hold secret council meetings and forwarded some of their resolutions directly to Ottawa in order to by-pass him. A two man deputation went to Ottawa to talk about the Lumsden contract. The matter must have been resolved because Agent Lumsden continued in the post for several years.\textsuperscript{27}

In the twentieth century, much the same as in the nineteenth, the bounds within which the Chief and Council could operate were quite limited. The 1876 Indian Act laid out the limits very specifically; the care of public health, the repression of intemperance and profligacy, the prevention of trespass by cattle and the establishment of pounds and the appointment of pound keepers were among the areas of jurisdiction for which chiefs were allowed to frame rules and regulations.\textsuperscript{28} The government was trying to substitute a limited local administration for existing tribal organization and in the process hoped to accelerate assimilation.\textsuperscript{29} The 1880 Act increased the band council's role in three areas; the determination of the school teacher's denomination with some caveats, the repression of noxious weeds and fines and imprisonment for minor crimes.\textsuperscript{30} The 1884 Advancement Act tried to transform tribal regulations into municipal law and to introduce a system of self-government.\textsuperscript{31}

Little changed until the 1951 Act and the documents available for the period 1926-1951 demonstrate the direction of government policy. The by-laws passed by the Chief and Band Council were directly related to a permanent village setting, a
small municipality rather than a more dispersed organization. Also many items in the Indian Agent's reports and the band minute books in the 1920's and 30's strongly suggest an agricultural community rather than a hunting or fishing community. It is a hypothetical question to ask how the band would have organized its economic life and village settlement without government direction. However there are suggestions that the island was not ideally suited for farming and that islanders preferred to live there but to work off island in the cash economy during the crucial summer months; berry picking, guiding, and working "up the rocks" or labouring in lumber mills. These activities continued despite the attempt to turn the island into an agricultural community. The Beausoleil band has a long history of attempting to adjust to an agrarian life, Coldwater, Beausoleil Island and Christian Island, and none achieved the success which Indian Department officials had envisioned.

The 1951 Indian Act gave the bands more power and restricted somewhat the power of the Minister or Governor in Council except that the latter could "declare any or all parts of the Act inapplicable to any band or individual Indian, subject only to another statute or treaty."\(^{32}\) The Indian Agent's control which had been tightened in 1894 was loosened somewhat and there was more emphasis on local government. Jurisdictional areas added to the Chief and Band Council's mandate included "the regulation of the construction, repair and use of buildings whether owned by the band or by individual members of the band, the construction
and regulation of the use of public wells, cisterns, reservoirs and other water supplies and the preservation, protection and management of fur-bearing animals, fish and other game on the reserve." In 1950 the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration had stated that "The ultimate goal of our Indian policy is the integration of the Indians into the general life and economy of the country." Prior to 1950 the government maintained its paternalistic attitude to Indians. The Indian Acts reflected this position. There was to be a temporary transition period during which special treatment and legislation were necessary to aid in band development. Although native people were still regarded as "citizens plus" the authors of the paper, "The Historical Development of The Indian Act," felt that there had been some movement away from the old British policy of providing for "the special protection of the Indians in his person, his property, his advancement and well-being."

Bands were given opportunities to achieve even greater autonomy. However the Chief and the members of the Band Council who were key players still had to operate within the agency system which limited the available opportunities. There were also the problems of few jobs on the island and high unemployment among band members in the 1950's and consequently little chance for growth. Band members were struggling to find solutions but primarily they were struggling to keep their community viable. Agents' reports from this time, while less detailed than Agent Eade's twenty-five years earlier, give an indication of the
band's concerns. Unfortunately there is no corresponding evidence from band reports. The band office burned in 1984 destroying any pertinent documents. It does appear that the Chief and council were taking more initiative for their own economic development.

The Georgian Bay area where Christian Island is located is ideal summer vacation country. Other reserves were already leasing cottage lots and the Christian Island community took an interest in doing this. Leonard Monague, the Chief from 1954-1956 had the idea of establishing another Iron City on Christian Island. This was a resort community "up the rocks" at Twelve Mile Bay where many islanders had worked as guides and housekeepers. Leonard himself had worked there for thirty years and believed that his home, Christian Island, could provide the same opportunities. He wanted to attract wealthy people who would employ band members as cottage builders and summer help. Leonard believed that the agent and the government decided his plans were too grandiose. He attributed his election defeat in 1956 to his opponent's charges that he was selling off Christian Island. The new Chief, when elected, proceeded with the plans to lease cottage lots but the developments at Big Sand Bay and Lighthouse Point were scaled down and never reached Leonard's expectations. They failed to provide significant employment. The Chief and council still had to contend with Indian Agents during this time. The official record does not show how much influence the agents had on elections but it is certain that they
influenced economic development. Projects needed the approval of the agent. He was crucial to furthering the band's interests with the government but both parties were part of a system which often did not permit this.

By the 1950's the government was encouraging bands to move their communities to the status of advanced bands which meant greater responsibility, financial assistance for projects which assisted the betterment of the band and municipal incorporation for sufficiently advanced bands.\textsuperscript{37} The Beausoleil Band began to tackle some larger projects. The Cedar Point dock was repaired, $3500.00 was borrowed to purchase soft wood logs to be sawn in the sawmill and made available for house building programmes, $700.00 was spent on road work, $5000.00 on the wiring of houses and $4000.00 for the purchase of beef cattle.\textsuperscript{38} Requests for funds from the band's capital for small items continued, for example, money to repair the fence at the United Church cemetery, the raising of relief payments to the indigent from $6.00 to $12.00, $180.00 for fuel to heat the community hall and two churches and $35.00 for Christmas treats for the children and the aged.\textsuperscript{39} The requests for personal loans were less noticeable.

The Chief and council's contribution became more important but their actions were still scrutinized by the Indian Agent. After the agent's position was abolished the elected council members became the most important political representatives on the reserve. As well the administrative side of the band's governing body expanded as the band took more control of its own
affairs. The traditional positions of pathmaster and band messenger disappeared and were replaced by other positions.\textsuperscript{40} [Figure 6] By 1988 there was a full range of administrative positions for band members from housing to health care. The political process, the election of Chief and councillors which takes place every two years has become very important to the well being of the band. Issues which have historically been significant; the designation of lots, housing, unemployment and transportation still exist. Added to them however are newer issues, relations with the cottagers and economic development. Funding for the latter issue is primarily the responsibility of the Chief and the Economic Development Officer. They are the external representatives of the band and meet with government officials from various agencies to negotiate loans and other financial assistance. The Chief councillor and other council members look after problems on the island with the help of the band council employees. Some people wear two hats, one from the administrative side and one from the elected side.

When the Indian Agent was present on the island in the 1920's and 30's the Chief and Council represented more than a local governing body. They were the conduit through which the government was kept informed of the most minute details of band life. Of course the Department of Indian Affairs' perception of band needs was coloured by the agent's comments on most resolutions which he forwarded. The effectiveness of the Chief and band council was directly related to the effectiveness of the
Congratulations to our New Chief Rodnew Manague, as well as our New Council, who are councillors Wallace Jamieson our Chief Councillor, Calvin Sunday, Floyd King, Kenneth King, John Monague and Michael Sandy.

During several meetings which have been held by the New Council, since the election, the topics of discussion have been, Employment, Housing, Signing Authority, where it was resolved that Calvin Sunday and Wallace Jamieson sign all Band Cheques, and that a third person will be appointed within the next few weeks. Evaluation of all Band Staff was also discussed, and it was decided by the New Council that all of the Band Staff be evaluated, in order that salaries be reviewed and proper Job Descriptions are drawn up, and that Competitions be held if required. Delegation of the New Council's Responsibilities, Finances and Policing were also topics discussed by the New Chief and Council.

Delegation of Responsibilities

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<tr>
<th>Wallace Jamieson</th>
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Figure 6: List of Councillors and responsibilities.
Indian Agent. He had the initial power to help or hinder the band but the ultimate control lay with the Indian Affairs department because it controlled the band's funds. The documents and oral sources make it difficult to assess whether politically wise and powerful Chiefs could manipulate the agent although it certainly seems probable and is purported to have happened.  

The documents relating to the 1940's and 50's seem to support the idea that in this delicately balanced relationship the weight began to shift in favour of the elected body, the Chief and Council. They gained credibility and standing within the community. Islanders remember the Chiefs far more readily than they do the Indian Agents because they were the men who dealt directly with the people. Two former Chiefs and the present Chief were interviewed by researchers. Each felt that he had an important role to play in drawing a consensus from the band concerning its real needs and interests and expressing their concerns to the appropriate government bodies. Chiefs and members of the band council participate in the same elective process as mayors of municipalities and encounter many of the same problems. They also have to handle the special situations encountered by native people. Although bands have achieved more autonomy since the departure of the Indian Agent the ties to the federal government remain in effect. The band's monies are still held in trust and each fiscal year a contribution arrangement is made with the federal government about the amount of money which
the band will receive for the year. The island economy depends to a large extent on this transfer of funds.

II

For much of the twentieth century the economic structure of Christian Island was based on farming, fishing and the timber industry. Farming at its peak involved more islanders than logging or fishing. In addition to requests for loans for machinery and implements the band members needed money to purchase cows and horses, fencing material to keep the cattle away from the crops and occasionally seed to start their spring planting if the winter had been long and hard. The band had a communal bull and each person whose cow produced a calf paid $1.00 to offset the expenses of looking after the bull. There was also a band boar and a stallion kept for breeding purposes. Usually a band member was designated by the council to look after these animals and for this was given some renumeration. In 1931 Agent Eade wintered the bull because band members were afraid of it. 43 The unpredictable hazards of farming on Christian Island were described in various reports by the agent. For example the death of the band bull occurred after it broke into a corn field, ate too much corn and died because the corn fermented in his stomach. 44 A dog by-law was passed to protect the sheep from roaming dogs. 45 Cattle also wandered at large making it difficult to protect one’s crops.
In October, 1931 a request was made for a suitable grain
grinder which would crush grain for the stock and grind grain for
domestic purposes.\textsuperscript{46} Large equipment was purchased by the band
and shared by all the farmers. A list of users was posted to
ensure fair time allotment. Small farming items were usually
purchased by individuals for their own use. This farming
tradition is remembered quite fondly by many band elders. Often
families farmed together; the Kings on top of the hill where they
grew potatoes, corn and watermelons, and the Copegogs and the
Nortons whose farms lined the road to Big Sand Bay. Elders
recalled threshing bees when men worked threshing the wheat and
women prepared the food for a meal which everyone shared.\textsuperscript{47} One
of the main crops in the 1930's and 40's was potatoes, a cash
crop which islanders could sell to suppliers on the mainland.

Most farmers had teams of horses which provided a means of
transportation as well as helping with logging and farm work.
Travelling across the ice in winter in a sleigh behind a team was
as familiar a sight to islanders as walking behind the horses who
were pulling a plough or wagon. [Figure 7] Taking care of the
horses' harnesses occupied farmers on long winter nights.

Subsistence gardening provided important supplements to the
islanders' diet. Most homes had gardens and some people
continued to garden on plots above the village site after the
farms were gone. Often chickens, a few cattle and pigs were kept
on village lots. The cattle grazed in fields outside the village
and were brought home every night. Eleanor King remembered Elmer
Peters bringing home the cattle who just seemed to know where to go.\textsuperscript{48} Berry picking, particularly blueberries and blackberries, and maple syrup sugar making were family activities which were often directed by women. Many islanders remember Isobel Monague's organization of maple sugaring activities and the participation of many community members. Floyd King also remembers sugar making as a social gathering as much as anything else.\textsuperscript{49} The women preserved fruit and vegetables by several different methods; apples and berries were dried; berries and other fruits were canned and often the jars were buried in pits in the ground and covered with earth; vegetables were stored in root cellars. Fish and some meats were salted or dried and provided a dietary staple during the winter. In the summer meat and dairy products were preserved in ice houses with ice cut from the lake in the winter and stored in sawdust. Some women continue to preserve food but easier access to the mainland means more convenience foods and fresh fruit and vegetables are available year round. Many have discontinued home canning. Berry picking continues on the island but there is no sugaring off although there have been discussions about reviving this traditional activity.

Larger farms began to disappear after W.W.II. The generation which had grown up in the farming tradition grew older and the younger band members were not willing or able to continue. During the depression and W.W. II people had moved away from the island interrupting the agricultural pattern. It
was never reestablished. Christian Island farmers had never mechanized although there was a band tractor. By the 1950's and 60's subsistence farming no longer seemed viable or necessary. Resolutions relating to farming continued to be brought forward and passed; one resolution requested that "an application [be made] for a loan of $4,000 from the Indian Revolving fund for the purpose of purchasing beef cattle for yearlings on Christian Island." The band had a beef cattle farm and ran it for a few years in the 1960's but it is no longer in operation. Another resolution recommended that "we ask the Indian Department to what extent they will be willing to reclaim idle land and start agricultural improvements as part of industry for those sincerely interested in farming." The teams of horses had disappeared as their owners grew older and nothing ever really took their place. Transportation to the mainland became simpler with the advent of the ferry, "R.A. Hoey," in 1961. Amenities like electricity and the telephone made life on the island easier. Islanders no longer needed root cellars or ice houses. Home gardens also grew scarce. Now there are very few on the island. Farms have disappeared completely. The cleared fields and a few apple trees from old orchards are all that can be seen of the farms which operated on the Big Sand Bay road.

Attempts were made to revitalize the timber industry. A resolution passed in 1954 urged "that we give permission for an open permit to cut and sell [timber] until such time as there will be steady employment." Men from the island began working
in the lumber mills in the surrounding area in the nineteenth century. Lumbering was at its height in the latter part of the century and the mills provided a good number of jobs.\textsuperscript{53} When the industry died at the beginning of the twentieth century band members transferred their skills to their own locale although there had always been some logging on the island. Most of the male elders interviewed in the summer of 1988 had at some time in their life worked, either cutting logs in the bush or at the sawmill and many remembered going to lumber camps when they were children while their fathers worked.\textsuperscript{54} Fred Assance has memories of the lumber camps at Muskoka Mills where he went when he was fourteen. His best recollection was the three meals a day which he received. His father had been injured in a hunting accident and Fred went to work to earn some cash. Many families relied on this income to keep going from year to year.\textsuperscript{55}

A sawmill owned by the band operated on the island at this time. It employed twelve people. The island had for years provided a good source of timber in the form of hardwood logs either to be sold to mainland mills or used in the island's own sawmill. Many of the island houses were built with squared timbers cut locally or lumber sawn and planed in the mill. The wood used as fuel also came from local sources and some band members were able to earn a little extra money by contracting to supply the schools and churches with wood. The other two islands Hope and Beckwith which form part of the reserve had good supplies of timber and licenses to log there were given to
mainland companies. One lumber company sat up its own camps on these islands in the 1920's. Periodic shortages of timber have existed but there does not seem to have been any attempts made to reforest, only attempts made to find different methods of using the available stock.

