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**BORDERS OF KNOWLEDGE: CULTURAL AND POLITICAL
BORDERLANDS, IDENTITY AND THE IRONSIDES IN THE GREAT
LAKES (1790-1863)**

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BORDERS OF KNOWLEDGE:
CULTURAL AND POLITICAL BORDERLANDS, IDENTITY AND THE
IRONSIDES IN THE GREAT LAKES (1790-1863)

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by

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Graduate Program in Anthropology

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

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ABSTRACT

This thesis which examines three generations of the Ironside family that lived through the frontier borderlands, along western Lake Erie and the Detroit River, and later along north Lake Huron and Manitoulin Island, is ideal for exploring how identity on a physical borderland, and between the biological and cultural borderlands between European and Native, could be revised to serve personal notions of self, as well as to create a hybrid of innovative categories of identity. To achieve this exploration, I examine the identity of the Ironside family by primarily focusing on correspondence by members of this family, written in official and personal contexts. The insights obtained from this tangential material, from discussions of woman's culture in the 19th century, to male sibling dynamics, ultimately advance the core thesis of this work by shedding light on the vibrant role this family played in the building of the Canadian nation as well as their own identity.

KEYWORDS:

George Ironside Sr., George Ironside Jr., Coocoochee, Identity, ethnohistory, early Canada, British Indian Department, British Indian Agents, Upper Canada, nineteenth-century correspondence, Old Northwest, Amherstburg, Manitowaning, borders, frontiers, borderlands, Robinson Treaties 1850,

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AO	Archives of Ontario
BHC	Burton Historical Collection
<i>DCB</i>	<i>Dictionary of Canadian Biography</i>
DPL	Detroit Public Library
<i>JLA</i>	<i>Journals of the Legislative Assembly</i>
LAC	Library and Archives Canada
MG	Manuscript Group
<i>OH</i>	<i>Ontario History</i>
RG	Record Group

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Identity is an integral aspect of cultural and personal representation. This thesis will tackle the anthropological issue of identity in the cultural and political borderlands of the Great Lakes region between the late-eighteenth century and the mid-nineteenth century illustrated through an examination of the Ironside family over three generations. Understandably, the period of study (1780s to 1863) represents a time where the confluence of identity and state formation existed in flux. Individuals, families, and especially aboriginal peoples in the Great Lakes border region, had experienced social, cultural, and political dislocation as a consequence of the creation of the Canada-United States border that artificially divided communities and families as it bifurcated their homelands. The study of family and individual identity over several generations allows for an understanding of how the processes of state and border formation affected the ability to choose and move between identities. Thus, the influence of one generation that expressed a single or hybrid identity constrained future generations and ultimately influenced families and individuals over subsequent generations to choose to identify with a particular ethnic community. By utilizing an ethnohistoric methodology, the identity of the Ironside family will be examined.

This thesis will take the point that the three generations of the Ironside family that lived through the frontier borderlands, first along western Lake Erie and the Detroit River, and later along north Lake Huron and Manitoulin Island, are ideal for exploring how identity on a physical borderland, and between the biological and cultural borderlands of European and Native, could be revised to serve personal notions of self, and to create a hybrid of innovative categories of identity. To achieve this exploration, I will examine the identity of the Ironside family as they existed on the borderlands by primarily focusing on the correspondence by members of this family, written in official and personal contexts. This will require the use of sources that only tangentially or secondarily touch on this primary thesis. However, I feel the insights obtained from this tangential material, from insights into woman's culture in the 19th century, to male sibling dynamics, ultimately do advance the core thesis of this work by shedding light on the

vibrant role this family played in the building of the Canadian nation as well as their own identity.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The study of identity has long been an issue of contention for anthropologists and historians alike is the subject of identity. It is generally agreed that identity exists within a fluid conceptual framework (Barth 1998; Brodwin 2001; Brown 1991; Malkki 1992; and Sawchuk 2001). This fluidity permits the manipulation of one's identity. The fluidity of the identity framework is best investigated in and across disciplinary boundaries, time and space (Brown 1991). There exists a need to clarify and illustrate fluidity, which in part can be done through the use of ethnohistoric methodologies.

ETHNOHISTORY

In order to transcend any single discipline, William Simmons has suggested the integration of various dichotomies, such as centre and periphery and between visionary fields, for example bias, world systems, cultural and structural change, power, and consciousness. Such integration, he suggests, is accomplished through ethnohistory, described as a form of cultural biography that draws on many forms of testimony: notably, material culture, archaeology, visual sources, historical documents, native texts, folk lore, and early ethnographies (Simmons 1988; see also Brown 1991). Similarly, Mary Helms suggests that ethnohistory becomes significant through combining the synchronic with the diachronic or historical depth, fieldwork and use of historical documents (Helms 1978). As Karl Schwerin has pointed out, ethnohistory serves as a meeting ground between history and anthropology, the goal being better interpretation of cultural data (Schwerin 1976). James Axtell has defined the practice of ethnohistory as the use of historical and ethnological methods and materials to gain knowledge into the nature and causes of cultural change, wherein culture is defined by ethnological concepts and categories (Axtell 1979).

In applying an ethnohistoric method, it is vital to comprehend both events and non-events (Fogelson 1989) from several vantage points since different groups perceive them differently. Raymond Fogelson defines a non-event in several ways: "the residuum

of cultural data” around the telling of an event; and “differential recognition of what is considered eventful ... [an] imagined event ... [an] epitomizing event ... [a] latent event ... events that actually occur, and can be documented, but are so traumatic they are denied” (Fogelson 1989: 141-144). Such events and choices in turn influence identity selection.

Ethnohistoric methodology also involves the multi-textual analysis of a variety of sources, from oral to visual to written. It has been suggested that “the ethnohistorian[’s] power lies in providing a way of ‘defining the situation’ in which events and interactions took place using social, political, and cultural constructs” (Galloway 2006: 8).

Bruce Trigger has described the practice of ethnohistory as the self-conscious study of change among Native peoples, or characterized somewhat differently, a critical awareness of the problems involved in using historical data for ethnographical purposes (Trigger 1982). Stated most simply, ethnohistoric methodology serves as a basis that enables the study of identity in borderlands. In the current study, a concerted effort has been made to counteract biases intrinsic in written documentary records and personal correspondence, such as the proliferation of European produced documents and the lack of numerous unmediated First Nation counter voices. One must also understand documents in view of the specific era and context in which they were produced. The ethnohistoric methodology of examining multiple lines of evidence has assisted in mediating potential bias.

Uniquely ethnohistorical and anthropological dimensions of the current investigation into the Ironside family appear in the emphasis on giving a voice to those who have lacked one thus far in the literature. George Ironside Sr., George Ironside Jr. and their respective families left significant written records. Through analysis of their situations and circumstances, George Sr. and George Jr. become a voice in the developing colonial state. This research attempts, with the aid of literature previously published on the period and location, to understand the justifications, motivations, and reasons behind the actions of the Ironside family. This is in the hopes of providing a detailed image of how their identity would have appeared. Building on the traditional definitions and uses of the ethnohistoric methodology described above, through the fundamentals of

anthropological investigation, the goal of providing a window onto the identity of the Ironside family has been realized.

IDENTITY

As a concept, identity is applicable to a variety of aspects of culture, as well as to religion, nationhood, memory, politics, and psychology. The construction of identity is a complex process in which both an individual identity and a collective identity are likely to result. Each of us represents a unique individual and, as a society, we each belong to larger groups, be it nation, religion, and/or tribe. As made popular by Fredrik Barth in the 1960s, ethnic identity suggests that collective identity is self-ascribed and self-perpetuating, that it may or may not include a geographical element, and that it appears across discernible cultural traits in various physical and social environments, and is thus fluid (Barth 1998; see also Montford 1990). It has been suggested that individual identity is constructed "through social performances, and hence ... identity is not a fixed essence" (Brodwin 2001: 323-330). The genesis of an identity is always to some degree a self-conscious act (Sawchuk 2001). Similarly, Liisa Malkki provides a readily available definition suggesting "identity is always mobile and processual, partly self-construction, partly categorization by others, partly a condition, a status, a label, a weapon, a shield, a fund of memories, et cetera" (Malkki 1992: 24-44). The primary allusion represented here is to the fluidity of identity and to the complexity of its determination. Identity is unstable. As such, determining identity through analysis of historical records proves no easy task. Thus, in distinguishing identity for members of the Ironside family, credence goes primarily to their own claims of identity. Despite their own claims, identity remains fluid and hence it is expected that claims or allegiances to a specific identity change or evolve through time. If no claim to an identity is provided, evidence through correspondence, choices made during their lives, recorded events, etcetera, when compared to previous literature, as per ethnohistoric methodology, allow a further analysis of their identity.

BORDERLANDS AND FRONTIERS

Boundaries, borders, and frontiers¹ are all permeable, and thus definable or re-definable by some combination of individuals, society, or the state. As such, these liminal edges vary in specific definition. These edges appear between two or more distinct entities. They are liminal in that they are the outside margins of the nation or society to which they belong, but are edges nonetheless. Boundaries are unspecified limits, or conversely the limits of political, administrative or military control over a specific bounded area.²

Richard White, in his seminal work *The Middle Ground* defines the subject matter as

the place in between: in between cultures, peoples, and in between empires and the nonstate world of villages. It is a place where many of the North American subjects and allies of empires live ... between the historical foreground of European invasion and occupation and the background of Indian defeat and retreat (White 1991: x).

Alternatively, borders are relatively fixed, linear divisions between modern nation states (Parker 2006; see also Wendl and Rösler 1999); however, through time they can be renegotiated and altered as the nation state is redefined.

Finally, frontiers comprise interstitial zones of fluidity. The idea of frontier suggests the outer militarized border region of a political entity. Following from Frederick Jackson Turner, in 1882 the United States Census Office determined that the location of the frontier was derived from the geopolitical spacing of Anglo-Americans. Quite simply, Turner suggested that the frontier was the edge of free land. Subsequently, in 1890 it was determined that the frontier had been closed (Turner 1996). The notion of an open or closed frontier has in turn been adapted to suggest that an open frontier is one in which conflicts are secondary to the pursuit of mutual advantage, whereas a closed frontier appears where class conflicts become solidified and are linked to race and colour (Newton-King 1999). The frontier also has been defined as “a region in which no culture, group, or government can claim effective control or hegemony over others” (Nobles 1997; see also White 1991). In addition, the frontier is viewed as a space of cultural and material engagement yet unmarked on the maps of sovereign politics, where strangers

¹ Boundaries, borders and frontiers as used in this thesis are referred to areas of “intercultural penetration” rather than the definition provided by Frederick Jackson Turner regarding Eurocentric continental expansion. Adelman and Aron (1999).

² Parker (2006). Parker discusses boundaries as either being one or multiple processes, such as geographic, political, demographic, cultural, or economic. Each of these processes has the potential to integrate or further divide the border identity.

construct a common world and where practices, symbols and power relations are mutually understood (Comaroff and Comaroff 1997).