The sawmill operated in the 1920's and had a sporadic working history until it was closed in 1965. It never seemed to be in good working condition which must have hindered band efforts to operate or expand the timber industry. A description of the mill in 1930 described the sawmill as being in poor repair. The mill's framework had rotted away "with the result that the bolts holding the frame to the foundation are not secure and the saw will not cut true." The saw also needed new teeth. In the 1950's and 60's the mill operated at the edge of the village near the dock but its location in 1930 is uncertain. Uncertainty arose from the agent's statement that "the mill should be moved to higher ground as since [sic] the water of the small lake on the Island has risen there is a constant seepage around the mill." There is a twenty-five year period when the documentation relating to the sawmill is scanty and confusing. Wood cutting operations continued throughout some of the depression years because the cutting of pulpwood and the government's purchase of cordwood were used as a relief measure. No specific mention is made of the sawmill in connection with this activity. Agents' reports in the late 1930's and early 1940's refer to a shingle
mill which was procured by the band in 1930 at a cost of $100.00.\textsuperscript{59} It is difficult to ascertain whether these are the same mills. The sawmill was destroyed by a windstorm on June 25, 1944 and the band requested $400.00 from band funds to repair it.\textsuperscript{60} From 1945 through to 1955 there were numerous references to repairing the mill.

Although the mill was constantly losing money it operated at full capacity from 1953 until it closed in 1965. Some of the wood was used for the island's house building programme but the amount of valuable wood decreased and the band had to look further and further away from the settlement for suitable timber. The mill remained open to provide employment for band members rather than having them go on relief.\textsuperscript{61} The attitude of the Department of Indian Affairs was expressed in a letter from the Supervisor of Indian Affairs, J.E. Morris to the Chief of Reserves and Trusts, "The value of maintaining a decent standard of living by working...as compared to the degradation of accepting straight relief cannot be too strongly emphasized if our responsibility to the Indian rests in dealing with him as a human being rather than a puppet."\textsuperscript{62}

Some band members remember the years of the mill's operation as ones of hustle and bustle and great activity; men going to work and women and children walking to meet them and taking them tea. One woman has memories of taking refreshments to her father: tea, salt pork and scone. A man who worked at the mill remembers the ten hour day for which he was paid 50 c/ per hour.
Wood was transported by scow to Cedar Point three or four times a day and logs were pulled across in a boom. The shore in front of the village was piled high with logs and huge piles of sawdust were generated from the mill. One band elder recalled that islanders used to take their mattresses down to the mill and clean them in the steam from the boiler. Practically everyone who was interviewed had some recollection of lumbering operations and the sawmill. But as one band member said, "I woke up one morning and it was gone."^63

A forest inventory study of the island was commissioned in 1961 by the Department of Forestry and Rural Development. The report recommended strengthened forest management practices and the establishment of small forest related industries, one of which was a charcoal kiln. The Chief and band council resolved to proceed with this plan and the kilns were built in 1963 [Figure 8] and operated for six or seven years. The timber for the kilns was cut in the winter and dried for three years and then burned. The resulting charcoal was bagged in ten pound bags and shipped to Burlington. It took eight cords of wood to produce three and one-half tons of charcoal and seven men were employed in the industry. In the 1970's a fire which destroyed the storage shed and an uncertain management situation helped cause the closure of the kilns. Alfred King who managed the kilns for a number of years said also that the plant could not keep up with the demand for the charcoal and if the band had tried the hardwood stock on the island would have become badly
Figure 8: Charcoal Kilns, Christian Island. Original photo from collection of Leonard Monague.
depleted. The band wishes to maintain an adequate wood supply. There is no longer any large scale logging on the island although there is one small sawmill and wood is cut for local use. A new forest related industry started up in the summer of 1988. A log house building programme was begun, using local timber, and the band council hopes that it will tie in to increased cottage building on the island. The logging and timber industry in this area of Georgian Bay has a long history and the members of Beausoleil Band have taken part since their earliest days on Christian Island. It has had an important role in their history and the Chief and band council may continue to seek new initiatives in this area.

Fishing fit more easily than agriculture into the seasonal type of activity which was preferred by some islanders. It was customary to fish in the fall to provide one of the staple foods for winter use. The fish was either salted or dried. Burly King remembers that his grandfather took potato sacks, spread them on the rocks, and put fish on top to dry. This traditional activity went on both before and after band members were introduced to farming. Mr. Eade's reports for the 1920's and 30's do not reveal much about fishing practices on the island. The band had to apply for a $20.00 fishing licence every year and members also requested money to buy nets each fall. During the hard winters in the depression years, the fish provided both a source of food and some cash income if the catch was plentiful enough.
Several band elders remember when fishing was a much bigger enterprise than it is now. People before W.W. II used rowboats Many boats were made on the island. Big Sand Bay was a popular place because the whitefish spawned there and fishermen still set their nets in this locality and at other places around the island. There are still three or four band members who fish on a regular basis.68

III

The settlement patterns of Christian Island inhabitants have changed over the years of the community's history. Family situations have shifted to smaller groupings but familiar names like Assance, Monague, King, Peters, Norton and Copegog signify the presence of continuous family histories. Their names either in original form or in the Anglicized version echo back to the earliest settlement on the island and are as well in the forefront of much of its twentieth century history.

The correspondence of the Indian Agent H. Eade to the Department of Indian Affairs in the 1920's and 30's, other government documents, band minute books which correspond to the same period and interviews with elders provide us with some knowledge about births and deaths, marriages between families, the movement of band members on and off the island, and the issuing of location tickets.69 The establishment of new farms or homes or the exchange of old ones can be traced to some extent in
Mr. Eade's correspondence by following, on the 1899 survey map, the granting of location tickets for particular surveyed lots. [Figure 9] Another great help in placing families within the village site in the 1930's is a map drawn by a band member Lorne Roote. [Figure 10, See also Appendix II] As well, elders remember settlement along the lighthouse road to the west of the village site and on the hill northwest of the village.

The housing on the island in the 1920's and 30's was very poor. Many houses were badly in need of repair and in 1930, particularly, work was so scarce on the island that band members would no longer do repair work or build houses free of charge. A lack of timber available for building houses had also become a problem in the 1920's and 30's. The sawmill was operating and even the lumber for this enterprise was becoming depleted. The Indian Agent stated that the band must preserve enough timber for future house building, particularly hemlock, cedar and pine. Many young people were forced to live with their parents after they were married and had great difficulty obtaining the necessary funds to purchase or build a house or begin to farm on their own. One theme which recurs again and again in this period and is probably true for other time periods as well is this inability to borrow money for what seem like necessities. Band members had very little, if any, cash.

The Indian Agent's disapproval of loan requests created situations in which people, young and old, were trapped. In June, 1928, Mr. Eade instructed the government to refuse the
Figure 10: Map of Village, Circa 1930. The original map was drawn by Lorne Roote, Band Member, Christian Island.
request of one band member for money to purchase a house. The man was married and living with his mother. Although he needed a house of his own the loan request was too large and could not be recommended. Another band member Leonard Monague applied twice for a loan to buy a house but was turned down because he was young and had not yet proved himself a good citizen. Band members had to gain credibility with the Agent before he regarded their requests favourably. If you were too young or too old, if you were a wastrel or just a poor farmer, if you were married or single; all these factors were important. But it was difficult for people to be good citizens until they had established themselves on a farm or set up a household. The agent created a treadmill which was very hard to get off.

The position of single men who did not want to live with their parents was very difficult. Chris Copegog found a bed wherever he could. Edward Sandy was able to borrow a house belonging to Robert Marsden when he was married but he was refused the same privilege when he was single. This situation was of course exacerbated by the critical housing shortage which existed prior to W.W. II and for sometime afterwards. Many elders who were interviewed remembered living with their in-laws for as long as twenty years after they were married. Separated couples found it difficult to get reestablished as single persons. Houses for singles were non-existent and it was unusual for younger women to live alone. The husband had no funds because his shares and thus his interest payments stayed with the
wife. As families grew larger their houses became more and more unsuitable. Lorne Roote described living in a number of houses on the reserve as they became available and his family grew larger. It seemed as if everyone lived in these houses at one time or another. It does not appear that the families purchased these houses, which sometimes became vacant because of migration from the island, but they used them for short periods of time with band council approval. It was one way of trying to ease an untenable situation. Eade himself talked of the Roote family increasing and of the small poor house in which they lived, thus acknowledging the problem but offering no solution.

The practice of moving from house to house did not indicate an idea of communal property. One band member reacted quite strenuously against this notion. Each family which belonged to the band had a well defined property within the village site as surveyed in 1899. In fact, each band member was and is entitled to one village lot. As well members could possess what were known as bush lots in other sections of the island. These could have been farm lots, bush lots or maple sugar bush lots and they still exist but are now little used except for some logging.

Location tickets for these properties were relatively easy to obtain. If a band member applied for a ticket the agent regarded that as an indication that the applicant was willing to try farming which was always encouraged. The transfer of these tickets from one band member to another was a simple process if the new ticket holder paid for improvement made on the
property. This method of transfer occurred primarily with farm properties outside the village site: properties on which fences might have been erected for example. Often people worked land for which they had no location ticket and if the person died before a ticket was obtained the land reverted to the band. Location tickets are now referred to as certificates of possession and still entitle band members to lots on the island.

Settlement patterns at present are quite different than they were prior to W.W.II and for some time afterwards. Then farms were situated on either side of the road leading to Big Sand Bay—the main north-west road on the island. Often farmers had a small dwelling for summer use on these properties and a house in town for winter use. There was little development on the waterfront except for the sawmill. Lorne Roote remembers that the main east-west road was the "swamp road" which was located further north than the present one. The village site was rather tightly contained and houses were primarily squared timber or frame. The community hall located at the "four corners," the red brick United and Roman Catholic churches and the Indian Agent's five bedroom frame house located above the United Church cemetery were the most substantial structures on the island.

This picture began to change after W.W. II. Housing had become decrepit and there were few jobs on the island to provide an economic base. Farming continued to decline and the timber and lumbering industry operated at a loss, kept alive primarily to provide band members with an alternative to welfare. In the
early 1950's, the government began a house building programme using funds from the band's capital and most of the old log houses were eventually replaced by one or two storey frame houses. These were little better than the ones which were removed. They had no electricity, no indoor plumbing and were insulated with wood chips an unsatisfactory material. The building programme has continued on a fairly regular basis and many of the houses built in the 1950's have in turn been replaced. Very little of the material from the older houses is saved, and very few of the older homes are renovated. Most of them are torn down. The costs of renovating are often higher than the cost for building a new house. Also, because the community is small, everyone is aware of new housing, and each family wants it. As one elder remarked, "Out with the old and in with the new." There is at present another housing shortage because more and more band members are returning to the island to live.

The issue of land ownership and getting on the housing list is complicated. One band councillor understood that when the Beausoleil band first arrived on Christian Island band members picked out land for themselves and lived all over the island. After the 1899 survey they were required to have location tickets if they wished to claim a particular piece of property. This is certainly borne out by the Indian Agent's reports. The most important families on the island had by this time settled on land which they considered theirs, following Ojibwa tradition of a
family's right to certain areas. The village site was set aside to be surveyed as families chose lots, although there were people already living in this area. The Indian Agent's report in the 1920's indicated that each person was entitled to two acres of the village front and had to have band permission to take up land in the village settlement.\textsuperscript{87} Often band members did not build on these lots and by the 1950's the Chief and council felt compelled to regularize the system.\textsuperscript{88} A housing list was started and when a band member reached the top of the list, he or she was issued a lot. This is still the method of lot allocation in the 1980's. Now there is a choice of serviced lots, but these are becoming scarce and the band may have to consider opening up new areas for settlement.

The idea of ownership has become entrenched on Christian Island. In many reserves houses which become vacant are issued to other band members, but Christian Island band members like the idea of ownership and purchase and sell their houses. The land, of course, is owned by the band and members have only "the right to use" it.\textsuperscript{89} An island councillor maintained that Indian Affairs dictates the idea of the lot system, that Indians do not need surveyed lots, and in some cases this leads to troubles because occupiers tend to think of the lot as theirs.\textsuperscript{90} To show respect to the people who occupy the lot and to respect their claim to the land are important.

Settlement patterns have also changed in the last twenty years. The sand dunes on the south-west shore of the village
core were filled and houses built in that location in the 1960's. The village also began to spread along the east-west road and by 1988 had almost reached the limits of the village site. The village has not expanded in a northerly direction towards the old farms and the centre has shifted from the four corners to the waterfront where the present band office and the imposing new one are located. Cottage development has taken place on the south shore at lighthouse point and on the north shore at Big Sand Bay. A map of the Christian Island village site in 1988 would be quite different from Lorne Roote's 1930 map.

Electricity was brought to the island in 1954 and changed island life a great deal. Leslie Saunders, the Ontario Hydro Commissioner, came to switch on the lights and the whole community gathered at the hall to watch the Christmas tree light up. [Figure 11] Refrigerators, stoves, washing machines, and television sets soon became commonplace items. Band members saved their grocery store tapes until they had enough to exchange for a TV set for the community's use. It was installed in the hall. The Superintendent of the Indian Agency J.H. Sheane endorsed the plan. He felt that "the acquisition of a set would provide the Indians with educational and social entertainment."91 The band resolved to provide "strict supervision to ensure that the set will not be damaged and that it will not interfere either with the working habits of band members or the education of their
Figure 11: Band members in front of community hall celebrating the advent of electricity. Christian Island, November, 1954. Original photo from collection of Leonard Monague.
children." Part of their education consisted of seeing Indians on the losing side in every battle fought in a cowboy western movie, a situation which they rectified when they played Indians and cowboys on the shores of Big Sand Bay. Chores associated with an older lifestyle died hard. One islander recalled that she and her brothers and sisters were not allowed to watch T.V. until they had chopped wood for the stove.

Telephone service was added in 1965. Leonard Monague was then the Chief and the Indian Agent refused to let him use the Agency phone to call for assistance for a sick elder. The agent wanted him to go to Cedar Point to use the telephone there. Leonard approached his Member of Parliament; the matter was brought up in the House of Commons and islanders soon had telephone service. Prior to this the government boat the McKay had provided irregular service to the mainland. Mr. Monague did not comment about any action taken against the agent. In 1961 transportation service to the mainland was improved when the ferry "R.A. Hoey" came into service. Community members now had easier access to the mainland and there was more interaction between the island and towns like Midland and Penetang. Islanders could choose from a broader range of activities, but family and community functions remained at the core of Christian Island life.

The histories of families who live on Christian Island are connected to each other in many ways and the extended family has always been important to the well being of the community. A
Monague family tree completed for a school project includes the names Assance, Sunday, Jackson, Mixemong, Copegog, and Sandy, a listing of many of the island's families. [Figure 12] The population in 1958 was 352 and has increased to over 700, but the family base has remained relatively narrow. Even marriage with members of other reserves, particularly Parry Island, has not changed the structure significantly.

Past events created bonds which are still strong. The Assances, the Peters and the Hawks were together at Coldwater during the Colborne settlement experiment in the 1830's. The families remember the shared experience of their ancestors. For them it is not something in the past but an ever present part of their lives. Families pass down accumulated knowledge from generation to generation and are expected to nurture and support their members.

Their have been many strains placed on family life. Death, poverty, marriage breakdown and departures from the island have affected nearly every island family. Children were farmed out to other families or sent to residential schools prior to the 1960's. Grandparents played an important role in many children's upbringing and in some cases are still parents to their grandchildren. Older children in a large family also helped a great deal, particularly in single parent situations. On numerous occasions elders recalled how they had helped look after their younger siblings. The itinerant lifestyle of many families during the summer, whether they were picking berries or
Figure 12: Monague Family Tree. Courtesy Peggy Monague. This was completed as a school project.
working "up the rocks" made the older children's help vital while both parents worked. When working was not possible welfare was often the only way out, particularly for single mothers. It was a daunting task to work out of such situations and to make meaningful lives for themselves.⁹⁸

No specific information about the nineteenth century Christian Island family exists. The general indication is that the family was an important economic unit before the reserve system came into being and continued to be important on the reserve as long as the subsistence lifestyle continued: farming, fishing, berry picking, maple sugar making, and even "working up the rocks." But changes in the island's economy and an increase in housing facilities have created a different lifestyle. Families are no longer as large nor do they occupy two or three room log houses. Seldom would any couple live with one set of in-laws for twenty years after marriage. Students commute to high school for part of the year and board in the nearby towns when winter sets in. Transportation facilities have greatly improved, and people commute back and forth from town to the island and vice versa to jobs in either place. The band now operates a regular ferry service to Cedar Point via the new boat, "The Indian Maiden". It began operations in 1987. Islanders are more mobile and not as isolated, and many variations of the family unit have made their appearance on the island. Still there is a sense of interrelated ties among people and a feeling of a closeknit community where children and family are important.
The role of the Chief and Band Council is to provide the leadership and services to maintain the community. These tasks were also important while the Indian Agent was present. In the 1920's and 30's much of their time was taken up dealing with everyday issues; housing, relief for the indigent and appointment to positions such as caretaker of the Roman Catholic church. Minor patronage appointments, school caretaker, pathmaster, bush ranger, band messenger and translator were voted on by all band members at one time during Agent Eade's term, but this did not appear to be the case in the 1940's and 50's.99 The Chief and council exerted some influence in the community through these appointments. The renumeration which accompanied the positions added to the holder's cash income. The elected representatives depended on the community for their renumeration. In 1947 the band voted on a resolution to raise council salaries from $20.00 to $50.00. In return the Chief and councillor had to do a more conscientious job or be subject to the criticism of the band as a whole.100

Chiefs, like most politicians, like to point to concrete evidence of benefits which they have brought to the band. Leonard Monague during two terms in office helped bring electricity and telephone service to the island. He remembered, as one of the highlights of his time in office, guiding the barge which brought the installation equipment into the Christian Island dock. The pictorial record of the "turning on the lights" ceremony at which Leslie Saunders presided was a treasured
Roger Jackson, Chief from 1978-80, was interested in bringing the area reserves, including Rama and Georgina, closer together to provide a more powerful voice for their concerns. But he found that the federal government was reluctant to provide funds for this approach. He left the reserve and in less than a year the council had been disbanded. One of Rod Monague's projects is the new band office on the village waterfront. He is the present chief and has one year left in his term [Figure 13].

The Chiefs who were interviewed considered public service as part of their decision to run for election. Two men were asked to run for Chief by members of the community who felt that the band needed new direction. Leonard Monague, when he became chief, responded to his constituents' concerns by holding open band meetings where everyone had a chance to express an opinion. He ran the band with common sense and talked and visited with band members. Leonard believed that the Chief best knows the band's needs and when "things on the island are bad," the Chief goes to Toronto or Ottawa to consult with officials from Indian Affairs to find out what helpful programmes are available. But often he found government interference frustrating. He initiated the planning of a twenty year development programme with a Toronto company which would have provided training for islanders and included a causeway to the mainland. The government wanted the company to contribute the total cost of the causeway while the company wanted government participation in the cost and
The Chiefs of Christian Island - 1856 to 1973

Chief Ka-de-give-gqon
  " James Assance 1860
  " Ke-Wad-din 1864
  " Henry Simon 1868
  " David Assance (2 terms) 1872
  " John Monague 1876
  " William King 1880
  " Peter Monague (2 terms) 1884
  " Thomas Peters (2 terms) 1888
  " Jeremiah D. Monague (2 terms) 1892
  " Thomas Peters 1896 Mechanical Threshing Outfit
  " James L. King 1900
  " Peter Monague (2 terms) 1904
  " David Assance 1908
  " Frank Copcgog 1912
  " William P. Assance 1914
  " John Hawke 1916 Admittance of non-treaty Indians - Council Hall
  " Josiah G. Monague 1920
  " Henry Jackson 1922
  " Albert Monague Purchase of 17½ acres
  " Robert Marsden at Cedar Point for Reserve
  " Edmund Sandy 1952-54
  " Edward King 1954-56 Hydro 1954
  " Albert Monague 1964-66 Telephone 1965
  " Roy Assance 1958 Cottage sites
  " Robert Marsden 1960-68 Pheasantry Farms
  " Simpson King Charcoal Plant
  " Leonard Monague (2 terms) 1968-73 Municipal Garages
  " Lewis Jackson (2 terms) New machinery
  " Riley Roote (2 terms) 1988-1990
  " Rodney Monague (3 terms)

Mr. Leonard Monague - Band Administrator - 1966-73

Figure 13
eventually the whole plan was scuttled. Leonard's comment was "we were left out again." Chiefs have to serve their communities and at the same time be cognizant of how much autonomy the Department of Indian Affairs will let them have.

The Department phased out the position of hereditary Chief over a period of years beginning with 1876 Indian Act. This act put a practical end to one important cultural tradition, the training of Chiefs. The ability to command and lead, to listen and create consensus, oratory and bearing were all important attributes for a Chief. Training in these qualities was passed from generation to generation in families which came from a line of traditional chiefs. This tradition did continue although there was no assurance that the band members would elect the trained person.

The first Chief of the Beausoleil band to enter the official record in 1798 was John Assance and the Assance name appears several times on the list of Chiefs in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. William P. Assance who was Chief in 1916 is remembered by his grandchildren as their link to traditional native culture and customs. He used every activity as a way of passing down knowledge from generation to generation. When fishing with his granddaughter he described each fish and how it was used. The otter clan to which the Assance family belonged was known for its knowledge of herbal medicine and each walk in the woods was a lesson about useful plants and roots. He prepared his grandson to be Chief by setting him on a stump in
the woods and telling him to pretend that the trees around him were people and to speak out so that all could hear him. He took the pulse of the village by talking to other band members and he remained involved in band council affairs after he retired as Chief.  

William Assance was a traditional Chief and elder whom band members respected and looked to for guidance. In the first half of the twentieth century when he was a member of the Christian Island community it was a more integrated and isolated reserve than it is at present. The Chief and council's focus was on the internal affairs of the band and maintaining the band's integrity and viability and at the same time being very much aware of the Department of Indian Affairs in the person of the Indian Agent. In 1988 the agent was no longer a factor and the major portion of the Chief's work was dealing directly with external agencies particularly those which supply funds for various programmes. He was the first among equals and the Chief councillor and the other members of the band council dealt with day to day band business. The traditional role of the Chief has changed in many ways and the oral tradition of passing down knowledge and training in leadership skills has been lost.

IV

Band members remember very clearly several experiences which relate to the history of Christian Island and affected most
families but which are also part of a much broader context. One of these was the islanders' participation in W.W. II. The depression years were difficult for the community and for some wartime offered a way out because the army provided clothing, accommodation and three meals a day. The record of participation in W.W. I had been commendable and the same was true for W.W. II [Figure 14].

Islanders served in Italy, North Africa, France, Holland and Germany. The veterans who remain on the island and were interviewed described experiences as gunners, members of the Army Service Corps, motor mechanics and drivers of Bren Gun carriers. Willis Copegog was wounded at Dieppe but managed to swim to a rescue ship while clinging to a piece of wood. He was wounded again in Sicily and spent three months in a hospital in Algiers, returned to duty and subsequently was granted a two day leave in Rome where he attended a special audience with Pope Pius XII. The Pope spoke to Willis after he noticed his Canadian patch remarking that it was the first time that he had blessed a Canadian Indian. After the war ended Willis drove transport trucks to Czechoslovakia and intended to stay in Europe longer but came home because his mother was dying.¹⁰⁵

Darcy Ritchie was known as Hawk Eye and also served overseas where he was wounded three times. He managed to save money while he was in the army, coming home with $1000 which he gave to his mother to buy a farm. Ephriam Marsden saw action in Europe and stayed with the occupation troops in Germany after peace was
We will remember our relatives who served. They could have been our brothers, fathers, uncles, or grandfathers, sisters, mothers, aunts or grandmothers. We will "Remember them" again on Nov. 11 1987. Veterans who served are listed here.

Christian Island Veterans Honour Roll

**World War I**

1. Copegog Wilfred
2. Henry John
3. Monague Cain
4. Monague Stephen

**World War II**

1. Assance Clarence
2. Assance John
3. Assance Lazarus
4. Assance Roy
5. Assance Samuel
6. Assance Solomon
7. Assance Vance
8. Copegog Frank
9. Copegog Willis
10. Jackson Lloyd
11. Jackson Peter
12. Jamieson Samuel
13. King Harold
14. King Lewis
15. King Maxwell
16. King Vincent
17. King Wilson
18. Marsden Ephraim
19. McCue Cecil
20. McCue Merritt
21. Monague Bert
22. Monague Leonard
23. Monague Norman
24. Monague Russell
25. Monague Vaughn
26. Monague Victor
27. Rawlins Harlton
28. Ritchie Darcy
29. Roote Riley
30. Sandy Francis
31. Stinson Sidney
32. Sylvester John
33. Sylvester Joseph

Figure 14: Christian Island Veterans Honour Roll
Supplied by Faith Marsden
Korean War

1. Assance Frederick
2. Jackson Lloyd
3. King Alfred
4. King Matthew
5. Marsden Earl
6. Monague Kenneth
7. Monague Lenard Jr.
8. Sandy David
9. Sandy Horace
10. Sylvester Eldie

Occupational Forces

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<td>King Everett</td>
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Ladies in the Armed Forces

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declared. Fred Assance spent five years in post-war Germany with the Royal Canadian Regiment.  

Islanders also served on the home front; Leonard Monague was a administrator with the R.C.A.F. and Clifford Peters made submarine chasers at James Milner's in Honey Harbour and later worked in a torpedo factory in the eastern end of Toronto.  

When Canada sent troops to the Korean War as part of a United Nations contingent islanders went overseas once again. Alfred King was one of ten men from Christian Island who went to Korea. He joined the R.C.R. because it was something daring to do and he wanted some adventure. However, the year he experienced in Korea disturbed him and he left the army when he returned home.  

Alfred along with one or two other men still attends R.C.R. reunions. There used to be a branch of the Legion on Christian Island but there are now too few members for an island branch. Those who are still members belong to a branch in Penetang. This branch often enjoys fish suppers on Fred Assances's front lawn. Veterans hold a place of honour on the island. The carved wooden plaque commemorating veterans in the United Church and the memorial built by veterans at the four corners are symbols of respect for these men and women.  

The U.N. police action gave Alfred some skills which he later used during his eighteen years as an island policeman. Prior to the institution of the Indian policing programme which began in 1975, the island had been policed by special constables
who were islanders appointed by the band council, subject to the approval of the Indian Agent. They were little more than truant officers. Leonard Monague remarked that when he was a constable he spent his time rounding up kids who did not go to school and they just ran into the bush when they saw him coming.\textsuperscript{109} Under this system the R.C.M.P. came in to take care of any criminal cases.

Alfred King began his police work before the Indian policing programme began and worked under the direction of the R.C.M.P. There was no training involved and the special constables were not allowed to lay any charges. When the constables on the island broke up a fight they had to call the R.C.M.P. who took about an hour to get there. By that time the disturbance was over and often no charges could be laid. When the new programme was instituted under the auspices of the Ontario Provincial Police rather than the R.C.M.P., there was a training and orientation session in Toronto and a six week course at the Aylmer Police College. The band had a number of Chiefs of Police before appointing Alfred in 1975. He found that under the new system his power to act was greatly strengthened. His first big case involved a murder and he received a letter of commendation for his handling of the arrest and investigation. The island constables call on O.P.P. expertise for difficult cases but handle most themselves. The policemen are equipped with hand guns and Alfred believes this was an important step because when they served as special constables with no authority and no means
of enforcement suspects could run out the door and all they could do was chase them.\textsuperscript{110}

Most of the police work involved theft and domestic disputes, but Alfred noticed a change in the crime pattern in his last two years of service. Now there are problems on the island during the week while previously most crime occurred on the weekend. He enjoyed his police work until about three years ago and then it began to pall. He retired in March, 1988 and now helps look after the band's elders. His son Danny is now a police constable on the island.\textsuperscript{111} Throughout the years many band members have served as policemen. They include Willis Copegog, Ephraim Marsden, John Monague, Wallace "Fox Jamieson, and Tom Sylvester.