Where an inequality exists between two localities, and between the common symbols and loyalties with which people identify, the ease of permeation across boundaries, borders or frontiers is greatly diminished. Such diminution is often indicative of the nation-state (LeVine and Campbell 1972). Nevertheless, those who succeed in penetrating existing boundaries and remaining tend to either assimilate or take on a hybridized identity. The 'third space' represented by the borderlands, the literal in-between place, is what ultimately creates a hybrid identity (Bhabha 1994). This, and the continued stress on the subaltern (Spivak 1996; and Spivak 1999), is suggestive of the power and inherent fluidity in the borderlands. The intersections of state formation, settler, Métis, mixed-ancestry and First Nations communities in the borderlands create "sites where local culture and exogenous force intersect in an imaginative community politics" (Brooks 2002: 197; see also de la Cadena 2000). For the purposes of the current study, the inherent differences between boundaries, borders, and frontiers dissolve. In the eighteenth century, the boundaries of American and British influence correspond with the relative borders of the respective nation states. Generally speaking and following from Gregory Nobles and Richard White, the frontier was between British or American authority and the area west and north of their effective control.

HYBRIDITY

A hybrid is a combination of two or more factors that incorporate into another distinct form. The main idea remains constant, that of heterogeneity. Hybridity indicates a space where multiple elements with complex histories and trajectories are acknowledged. Homi Bhabha suggests that culture is "always-already" inscribed as hybrid and through the acknowledgment of this creative moment; it emerges as part of a "third space of enunciation." The implication of the third space of enunciation is in its temporal dimension where the dialectic of synchronicity and evolution, which traditionally empower the subject of cultural knowledge, are taken for granted and destroyed (Bhabha 1994: 53-56). Such multiplicity is common; however, it appears more frequent on margins. Margins are not necessarily geographic, descriptive locations, but rather "sites

from which we see the instability of social categories ... zones of unpredictability at the edges of discursive stability" (Tsing 1994: 279-297). Succinctly stated, "Borderlands are inherently zones of mediation and ambiguity" (Flynn 1997: 311-330). Following similar logic, "borderlands are ... a place of incommensurable contradictions. The term does not indicate a fixed topographical site between two other fixed locales (nations, societies, cultures), but an interstitial zone of displacement and deterritorialization that shapes the identity of the hybridized subject" (Gupta and Ferguson 1992: 6-23). This newly shaped identity, rooted in the borderlands, creates what a few scholars have called a border identity (Gupta and Ferguson 1992). The border identity is the amalgamation of two or more influences, thus establishing a hybridized identity.

Hybridity exists in a space of liminality where geography collapses onto the border itself, such that divergent identities on either side of the border become one in the borderlands (Grossberg 1996). The related idea of border crossing contributes to this notion of hybridity. Where there is a lack of construction, whether geographic, political, demographic, cultural, economic, in one site or another, the multiplicity creates hybridity (Parker 2006). Correspondingly, Gloria Anzaldúa, states that "a borderland ... [is] a vague and undetermined place created by the emotional residue of an unnatural boundary ... people who inhabit both realities ... are forced to live in the interface between the two" (Grossberg 1996: 92; see also Anzaldúa 1987: 37). Amalgamating history with hybridity, "Identity is ultimately returned to history, and the subaltern's place is subsumed within a history of movements and an experience of oppression which privileges particular exemplars as the 'proper' figures of identity" (Grossberg 1996: 92). Similar reasoning suggests that the act of declaring oneself to be of a subaltern identity, subjects that individual or group to a position of 'otherness' held by the dominant society (Sawchuk 2001: 73). Conversely, within the borderlands, these 'others' would likely be accepted within the dominant society therein.

THE IRONSIDES: IDENTITY AND THE BORDERLANDS

Identity and borderland theory are fundamental to the current study, which examines the Ironside family and its enduring attachment to the borderlands. The emphasis on intercultural relations and accommodation is suggestive of the frontier as a

boundless land, in contrast to inter-imperial struggles of bordered lands (Adelman and Aron 1999: 816). Nevertheless, Ironside was British, and this tied his relocations to imperialistic ambitions within Upper Canada.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE REGION

The region under consideration is that of the watershed of the Auglaize and Maumee Rivers in the region known as the Old Northwest (see Map 1), the borderlands of the Detroit River, and Manitowaning on Manitoulin Island (see Map 4). During the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the historic theater that included the Old Northwest extending to Lakes Huron and Erie witnessed several conflicts that challenged and displaced the inhabitants of the region. Between 1785 and 1795, the Old Northwest (including the modern American States of Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Michigan, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia) was engulfed in the wars of the Old Northwest, also known as Little Turtle's War. These wars occurred between the Western Confederacy³ of Native individuals, tribes and nations that banded together against the common enemy of the recently created republic of the United States. The major events of these battles included General Josiah Harmar's defeat at present day Fort Wayne, Indiana; Major General Arthur St. Clair's defeat at Fort Recovery, Ohio; and the Battle of Fallen Timbers. George Ironside Sr. arrived in North America following the American Revolution, and was witness to the Battle of Fallen Timbers in 1794. The events following this battle included the signing of the Treaty of Greenville in 1795, which ceded part of present day Ohio to the Americans.⁴ The fallout and subsequent events eventually led to his decision to relocate, along with other members of the Glaize community, to Amherstburg, on the Detroit River, where he remained throughout and

³ The Western Confederacy consisted of warriors from the following Aboriginal groups; Huron/Wyandot, Shawnee, the Council of the Three Fires (which includes the Ojibwa, Odawa or Ottawa, and Potawatomi), Delaware, Miami, Kickapoo, Kaskaskia, Wabash Confederacy (including the Weas, Piankashaws, and others), and the Chickamauga-Cherokee. For further information on the Western Confederacy and the wars of the Old Northwest, see: Dowd (1992); Sugden (2000); White (1991).

⁴ Sugden (2000). For additional information concerning the Treaty of Greenville, or the 1796 Jay Treaty that followed, see American State Papers 07, Indian Affairs Vol. 1; 4th Congress, 1st Session, Publication No. 67; *Treaty of Greenville. Communicated to the Senate, December 9, 1795.*

following the War of 1812, until his death in 1831. In contrast, George Ironside Jr. was not confronted during his life by war. Rather, he participated in several initiatives for the relocation of aboriginal settlements in Upper Canada, which at times became hostile. He partook in the Upper Canadian Rebellions of 1837-1838.⁵ Additionally, he assisted in the Robinson Treaties of 1850, where he witnessed Anishnabe uprisings, also known as the Mica Bay Affair. In George Ironside Jr.'s attempt to mediate between British and aboriginal interests, his personal correspondence and identity reveals difficulty in maintaining a semblance of neutrality.

Both George Ironside Sr. and George Ironside Jr. had a deep and enduring relationship with the British Indian Department. This Department began in 1755 under the direction of Sir William Johnson, who had been given the authority of the British Crown as the "Sole Agent for and Superintendent of the Affairs of Our Faithfull Subjects and Allies the six united Nations of Indians and their Confederates in the Northern Parts of North America" (Allen 1992: 12). This first Indian Department derived from the authority of the British Military in North America. Upon Sir William Johnson's death, the authority of the British Indian Department passed to Guy Johnson, and subsequently to Sir John Johnson.

In 1796 (also the year of the implementation of the Jay Treaty, and the retreat of British authorities north of the Detroit River), the Indian Department for Upper Canada was placed into the hands of the Lieutenant Governor (Allen 1975). The sites of frontier posts, where the British Indian Department situated their agents, were locations of fluidity and heterogeneity where red coats⁶, French Canadian traders, aboriginals and mixed-ancestry families came together, traded and lived (Calloway 1989: 46). These posts capitulated to the newly founded United States of America following the revolutionary

⁵ The Canadian Rebellions between December 1837 and December 1838 pitted British forces and Canadian Loyalists against the United States Hunters Lodges and the Republic of Canada. Arguably the build-up to the Rebellions was instigated by the Family Compact system which gave wealthy land owners greater land rights; as well as the political instigation of William Lyon Mackenzie and his public medium of his *Colonial Advocate* newspaper. In Upper Canada the most famous incident occurred at Montgomery's Tavern (at Yonge Street and Eglinton Ave. in the modern city of Toronto), although there were also disturbances on Pelee Island and in Windsor, in the Western District. The Rebellion in Lower Canada was more greatly felt; but as Lower Canada is beyond the scope of this paper, it will not be discussed. See Lindsey (1971).

⁶ A 'red coat' was a member of the British military, named after the red coats worn by these individuals.

war; however, they maintained a British presence until the latter were formally requested to vacate in 1796 with implementation of the Jay Treaty. This treaty not only detached British interests from American land and allowed aboriginals to move freely across the new American and British North American border, but ultimately gave them a 'stateless' or supraterritorial status (Bukowczyk 2005: 27). Ultimately, as a consequence of the Jay Treaty and the Battle of Fallen Timbers (1794), Ironside, a frontier clerk and storekeeper for the Indian Department, was required to leave his home in Ohio Country and move north of the Detroit River.

Until the War of 1812, the British Indian Department had one major goal; acquiring and preserving the allegiance of the aboriginal populations to the British Crown, by treating them as warriors and outfitting them with supplies and presents (Allen 1992). In 1816, after the War and significant future threats of American expansion and war had abated, the responsibility of Indian Affairs was transferred to the Commander of the Armed Forces, thereby placing First Nations in a different and demoted position than they had previously held (Allen 1975; Allen 1992). It was not until 1828 that the position of Chief Superintendent of Indian Affairs was established, thus removing the office of Superintendent General of Indian Affairs.

Colin Calloway has suggested that prominent members of the British Indian Department were men of Scottish or Irish ancestry, who, in an effort to acculturate to their surroundings, often wore a mixture of European and First Nation clothing. The vast majority of these men married aboriginal women. These unions not only allowed them to extend and create kinship networks, but inevitably, children of such unions would be polyglot in language and of course exhibit a true hybridized identity, facilitating their positions as interpreters and genuine intercultural brokers.⁷ George Ironside Sr. was no exception. By 1793, George Ironside was a resident at the Glaize settlement, and enjoying a relationship with Vocemassuasias, a Mohawk woman adopted by the Shawnee (Spencer 1836).

In 1828, possibly based on differing demographic factors as this was no longer a frontier, the relationship of European and native relations had changed, numbers and roles

⁷ See Calloway (1989); Clifton (1989); Hagedorn (1988); Hosmer (1997); Kawashima (1989); McFee (1968); Murphy (1998); Richter (1988); Sleeper-Smith (1998); and Szasz (1994).

of women and men in the region had changed (Johnson 1989; Morgan 1996; and Ward 1990). George Ironside Jr. did not follow this example; instead, he married a British woman by the name of Anne Symington. Thus father and son, through their marriage choices, portrayed different motivations and desires, and ultimately chose different identities. This relates to the nature of the changing borderlands in the Detroit River region. When George Sr. arrived, this region was very much a borderlands area where identity and significance had to be forged between the known (the American Republic) and the unknown (British North America). George Jr. was born into the evolving borderlands. The ambiguities and unknowns of his father's time were rapidly decreasing and a desire to identify as agents of British colonialism was increasing. George Jr. persisted in this state of flux until his move to Manitowaning, which again placed him in another borderlands region. His children increasingly opted for a British colonial identity over the hybridity chosen by George Ironside Sr.

BIOGRAPHICAL CHRONOLOGY OF THE IRONSIDE FAMILY

Born in 1760, George Ironside Sr. arrived in North America in approximately 1789. Originally as a fur trader and trapper, he made a name for himself and settled at the forks of the Maumee and Auglaize Rivers. An Aboriginal Confederacy existed between seven villages, one of which was known as the Glaize (present day Defiance, Ohio). A confederacy was established between these villages, comprised primarily of Shawnee, Delaware, and Miami peoples, to protect against white settler encroachment west of the Ohio River. He arrived at the Glaize as a trader and storekeeper working for the British Indian Department. His experiences and relationships at the Glaize helped shaped his personality and influenced his identity in ways that endured for the duration of his life. George Ironside Sr. spent significant time at settlements along the Auglaize River in Ohio Country, the fringes or 'middle ground' between white and Native society. When Ironside Sr. arrived in North America, he, a white Scottish male in what was then Indian Country, chose the occupation of trader, which enabled him to move freely, and in time would permit him to function as a broker between Native and British cultures (Calloway 1989: 40).

Fluidity and heterogeneity characterized the settlements of the Glaize, of Amherstburg (Fort Malden) and of Manitowaning (Manitoulin Island), locations in which the Ironsides resided.⁸ These settlements included Aboriginal peoples of different tribal affiliations, as well as British traders, Indian Department agents, French Canadians, and Americans who remained loyal to the British Crown following the Revolutionary War.⁹ The frontier post of Amherstburg (Fort Malden), situated across the river from Detroit, was an important stronghold in Upper Canada, and as a border community it witnessed emigration of American loyalists, French Canadians and various groups of First Nations. It was here that the Ironside family relocated following the wars of the Old Northeast. George Ironside Sr. remained a clerk and shopkeeper until the death of Matthew Elliott, at that time, in 1820, he received promotion to the position of Superintendent. He would remain in this position until his death in 1831. Following his death, his son George Ironside Jr. would take over the reins of the British Indian Department for the Western District as Superintendent. George Jr. was the second son born to George Sr. and Vocemassuasias. The title would have gone to their eldest son Robert, had Robert not decided to follow another career path.

George Jr. was born 1806 in Amherstburg. At the age of 22, in 1828 he married a non-Native, Anne Symington. In 1830, George Jr. received his first commission within the British Indian Department, and one year following, subsequent to his father's death, received the commission of Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Western District. Throughout the early stages of George and Anne's marriage, specifically the time they remained in Amherstburg, Anne maintained close correspondence with her older sister Eliza Huston. Eliza was married to the Irish Dr. James L. Huston, a British military surgeon. Eliza was Anne's link to the fashions and events of the British upper classes. In the 1840s, for a large number of potential and varied reasons, George Ironside Jr. and family were transferred to Manitowaning on Manitoulin Island to serve as Superintendent

⁸ As David McNab has asserted, each of these locations was also the place of a council fire, owing to its proximity to a major waterway. Manitoulin Island represents both of these elements, as it is a location of council fire, and is situated on major waterways. Thus, Manitoulin represents a meeting ground. See McNab (2004).

⁹ The various Indian tribal affiliations were mainly, but not limited to Shawnee, Delaware, and Miami. British Traders and Indian Agents included George Ironside, Matthew Elliott, Alexander McKee, and John Kinzie. Both Elliott and McKee were born in Pennsylvania but during the American Revolution stayed loyal to the British Crown.

to the Northern District of Upper Canada. Manitowaning was on the northern fringe of white society and settlement, arguably within a less defined Indian country. George Ironside Jr.'s relocation from Amherstburg to Manitoulin Island again placed the Ironside family in the borderlands. This time, the primary influences were Natives of various tribal and religious affiliations.¹⁰ Situated at the fringes of white and Aboriginal society, these locations were politically unstable and ethnically conflicted borderlands. Here American frontiersmen and pioneers, British military, French Canadian, Loyalists, missionaries and various tribes of Natives formed viable and unique but limited communities, which in turn were shaped and agitated by rebellious insurrections and inter-ethnic mixing (Calloway 1989: 56). Once the family moved north, correspondence with Eliza (the timing also corresponds to the Doctor's premature death) ceased. This is where George Ironside Jr. remained until his sudden death in 1863. Anne remained with the rest of the family in Sault Ste. Marie until the time of her death in 1902. James Symington Ironside, Alexander McGregor Ironside, and George Arthur Ironside, the three eldest children of George Jr. and Anne, all followed in their father's and grandfather's footsteps through their service to the government. Through the available correspondence, it appears that Alexander McGregor Ironside remained close to home to look after his mother and the rest of the family following George Jr.'s death.

One might presume that being steeped in the borderlands altered the Ironside family identity. As previously mentioned, George Ironside Sr. was a Scottish immigrant who began an intercultural relationship with Vocemassuasias. Their children were of mixed-ancestry. However, mixed-ancestry does not lead intuitively to the acting one specific identity. The inclination to label British Indian Agents such as George Ironside Jr. as Métis¹¹ implies they actively recognized themselves as such. Designation as Métis suggests that they partook in the shared communal aspects of identity, and that they were cognizant of their behaviours, language, clothing and associations. Widely acknowledged

¹⁰ Manitoulin Island is primarily comprised of Ojibwa, Ottawa (Odawa), and Pottawatomi. Villages are divided based on religious tendencies, either Roman Catholic or Protestant.

¹¹ See Peterson and Brown (1985). For more information on Métis ethnogenesis and culture see Brown (1979); Castro (2003); Devine (2004); Dusenberry (1985); Ingersoll (2005); Kidwell (1992); Meyer (2004); Murphy (2000); Murphy (2003); Peterson (1981); Podruchny (2006); Sawchuk (2001); Sleeper-Smith (2000); Sleeper-Smith (2001); Van Kirk (1980); and White (1991).

is the ethnogenesis of these 'new peoples' (Métis) from unions between European men and Native women, most commonly French, Scottish or British men and Cree, Ojibwa, and Saulteaux women. The offspring of these unions represent neither exclusively white nor Native ancestry. These new peoples adopted such names as "half-breeds," "breeds," "mixed-bloods," "métis," "michif," or "non-status Indian." The process of viewing themselves as a separate and distinct cultural group took time to develop. Identification of Métis individuals and communities was based on several basic identifying markers of Métis culture and ethnicity. The most popularized image relating to Western Métis culture is the Red River Cart.

It is likely that several of these aspects apply to the Ironside family, since in their written correspondence, they unfailingly label themselves as half-breeds. Irrespective of the current terminology, in the 18th and 19th centuries, referring to Ironside as Métis would have been an insult to him and his ancestry, as the Métis were just in the process of developing their distinct identity. At present, the term half-breed is laden with derogatory and racist connotations and brings to mind issues of blood quantum. Given that blood quantum was not formalized as a measure in Canada, "half-breed" brings blood quantum to mind, and what the basis of stigma was in its absence. The term half-breed is used throughout this paper to reflect George Ironside Jr.'s self-claimed identity. Within his personal correspondence, Ironside Jr. consistently refers to himself and his siblings as 'half-breed'. Additionally, the conventions of the term half-breed reflect the usage of the term in the early-nineteenth century to refer to those individuals of an Anglo-Native and Protestant background. Additionally, the lower case 'h' is used to reflect Ironside's claim as a half-breed but not as a national or political identity as would be reflected through the use of an upper case 'H'. Similar differentiations are used to indicate those of mixed-ancestry as métis (such as those in the Great Lakes, after Confederation) and those of mixed-ancestry (French and Cree or Ojibwa) with a developed sense of Nationhood and language as Métis (for example, the Red River Métis).

The Ironsides referred to themselves as half-breeds and appear to have taken on a corresponding identity, and this thesis respects that self-proclaimed identity by preferring the term "half-breed." The specific labels used to differentiate identity were necessary for accommodation to their positions within society. George Ironside Sr. and

Vocemassuasias's children were of definite mixed-ancestry and they attempted to accommodate to their positions within society as such. Accommodating to such a position was not always an easy task. As David McNab advocates, individuals of mixed-ancestry tended to be rebels, existing with one foot in each of white and aboriginal society, and thus generally inclined to pursue their own interests.¹² The actions of George Ironside Jr. well exemplify this kind of accommodation and behaviour.

The Ironside identity, including ancestry will be investigated through an ethnohistoric framework. The methodology permits the use of historical and ethnological methods and materials in order to gain knowledge of the nature and causes of change in a culture, or in a family such as the Ironsides (Axtell 1979). The implementation of an ethnohistorical framework enables better understanding of the Ironside family and its sustained relationship to the borderlands of North America. Their professional choices, attitudes and actions reflect their positions as intercultural brokers, while their written correspondence unquestionably characterizes their identity as half-breed. Former assumptions about the Ironside family will be challenged in the interest of determining the actions, character, and identity of members of said family. The following chapters will explore their long engagement with the British Indian Department.

LITERATURE REVIEW AND ANOMALIES IN THE PUBLISHED RECORD

There is a decided lack of research on the Ironside family as a unit, as well as their roles as intercultural brokers within the developing Canadian nation-state. Research into George Ironside Sr. has confirmed his residence at the Glaize in Ohio Country (Quaife 1921; Tanner 1978; and Tanner 1979). Based on a single diary (Quaife 1921) and a captivity narrative (Spencer 1836), Ironside Sr. can be placed in time and space as being at the Glaize settlement approximately between 1789 and 1796. While in Ohio Country he married *a la façon de pays* Vocemassuasias, whom Helen Hornbeck Tanner asserts was likely adopted by the Shawnees but of Mohawk descent (Tanner 1978; and Tanner 1979). Several historians have interpreted this to suggest that Vocemassuasias, who in 1802 was

¹² David T. McNab, multiple conversations with author, October 2007. See also, Lishke and McNab (2007).

baptized "Isabella," was a relative to Tecumseh and the prophet Tenskwatawa.¹³ Interestingly enough, within the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* there is a direct contradiction in reference to the ancestral origins for Vocemassuasia. In the entry for George Ironside Sr. by Dennis Carter-Edwards, he suggests that Vocemassuasia is a close relation of Tenskwatawa, suggesting Shawnee ancestry, while Douglas Leighton, who published his entry for George Ironside Jr. subsequent to the Ironside Sr. entry, suggests that Vocemassuasia was actually of Ojibwa heritage. Based on Shawnee adoption conventions, it is possible to argue that Vocemassuasia was Shawnee, those adopted became Shawnee in the eyes of the Shawnee. There are fewer anomalies with an investigation of Ironside Sr.'s life; however, this does not imply that information is known concerning his whole life. There remain gaps in the public knowledge of this man, specifically what brought him from the Scottish Highlands, with a Masters of Arts degree from Kings College in Aberdeen to Ohio Country.