Another experience shared by many band members was attendance at church-run residential schools. Residential schools were instituted in the late nineteenth century to provide advanced educational training for native students but they later developed into prison-like institutions for reserve children. Often they were taken from home at a very early age, sometimes as young as five years old, because of the death of a parent, poverty, or the seeming inability of their families to look after large numbers of children. Their arrival at residential schools in Muncey, Brantford, Chapleau or Spanish, each one known as Mushhole, was traumatic and the years which followed did not lessen the pain. Native language was an anathema to virtually all their teachers whether they were Protestant or Catholic and
they were not allowed to speak it. This was a bitter experience for small children from isolated reserves who had to try to speak English for almost an entire year and then attempt to integrate themselves back into their families for brief periods during the summer.\textsuperscript{112} If they did manage to get home, they could not remember their native language and found communicating with their parents and grandparents very difficult. One woman succinctly remarked, "It made you hate being an Indian."\textsuperscript{113}

Time at school was spent working half-days and going to school half-days. The institutions were located in farm settings and boys worked at farming and girls worked in the kitchen. Often the children were sent to three or four different schools during their childhood and teenage years. If there was crowding at one they were sent to another. All those who had been through this system recalled the loneliness and the questioning about why they were sent there. Running away was a common occurrence but most were caught and returned to the school.\textsuperscript{114} One of the primary goals seems to have been to keep children in school until they were sixteen, which was the legal age for them to stop attending classes. One elder recalled not being able to write high school entrance exams because he believed the school authorities wanted to keep him at Muncey until he was sixteen. He went on strike and refused to attend classes. The principal told him to pack his bags and put him on a train to London. The elder never went back to school.\textsuperscript{115} When students were sent to Brantford, home of the Six Nations Iroquois, their experiences
were doubly distressing because as one woman expressed her feelings, "We were being sent into the enemy camp." They all learned different coping mechanisms. Some even appreciated the education they received which they felt was better than that received by island children. Children from Christian Island are no longer sent to residential school, but for those who were, the experience remains a most significant childhood event.

The school system on Christian Island was divided between United Church and Roman Catholic institutions for almost fifty years. A series of Methodist and United Church missionary teachers, teaching in a variety of buildings, provided the formal education on the island until 1934 when the Roman Catholic School was built. Elders remember the one room school house with the wood burning stove and how they used to stuff the pipes with paper to create smoke and consequently a few minutes respite from school work.

The United Church school evolved into the public school using teachers hired by the federal government. Members of the religious order The Sisters of Service taught at the separate school from 1941 to 1979. The turnover of teachers in both institutions was high; in some periods every year. Band members recalled a few teachers; for example, Mr. Cowling, Mr. Dean, Mr. Joblin and Miss Hawkins at the "U.C." school and Sister Trautman at the Catholic school. These teachers made contributions to the community but many teachers made no impression at all.
The comments of some islanders indicated that no one cared whether they went to school and often the teacher fell asleep and the pupils left. For most students, the teachers seemed indifferent and the curriculum was boring. Classes went only to Grade 8 and one of the goals of the school system, as in the residential schools, was to keep as many students as possible in school until they were sixteen. Progress through the grades was slow and bright children became discouraged. There were few avenues for further education open for native students after Grade 8. Until the 1960's, there was no encouragement to go to high school on the mainland and there does not seem to have been any suggestion of providing a high school on the island. The students were not allowed to speak their native language which erected barriers to a process which was still unfamiliar for many students despite the presence of an educational institution on the island since the 1870's. This hurdle plus the attitude of many teachers discouraged most pupils from learning and certainly handicapped them in future endeavours.¹¹⁸

The island school system was often marked by sectarian strife after the Roman Catholic school was established in 1934. The village was already split in two residentially, with Protestants at the west end and Catholics at the east end, each surrounding their respective churches. Some band members recalled the fights between two groups which took place at the crossroads and the Protestant children who had to sneak to school through the Catholic enclave.¹¹⁹ The opening of the integrated
school in 1979 ended that situation and gave the educational system a firmer base and a more consistent approach. Native language classes have begun and are being taught by a teacher who grew up on the island and speaks the island dialect. There is still a need for more native teachers and the band is hoping to encourage this by having the educational system separated more clearly from federal government control.

While schooling has become more integrated into the fabric of the community the influences of the churches has waned. The two red brick churches built in the early 1900's are overshadowed by the school and the new band office. Islanders are beginning to talk about cultural traditions which were long forbidden or discouraged by the church. Women's groups which were associated with the two denominations have been reduced to a few members and band members if they go to church feel free to attend either church.

During the interviews in the summer of 1988 churches were seldom discussed. The United Church seemed to have been more influential than the Catholic Church because there were more Protestants on the island and the minister and his family lived in the community unlike the Catholic priests who, with the exception of Father Labelle in the 1950's, visited only occasionally. But one can still feel the undercurrents of long held beliefs. There was a camp meeting on the island in July, 1988 which was the continuance of an old band tradition stretching back to the nineteenth century. Catholics and
Protestants still feel uncomfortable about marrying each other and there are objections to strictly native ceremonies, for example, the arrival of the sacred fire on the island in May, 1989 and the ceremonies surrounding it. Some younger band members believe that religion stamped out many of the natives' cultural traditions and is hindering their revival. Others are attempting to find some accommodation, feeling that Christian beliefs are something separate from native spirituality and that the two beliefs can be held simultaneously. At a time when native peoples are very politically active and demanding justice for past wrongs and pressing for land claims, it is important for them to know their own history and how they have arrived at their present situation. There is no doubt that the influence exerted by a Protestant and a Roman Catholic presence on the island was important.

Working off the island in a cash economy berry picking, guiding "up the rocks" or working in the lumber camps and mills was an experience shared by many band members. The tradition was well established by the nineteenth century and it continues in some form until the present day. Most of the jobs were seasonal and the majority were available in the summer.

Iron City was a summer resort which was established at Twelve Mile Bay in the late nineteenth century by steel company executives from Pittsburgh. Jerry Monague, a respected elder, guided this group of Americans to the area where he had trap lines and established contacts with them which lasted into the
1960's.  [Figure 15] Leonard Monague, his nephew, worked at Iron City for thirty years. The men worked from April until Thanksgiving repairing and painting cottages, doing other handyman tasks and guiding the cottage owners on their fishing expeditions. One islander remarked that this latter job lasted only until the people at Iron City found out where the fishing spots were and acquired their own boats.\textsuperscript{121} The women went to Iron City during the summer months with their families and worked as housekeepers while the children were looked after by older siblings. The families lived in large tents in what was known as the Indian camp. [Figure 16] Islanders worked in other cottage areas, or "up the rocks" as they refer to them, for example, Go Home Bay, but their greatest association was with the "tourists" at Iron City.

Islanders also lived in a type of Indian camp when they went berry picking in the Oakville or Niagara area. The tradition of going off island to berry pick has a long history on Christian Island. Band members picked blueberries in the surrounding area as part of their seasonal activities long before they went to Oakville. This activity continued in the summer until the 1960's. Ramey Sylvester remembers that his father used to take people to various blueberry sites and collected all the blueberries and took them to Midland to sell.\textsuperscript{122}

The trips to Southern Ontario began in the 1930's when Robert Marsden, a band member and Chief in the late 1930's, began to take groups to work on the fruit farms. Trucks arrived at
Figure 16: Tents, Iron City. Band members stayed in these tents when they spent their summers working in Iron City. Original photo from collection of Leonard Monague.
Cedar Point and transported twenty people at a time to various locations. They lived in shacks and were paid nine cents per carrier or twenty five cents per hour depending on their work location. Whole families left the island and both parents and some of the children picked berries. Most families returned to the island for the winter when the men logged or left again to work on the mainland. A few families remained in Southern Ontario spending the winter pruning and doing maintenance work. Some men stayed in the area and did not return until they reached retirement age. Islanders have also picked fruit in the Collingwood area but few still work at these seasonal jobs.

During the 1950's there was very little work available on the island and many people left to look for employment on the mainland. Some found jobs in construction, in particular building the Trans-Canada pipeline, one worked on a farm near Sault Ste. Marie and a few worked as lumberjacks or as ordinary seamen on the lake freighters. An elder who enjoyed his years in Toronto was a chauffeur and gardener for the Dalton Company. He came back to the island to look after his children and found that working in the sawmill did not have the same appeal.

Women who left the island in their teens found jobs as housekeepers, baby sitters and factory workers either in Toronto or the local towns, although a few worked in cities further afield. Those interviewed all came back to the island to live, some with regrets but most with a sense of being home. They maintained contact with families while they were away and members
of both sexes often returned when they married. More and more band members are coming home to the island and the population has risen to over 700. Seasonal work no longer has the appeal it once had and the cash income from a summer job to support a subsistence lifestyle is no longer possible on the island. The idea of working on the mainland still has not disappeared but some band members regard that as only a temporary solution until a full time job can be found on the island. There are more jobs available with the band council and other government agencies. A few small businesses have begun operating and the band council is encouraging more activity in this area. Also social benefits are easier to receive than they were thirty years ago. Band members want to live in an active, viable community.

IV

One of the most important goals of the oral history project was to preserve a picture of Christian Island life as remembered most importantly by the elders but also by other generations of islanders. The extended family: grandparents, in-laws, aunts, uncles and cousins had a significant role to play in preserving and passing on traditions, stories and language. It seems clear that the most persistent and perhaps the most influential link with the past has been the family.

Many islanders remember their grandparents and other family members gathering around the wood stove in the winter to tell
stories or recall the old days. Bearwalker stories and stories of the little people, Anishnabe, who play tricks on band members are familiar to most people. Spiritual bonds with the physical and natural environment created traditions which are still remembered. When you hear a thunderstorm you should turn the mirror to the wall and throw tobacco on the stove three times. You speak to the fire as if you are speaking to the thunder "Don’t be so noisy and so mean." If you are outside do not run when you hear thunder. Talk to it and it will not bother you. One band elder related the story of walking down to his garden at the church and suddenly feeling something, which turned out to be a bird, on his head. Tradition holds that someone will die when this happens and there was a death on the island the next day.\textsuperscript{126} Boys should not eat their first kill when they learn to hunt because if they do they would always be unsuccessful hunters. The first kill of each hunt is important and a great accomplishment. The hunter watches with pride and enjoyment as the family eats his offerings.

Band members approach their remembered culutre differently. Some identify strongly with Native spirituality and traditions. They feel the pull of the drum ceremony. Stones represent important aspects of their culture. They want the instruments of this culture to pass to those who will use them in the proper way. In the modern world it is difficult to maintain traditional ways in their strictist sense but knowledge of traditions provides a method of reaching out to younger members of the
community to tell them what went on before. Cultural adaption may be necessary.

Other band members have cultural knowledge but regard it more skeptically. Some stones are perceived to be superstitious and old ceremonial customs, which most elders are familiar with, have, over the years, becomes less significant.

Many of the legends and stories can no longer be remembered by certain generations and the link to the past is broken. Part of the reason for this is the loss of the language which in many cases had been taught by grandparents. The generation of elders which is now in their sixties, seventies and eighties was probably the last for which Ojibwa was their primary language. Their children, many of whom were sent away to residential school, were not allowed to speak "Indian" at school. Because many of them were away from home for long periods of time they lost much of their language and could no longer communicate freely with their parents and grandparents. Those who managed to retain some Ojibwa have not passed it to their children, now in their teens with no facility in their native tongue. It is difficult to translate the stories because they often lose their meaning and impact. The story telling tradition has almost come to a halt. There is now a second language programme in the public school which may help revitalize this oral tradition. Some sayings which relate to another time do persist and have been incorporated into the English language. One mother was
overheard telling her daughter in English, "Don't put your boots on the wrong feet or you'll meet a bear."

Although native herbal medicine is scarcely practised on the island now, some elders who learned the secrets from their parents and grandparents still remember the cures. Nicholas King whose grandfather John Isaac taught him many things remembers the leaf which heals poison ivy and the little leaf with stains like blood which when boiled in a solution helps cure heart disease. Little balls of sheep manure and boiling water produced a measles cure. Leon King's father, on trips into the bush taught him about the sticky sumach and spruce teas which take away a sore throat.

Nick's grandfather did not believe in processed sugar or salt and used maple sugar for sweetener, an old Ojibwa tradition, and cedar bark for tea. He made use of everything on the island. Apples were buried in a pit which was covered with dirt and branches, fish was smoked, all berries including chokecherries, raspberries and black caps were picked and eaten. Butternuts and beechnuts were gathered and used and milkweed pods were made into soup. Pumpkin seeds were saved and eaten or planted. Band members farmed and preserved in ways that were not understood by an Indian Agent trying to get them to grow specific crops. They had skills which allowed them to make use of the natural environment around them.¹²⁷

The native art and craft tradition on Christian Island maintains some of the band's cultural roots. Exquisite quill and
sweetgrass boxes, intricate bead work, and finely crafted leather work can still be found. Quilting and twig furniture making are also part of the island's history and are enjoying a small revival. Men used to make ash baskets and rowboats and canoes which were vital for the island life in the early years but both crafts have disappeared. The quill and sweetgrass boxes and the larger ash baskets can be found in many of the older cottages in the area. Islanders used to row to the various cottage and resort areas, for example Wasaga Beach and Go Home Bay to sell their goods. An elder remarked that often they made and sold these island crafts to keep themselves alive. One woman recalled going to the dock in the village to sell her mother's quill boxes to tourists and being told, "Don't come home until you've sold them all." There was some effort made by the government during the 1940's to encourage a bigger craft industry on the island. A government agent bought craft articles and sold them at the Canadian National Exhibition in Toronto, and at an exhibition in Vancouver. They were also sold to Holt Renfrew and to local stores in the Midland-Penetang area. The selling of crafts is now mainly based locally. During the summer of 1988 one island resident began a small business selling island boxes, bead work and leather work, as well as a more modern article, the island sweatshirt. He was moderately successful and plans to move the business from his home to the waterfront in 1989.