Past research into individual family members has included an analysis of George Ironside Jr. as an agent of empire building,¹⁴ colonialism (McNab 1998), and self-interest (Telford 1996). Douglas Leighton has consistently portrayed George Ironside Jr. in an extremely positive light for his efforts in building Canada. In his dealings with the Indian Department, Ironside Jr. was unquestionably an agent of the colonial state that was British North America and a contributor to the foundations of the modern Canadian state.¹⁵ Leighton's assessment reflects historiography of the 1970s and 1980s, and appears in tension with the subsequently more critical work that reflects the revisionist approaches to the historical record. Subsequent research more generally examines First Nations in Ontario and ably illustrates that some Indian agents, while perhaps nation builders,

¹³ Dennis Carter-Edwards, "Ironside, George" *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* <http://www.biographi.ca/EN/ShowBio.asp?BioId=37051&query=ironside> (consulted 2 April 2007); Horsman, (1964); and Telford (1998).

¹⁴ Douglas Leighton, "The Ironside Family and the Development of Indian Administration in Upper Canada, 1796-1863" Paper presented at the Western District History Conference, 1979. Obtained from author. See also Leighton (1975); Leighton (1977); and Douglas Leighton, "Ironside, George" *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*. <http://www.biographi.ca/EN/ShowBio.asp?BioId=38630&query=ironside> (consulted 2 April 2007).

¹⁵ The author is aware that Dr. Douglas Leighton would disagree with the assertion that George Ironside Jr. was a colonialist and an agent of the colonial state; however, based on the records and evidence examined for this thesis, this serves as the best conclusion and explanation for his actions.

created legacies of fraud and abuse as well as giving Ontario treaties that have been honoured more in the breach than in the terms stated.¹⁶ David McNab and Rhonda Telford both view Ironside Jr. as an active colonial agent who through his actions dispossessed First Nations of their land and rights. In other words, these scholars examine Ironside and other Indian agents in terms of their colonialist legacies. McNab simply labels Ironside Jr. as a colonialist who promoted state policies of removal and assimilation (McNab 1998). Likewise, Telford suggests that Ironside Jr. typifies the standard self-interested Indian agent with the sole interest of promoting the colonial state (Telford 1996). The key difference between Telford and McNab rests solely on Telford's emphasis on Ironside as a self-interested actor first and foremost. While all three authors may agree that Ironside was an agent of the Canadian state, they decidedly disagree on the motivations and outcomes of his activities. Based on my research, George Ironside Jr. was undeniably motivated by his own self-interest. Additionally in his status as a member of the British Indian Department, it would be difficult to argue against his position as an agent of colonization. After all, he worked for the government department that tried to place all Natives on reserved land¹⁷, was involved with the signing of several treaties and the subsequent distribution of annuities¹⁸, and was also a key intermediary between the state and the aboriginals. As such, my thesis will offer a more rounded study of the roles of George Ironside Sr. and Jr. in terms of their roles in early British North America as mediators between Native interests in their ascribed positions as intercultural brokers, by providing the familial context these individuals defined, and were defined for them, by their spouses, siblings, and children.

METHODOLOGY

¹⁶ McNab (1998); Nichols (1998); Rogers and Smith (1994); Surtees (1982); Surtees (1969); Robert J. Surtees, "Indian Land Surrenders in Ontario 1763-1867" Canada: Treaties and Historical Research Centre, 1984; and Telford (1997). For information on the Indian agent's legacy into the twentieth century see Brownlie (2003).

¹⁷ Burton Historical Collection (BHC), George Ironside Papers, Box 5 (1830); Givins to Ironside, April 1830; Library and Archives Canada (LAC); RG-10, Volume 569 Ironside to Givins, 3 June 1830; and Telford (1998).

¹⁸ Robert Surtees, "Treaty Research Report: The Robinson Treaties (1850)" (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada: 1986); Robert J. Surtees, "Treaty Research Report: Manitoulin Island Treaties" (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1986); LAC, RG-10, Volume 573, Layton to Ironside, 26 February 1862; Ironside to Walcot, 16 March 1862; Ironside to Spragge, 14 August 1862.

No known personal diaries or journals by any member of the Ironside family have surfaced. Both Ironsides, within the context of their government positions, kept official record books of local business; however, these remain historical products demonstrative of a specific desire on behalf of the individuals keeping them. They represent the desire to portray an official purpose. These documents are available through Library and Archives Canada, Record Groups 8 and 10. Land transfer, church and surrogate court documents as well as heir and devisee records attained from the Archives of Ontario have all been of importance. Fort Malden Historical Collection proved a worthwhile resource. The most valuable resource in the investigation of the Ironside family's identity and place within the borderlands of British North America was collected from the George Ironside Papers as part of the Burton Historical Collection at the Detroit Public Library. This collection holds personal correspondence which permitted increased understanding into the personal lives and identity of these historic figures.

Once the collection of data was complete, it was imperative to understand the background and motivations of these individuals. Continuous reading of similar and related anthropological and historical sources remained a vital component to situating the Ironsides in time and place. Once an understanding of the time was gleaned, Ironside's own words could be attributed to the situation. When personal words were absent, letters and correspondence of those who were related and close to the family were used.

OUTLINE OF CHAPTERS

The chapters of this thesis are organized in somewhat of a chronological order. The second chapter examines George Ironside who first arrived in North America, specifically Ohio Country from the Scottish Highlands. He made a name for himself as he developed a close friendship and association with Matthew Elliott and Alexander McKee. His association with Coocoochee, a famous medicine woman and seer who became his mother-in-law when he married *a la façon de pays* her daughter, Vocemassuasias, escalated his social status within the community where he served as storekeeper and clerk in the employ of the British Indian Department. Details of his life in Ohio Country are scarce; however, two individuals, Oliver Spencer and Henry Hay, each left accounts of Ironside, his life and his interactions. Upon moving north of the 49th parallel into British

North America from what was American Territory, Ironside solidified his friendship with Matthew Elliott and would succeed him as Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Western District stationed at Amherstburg. Ironside would hold this position for ten years until his death.

Chapter three considers the life of Ironside's son and namesake, George Ironside Jr., who followed in his father's footsteps. Ironside Jr. established himself in the same position as his father, but not without controversy. He maintained a close relationship with the Wyandots of Anderdon (just outside Amherstburg, where he grew up), establishing himself as Chief, a title he would not relinquish. In 1837, he readily took up arms to fight for Upper Canada in the Rebellion of that year. Following controversy over his handling of land and monies, Ironside Jr. was relocated to the Northern Superintendence, succeeding Thomas Gummersall Anderson, and found himself stationed at Manitowaning on the Great Manitoulin Island. At Manitowaning he interacted with the Anishnabe (mostly Ojibwa and Ottawa), as well as oversaw and participated in the search for minerals, the Mica Bay Affair of 1849, the Robinson Treaties of 1850, and the beginnings of the Manitoulin Island Treaty that would be signed shortly after his death in 1863.

The fourth chapter moves beyond the immediate family to examine complementary influences in the Ironside sphere, specifically those of importance in shaping George Sr. and George Jr.'s personalities as well as the family's identity. Included is correspondence from Robert and Alexander Ironside, George's brothers, both of whom became doctors in Upper Canada. Additionally, correspondence is included from Dr. Alexander McGregor, who during a two-year stay with the Ironside family at Amherstburg maintained a close friendship with them and became the namesake of one of George and Anne's sons. In addition, Dr. Robert Bell, who maintained correspondence with (Alexander) McGregor Ironside and the rest of the Ironside family subsequent to spending time with them at Manitowaning, represents a key figure in the life of the third generation of Ironsides. These individuals within the Ironside realm sent correspondence, which allows them to speak for themselves, and in some cases, they also speak about the people about whom they are writing. Undoubtedly, there were other important influences, although no other letters or correspondence has been found.

The fifth chapter takes a different approach than the preceding ones. All official business relating to the Indian Department is put aside. In chapter five, the correspondence between Anne Symington Ironside, the wife of George Ironside Jr., and her own family is presented and interpreted. Most of the material offered comes from Anne's sister Eliza Huston. It is clear from the correspondence that these sisters were remarkably close. Eliza details the events of her life, which involved a significant amount of travel as her husband, Dr. James Huston, was an assistant surgeon with the British Army. Clothing, hair styles, methods of cleaning, birth of children, and anecdotes are shared between these two sisters, occasionally transversing the Atlantic, occasionally over provincial lines between Upper and Lower Canada.

The last section of this thesis is the conclusion, which brings the separate and interesting aspects of the Ironside family and their lives in Ohio Country, Amherstburg and Manitowaning, together. All circumstances and interpretations remain based on the historical foundation of the writings examined. No descendents of the Ironside family were contacted to maintain the historical nature of the sources, as well as to allow George Ironside Sr., George Ironside Jr., Anne Symington and the rest of the family to speak through their own sources unbiased through time and recent personal family stories.

CHAPTER 2

GEORGE IRNSIDE SR.

EARLY LIFE

Many of the details of George Ironside Sr.'s early life have been lost. It is known that he was born in 1760 at Aberdeen in the Scottish Highlands, and in February 1781, he graduated with a Master of Arts degree from Kings College, Aberdeen, Scotland.¹ His education proved invaluable in his position as a frontier trader, storekeeper and clerk. His motivations for voyaging across the Atlantic and settling on the Aboriginal-American frontier are unknown, as are his experiences between 1781 and 1789. Likely, as early as 1789, Ironside Sr. was in the Ohio Country (see Map 1), working as a clerk and fur trader along the Miami River near Miamitown (Van Vugt 2006: 17), north of the Glaize settlement where Defiance, Ohio is now situated (Tanner 1978; Tanner 1979; and Quaife 1921).² Ironside Sr. did not arrive in North America in the employ of the British Crown, but rather worked himself into the position of clerk and storekeeper. The British authorities saw his 'in country' experiences as an independent fur trader, and his close relationship with the Shawnee as valuable assets to the British Crown. What he made of himself through his ability to maneuver in the frontier borderlands as both literate European and savvy spokesperson for local Shawnee interests, in the years 1789 to 1795, led to his developing close connections with Crown representatives (Matthew Elliott and Alexander McKee), and eventually the opportunity to become a Crown agent that would so shape his later (and his children's) identity.

THE GLAIZE

There are few available accounts that recount daily life or social life at the Glaize settlement, or more generally in the old Northwest. Information concerning Ironside Sr.'s early years in the northwest can be drawn from to Oliver M. Spencer's captivity narrative

¹ Colin McLaren, Archivist and Keeper of Manuscripts for Kings College, University of Aberdeen letter to Dr. Douglas Leighton, Department of History, Huron University College, University of Western Ontario, 26 March 1980.