The process of making quill and sweetgrass boxes involves seasonal knowledge as well as artistic ability. The best time to
get porcupine quills is in March or November when the animal is shedding quills or getting new ones; the best time to get the birch bark is in June when it peels easily off the tree; and the best time to collect sweetgrass is in July when the grass has grown long enough. The preparation of the materials is painstaking. Each blade of sweetgrass must be dried, each porcupine quill must be cleaned and perhaps dyed and the birch bark wiped dry, cut, rolled up and put away for two weeks. The artists use individual designs some of which have been passed down through their families and others are their own patterns. Christian Islanders use flowers, birds and animals while artists from Manitoulin Island who use more geometric designs. [Figure 17] The current generation of craft people, most of whom are over fifty, appears to be the last unless there is encouragement given to young people. The women who practise these arts learned them from their mothers, grandmothers or mothers-in-law while they were growing up or sometimes after they were married and living in extended families. There are a few who taught themselves at a much later age when their families had grown and they had more leisure time. These traditional art forms are an important expression of Christian Island cultural history and should be maintained.\textsuperscript{130}

There is no longer anyone making ash baskets on the island. It is a time consuming craft and the need to sell baskets for extra cash no longer exists because there are government benefits to cover extreme need. Also the number of ash trees has been
Figure 17: Sweetgrass and quill boxes, Christian Island. Work by Olive Ritchie, Nora Monaigue, Harriet King, Velma Smith. Original photo Hill Trimble.
drastically reduced which in itself is a hindrance. The small
trees were cut down and hit with something heavy to make them
soft and the piece of soft wood was sliced into strips with a
special knife. The pieces were dyed, if the craftsman wanted
coloured baskets, and the strips were twisted to make the raised
decorations. Men used to use ash strips also for the seat and
backs of twig chairs which were made on the island. There has
been a revival of the furniture making but the ash seat and backs
have been replaced by cedar twigs. [Figure 18] Amos King began
repairing chair seats and backs and making ash baskets in the
traditional way in the summer of 1989. There are excellent
examples of all types of art work in many of the older cottages
in the area. Reminders of past traditions are being preserved by
Georgian Bay's summer residents and the need exists to do the
same on Christian Island.\textsuperscript{131}

Some native foods are still served on the island; for
example, scone and Indian soup are still popular items. At the
Little Christmas feast held in January, 1989, moose, deer and
pork rinds were served. Islanders used to make a moonshine
called beano with white beans, Keg sugar, raisins and yeast which
was ready to drink in about a week but there is no longer any
evidence of this potent brew. Ferry transportation to the
mainland has greatly improved and it is not necessary to have
dried fish, berries and preserves for the long winter. Few of
the houses still have gardens and of course the farms are gone
and consequently there is little indigenous island food to be
Figure 18: Twig furniture, Christian Island. Work by Bennett Smith. Original photo by Janet Trimble.
eaten or preserved. Black caps are one island berry crop which people still pick and enjoy.

Memories of past community activities and traditions form a large part of the island's history. Band elders associate them with a smaller, more closely knit community. The women remember the Homemakers' Club, the Women's Institute, the United Church Women and the St. Theresa's Club. These groups provided focal points for social activities. [Figure 19] In the 1940's and 50's they held box and pie socials to raise money to provide assistance to needy islanders; they encouraged their members to quilt and to crochet and to bake and preserve, endeavours which were undertaken in any rural Ontario village. There were always prizes for the "Best of Show" at the annual Fall Fair. These women's groups rallied support for community members in times of distress and need and they provided one of the social components of island life. One band elder remembered the concerts which were put on in the community hall when people dressed up and sang and danced for the entertainment of others.132 In 1959 the Homemakers' Club held a successful convention on the island for groups throughout Ontario but at present there is only a remnant of the club left. Younger women have found other interests and the needs which the women's groups served have been taken over by other agencies.

The Christian Island Brass Band had a long history on the island and many elders remember it with affection. Robert Marsden and William Assance were two of its leaders in the 1920's
Figure 19: Homemakers; Club, Circa 1970. Original photo owned by Faith Marsden.
and 30's. During these years even Agent Eade was aware of the
band. It was often asked to perform outside the reserve and
brought credit to the island.\textsuperscript{133} He had no hesitation in
recommending expenditures for the band; for example; he
recommended a request for $150.00 to purchase caps and repair
instruments.\textsuperscript{134} He approved a request for money to repair four
instruments and to purchase four new instruments, two clarinets
and two cornets.\textsuperscript{135} The band had twenty-four members, a mixture
of younger and older men. It practised twice a week and played
concerts on the island for which adults were charged ten cents.
There used to be a platform in front of the community hall which
was used for these purposes. \cite{Figure 20} The band also played
on the mainland, travelling to places like Midland or Penetang to
lead parades at Fall Fairs or play at other community
celebrations. There is no mention of the band in the later
documents and those who remember it do not recall that it was
active after W.W.II. When the core members grew too old to carry
on the activity died.

Sport activities were very important for most men on the
island particularly baseball, hockey and soccer. Women did not
have teams until the 1950's when one of the teachers, Miss
Hawkins, organized girls' athletic teams. Before improved
transportation services, sports was one of the few forms of
entertainment in an isolated community. Many elders remember the
British Consuls baseball team with their purple and white
sweaters advertising cigarettes. The Consuls played teams on the
Figure 20: Community Hall with platform. Original photo from collection of Leonard Monague.
mainland and were Georgian Bay champions, sometime in the 1930's. The baseball diamond has been moved many times, but the baseball tradition has continued, and has produced other championship teams. [Figure 21]

In the winter the boys played hockey on Douglas Lake. They made their own sticks from oak and ash, anything that had a bend in it. In the 1930's and 40's they tied their skates on with ropes and used the legendary Eaton's catalogues for pads. Ramey Sylvester remembers everyone fighting like Hell. There is still an outdoor rink beside the school, and organized teams play in leagues on the mainland and participate with other reserve teams in large tournaments, for example, the Little N.H.L. Tournament which was held in London in March, 1989. The sports of soccer and football have not fared as well but mixed volleyball teams have sprung up to take their place.

Other sporting activities which are part of the island's history include horse racing and foot races with Tom Longboat on a track that was built near Douglas Lake. Isaac Copegog was the island's premier runner. Everyone skated and went sleigh riding in the winter and swam in the summer. Ko-Kosh or pig ball was a popular game which most children played. This is a native game much like baseball except that it is played along the road from hydro pole to hydro pole.

Social activities which involved the whole band were held for the most part in the community hall; square dances and round dances, for which the local band played "old time fiddle music", 
Figure 21: Baseball Team, Christian Island, 1983. Original photo owned by Dorothy King.
community dinners, Christmas concerts, baby contests and Indian princess contests. People remember Archie Sylvester's step dancing and how he taught the skill to other band members when they were together berry picking at farms in Oakville. Native dancing is almost a forgotten art. At one time in the 1970's, some members of the band brought in a dance teacher but few people have kept up the practice.

Achievement day, which gives islanders an occasion to honour band members, and Little Christmas, which is usually celebrated on January 6, are still important community celebrations. The Fall Fair which was important as long as the agricultural economy was viable is now simply a memory. Ramey Sylvester remembers when the excursion boat, "Midland City," used to make a special trip to the island during the Fall Fair.¹³⁷ Agent Eade reported in 1930 that 800 people had come to the island on a large steamer from Midland during the Fall Fair celebration. A fence had been erected around the Council House in order that the exhibit of cattle and horses might be enclosed and admission charged. In 1930 the Fair was a two day event and there were exhibits both inside and out.¹³⁸

Leonard Monague, who worked on the residential school farm and exhibited cattle at fairs when he was very young, remembered the importance of the Fall Fair. Well known farmers and other experts from the mainland were asked to come to judge the livestock, artwork, vegetables and preserves.¹³⁹ Farming, although it was not always successful, provided community
members, at least in memory, with some rewards and some tangible evidence of their hard work.

Some islanders are nostalgic about former times when island activities tied them more closely to the land, when there seemed to be a feeling of purpose and cohesiveness in the community. There are also band members who want to rediscover their cultural heritage. They have gained new respect for something that was lost or buried during their growing up years. There is a great need for elders, to talk to and learn from, and there are very few of them on the island. One band member found his way back to a meaningful life with the help and support of his family and a return to more traditional beliefs. He participated in a native pipe ceremony in his home which cleansed him and gave him new confidence in himself. He would like younger islanders to become involved in their own discoveries. Many islanders in their teens have very little cultural knowledge. A sacred fire which is being passed from reserve to reserve to bring the bands closer together as they once were and to show their opposition to the cutbacks to the native education programme has prompted discussions among band members which have long been absent from Christian Island. For some people it has also meant the beginning of an education about their cultural traditions. Elders on the island still know their traditions. The sacred fire and the ceremonies associated with it are intended to encourage all band members' participation but some are reluctant to take part believing that native traditions run contrary to
their Christian beliefs. The community is much larger than it was twenty years ago or forty years ago when life on the island seemed simpler and it is difficult to bring different factions together. There are traditionalists and progressives and those caught in the middle but perhaps a dialogue can begin in which those who are looking to two different pasts can come together.
Endnotes


7. Agent's Reports, June 7, 1927, January 10, 1930, August 11, 1930.

8. Ibid., May 7, 1931.

9. Ibid., December 7, 1931.

10. Interviews, Ephriam Marsden, Clifford Peters and several other band members, July, August, 1988.


12. Agent's Reports, June 8, 1928.

13. Ibid., July 7, 1930.


15. Ibid., March 7, 1931.

16. Ibid., June 19, 1931. See also Appendix I.

17. Ibid., May 10, 1930.
18. Ibid., November 7, 1931.
19. Ibid., December 7, 1931.
20. Ibid., March 19, 1932.
22. NAC, R.G. 10, Vol. 7131, File 475/3-6, Part I, Interim Box 126. This section of the file contains Band Council resolutions, some Indian Agents' Reports and a variety of letters, 1915-1962.
29. Ibid., p. 66.
30. C.P., Statutes of Canada (43 Victoria, cap 28), May, 1880, p. 33 of An Act to amend and consolidate the laws respecting Indians, Chapter 11.
33. Ibid., p. 28.
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35. Ibid., p. 131.
43. Agent's Reports, December 7, 1931.
44. Ibid., April 16, 1931.
45. Ibid, May 14, 1928.
46. Ibid., October 21, 1931.
49. Interview, Floyd King, August, 1988.
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56. Agent's Reports, January 10, 1928.
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60. Ibid., Agent's Reports, November 14, 1958.

61. Ibid., Agent’s Reports, December 29, 1958.

62. Ibid., J.E. Morris, Regional Supervisor of Indian Affairs to the Chief of Reserves and Trusts, December 29, 1958.

63. Interview, Larry Sandy, July 1988. Many band elders contributed recollections about the timber industry and the sawmill.


65. Ibid., p. 40.


70. Agent's Reports, August 11, 1930.

71. Ibid.

72. Ibid., November 11, 1928.

73. Ibid., December 7, 1931, April 16, 1932.

74. Ibid., November 11, 1930.

75. Ibid., February 15, 1932.


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80. Ibid., January 18, 1932.


86. Interview, Floyd King, August, 1988.

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88. Interview, Floyd King, August, 1988.

89. Conversation with Deborah Doxtator, April, 1989.

90. Interview, Floyd King, August, 1988.


92. Ibid.

93. Interview, Floyd King, August, 1988.


96. Interview, Merle Assance Beedie, April, 1989.

97. Interviews with several island residents contained this information, Summer, 1988.


99. This method of appointing band members to positions was referred to in the Band Minute book 1931-32 but does not appear in the government record. Agent Eade allowed all band members to attend council meetings.


111. Ibid.


113. Ibid.

114. Interview. Most people who were interviewed about residential school had tried running away at least once.


118. Ibid.


120. Conversation with Jeff Monague, Roly Monague, Dan Monague and Ernie Sandy while they were tending the sacred fire, June, 1989.

121. Interview, Alfred King, August, 1988.

123. Interview, Nicholas King, Burly King, August, 1988.


125. Interviews, Eleanor King, Cecile Assance, July, 1988, Olive Ritchie, August 1988, Elizabeth King, August 1988. Some of the younger women, a few of whom work in the band office, e.g. Cynthia Jamieson and Judy Jamieson, took secretarial training through a native training programme. They both worked off the reserve for a period of time.

126. Interview, Nicholas King, August, 1988.

127. Interview, Nicholas King, Burly King, Leon King, August, 1988.


133. Agent's Reports, June 8, 1928.

134. Ibid.


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4. Interviews

The majority of these interviews took place on Christian Island during July and August, 1988. If this was not the case, the site of the interview is noted.

April Assance. The interviewer had several conversations with April and her sister, Marsha, during the summer of 1988. They were both present when their father was interviewed.

Cecile Monague Assance. Cecile accompanied the interviewer to most of the interviews with the island elders and contributed in many ways to these often informal conversations.
Dennis Assance.

Fred Assance. Elder.

Marsha Assance.

Merle Assance Beedie. The interviewer had two meetings with
Merle and one rather informal conversation when her sisters
and another were present. This took place at her sister,
Doris' home at Muncey, March, 1989. The more formal
interview was held at Merle's home in Barrie also with
another interviewer present, April 1989.

Willis Copegog. Elder.

Josephine Elms. Elder.

Doris Fisher. Elder. The interviewer talked informally with
Doris during a visit to Christian Island, June, 1988. A
formal interview was conducted at her mother's home on
Christian Island, January, 1989, and a further conversation
took place at her home in Muncey, March, 1989.


Bella Jamieson. Elder. The interview took place at Mrs.
Jamieson's home at Cedar Point.

Boyd Jamieson. Economic Development Officer.

Sam Jamieson. Elder.


Alfred King. Elder, Former Police Chief.

Amos King. Elder.

Burly King. Elder.

Dean King.

Dorothy King.

Eleanor King. Elder.

Floyd King. Band Councillor and Band Council employee.

Harriet King. Elder.

Leon King.
Louise King. Elder.

Nicholas King. Elder, United Church Caretaker.

Faith Marsden. Elder, Band Councillor.

Ann Marie McCue.

Amelia Monague. Elder.

Gladys Rice Monague. Elder.

Jeff Monague. Cheif Band Councillor. The interviewer had three informal conversations with Jeff; two August, 1988, and one June, 1989.


Rod Monague. Chief at various times during the last twenty years and presently chief. He was last elected in June, 1988 and his term expires June, 1990. The interview took place in the Highland Motel, Midland, November, 1988.

Clifford Peters. Elders.

Darcy Ritchie. Elder.

Olive Ritchie. Elder.

Lorne Roote. Elder. Lorne drew a map of the village, circa 1930, for the project. It is reproduced elsewhere in the report.

Ethel Sandy. Elder.

Larry Sandy. Community Health Representative.

Lorna "Pat" Sandy. Elder.

Bennett Smith. Elder.

Velma Smith. Elder.

Enoch Sunday. Elder.

Sophia Sunday. Elder.
Nelson Williams. Elder.
APPENDICES
Appendix A  Provisional Agreement of 19 May 1795
To this instrument is also annexed a plan of the lands and Harbour purchased, and a Schedule of the goods given in parcels of the same, by

WILLIAM WALLIS, Commissioner on behalf of the Province,
ALEX. BURRIS, Commissioner on behalf of the Province,
SIR. SAM. SMITH, Major,
J. B. BANSTEAD, Agent, Holden Proprietors,
John McCullough, Lt. 2nd Ist.
J. GIVENS, Adj. 2nd Lt.
J. GIVENS, Agent of Indians, and
W. JOHNSON, Agent of Indian Department
Geo. CUNNINGHAM, I. D.,
D. V. SMITH, Acting Superintendent General.

This is a schedule of the articles given to the Chipewyan Nation of Indians by way of purchase or as an equivalent for their conveyance into the port of Pembina or the adjacent lands made at the time of the delivery of the same being the twenty-second day of May, 1818.

We do hereby certify that the following goods were delivered to us in presence of the Chipewyan Nation, subscribed to the within deed, being the consideration therein mentioned as paid from the General Store by order of the Commissioner in Chief.

20 pair of blankets of 21 sts., at 4s. 6d. each... £ 6. 10. 0
25 pair of blankets 2... 12s. 0. 0
17 pair of blanket 2... 9s. 6d. 0
4 pieces of blue stripes, 94 yds., 17s. per piece... 23. 8. 0
4 pieces of calico, 18 yds., each, at 12s. 6d. per piece... 5 4 0
4 pieces of calico, 64 yds., each, at 3s. 6d. per piece... 5 4 0
8 pieces of Irish linen, 25 yds., ea., Is. 10d. per piece... 11 0 0
8 pieces of calico, 10 yds., 3s. 6d. per piece... 8 4 0
9 oz. brass screw knives, at 1s. 6d. each... 2 6 0

amounting in the whole to one hundred and one hundred and one queen's Quebec currency.

WILLIAM WALLIS, Commissioner on behalf of the Province,
ALEX. BURRIS, Commissioner on behalf of the Province,
SIR. SAM. SMITH, Major,
J. B. BANSTEAD, Agent, Holden Proprietors,
J. B. BANSTEAD, Agent, Holden Proprietors,
John McCullough, Adj. 2nd Lt.

We the undersigned Chiefs of the Chipewyan Nation do in behalf of ourselves and of our Nation, relinquish and cede to the King of Great Britain the lands described in the plan annexed, bounded by a line to be drawn from the land of O'Flanigan running to Nation Bay, including the harbour of Pembina and the mouth of the Red River which lands are bounded on the north by the Red River and on the south by the Manitoba River and on the west by the Lake of the Woods and on the east by the Lake of the Woods and the land of O'Flanigan.

Appendix A: Provisional Agreement appended to Session # 5
Appendix B  Cession of 22 May 1798
No. 5.

UPPER CANADA.

To all whom these presents may come—Greeting:

Whereas the Chiefs, Warriors and people of the Chippeway tribe or Nation of Indians, being desirous, for certain considerations hereafter shown, of selling and disposing of a certain tract of land lying near the Lake Huron or butting and bounding thereon, called the Harbour of Penetangushene, to His Britannic Majesty King George the Third Our Great Father: Now know ye that We the Chiefs, Warriors and People of the Chippeway tribe or Nation for and in consideration of one hundred and one pounds, Quebec Currency to us paid or in value given, the receipt whereof we hereby acknowledge to have given, granted, sold, disposed of and confirmed, and by these presents we do give, grant, sell, dispose of and confirm for ever unto His Britannic Majesty King George the Third, all that tract or space containing land and water, or parcel of ground covered with water, be the same land or water or both lying and being near or upon the Lake Huron, called Penetangushene, and butted and bounded as follows,—Beginning at the head or South-Westermost angle of a bay situated above certain French ruins, now lying on the east side of a small strait leading from the said Bay into a larger Bay called Gloucester or Sturgeon Bay; the head or South-Westermost angle of the said Bay being called by the Indians Opeigooyawing; thence North 70° West to a bay of Lake Huron, called by the Indians Notoway Sagus Bay; thence following the shores of Lake Huron, according to the different courses and windings of the said Notoway Sagus Bay—Penetangushene Harbour and Gloucester or Sturgeon Bay, sometimes called also Matchedash—to the place of beginning: containing all the land to the Northward of the said line running North 70° West and lying between it and the waters of Lake Huron, together with the Islands in the said Harbour of Penetangushene.

To have and to hold the said parcel or tract of land, together with all the Woods and Waters thereon lying and being unto His said Majesty King George the Third, His heirs and successors forever, free and clear of all claims, rights, privileges and encumbrances, which we, the said Chiefs, Warriors, &c., &c., and people of the said Chippeway tribe or nation might have before the execution of these presents: And free and clear of any pretended which our children, descendants or posterity may hereafter make to the same: Hereby reconocing and forever absolving ourselves and our children, descendants and posterity of all title to the soil, woods and waters of the above described parcel or tract of land in favour of His said Britannic Majesty, His heirs and successors forever.

In Witness Whereof, we have for ourselves and the rest of our tribe or nation hereunto set our marks, signatures and seals this Twenty-second day of May and in the thirty-third year of the reign of our Great Father King George the Third: at York, in the Province aforesaid, having first heard this instrument openly read and rehearsed in our own language and fully approved by ourselves and our Nation.

In the presence:

WILL. WILCOCKS, Commissioner on behalf of the Province.
ALEX. BURKE, Commissioner on behalf of the Province.
SAM. SMITH, Mayor.
J. S. RANGERS.
ARTHUR, HOLDEN BROOKING, Lt. 2nd Regt.
JOHN McGILL, Adjt. 2nd Regt.
J. GIVENS, Agent of Indians.
W. JOHNSON CROW, Indian Department.

Appendix B Cession # 5
Appendix C  Cession of 17 & 18 November 1815
Appendix C Cession #16

The tender and submission of the said lands to the British Crown were the result of the negotiations between the representatives of the Crown and the representatives of the Maori tribes, which took place in the early 1860s. The negotiations were conducted by the British authorities and the Maori leaders, with the aim of establishing a peaceful settlement and ensuring the Crown's control over the territorial claims of the Maori people.

The treaty officially recognized the Crown's sovereignty over the lands and the rights of the Maori people to continue living on the land. It also established a mechanism for the distribution of the lands to the Maori people, ensuring their rights and interests were protected.

The treaty marked a significant milestone in the history of New Zealand, as it set the stage for the development of the country and the establishment of its institutions. It also paved the way for the later establishment of the Maori throne and the recognition of the Maori people's claim to the land.

The treaty had a profound impact on the lives of the Maori people, who were forced to give up their ancestral lands in exchange for compensation and recognition of their rights. It also had a significant impact on the British Empire, as it helped to establish its control over the Pacific region.

The treaty was signed by the representatives of the British Crown and the Maori leaders, with the aim of ensuring a peaceful settlement and a fair distribution of the lands. It was a significant step in the history of New Zealand, and it helped to establish the country as a nation with a strong and enduring legacy.
said Majesty (in his actual possession now being by virtue of a bargain and
quittance in consideration of five thousand pounds by indenture bearing the
date next before the day of issue of these presents for the term of one
the said indenture of bargain and sale and by the same deed made for trans-
fer of the said indenture and the property of the said lands and premises
within them to the said Majesty, in the county of Upper Canada, and
untouching which said lands and premises the said lands and premises
are held and bounded, or of the limits and bounds thereof, which is to say,
Commencing in the north and one degree of twenty minutes to a course north eighty-one degrees west or southeast,
said indenture being made in the said Majesty, to the said lands and premises
for the sum of five thousand pounds and the remainder of the
sum secured to the said Majesty, in the county of Upper Canada, and
untouching which said lands and premises the said lands and premises
are held and bounded, or of the limits and bounds thereof, which is to say,
Commencing in the north and one degree of twenty minutes to a course north eighty-one degrees west or southeast,
said indenture being made in the said Majesty, to the said lands and premises
for the sum of five thousand pounds and the remainder of the
sum secured to the said Majesty, in the county of Upper Canada, and
untouching which said lands and premises the said lands and premises
are held and bounded, or of the limits and bounds thereof, which is to say,
Commencing in the north and one degree of twenty minutes to a course north eighty-one degrees west or southeast,
said indenture being made in the said Majesty, to the said lands and premises
for the sum of five thousand pounds and the remainder of the
sum secured to the said Majesty, in the county of Upper Canada, and
untouching which said lands and premises the said lands and premises
are held and bounded, or of the limits and bounds thereof, which is to say,
Commencing in the north and one degree of twenty minutes to a course north eighty-one degrees west or southeast,
Appendix D  Cession of 26 November 1836
Personally appeared before me Nathan Cornwall, Esquire, one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the Western District, and made oath that they believe the foregoing appraisement to be just and correct, according to the best of their knowledge and belief.

Sworn and subscribed before me
this 15th day of July, 1837.

Nathan Cornwall,
J. P., W. D.

George P. Kirby,
Christopher Arnold,
John Williams,
David Sheenan.

No. 48.

Upper Canada,
Toronto, 20th November, 1837.

We the undersigned Chiefs and Warriors, in the name and on the behalf of the Chippewa Tribe of Indians of Lakes Huron and Simcoe, now occupying the tract of land on the public high road leading from Coldwater to the Narrows of Lake Simcoe, reserved by our Great Father for our use and cultivation, being desirous that the same shall be sold, do hereby this day in Council, at Toronto, propose to our Great Father to surrender the said tract in consideration of our tribe receiving annually the interest of one-third part of the proceeds of such sale—another third part of the same proceeds to be applied for the general use of the Indian tribes of the said Province—and the residue of the said proceeds to be applied to any purposes (but not for the benefit of the said Indians) as the Lieutenant Governor may think proper to direct.

Witness:
J. Givens, C. S. I. A.,
W. B. Robinson, M.R.P.,
William Hepburn.

Yellow (totem) Head,
John (totem) Adamson,
Thomas (totem) Naishshunk,
Waibome (totem) Young,
(totem) Shawalshake,
Big x Shilling,
James x Bowing,
Joseph x Shilling,
Benjamin x Joseph,
Henry x Jones,
Henry x Stanour,
John x Pawgwaznine,
x Shawanwabung.

Approved, F. B. Head,
Lt. Governor.

No. 48

Province of Upper Canada.

William the Fourth, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith.

To all to whom these Presents shall come—GREETING:

Know Ye, that We, of Our special grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, are given and granted, and by these presents do give and grant unto the New England Company, by the name and description of "The Company for the Propagating of the Gospel in New England and the parts adjacent in America," successors forever, all that part of or tract of lands situate in the Township of Smith, in the county of Northumberland, in the District of Newcastle, in Our said Province, containing by measurement 1,000 acres, be the same more or less, being composed of its Nos. 16, 17 and 18, and the north part of broken lot No. 19, in the 12th Conces-

Appendix D Cession # 48
Appendix E  Cession of 5 June 1856
admeasurement two hundred acres of land, be the same more or less, and which
said parcel or tract of land may be better described and known as follows: Com-
menning where a post has been planted at the south-east angle of the east half of the
said lot; thence north six teen degrees forty minutes west thirty chains, more or less,
to where a post has been planted at the north-east angle of the east half of said lot;
thence south seventy-four degrees five minutes west thirty-three links and a half,
more or less, to the centre of the said concession; thence south sixteen degrees forty
minutes east thirty chains, more or less, to the southern limit of the east half of the
said lot; thence north seventy-four degrees five minutes east thirty-three chains
thirty-three links and a half, more or less, to the place of beginning. Commencing
also where a post has been planted at the south-west angle of the west half of the
said lot; thence north sixteen degrees forty minutes west thirty chains, more or less,
to where a post has been planted at the north-west angle of the west half of the said
lot; thence north seventy-four degrees five minutes east thirty-three chains thirty-
three links and a half, more or less, to the centre of the said concession; thence
southern limit of the west half of the said lot; thence south seventy-four degrees five
minutes west thirty-three chains thirty-three links and a half, more or less, to the place
of beginning, containing two hundred acres of land, as aforesaid, together with all
the appurtenances thereto belonging unto Her said Majesty Queen Victoria, and Her
successors forever, which said surrender, as to the execution thereof by the Honora-
table George Herchmer Markland, is witnessed by William Allen Geddes, of the City
of Kingston, aforesaid, Esquire, and is hereby required to be registered by us, the
said George Herchmer Markland.

As witness my hand and seal this thirty-first day of January, in the year of Our
Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six.

Signed, sealed and delivered in
presence of us:

W. A. GEDDES,

GEORGE H. MARKLAND. [L.S.]

COUNTY OF FRONTENAC,

To Wit:

William Allen Geddes, of the said City of Kingston, Esquire, within named,
makes oath and saith that he was present and did see the said indenture of sur-
render duly signed, sealed and delivered by the within named George Herchmer
Markland, and also did this memorial thereof, signed, sealed and executed by the
within named George Herchmer Markland, and that this deponent is a subscribing
witness to both said instruments.

Sworn before me at the City of Kingston,
in the County of Frontenac, this 31st day
January, A.D. 1856.

Geo. S. MOWAT,
A Com. in B. H. in and for said County.

W. A. GEDDES.

No. 76.