² The Glaize has been referred to by Tanner as "Captain Johnny's Shawnee Town," and this is how it appears on maps in her Great Lakes Atlas, Tanner (1987).

of 1793³ and from Henry Hay's journal⁴ detailing a 1790 trip to Fort Wayne. Both of these men's accounts comprise important sources that shape what is known about the Glaize settlement, and about George Ironside Sr., the frontiersman. Spencer's narrative was written after he became an Ohio Senator, almost 40 years subsequent to his spending seven months in Native captivity and under the guardianship of Coocoochee.⁵ Hay's journal represents a significant source of information on social and official life in the old Northwest despite being partially destroyed. What remains of Hay's journal has been described as offering an understanding of the cross-section of life in what is sometimes described as "the most romantic time in the history of the old Northwest" (Quaife 1921: 298). The primary dissimilarity between Spencer and Hay's accounts is the relationship of Ironside Sr. to his wife and to his mother-in-law, mentioned in detail in Spencer's narrative, but completely absent from Hay's journal. The character of these accounts also differs. Spencer details the events and customs as a child and outsider, looking in on aboriginal life-ways, while Hay devotes significant time detailing the camaraderie between individuals and communities. Spencer, at the time of his captivity, was a twelve-year-old boy, schooled in the mindset of his parents. Hay was older and voluntarily at the Glaize. In addition, he was an active participant in the fraternization about which he avidly wrote.

The composition of the Glaize settlement in 1792 included seven distinct towns (see Map 2), with an estimated combined population of 2,000 persons (Tanner 1978: 16). Aborigines, British and French traders, and some Americans who remained faithful to the British Crown, congregated within these towns (Van Vugt 2006: 16; and Nelson 1999). Ironside Sr. resided at the traders' town with the other men (and one woman) of

³ At age 11 Spencer was captured by a Shawnee and Waw-paw-maw-quaw or White Loon, on July 4 during celebrations while returning from Cincinnati to Columbia with his family. Spencer suggests that his ancestry is British, his father having made a name for himself in 1770 as Colonel Spencer in the American War of Independence. Spencer (1836).

⁴ Pierre Hay, or as he preferred to be called Henry Hay, was baptized in September 1765. He was the son of Marie Julie Reaume and Jehu Hay, a prominent Detroit citizen and a native of Pennsylvania. Jehu Hay had fought with the 16th American Regiment in the French Indian War, and was subsequently sent to Detroit where he worked as a deputy Indian Agent. He died in Detroit in 1785. The reasons for Henry Hay's mission to Fort Wayne in 1790 are unknown. What is known appears in the remains of the journal he left behind. Quaife (1921).

⁵ Despite the historical importance of Spencer's captivity narrative, the influence of his age and memory must be taken into account when considering his experiences.

European descent: Pirault a French Baker, John Kinzie a British silversmith, James Girty a young white captive, Americans Henry Ball and Polly Meadows, as well as Alexander McKee⁶ and Matthew Elliott,⁷ both members of the British Indian Department based in Detroit. These men, along with aboriginal friends and relatives, comprised the individuals in George Ironside Sr.'s early life in North America. It is clear that Ironside Sr. therefore lived in a culturally mixed and diverse area.⁸

British Indian policy represented a state of fluidity between the 1783 Treaty of Paris, which ended the American Revolutionary War, and the 1796 Jay Treaty, which ceded to the Americans the greater Ohio Valley. Following American independence, British agents maintained occupation of former British forts in the Ohio Country. It was only in the 1790s that the British were formally requested to leave American territory. British agents, loyalists and settlements feared encroaching hostilities as evidenced from the 1794 Battle of Fallen Timbers, just north of the Ohio Indian Confederacy and Glaize settlement. The British retreat from interior American posts arose from the 1796 Jay Treaty between Great Britain and the United States, which permitted British agents to leave their occupied American posts honourably. The official transfer of posts occurred in 1796 (Allen 1992: 57-87). With British capitulation, those British agents formerly at the Glaize settlement retreated to the settlements along the Detroit River. Those who had called the Glaize home largely relocated themselves to the British garrison town of Amherstburg, or Fort Malden, on the north shore of the Detroit River in the District of

⁶ Alexander McKee was a native of Pennsylvania who sided with the British in the American Revolution. He became an agent with great influence in the British Indian Department and in turn was able to support and encourage the Indians under his superintendence, Ohio Indian Confederacy, against the Americans. Following Wayne's victory at the battle of Fallen Timbers in 1794, McKee took in many Indian refugees. Spencer (1836); for more information on Alexander McKee's life and career see Nelson (1999).

⁷ Matthew Elliott was born in County Donegal, Ireland probably in 1739, and immigrated to the Pennsylvania frontier in 1761. During the French and Indian Wars that had broken out just prior to his arrival, he served as messenger between British forces. Following the war he operated as a trader throughout the old Northwest. In 1774, with the beginning of Lord Dunmore's War, Elliott carried a conciliatory message to Dunmore's army. In 1778, Elliott proceeded beyond the Pennsylvania frontier into Indian Country to join the British as a loyalist. He would eventually become the most noted British Agent on the frontier. Spencer (1836); for more information on Matthew Elliott's life and career see Horsman (1964). For more information on battles and life in the region see Dowd (1990); and Downes (1940).

⁸ For information on mixed communities such as the Glaize, see White (1991).

Hesse (Craig 1963: 12). Following the War of 1812, the District of Hesse became the Western District of Upper Canada (see Map 3).

The Glaize settlement was a multicultural community with each group interdependent on the other. One prominent member of the Native settlements was Coocoochee, who would eventually become George Sr.'s mother-in-law. In 1769, just prior to the American Revolution, Coocoochee, her husband and their four children (three sons and a daughter) left their home in the St. Lawrence Valley, on the Richelieu River near Montreal, for the Shawnee settlement in the Ohio Valley (see Appendix 1; Tanner 1979: 23). Coocoochee and her Mohawk family were distinguished members of either the Bear (Tanner 1978: 21) or Wolf (Spencer 1836: 120) clan of the Iroquois. Her husband, Cokundiawsaw, was mortally wounded in combat trying to protect the Miami towns in 1790 against General Harmar's attack at present day Fort Wayne.⁹ Coocoochee was an influential woman, highly valued for her spiritual power as a seer and for her knowledge of herbal medicine. Following her husband's death, she relocated to a small, solitary albeit prominent cabin on the north bank of the Maumee River between the towns established by Blue Jacket and Little Turtle, both famous and influential warriors and Chiefs.¹⁰ Two of her sons, White Loon and Black Loon, were important warriors in Blue Jacket's town.

⁹ In 1790, Brigadier-General Josiah Harmer advanced American forces on a congregate of Miami towns between the Maumee and Wabash Rivers, where he faced little opposition. Colonel John Harden, disappointed at the lack of action, received permission to incite the retreating Indians into fighting. "In the first actions the Americans suffered three hundred killed; and in the second confrontation the Indians drove the troops into a swamp and slaughtered two hundred more, mostly with spear and tomahawk." Allen (1992): 72.

¹⁰ Blue Jacket was born around 1743. Little is known about Blue Jacket's parentage and upbringing, other than that he had a sister. Spencer describes Blue Jacket as being approximately six feet tall, well proportioned, stout yet muscular. While in Ohio Country, Blue Jacket was to act as an intermediary between wealthy merchants and Indian trappers. Blue Jacket married Margaret Moore, a white former captive, with whom he had two children. Spencer (1836): 139, 43; Tanner (1978): 18; see also, Sugden (2000).

Little Turtle was born in either 1751 or 1752, on the Eel River, 20 miles northeast of Fort Wayne, Indiana, where he maintained a customary home. He was born to a Miami chief and a Mahican woman. In 1792, he was recognized as a leading warrior of the Northwest Indian Confederacy following his appearance at La Balme's massacre, as the head of the Pan-Indian army that ambushed American General Josiah Harmar, and also at the defeat of General Anthony St. Clair. Little Turtle spent most of his life as an "inveterate foe" of the Americans. At treaty negotiations for the Treaty of Greenville, Little Turtle appeared to have become engrossed in religious aspects attributed to a desperate hopelessness about the benefits of further resistance.

During Spencer's captivity at the Glaize, Coocoochee was assigned the role of Spencer's primary caregiver and educator. Spencer wrote that Coocoochee was "an old Indian squaw"¹¹, who seems, in the art of deception, to have been a first-rate professor" (Spencer 1836: xxix). Spencer described the examination he received after his captors, an unnamed Shawnee and Coocoochee's son White Loon, left him with his new guardian. His first task was to plunge into the water for the purpose of personal cleanliness, while Coocoochee washed his clothing. He was

then compelled to lie on a blanket for three or four days, under the scorching sun, till [his] back was one entire blister. She then prepared a strong decoction of red oak, wild-cherry bark, and dewberry root, of which [he] drank plentifully. The same liquid was also used externally, for the purpose of bathing [his] feet. The remedies were generally successful, and in a short time [his] health was restored (Spencer 1836: 119).

It becomes evident in reading his account that Spencer developed a fondness for his new guardian and on numerous occasions exhibited a measure of cheerfulness, "and in some measure succeeded in throwing off the gloom that, in spite of [his] best exertions, had settled on [his] heart" (Spencer 1836: 131).

Prior to Vocemassuasie's relationship with Ironside Sr., she had engaged in a relationship with an aboriginal man who, like her father, died in combat. The union resulted in the birth of a daughter, likely in the year 1779; the child was named So-tone-go, or called Qua-say by her grandmother. Spencer referred to this girl as his betrothed. As well, a second liaison, likely with Simon Girty,¹² one of the infamous Girty brothers,

Following treaty negotiations, Little Turtle increasingly adopted American tastes and behaviours. At the time of his death, he had become almost fully engrossed in American culture. Gaff(2006); Quaife (1921): 309 fn. 24; and Tanner (1978): 20.

¹¹ The term "Squaw" evolved into a derogatory and diminutive term as it became widely adopted by across North America in the 19th century, caught up in the changing attitudes, especially among European descendants, towards Native women. However, word originally comes from the Algonquian language family and simply meant "woman." Goddard (1997).

¹² The Girty brothers were captured and adopted by varying degrees into Indian society. Simon, James and George were captured by a Delaware-Shawnee war party on the Pennsylvania frontier in 1756. Simon spent three years with the Seneca, James with the Shawnee, and George with the Delaware. This capture essentially determined the course of the rest of the boys' lives. James became a trader at the Shawnee village with Alexander McKee and Matthew Elliott; he fought with the British against his native land and established Girty's Town. Simon scouted for Lord Dunmore, and became one of the most feared men (by the European settlers east of the frontier) along the Indian-White frontier, commonly being referred to as the 'White Savage.' George

yielded a son in 1782 whose Mohawk name was Ked-zaw-saw, referred to as Simone by his grandmother (Spencer 1836: 129). These two children were raised by Coocoochee, and other than in context with her, are never mentioned in relation to George Ironside Sr. (Spencer 1836; Tanner 1978; and Tanner 1979).