Know all Men by these Presents that we, Thomas Naine-kish-kung, James
Bigwind, George Young, Joseph Snake, John Atbene and Peter Gadeque-quam,

Appendix E Cession # 76
Chiefs and Principal Men of the Tribe of the Chippawa Indians residing on the shores of Lake Couchiching, Simcoe, and Huron, in the Province of Canada, as representing them, as well as on behalf of our people and children for all time to come, do hereby, for the purpose hereunto expressed, cede, surrender, convey, and make over, wholly and unreservedly unto Our Most Gracious Sovereign Queen Victoria and Her successors, all right, title, interest, claim or demand, of us, to or in or out of all and singular those four islands in Lake Simcoe known by the names of Elm Island, Pewish-wa-wa Island, Sun-gne-beau-amiq Island, and Sun-gne-beau-amiq Island, also that one island in Lake Couchiching known by the name of Pumpkin Island, and all and singular all those islands lying and being in the Georgian Bay, Lake Huron, heretofore claimed by our tribe, together with all the buildings, privileges and appurtenances thereto belonging (save and excepting always those three islands lying and being in the Georgian Bay, Lake Huron, and forming a part of that group of islands called and known by the name of the "Chippawa Islands," which three islands hereby excepted and reserved to our own use and benefit forever, shall, within six months from the date hereof, be chosen and selected by the members of our tribe duly referred to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs for the information of His Excellency the Governor General of the Province of Canada), upon which Said Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, or the administrator of Her Government in this Province, shall sell and dispose of, or cause to be sold and disposed of, the whole of the above-mentioned islands aforesaid, lying and being in Lakes Simcoe and Couchiching, as well as all those islands which have heretofore been claimed by our tribe, and which are aforesaid, lying and being in the Georgian Bay, Lake Huron, (with the exception and reservation as before stated), as speedily as possible, and the proceeds of such sale or sales to be invested and funded in perpetuity for the use, benefit, and behoof of us the said Thomas Nante-Shab-sheong, James Bigwind, George Young, Joseph St. John, John Alcoves, and Peter G круг-амин, chiefs aforesaid, and as representing the tribe of Chippawa Indians aforesaid, and the proceeds of such money as aforesaid shall be paid over annually to us, our people and children, in all time coming.

In Witness whereof, we have hereunto set our hands and affixed our seals this 4th day of June, in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six.

This instrument is not to be in force or valid unless it meet with the approval of His Excellency the Governor General.

Signed, sealed and delivered to the presence of (having been read over explained and inter- preted, which they appeared perfectly to understand).

Thomas Nante-Shab-sheong, [L.S.]
James Bigwind, (totem)
George Young, (totem)
Joseph St. John, (totem)
Peter G круг-амин, (totem)

Thomas Nante-Shab-sheong, by his son
Joseph Nante-Shab-sheong, [L.S.]
James Bigwind, (totem)
George Young, (totem)
Joseph St. John, (totem)
John Alcoves, (totem)
Peter G круг-амин, (totem)

We, Thomas Nante-Shab-sheong, James Bigwind, George Young, Joseph St. John, John Alcoves and Peter G круг-амин, Chiefs and Principal Men of the Tribe of the Chippawa Indians residing on the shores of Lake Couchiching, Simcoe, and Huron, in the within instrument mentioned, and in acting for and on behalf of our people and children, do hereby choose, select and reserve for the use and behoof of our people and children in all time coming the following islands hereafter named, viz.: lying and being in the Georgian Bay, Lake Huron, namely: Pewish-wa-wa Island, Sun-gne-beau-amiq Island and Chippawa Island, with all the buildings, privileges and appurtenances thereunto belonging for ever. As witnesses our hands and seals this 4th day of June, A.D., 1856.

Signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of:

Thomas Nante-Shab-sheong, by his son
James Bigwind, (totem)
George Young, (totem)
Joseph St. John, (totem)
John Alcoves, (totem)
Peter G круг-амин, (totem)

Certified to have been executed in my presence.

T. G. Anderson.
S.E.A.

Certified.

WM. H. L.E.R.
C. & C.

PROVINCIAL REGISTRAR'S OFFICE,
TORONTO, 3rd August, 1856.

I hereby certify that the foregoing surrender, together with the minute in Council thereon, have been entered upon the records of this office, in Lt. C.R. Surrenders to the Crown, Folio 140.

THOS. AMOT.

NO. 77 and 78.

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS that we, the undersigned, John Simpson, John Stedman, John Pigeon, Joseph St. John, Thomas Fraser and James Indian, Chiefs and Principal Members of the Tribe of the Chippawa Indians formerly living on 'Grues Island,' in Lake Ontario, here and now set forth

Appendix E Cession #76
Appendices F - R and T will be included in final report
Appendix S  Transcript of Interview with Leonard Monague,
July 1988
Introduction:

The interviews conducted during the summer of 1988 were difficult to transcribe in the traditional question and answer format. They often wandered away from the original intention of the interview and there were many interruptions, tea times, visitors, the television and other people present at the interview. Chief Monague's interview followed the more formal procedure better than most. However, the transcript is in narrative form.

Transcript of Interview with Leonard Monague:

Two interviews with Leonard Monague took place in the kitchen of his home on Christian Island in July, 1988. Leonard was twice Chief of the Beausoleil Band, 1954-56 and 1964-66. Until his death in the spring of 1989, he was a respected elder and much loved member of the Christian Island community. His daughter, Cecile, was present at both interviews and his granddaughters, Charlene and Denise, were present for brief periods. Leonard was accustomed to talking to outsiders and welcomed the opportunity to be interviewed. He had a wonderful sense of humour and loved to tell jokes, often at the expense of the interviewer. Occasionally, Cecile and Leonard talked in Indian which of course had to be translated.

The interview began with Leonard talking about the early history of the Monague family. He had started writing a history and at one point read from that. He remembered the history of his
family on Christian Island back to the dispersal of the Huron in 1650. An ancestor fled from the island and travelled north and stopped near Magnetewan. He married a member of the tribe living there and raised a large family. Eventually, the family moved back to the Christian Island area before Sir John Colborne's Coldwater experiment. One of Leonard's ancestors was French and lived with his son at Coldwater. The family was eventually adopted by Chief John Assance's band, one of the bands which comprised the Chippewas of Lakes Huron and Simcoe. After the failure of the Coldwater experiment, the family, as part of the Assance band, spent some time in the Beaver Valley and Blue Mountain area. They eventually moved to Beausoleil Island and subsequently to Christian Island. Leonard was descended from a line of chiefs who first took the position in the 1860s and 70s. The Monagues continued to be elected chiefs, because, as Leonard said, "They think they're good."

Leonard was born in 1908 in an old log house near the present health centre at 4:00 A.M. It was a stormy night full of thunder and lightning and he was given the Indian name which means Thunderbird. His mother was Lucy McGregor Monague from Cape Croker and his father was James "Snake" Monague. Leonard had two brothers and three sisters. His comment about his childhood was "not very good." He did attend the Methodist Church school which he enjoyed. He liked one of the teachers who always had him point to the clock to indicate when it was 12:00 P.M. Leonard left Christian Island in 1919 to go to Muncey Indian Residential School where he stayed
until 1925. The residential schools were called "mush holes" because of the porridge which was served every morning. It was either too mushy or rubbery enough to bounce on the floor. He enjoyed some aspects of his schooling there. He looked after the dairy cattle and showed his cows at various exhibitions in London and the surrounding area. He won production and milk and cream prizes. The routine at the school involved a half day of work and a half day of school. Leonard stayed on the farm during the summer and was paid for the work he did there. He came home only twice in six years. When he did return home permanently, he returned to classes at the Methodist Church school and finished Grade 8. He remembered Mr. Cowling, the missionary teacher who took a great interest in him. He also remembered the old schoolhouse with its wood stove. Pupils used to fill the chimney with paper so that the schoolroom filled with smoke and the teacher had to call the caretaker. When he attended residential school, there was no residential high school and there was no suggestion that he attend school on the mainland. After completing Grade 8 he continued to take courses by correspondence.

Leonard began to work and did bushwork off the island in Bala, up the Moon River, and at Honey Harbour. A lumbering industry existed on the island, but it was not very large. It consisted mainly of cutting logs to sell to lumber companies. He left the island during the depression and worked as a stevedore for Canadian National Railways at Port McNicholl and Deep Harbour. He considered himself lucky to have a job. One benefit of his job
was a railway pass and he was able to visit the island occasionally.

Leonard recalled that many islanders farmed during this period. The farms lined the road to Big Sand Bay and provided band members with a subsistence living. Included in his recollections of the farm properties was the observation that there are probably other sites on the island which might have been earlier settlers' lots and could probably be of archeological interest. He mentioned specifically lots 17 and 18 where he remembered an orchard when he was small. The land must have been cleared, because there were small mounds of rocks which were later brought down to the dock for fill.

Leonard remembered that there was an old camp road behind Alex Copegog's property which led to an area where camp meetings were held. Band members sang old Indian hymns, prayed and gave out testimonials. The latter indicated that a person believed in the Lord. Some who were converted fell to the ground. Camp meetings often continued for a week. On part of the old campground where the meetings were held was a cinder running track which Tom Longboat helped to build. Often he came to the island to practice. Christian Island had runners who performed on the track and elsewhere. The best known was Isaac Copegog who also competed in the United States and won many cups. The practices and races on the island were always well attended.

Another significant event which Leonard remembered well was Achievement Day which was usually held on Thanksgiving weekend.
There were horse races on the main road where everyone rode bareback, Indian dances, a minor pow-wow and a rodeo-type event with domesticated steers which became wild when islanders put ropes around their bellies. This type of Achievement Day started circa 1910 and continued to the post World War II era.

Leonard spoke of the early Fall Fairs which were like "white man's fairs". Everything from handicrafts to livestock was shown and judged. Leonard's wife, Theresa, used to exhibit excellent sewing, baking and handicrafts.

One particular celebration which Chief Monague remembered was the end of World War II when the tugboat rounded the Point blowing its whistle and the bells of both churches rang out. Other special days included the annual Christmas concerts put on by the churches and the Christmas tree celebrations which islanders held at the Community Hall. When he was small, Leonard longed for a little hatchet. Every year he sat and hoped for it and finally it came. He initiated a dialogue or debate, complete with moderator, between senior school pupils at the tree ceremonies. The event finished with Christmas carol singing. The Catholic Church had a Christmas Watch Service and the United Church a New Year's Eve Service. Leonard believed that the Methodist-United Church ministers played a larger role in the community than the Catholic priest. Some of the former had their families on the island and lived and went to school in the community. Leonard became quite well acquainted with the priests at the Martyrs' Shrine in Midland. In the 1950s he was interested in starting a pilgrimage to Ste. Marie II. He thought
of building a crypt down by the fort, but the idea was vetoed by Indian Affairs. There was no way to transport people to the island and no accommodation or picnic grounds for them. He thought that the Church might also have had a hand in rejecting the plan.

Chief Monague talked about his World War II experiences. He worked as a Service Flying Training Administrator and did not go overseas. By the time war broke out, he was married and had children. He married Theresa Sylvester, a pretty little girl, in 1931. The bride was sixteen and wore a blue dress. Father Cadot performed the ceremony. Leonard told a joke about his wedding: during the reciting of the marriage vows, Father Cadot asked Leonard, "Wilt thou take this woman to be thy wedded wife?" Leonard replied, "I wilt," and proceeded to do so.

Father Cadot was well known in the community. He lived on the island for a time in an old log house and was known for his pie and box socials. Throughout the winter he invited the French people from La Fontaine to come to the island for dances.

Talking about the church prompted Leonard to tell the story of Joe Sylvester, a man about Leonard's age who used to crawl in the back door of the manse and take out bottles of communion wine. There was very little left when it came time to celebrate communion.

At this time Leonard returned to describing his wartime service. He recalled his first roll call. All the names were called out and he did not recognize his. The sergeant tried again and there was still no response, so he tried calling out service
numbers. Leonard recognized his and called out "Here". A discussion about the pronunciation of his name followed, whether it was Mon-egg or Mon-a-gue. The result was Leonard's banishment to the Kitchen to peel potatoes. During the war Leonard travelled all over Canada, including trips to the Yukon. He returned to the island after the war.

One of his first tasks was to plant a grove of maples in front of the frame house which his wife had built during the war. The land was a gift from Theresa's grandmother. When they were first married, they lived in a log house situated on the site of the present teacherages. Leonard again recalled an amusing story, one about his wife's grandmother. One of their sons was born in the log house and Leonard was babysitting one night while Theresa was at a Hallowe'en masquerade party at the hall. The old lady got some dry wood to make a fire and got a big fire going and the stove got very hot. She started baking pies, cakes, tea biscuits, everything. The stove got hotter and hotter and the time got closer and closer to midnight. Suddenly the little house shook and he said, "Here they come Grandma, here they come." She just looked at me and said, "What am I going to do with you?"

After World War II Leonard worked on the island and on the mainland berry picking in Clarkson in spring and summer. He also worked at Iron City for nearly thirty years from April until Thanksgiving. He went originally as a guide to help his Uncle Jerry. Jerry Monague helped the American cottagers at Iron City find the site. He guided them from Go Home Bay where they had been
camping to Twelve Mile Bay. Here they found a site for a permanent summer community. Jerry remembered the site because his father had taken him there to help set his trap lines. Leonard had been going to Iron City on and off since he was a baby. The family travelled there in an old putt-putt with an inboard engine, a "one-lunger". When he began working there, he worked for the same family, the Chappelles, for thirty years. Most of the people who spent their summers at Iron City worked for U.S. Steel or American Mills based in Middletown, Ohio.

Cecile Assance, Leonard's daughter, spent every summer at Iron City until she was eighteen. The native families had their own site which was called the Indian Camp. Everyone from Christian Island who worked at the resort lived in big 18 by 20 foot tents supplied by the club. Cecile's mother, who had a job as a maid, and father worked while she babysat her younger brothers and sisters. Cecile found the life very lonely. She was one of the few teenagers there and she wanted to be at home with her friends. Cottagers or tourists as Cecile called them were the only other teenagers there. The Indians were not allowed to go to the store after 9:00 P.M., so they couldn't go into Iron City until the store opened up again in the morning. She caustically commented that they did a lot of swimming.

Leonard's main job was guiding the summer residents on fishing trips. He also ran the motorboats. Before the season opened at break-up in April, Leonard would travel up to Twelve Mile Bay to open up the cottages and work as a handyman. They stayed until
late in the fall painting and doing odd jobs. The other members of the family joined Leonard for the summer months after school was finished. Leonard collected "pogey" in the winter or as he referred to it, "holiday pay".

We went on to talk about Leonard's years as Chief. He was first elected to this position in 1954. He believed that band members wanted him to run because they trusted him. He stood for common sense and worked towards providing that type of leadership. He worked for the people. Leonard forbade liquor on the reserve. In those days he could do that on his own. He talked to the people and visited the people. He had good communications with them. Council meetings were attended by the whole band, not just the Chief and Councillors. He let them voice whatever opinions they had on any subject. Band membership numbered about four hundred which entitled Leonard to four councillors.

During his first term as chief, hydro electric power was brought to the island. Leonard was walking down at the east end of the island with the Indian Agent and came to a ditch. The Agent thought that it must have been a creek or something similar. Leonard said, "No, it was dug there by someone who lived in the area". He wanted to get water out of Lake Douglas so that he would have irrigation for a garden. But when the water came it flooded part of the land and the chief came and told him to cover up the ditch or he might flood the whole island. But you could still see where he had dug. So Leonard told the agent that he had a plan for bringing electricity to the island. He would have the ditch dug
up again and get a water wheel to run a dynamo which would generate enough power for the island. The Indian Agent looked at him and said, "Are you crazy?" Leonard said, "No, I'm not. I'm going to think seriously about this." The very next day the agent went across to the mainland and went directly to the hydro office and told them Leonard's plans. They went directly to the main office in Toronto and it wasn't very long after that the whole outfit came down with their great big barge. There were big rolls of cable. Leonard went on board to have a look at things and because he was chief he guided the boat to the dock at Christian Island. They had a big supper after they had finished doing the wiring. Mr. Saunders, the chairman of Ontario Hydro, came to switch on the electricity. This took place in December 1954 and there was a big Christmas tree in front of the Community Hall. He switched on the lights on the tree. After the initial wiring was done it took them some time to wire the houses on the island. The Monagues were the first family to have a washing machine and a television. Cecile commented that she had to chop wood after school before she could watch T.V. They watched Western Theatre and could never figure out why they were always the bad guys.

Leonard continued to talk about other events while he was chief. During his first term, 1954-56, he had a plan to develop cottage sites on the island. Jobs off the island were drying up and he believed that he would establish a summer community similar to Iron City. He was interested in attracting people with a lot of money who would hire islanders to work for them. Initially
there was some interest in the scheme but Leonard seemed to imply that Indian Affairs took over at this point and wanted development on a smaller scale. Realtors set the price of a lease at $40.00 which attracted people who were not willing to pay islanders to work for them. Then Leonard lost the election of 1956 because his opponent Riley Roote played dirty politics and accused him of selling off the island. Two weeks after the election he came to Leonard for help in arranging the leasing. The money from the leases which has increased over the years goes to Indian Affairs. Even with the low leasing rate cottagers who owned their cottages left the island because they didn't want to pay it. Others felt they should be driven from the dock to their cottages without paying for the ride. Leonard believed that there should be a regular taxi service. He felt that overall the development was good for the island.

During his second term, 1964-66, telephone service was brought to Christian Island. The Indian Agent had a contract with the Tiny Township Telephone Company to supply him with his own phone which was located in his office. An elder became very ill and Leonard wanted to use the Agent's phone to call for medical service. The Agent refused and told Leonard to go to Cedar Point to phone. But he was not allowed to use the agency boat to get there. Leonard contacted his Member of Parliament and the matter was brought up in the House. Soon afterward the island received telephone service. Leonard commented that it belongs to the women for their gossip. After the telephone service was installed a pheasant
dinner was held to celebrate the event. The car batteries from the cars parked at Cedar Point were taken and everyone had to spend the night on the island.

Leonard believed that the pheasantry established on the island to release birds for hunters and to raise birds for sale made good economic sense but the upkeep of the enterprise was poor and the band was undersold when it tried to put its birds on the market. The charcoal industry ran into trouble with high transportation costs. The charcoal was high quality 100% hardwood, but again the band ran into the problem of being undersold. We talked briefly about the Indian Agents. Leonard described their relationship as "not good" and "aggravating". They were more like wardens and everything had to have their approval. It really didn't matter how nice they were. He described the ferry boat, R.A. Hoey, as their personal pleasure boat. Whenever he went to meetings as chief the Agent went with him and sat right on his neck telling him what to do. Gradually the band began to take over some of the agents' job. They found discrepancies in his work and by 1968 had rid themselves of the agent.

When Leonard was chief he frequently travelled back and forth to Ottawa and Toronto. The chief really runs the band and when things were bad he went to the Indian Affairs Department to find out if there were any programmes available to provide funding to help ease the situation.

After he retired as chief the second time he became the Band Administrator. He was forced to retire from this position when he
became 65. His main tasks were to keep programmes running and to look for new areas of development. He commissioned a study of a twenty year development programme for the three islands which involved a Toronto corporation. They were willing to train the island's young people for twenty years and then the company would withdraw from the scheme. The profits would be split 60-40 in favour of the band. The plan depended on a causeway or bridge link with the mainland. Indian Affairs wanted the company to pay the whole shot and the company wanted some government input. The impasse ended any hopes of the project getting off the ground and the band was left out in the cold again. An added ingredient in the failure of the project was the one dissenting vote which spoiled the referendum on the causeway. That was all it took to make up the government's mind against the plan.

Leonard discussed the fact that this issue came up again when the Indian Maiden was purchased. There was discussion back and forth about a causeway and again the decision went against a land link. But the boat and docks cost close to $1,000,000 and Leonard believed that the band would in the end have saved that amount if the causeway had been built. Despite the fact that the cost of the causeway had gone up it would have paid for itself in ten years. The area around the boat docks will have to be dredged probably every other year and that will cost money. Leonard believed that the older people would love the causeway because they now have to pay to go to town. He paid $70.00 return to go to town by taxi. If there was a causeway or bridge he would get his own car and use
it to go to the mainland.

The conversation from this point on covered a variety of topics. We discussed whether it was difficult to get medical care. Cecile said that now it was not very hard. In the old days people looked after themselves because they had to. They had their own medicines, traditional native medicines which Leonard doubted they used anymore. For pneumonia they used to use a mustard poultice; the white man’s stuff Leonard called it. He thought the native treatment was quinine. Some people made their own which was more potent than the commercial brand. He remembered that some people had curative powers. He had appendicitis when he was a child and he went to see an old man who put on a poultice which really stuck. The plaster was made from deer hide and Leonard couldn’t pull it off. The old man said it would come off when the patient was cured and it did. Leonard thought there no traditional medicine men left on the island.

We also talked about maintaining other Indian cultural traditions. Indian dancing in no longer done on the island. The only way in which band members learn about it is to bring someone from the mainland to teach dancing. The traditions of making quill and sweetgrass boxes, of doing fancy beadwork and leatherwork are still fairly strong although few members of the younger generation are interested in carrying on these traditional art forms.

We discussed how some tribes, for example, the Haida on the Queen Charlotte Islands have revived their culture. Leonard commented that things like that hadn’t been tried much on Christian
Island. The recreation committee does not do enough in that area. There is a second language programme in the school which teaches Ojibway but Leonard believed that a better way to teach the children was to do it in the home. He did not think his two granddaughters, Denise and Charlene, would keep much. Their mother had not tried to teach them much language because they were taking it at school. Denise said that she has tried talking to her mother and would very much like to speak to her grandfather in Ojibway but the woman who teaches her speaks a different dialect than the one on Christian Island. Denise said, "She teaches me the wrong Indian." The teacher was from Manitoulin Island. When Denise tried talking to her Mother, Cecile told her that that was not the way she pronounced the words. There is another teacher, Doris Fisher, who teaches older children. She grew up on Christian Island and speaks the way they speak.

We discussed the idea of having an Ojibway World on Christian Island. This is a recreation of an Indian village on the Rama reserve. Leonard thought that was a good idea and believed that the recreation committee should look into things like that. He added that perhaps they were only interested in bingo.

Leonard talked a little about the archaeological dig at the fort. He would like to have a crypt or something built down there in order to tie it more closely to Ste. Marie I and the Martyr's Shrine. People could make pilgrimages to Christian Island. He would be interested in having an archives and a museum and housing it in the old log house which is now a cottage at Big Sand Bay but
he doubts the band could get the cottage back.

Previous archaeological digs were discussed. He remembered Wilf Jury but didn't think he had a contract to do any digging on the fort site. He had met him and thought he acted rather strangely around the island. He did not appear to be your ordinary archaeologist. He thought that probably he did competent work at Ste. Marie I but had no plans for Christian Island. The band asked the museum to do some work on the island but it was too far away and too isolated. Getting back and forth to the mainland in the 1950's wasn't easy.

Leonard remembered that archaeologists from the Royal Ontario Museum conducted a dig at the fort; in the 1960's he thought. He couldn't remember what had happened to the artifacts from that dig. For awhile they were kept at the hall with the skeletons. Some may have been stolen and some may have been buried with the skeletons when they were reburied. Band members were superstitious about having the bones at the hall. They didn't like it at all. Leonard thought that at one time all the artifacts had been taken to the R.O.M. for cataloguing and then returned to the island. He had found a little wee pair of eyeglasses which he had for long time but were now lost. They had silver rims and were called Benjamin Franklin glasses. He exhibited them at the band office.

His old pictures used to be in a big cookie tin in his old house. Some of his children must have opened the tin and then the mice got at the pictures and many of them were destroyed. He still had a number of photos including those taken at the ceremony to
switch on the island's electricity. The Homemakers' Club had taken part in the ceremony and probably prepared the food.

The Homemakers' Club is a United Church group which started out as an interfaith branch of the Women's Institute. Leonard remarked that W.I. stands for Wild Indians. When electricity came to the island the Club received a mixmaster to help them prepare the dinners which were held often. There is a comparable group associated with the Roman Catholic Church, the Ste. Theresa's Club. Leonard's wife belonged to that group.

The photos taken at the lighting ceremony included one of Leslie Saunders, Chairman of Ontario Hydro who was given an Indian name, which meant Chief of the Far REaching Lights. Leonard commented that the cement block addition to the Community Hall was not built then. It was added probably about 1978.

We turned again to talking about Indian traditions because Leonard mentioned a son in Mission, British Columbia, who makes silver and turquoise jewellery. On Christian Island, the artisans are mainly women, although Amos King does some wood carving and has carved totem poles. There are no traditional medicine men left and many of the younger band members have forgotten these things. Leonard was sad about this fact but felt that there was nothing he could do.

The Pottowatamies used to practice traditional religion. Their cemetery has been on the island a long time, probably prior to 1856. Leonard's brother kept the graveyard neat until he died. He even kept the Indian houses on the graves. The cemetery became
neglected. Even the fence came down. The only thing left is the gate.

We looked at pictures of band members and cottagers at Iron City. Cecile and Leonard recited a cheer which was used every time cottagers left the community.

"ICFC, the best on Georgian Bay/ Iron City Fishing Club, RAh, Rah, Reh."

Leonard had a small book written by his employer at Iron City, Mr. Chappelle. It was titled *Seventy Years in Seventy Minutes* and was his autobiography. He also had a small book *Philosophic Sayings For Pooped People*, many of which Leonard used in his speeches because he thought they were good.

Another topic which we discussed was the food that islanders used to eat when they depended almost entirely on their own produce and livestock. They made cornmeal in a hollowed out log with a hammer. The corn was put in the log and pounded. Apples were dried and hung up in the ceiling. They sun dried meat and fish. Leonard hunted rabbit and deer on the mainland. Band members also grew a lot of potatoes.

At one time, the band had its own Agricultural Society and received a grant from the Ontario Society to run the fall fairs. The women and men vied for prizes for vegetables, fruit and livestock which they had raised, hogs, cattle, chickens, etc. Band members also competed at the International Plowing Match. Joe Hawke, Ephraim Marsden, John Hawke and Alec Norton competed in many places.
Christian Islanders drank mostly coffee and tea and their home brew, beano which was made from the white bean. They made natural wines from wild grapes and chokeberries. During the winter pemmican and bannock or scone were part of their diet. Potato soup with slatters, which are dumplings, was a staple. Leonard once won a prize for his potato soup. Everyone knew how to make Indian corn soup. Corn was soaked or "lyed" in the ashes and then strained and boiled so that the coat came off the kernel. The kernels were then boiled with salt pork or pork rinds. Some band members made sourdough bread. Leonard won prizes at the fairs for his baking.

The fairs sometimes lasted two or three days. Leading farmers and Women's Institute women in the area did the judging. A doctor judged the baby contest. Cecile remembered beauty contests when she was a teenager. The band used to hold a winter sports fest at Lake Douglas. There was a big slide and skating and ice fishing on the bay. Prizes were given out for the biggest fish. There were variety shows with people step dancing. Leonard described the gliding feet of some of the women like Angeline King. Music was an important part of any celebration. Robert Marsden played a variety of instruments including the piano and mouth organ.

Sports were also important. Leonard was particularly proud of the British Consuls softball team which played during the 1930s. The purple sweaters with white lettering were donated by the cigarette company. The team played in many white tournaments and one year were Georgian Bay Reserve Champions. They wore their own running shoes, shorts and long socks. No one had spikes but they
brought their own bats and balls to games. Leonard remembered that Nelson Williams, Fred Assance, Roy Assance, Merrit McCue, Joe Hawke, Chris Copegog, Clifford Peters, Alvin Peters and Leonard were members of the team.

Leonard talked about land ownership and housing. He thought that each male member of the band received a lot when he reached the age of majority if he asked for it. He didn't think females could have land and didn't know how situations were resolved if there were no male descendants. He discussed the buying and selling of land which he said started not very long ago. People put their property up for sale to pay debts. He considered this a bad idea. [Leonard may have been talking about houses because the land is communally owned. Band members have the right to use certain properties.] Leonard reminisced about the days when islanders settled where they wished. He remembered John Isaac who was 100 years old and lived on property outside of town, which had been settled very early in the band's history. There was an orchard and grape vines on the land. The property outside of town was passed to following generations but they moved to town. Women were entitled to their share of village lots. The chief and Band Council decided who got what lot. [Presently a housing priority list provides a more equitable system of distribution.]

The early houses were mainly one room squared timber or "log" houses. You could see through the roof to the stars. They were heated with big box stoves and fireplaces and often the stove pipe went right through the roof. Many of the houses built later were
frame covered with insul brick. Cecile remembered growing up in such a house. Many of these were built with trust fund money which was counter to treaty obligations. The band protested to Indian Affairs but to no avail. Even their member of parliament was unable to help. Much of the money which had provided $50.00 per person or $100.00 per family at Christmas was spent. Leonard appeared to be quite bitter about this incident.

When asked if he had lived all his life on Christian Island Leonard responded in his usually humorous way, "No, not yet." He died in the spring of 1989.