When told he would be receiving his freedom after seven months of captivity, Spencer stated, "Cooh-coo-cheeh placed my hands in hers, and kindly predicted the happiness of my family, especially the joy of my mother, at my safe return." He does express guilt when Coocoochee "alluded to her own regret at parting with me, having, as she said, begun to regard me as her child." Spencer stated that Coocoochee requested he come back and visit, if he grew to be a man. Spencer also expressed sadness at "Sotonegoo, [his] betrothed" who was so affected by his departure that the only word she could articulate was "Farewell" (Spencer 1836: 197). Spencer's narrative and in particular, his account of his relationship with Coocoochee, is vital to researchers trying to gain insight into the Glaize as he provided the only documentary source on Coocoochee, George Ironside Sr.'s mother-in-law.

Coocoochee's daughter, Vocemassuasias, became the wife of the wealthiest and most influential trader at the Glaize, George Ironside Sr. (Spencer 1836: 144; and Tanner 1979: 27). Vocemassuasias and Ironside Sr. settled at the trading village, on the west side of the Auglaize River across the Maumee from Coocoochee's cabin. Presumably Ironside Sr. and Vocemassuasias met when Ironside Sr. first came to the Glaize. No date is mentioned in any documents as to when they began their romantic relationship; however, their Christian marriage occurred in 1810. Spencer described George and Vocemassuasias's home at the Glaize as unique in that their cabin was divided into no less than three rooms, the largest in the trading community. Their home served multiple purposes, including a dwelling, a store, a warehouse, and likely a meeting place. In front of Ironside Sr.'s home were two stockades or log houses used notably as warehouses, one purportedly belonging to James Girty, while McKee and Elliott, both British Indian

married among the Indians and virtually became one himself. In 1778, McKee, Elliott, and the Girty brothers reaffirmed their loyalty to the British, joining the British Indian service at Detroit. Presumably, these men were already loyal to the British by the time George Ironside joined the British Indian Department. For more information, see Tanner (1978); Spencer (1836); and for more information on the Girty's specifically Simon, see Calloway (1986); Calloway (1989); and Clifton (1989).

Agents from Detroit occasionally used the other (Tanner 1979: 28; and Spencer 1836: 114). McKee's storehouse was used to distribute arms, ammunition and provisions to British allies. It was reported by Isaac Freeman, an American spy at the Glaize, that McKee would send supplies by boat or packhorse to a settlement, then deliver the goods personally to each of the Chief's homes. Freeman suggested that tribes receiving these goods were determined to drive the American settlers out of Ohio Country (Bond 1929: 100-106; and Nelson 1999: 157-8).

Coocoochee played a vital role in Ironside Sr.'s life at the Glaize. Following late 18th century conventions, his relationship with Vocemassuasias, contrary to Christian traditions, would best be described as *à la façon du pays*, 'after the custom of the country.'¹³

Coocoochee's acquisition of considerable household articles can be attributed to Ironside Sr. As clerk and storekeeper, he likely supplied his new mother-in-law with items such as a large brass kettle, a deep-close-covered copper kettle, various forms of knives, tin cups, spoons of pewter or horn, sieves with meshes, wooden bowls, baskets, wooden blocks (for culinary purposes), four beds and bedding, deerskins, and other articles that were in turn seen as demonstrative of her affluence (Spencer 1836: 134-135). While Ironside Sr. helped his mother-in-law with acquisition of household goods and other possessions, her power and status at the Glaize, as well as her sons' renown as warriors, confirmed Ironside Sr. as a man deserving of respect (Willig 2003: 40). Additionally, the site of her cabin across the river from Ironside Sr., centered at Trader's Town, was demonstrative of her position within the local community and the respect she had garnered.

Coocoochee fit into a unique niche within the larger settlement. Aside from her spiritual and medical knowledge, she was Mohawk, and therefore in order to fit in with the other members of the village, she had greater impetus to dress and resemble the other older women of the Shawnee village (Green 1989). Despite her Mohawk heritage, she had become a respected elder in a predominantly Shawnee community, thus her dress resembled others of her age range and stature. According to Spencer, she wore long

¹³ For information on intermarriage see, Van Kirk (1980). For additional information on *à la façon du pays* see also Brown (1980); Kidwell (1992); Podruchny (2006); Sleeper-Smith (2000); and Sleeper-Smith (2001).

calico shirts fastened at the front with a silver brooch; her skirts were of blue cloth edged with white and belted with a striped sash at the waist. She wore blue cloth leggings and on her feet, deerskin moccasins. In contrast, the younger women of the settlement generally wore clothing that displayed their own bead and quill handiwork, and their affection for silver jewelry and bells.¹⁴ Also noted by Spencer was the housing Coocoochee enjoyed, notably that she was privileged to have a two-room interior. The construction of this dwelling is attributed to William Moore, a townsman of Spencer's from Columbia, who had been captured by White Loon and Black Loon in early 1792 (Tanner 1978: 22). The main room fulfilled daily cooking, sleeping and entertainment purposes, while the inner room served as a private religious sanctuary, a pantry for the storage of food, and a spare bedroom. Utensils and tools within the home were described as differing little from those you would likely have found in the homes of American pioneers at the time (Spencer 1836: 86-87, 129-133; and Tanner 1978: 22). Coocoochee's clothing choice reflected her desire to fit in, to adapt her identity to those around her. Choice of attire served as a strong symbol of identity. First Nations women would manipulate these symbols within their own communities or through their integration into another society (Green 1989). Despite her evidently elevated position within the community hierarchy, through her choice of attire she strove to manipulate her identity to fit those in her immediate environment. Her specialized housing and household goods, aside from allowing her to serve as host for a number of festivals through the year, are suggestive of her having achieved increased personal gain and prestige. Her role as a seer and as an influential individual within the confederacy would as well have contributed to her acquisition of goods.

After establishing himself at the Glaize, Ironside Sr. received a commission from the British Indian Department in 1795 to serve in the capacity of Storekeeper and Clerk. His commission likely altered his daily life minimally, since; he would be doing similar tasks for the British Colonial government as he did prior as a private trader. Very likely, his academic education proved helpful in this position. Ironside Sr.'s official duties within the Indian Department are unknown; however, it is likely that his daily tasks

¹⁴ The younger women, who wore their own bead and quill handiwork to demonstrate their abilities, were engaged in behaviours that suggested they were advertising for husbands. Spencer (1836): 136-7; and Tanner (1978): 23.

included record keeping of the arriving goods, stock keeping, as well as dispensing of goods.

In addition to official duties of the British representatives stationed at the Glaize, social aspects of life appear to have played an important role. As previously mentioned, Coocoochee regularly hosted festivals and celebrations at her home. These festivals included her children, their spouses, and other prominent individuals in the settlement. Ironside Sr., of course represented one prominent individual, as he was Coocoochee's son-in-law. Possibly as a means of demonstrating her stature in the community, she has been described in Hay's journal as sharing kegs of alcohol, through whose instigation fighting occasionally erupted. In his journal, Hay details the close succession of feasts, dances and ceremonies, how settlers gathered at the ringing of cowbells for midnight mass and Sunday prayers, and even how the flute and fiddle were played during drinking binges, or for mass. It is quite evident from Hay's journal that alcohol was a drink of choice at special events, which is as well evident from frequent notable remarks concerning drunkenness of participants at these celebrations. Hay mentioned an occasion on 4 January 1790 where Mr. Adamher's pig was stolen, in fact for the second year in a row, on the same date. A search was carried out throughout the village of all the non-Native, including himself, Ironside Sr. and La Chambre; in the end, the theft of the pig was resolved with a good laugh (Quaife 1921: 298-299, 325).

Similarly, Hay's journal provides details of a fraternal organization comprised of the most prominent traders at the Glaize. The organization was presumably assembled for purposes not sanctioned by the rules of St. Benedictine.¹⁵ The society established on 4 February 1790 as the "Most Light Honorable Society of the Monks," quickly changed its name on 8 February to the "Friars of St. Andrews."¹⁶ Inherent in the word 'Friars,' in the

¹⁵ The Rules of St. Benedict were Rules for monasteries. These rules included duties of the abbot, worship of God, discipline and penal code, internal administration of the monastery and other miscellaneous regulations. These Rules became the basis for monasticism as the idea of monastery entered Europe, and later for permanent and uniform government. For a description of the Rules, and the Rules themselves, see G. Cyprian Alston, "Rule of St. Benedictine," In *The Catholic Encyclopedia II* (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1907) <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/02436a.htm> (accessed 20 November 2007).

¹⁶ All references concerning the "Friars of St. Andrew" come from Hay's journal. Hay has been cited in Tanner (1978): 28; Van Vugt (2006); and Gaff (2006):143-160. The original journal contains Hay's primary account; see Quaife (1921): 342-3.

title, a Roman Catholic foundation is suggestive of religious belief. The rules of St. Benedictine would still have been pertinent, although the choice of the name Friars suggests Ironside Sr. may not have had much input to the name; or alternately, the name might be suggestive of the Friars making light of Roman Catholicism. The use of the name 'Friars' may also be evocative of increased maleness rather than as a reference to Roman Catholicism; however, Hay's journal offers the only account of this fraternal organization and does not provide specifics as to why the name was chosen. Ironside Sr. was a Scottish national, and an active member while in Amherstburg of St. Johns Anglican Church in Sandwich, until it closed down. At that point, his religious allegiance transferred to St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church in Amherstburg. Church records suggest, as does his heritage as a highland Scot, that his religious background was likely Presbyterian.

The Friars of St. Andrews consisted of Mr. George Leith¹⁷ who received the commission of Grand Master and Commissary, Henry Hay as Secretary, J. B. Richerville,¹⁸ Jacques Lassell, Francis Lassell, George Ironside Sr., and John Kinzie, as well as La Chambre, Musician to the Society.¹⁹ The membership positions were outlined on 4 February, while rules of the community were drawn up when the name of the society changed on 8 February 1790. Hay suggests that the Grand Master, Leith, drew up the rules and Hay, as Secretary, translated them into French. The exclusion of Girty, Elliott, and McKee, and inclusion in membership of Richerville, the Miami Chief and son of a Quebec trader, and the Miami woman Maria Louisa, are interesting and suggestive of

¹⁷ Mr. George Leith had been travelling with Hay, and was a Detroit trader. Leith was also George Ironside Sr.'s first employer and likely the individual who directed him to Miamitown. See, Quaife (1921): 303 fn.1.

¹⁸ Chief J. B. Richerville was born in 1761 to father Antoine-Joseph Drouet de Richerville, a lieutenant with the second French fort built at the confluence of the St. Mary and St. Joseph Rivers, and to mother Tecumwah or Maria Louisa, sister of the Principal Miami Civil Chief, Pecanne. Through his mother, it has been suggested that Richerville shared a familial connection to Little Turtle. Richerville succeeded his uncle Pecanne as Civil Chief in 1816 and remained in that position until his own death in 1841. Richerville would have been twenty-nine years old when Hay visited the Glaize. Richerville's heritage, identity and status as a half-breed did not hinder his participation and Freemason membership in the Friars of St. Andrew. For more information on Chief J. B. Richerville (also spelled Richardville) see Gaff (2006): 143-160; and Headings (1998).

¹⁹ The large number of French participants in the Friars perhaps suggests that Ironside may have gained some degree of prominence, or alternatively a connection to the French of Detroit, by his involvement.

the dichotomous nature of life at the Glaize. The exclusion of the three British agents likely correlates to their temporary status at the Glaize. Upon the rules being completed, Leith is said to have “collected the Friars of St. Andrew and made them acquainted with the articles they are to abide by, after which each member got a copy of them” (Quaife 1921: 342-343). On 17 February, Hay references the events of the 16th, which was Mardi Gras. The Society dined together at Richerville’s home where many gatherings of the Friars had previously already been hosted. Ironside Sr. is noted as not attending as he was unwell.

This fraternal organization, established by predominately European (French and British) men, with exception of the Métis Chief Richerville, perhaps provided a venue for male activity, and a safe arena for male bonding following European traditions, while living in a place far removed from those traditions. As Hay details, there was a good deal of singing and festivities when the Friars came together. Spencer’s narrative also suggests that when men (and women) met for celebratory events, alcohol was readily available. Indeed, the Friars of St. Andrew were likely privy to stores of alcohol, and most likely engaged in drinking. Unfortunately, as previously stated, the information about the Friars is very sparse, as Hay’s journal appears to have been found incomplete (Quaife 1921: 342-50; and Spencer 1836).

Presumably the significance of the Friars to George Sr. was in the ability it afforded him to reinforce the world he inhabited as an educated European male, at the same time strengthening the social ties he needed in the world of the borderlands. He had been living his identity among fellow Europeans who all understood the hybrid nature of their status and importance of being both learned and wise elders at home discussing issues of the day with Native leaders, as well as ‘letting their hair down’ with other European-schooled males to celebrate (with song, discussion, and drink) their intellect and camaraderie. These aspects of male bonding represent a strong dimension of late eighteenth century British urbane life.

Aside from information about the Friars, both the Hay and Spencer accounts provide some remarkable detail about Ironside Sr.’s character, and especially his kindness. Hay’s journal entry for 23 February 1790 describes Ironside Sr. teaching him to decipher the distance of thunder and lightening, “as soon as it lights you Count the

number of Seconds between it & the thunder, & each second, its 1120 feet off — multiply this by the number of seconds, divide by 3 & it will give you yards and by 1760 & it will give you the distance in miles should it be 10 far” (Quaife 1921: 350).

Spencer speaking highly of Ironside Sr., who befriended him during his captivity at the Glaize, praised of his humanity and hospitality (Quaife 1921: 319 n.40). Ironside Sr.’s character is also illuminated through Spencer’s narrative who related having received an invitation from “Mr. Ironside” to spend a day with him, and how “an agreeable one it was.” Spencer noted that Ironside Sr. treated him “with great kindness,” and was touched by the story of his captivity. As well, Ironside Sr. provided the young captive with “a good deal of curious information, relative to the customs and manners of the Indians, not forgetting some excellent advice for the regulation of my own conduct” (Spencer 1836: 145). Presumably, Ironside Sr.’s attention and assistance toward Spencer was to aid him in settling into the community at the Glaize, providing for a more amicable and pleasant experience. Spencer and Ironside Sr. appear to have developed a close friendship, Ironside Sr. treating Spencer with notable amount of kindness. Additionally, Ironside Sr. is characterized as being a “very sociable and intelligent man, humane and benevolent,” reflected in part when Spencer shared his captivity story with Ironside Sr. who “appeared to sympathize” with events of the narrative (Spencer 1836: 97).

THE MOVE TO AMHERSTBURG

By the middle of 1796, George Ironside Sr. had relocated from the Glaize to Malden (also known as Amherstburg) on the Detroit River, thus placing himself and his family in a different borderlands region. This new borderlands region was a world less where Europeans and Native worlds met to interact, and more the border between two growing fronts of European-shaped settlement and transformation of the landscape into communities of the colonial bodies. He maintained his position of clerk and storekeeper for the British Indian Department, following British withdrawal from American territory.²⁰

²⁰ Library and Archives Canada (LAC); Record Group (RG) 8, Volume 249, Receipt from Ironside of goods received, 10 August 1796.

Departure of representatives of the British Crown from the western posts marked a turning point in British-Native relations, although it did not destroy personal and familial relationships between officers and those Natives still residing within the territorial boundary of the United States (Allen 1992). The movement of these individuals away from their posts embedded in Indian Country to the new British North American territory prompted peace along the frontier and altered the traditional military foundation and function of the British Indian Department. It was at this time that the British Indian Department was reorganized under Alexander McKee who had been appointed Deputy Superintendent General and Inspector General of Indian Affairs (Allen 1992: 90-91). Members of the Indian Department who had established marital and family ties to the First Nations communities, were hesitant to implement policy directives that threatened the aboriginal cause, at least in part with a view to protecting their relatives and friends. The British Indian Department, post-1796, was faced with reduced roles, means, and budgets, whilst also being burdened with increased military jurisdiction and responsibility for management and administration of First Nations and Indian Affairs (Allen 1992: 91).

Fears of the new American republic reinforced the importance to British agents of remaining nearby their neighbours. Staying close to the border also enabled the British to remain strategically linked to their aboriginal allies. Ironside Sr., Matthew Elliott, and Alexander McKee chose to straddle this new frontier along the Detroit River, allowing them to remain in close proximity to their former home.

After withdrawing from his American post, Elliott received the appointment of Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Western District and was stationed at Amherstburg.²¹ Ironside Sr. proved an important and useful aide to the illiterate Elliott in the continuation of his previous position as clerk (Horsman 1964: 120).

²¹ McKee had been asked to suggest a plan for the future of the Indian Department. He recommended Superintendents appointed to three posts, Niagara, Detroit, and Michilimackinac. As support to these Superintendents, each of these posts would include a storekeeper and clerk. At McKee's encouragement the three chosen Superintendents were William Claus (grandson of Sir William Johnson) who was stationed at Niagara, Thomas McKee (Alexander's son) who was sent from Mackinac to St. Joseph's Island, and Matthew Elliott at Amherstburg. Allen, (1992): 90-91; and Horsman (1964): 117.

CONTROVERSY

Relocations did not necessarily result in a smooth transition. In 1797, there were disagreements concerning the granting of orders, and questions arose as to who bore responsibility, and for what, at Amherstburg. These matters related to ongoing conflict involving the British military and the Indian Department and how autonomous the Indian Department was. Antagonism developed when the Indian Department was placed within the management of the military, following which all Indian agents were provided with military ranks.²² On 7 August 1797, the Storekeeper General of Indian Affairs, John Lees, sent a letter from Ironside Sr. to Captain Green the Military Secretary, suggesting that Ironside Sr. had been involved in a "misunderstanding between him and Captain Mayne,²³ the officer commanding at that [Amherstburg] post." Although it is not clear as to the basis of this confusion, Lees "conceive[d] from it that Captain Mayne either has given or proposed to give orders for the delivery of Goods from the Stores, without the interference of M[r]. Elliott, the agent at that post, which M[r]. Ironside refused or hesitated to comply with."²⁴ The letter enclosed stated that Ironside Sr. believed his orders came directly from the Storekeeper General, the Superintendent or other superiors, of which Captain Mayne was not one. Ironside Sr. even went so far as to suggest that Mayne was acting against the authority of the Indian Department in General.²⁵ Ironside Sr. also referred to Mayne's overbearing and vindictive temper as 'disquieting' to a servant of the government. The dispute between Ironside Sr. and Mayne continued on 13 September of the same year, with a letter from Ironside Sr. to Lees clearly suggesting that he, Ironside Sr., was not impressed with others attempting to do his job given that the responsibility for goods fell to him. He stated, "If [the goods and presents] are lost or damaged in my charge I, as Store Keeper, am the responsible person."²⁶ Adding to this

²² For more information on the controversies between the Indian Department and the military, see Douglas (2001).

²³ Captain William Mayne was the twenty-year-old commander of just over one hundred men at the garrison at Fort Malden. After a series of disagreements with both Matthew Elliott and George Ironside, he left Fort Malden in July of 1797 for England to settle his affairs. Horsman (1964): 120-127.

²⁴ Horsman (1964): 127; and LAC, RG-8, Vol. 250 John Lees, Storekeeper General of the Indian Department to Captain Major James Green, Military Secretary, 7 August 1797.

²⁵ LAC, RG-8, Vol. 250 Ironside to Lees, 4 July 1797.

²⁶ LAC, RG-8, Vol. 250, Ironside to Lees, 13 September 1797

argument the following day, on 14 September 1797, Ironside Sr. wrote to Lees that, “had not Captain McLean²⁷ ... such a [supercilious] contempt of me & other persons of the Indian Department,” which had been publicly displayed during occasional visits to his quarters or other public buildings, “[Ironside] might further have complied with his directions respecting the Survey although [suspect] & not in my opinion entered by the Commander in Chief.”²⁸ This dispute seems to have culminated with Captain McLean questioning Ironside Sr. on 6 November 1797 as to McLean’s own behaviour respecting those complaints and concerns raised by Ironside Sr. Through questioning and additional action by McLean, it was evident that motivations for his actions stemmed from his dislike of Elliott, and possibly a renouncement of Indian Superintendents in general.²⁹ The constant bickering at Amherstburg, and the involvement of Lees and Governor Robert Prescott, resulted in a censure of both Elliott and Ironside Sr., requiring them to apologize to McLean, or face removal from their positions within the Indian Department (Horsman 1964: 134).

In June 1798, Elliott was in fact removed from his position as Superintendent, supposedly based on accusations made by McLean. Thomas McKee, son of Alexander McKee, was installed at the post. Ironside Sr. remained in his position as clerk. In a letter from McLean following the decision to remove Elliott from his position, he stated, “I think it but justice to say that the Storekeeper Ironside Sr. (who as well as Mr. McKee himself was a good deal alarmed at the dismissal of Elliott) is now remarkably [attentive] to every part of his duty.” Ironside Sr. did not appear to want to acknowledge that “he was subject to the orders of his Superiors in the Department; but as he now thinks himself rather more independent of them as a Storekeeper” and Ironside Sr. was not afraid to

²⁷ Captain Hector McLean was the garrison commander at Fort Malden who took over following Captain Mayne’s departure. He continued his predecessor’s quarrel with the members of the Indian Department. He maintained the objective of ensuring increasingly public distribution of provisions, and establishment of official instructions for operation of the department. On 13 September 1798, McLean went on the attack, accusing Ironside of not following instructions, and Elliott of not following agreed upon policy for the distribution of provisions. Horsman (1964): 128-130.

²⁸ LAC, RG-8, Vol. 250, Ironside to Lees, 14 September 1797

²⁹ LAC, RG-8, Vol. 250, Questions and Answers from Captain Hector McLean, Garrison Commander to Ironside, 6 November 1797; and Horsman (1964): 130.

share his own feelings on the matter.³⁰ Elliott remained for eight years without a post, and sought legal means in an attempt to get himself reinstated as Superintendent.

Eventually, in 1807, Elliott received his second commission as Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Western District at Amherstburg. During those eight years between his dismissal and his second commission, Elliott had been heavily promoting himself and his interests, while fighting for his case to be heard in a court of law. Ironside Sr. had remained clerk and storekeeper throughout this time, but appears to have always remained loyal to his old friend Elliott (Horsman 1964: 142-56). Once reinstated in his position as Superintendent, Elliott remained in this role until his death on 7 May 1814.

FAMILY

Following the conventions of the time, on 1 April 1810, after several years of affiliation with St. John's Anglican Church in Sandwich, George and Isabella (née Vocemassuasias) were married. The rationalizations for George and Isabella's 'legalization' and 'Christianization' of marriage are unknown; though it is worth noting that obtaining a Christian marriage was a practice many traders and agents engaged in once an established church became accessible (Hele 2004). In the Church record book it was recorded that "George Ironside store keeper to the Indian Department, and Isabella alias Vocemassuasias both of this parish, were married ... on the 1st Day of April A.D. one thousand, Eight hundred & ten." The curate of Sandwich, Richard Pollard, married them.³¹ Prior to their Christian marriage, George and Isabella's daughters, Isabella and Jane, had been baptized on 4 December 1803 and 7 July 1805, respectfully, and son William had been baptized on 14 April 1809.³² These baptisms were considered at the time to represent the legitimization of these children in the eyes of God, since after their baptisms, children would have been considered legal subjects of the British Crown by the British North American authority and entitled to the conventions of Euro-American norms and privileges (Podruchny 2006: 58-66). The Ironsides continued to be active in St. John's Anglican Church until the parish closed in 1827.

³⁰ LAC, RG-8, Vol. 251, Captain McLean to Captain Green, Military Secretary, 19 June 1798.

³¹ LAC, Manuscript Group (MG)-9, D 7-13, St. John's Anglican Church, 1802-1827, 55.

³² LAC, MG-9, D 7-13, St. John's Anglican Church, 1802-1827, 8, 22, 45.

BRITISH INDIAN DEPARTMENT

Matthew Elliott, as Superintendent, was responsible for British relations with the First Nations on the British side of the Detroit River. His duties included keeping relationships positive between the aboriginals in the region and the British Crown, inculcating 'principles of tenderness and humanity' into the minds of the Natives, and keeping records of all presents and provisions provided to the Natives, among many others.³³ Keeping the peace between aboriginals, aboriginals and settlers, and settlers themselves became increasingly difficult during the buildup to the War of 1812. British policy emphasized the need to maintain positive and fruitful relationships between the British and the Natives. The primary resource the British utilized to win the support of the Natives involved the giving of presents for which the responsibility was shared between the Superintendent and the local storekeeper. Shanahan (1994) has asserted that prior to 1830, the central function of the Indian Department was to provide presents to loyal First Nations. Gift giving had been used to maintain allegiance since the seventeenth century, and was formalized as a practice of the Crown by the mid-eighteenth century. The obvious purpose was as a "system of distribution performed by military officers with as much pomp and ceremony as the circumstances would permit, and the nature of the presents – guns, munitions, axes, food, clothing, liquor – both served to conciliate and pacify the Indians in peace time and to ensure their support, as well as supply their needs as warriors in times of war" (Surtees 1969: 87). This suggests the important roles Elliott and Ironside Sr. would have played, in the events leading up to and during the War of 1812. Ironside Sr.'s responsibilities as storekeeper would have included supplying the goods that were to be used as presents. It seems unlikely that he would have seen battle as a militiaman. Rather, it is possible that he aided British forces in the capture of Detroit, although it is also probable that he moved further inland, away from the Detroit River border during the hostilities. Alternatively, Ironside Sr. may have worked as a businessman during the war years, which may explain how he had the means to acquire property in Chatham and Niagara.

³³ Burton Historical Collection (BHC); George Ironside Papers, R2: 1817-1830. Sir John Johnson's instructions for the Good Governance of the Indian Department, Circular from Lord Dorchester, Colonial Administrator, sent from Head Quarters Quebec, 27 March 1787.

From the 1780s until 1812, the work of the British Indian Department was to ensure that the Natives would fight for, or on behalf of, the British in the event of war with the Americans, despite initiatives to avoid conflict.³⁴ The Upper Canadian Assembly took an almost ignorant ambivalence to the impending war. While the American House of Representatives was trying to pass bills to make war possible, border conflicts between the Natives and the Americans were already occurring (Horsman 1964: 187-9).

Throughout the rest of Elliott's career he maintained the influence he had gained in 1808 with the Natives, especially after the clash between Americans and Natives at Tippecanoe.³⁵ On 18 June 1812, the Americans declared war on Great Britain. Of McKee, Girty and Elliott who remained loyal to the British Crown and who had earlier left Pittsburgh together, McKee had died in 1799, and Girty was now incapable of exerting the effort required for war, leaving Elliott to spread British influence and lead the Natives into battle (Horsman 1964: 190). With Elliott away from the post due to his participation in the War of 1812, Ironside Sr. became acting Superintendent.

As noted earlier, Ironside Sr.'s role during the War of 1812 is unknown; however, from what little is known it may have been that the responsibility for maintaining the army and Indian stores would have fallen on his shoulders, as suggested in Elliott's correspondence to Ironside Sr. on 10 November 1812 asking him to relocate all aboriginals in the area to Amherstburg, and stating that he required three hundred pounds of powder (Horsman 1964: 202). Following the War of 1812, the position of

³⁴ The Upper Canadian Assembly exhibited their ambivalence in refusal to pass, in the spring session of the legislature in 1812, a Militia Act prepared by Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, and the requested suspension of habeas corpus, Weekes (1964). See also Cruikshank (1964).

³⁵ The 1811 Battle of Tippecanoe occurred between the United States led by William Henry Harrison and Tecumseh's forces, at Prophetstown. The Americans succeeded following a pre-emptive strike possibly led by Tenskawatawa (The Prophet), Tecumseh's brother, thus damaging Tecumseh's hopes of a unified Indian Confederacy. Having escaped to Canada, Tecumseh continued his role in Pan-Indianism and Indian military operations along the frontier. By the War of 1812, he had developed a significant following. See Cave (2002); Edmunds (1983); and Horsman (1964): 186-7.

Historian R. David Edmunds has suggested that Tecumseh and Tenskawatawa were of close relation to Vocemassuasias. Accordingly, Edmunds suggests that Tenskawatawa felt that he would receive preferential treatment from Ironside following his ascension to Superintendent. As there is little evidence to suggest that Tecumseh and Tenskawatawa were indeed blood relations to Vocemassuasias, it is possible that there was a more distant kinship relation. For more information concerning Ironside's relationship to Tecumseh, see Edmunds (1983): 163.

Superintendent went to Sir John Askin Jr., with Ironside Sr. remaining as clerk.³⁶ As clerk, Ironside Sr. would continue to witness the tensions between Indian Agents and the military.

Ironside Sr.'s character becomes more evident through his correspondence. In a letter from 1816 to Lieutenant Colonel W. James of the 34th Regiment, he appears to be apologizing: "I feel myself much embarrassed unto the manner in which brought to act upon the occasion."³⁷ He is referring here to the need to employ locals to help move and store goods brought to Amherstburg by General Sir Isaac Brock for distribution to the Natives, and the likelihood these labourers would expect something for their effort. In other correspondence, responding to military suggestions to relocate the place of provision distribution, Ironside Sr. suggests that changing the location without notifying the Chiefs would not be well regarded by the latter. He suggested "the distance between this and [the Osage Chief who came to this the post with the Sackes, and who was left at Amherstburg by them] own Country is Immense, and he cannot well travel alone at this Season of the Year, particularly as he has to pass through an Enemys Country."³⁸ With this letter to Major Martin, Ironside Sr. requests permission to provision this Chief with His Majesty's stores. Ironside Sr.'s professional correspondence during this time continues to reflect his sense of living on the frontier and his own identity as an intermediary between the differing worlds that met at this borderland. The request he made to Major Martin is in contrast to the views of the military, Ironside Sr.'s superiors. His concern for and knowledge of the Natives from the United States speaks to his chosen hybrid identity, or at the very least reflects his expert knowledge of the complex social and political worlds at play on the frontier, and his advice he was willing to give his superior's when he felt the interests of the Crown would not be well served by

³⁶ BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 1 (1790-1820); Colonel William Claus, Deputy Superintendent General to Sir John Johnson Baronet, Superintendent General and Inspector General of Indian Affairs, 15 January 1820. Conversely, Douglas (2001): 83 suggested that Colonel William Caldwell held the position of Superintendent for the Western District following the War of 1812.

³⁷ LAC, RG-8, Vol. 260, Ironside to Lieutenant Colonel W. James, 37th Regiment Commanding Amherstburg, 9 June 1816.

³⁸ LAC, RG-8, Vol. 261, Ironside to Major Martin, Commanding Officer at Amherstburg, 24 February 1817.

proposed actions he knew, inherently as an individual living within and between the two worlds of European and Native, would cause problems.

ELLIOTT'S PASSING, COMMISSION GRANTED

As time progressed Elliott's health began to fail. On 1 November 1819, George Ironside Sr. was requested by Deputy Superintendent General William Claus to assume duties of Superintendent until Elliott's health would allow for his return to the position.³⁹ A very close and long time friend of Matthew Elliott, Ironside Sr. was at his bedside when the elder Elliott passed away in 1820. Following Elliott's death, in a circular from Colonel John Harvey, Deputy Adjutant General, dated 1 January 1820, Ironside Sr. received the commission of Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Western District posted at Amherstburg.⁴⁰

Superintendent Ironside Sr., was responsible for all the aboriginal nations within the Western District of Upper Canada, the area now known as Essex, Kent and part of Middlesex Counties. Before the end of his first year as Superintendent, Ironside Sr. was requesting 'special' treatment for the Shawnee Natives visiting his post. His previous connections to the Shawnee are evident; his continued relationship to his wife's adoptive kin is herein illuminated. Ironside Sr.'s continued connection to the Shawnee can be interpreted as reflecting his ability to walk in a variety of worlds, as he would have been straddling the British and Native border as well as the British North American and United States frontier. In response to his letter of request, Military Secretary Major General Henry Charles Darling responded that he had "the honor to lay before the Commander of the Forces [his] letter of the 30th November with enclosures from Colonel Claus" concerning Ironside Sr.'s conduct "at Amherstburg with respect to the Shawance Indians who had lately visited that Post for the first time since the War."⁴¹ Darling continues his letter by referencing a proposal Ironside Sr. had previously suggested concerning conversion of "a certain Barrack at Amherstburg into a Council House for the

³⁹ BHC, George Ironside Papers, Box 1 (1790-1820); Deputy Superintendent General's Orders from Colonel William Claus, 1 November 1819.

⁴⁰ BHC, George Ironside Papers, Box 1 (1790-1820); Memorandum, signed Lieutenant Colonel John Harvey, Deputy Adujutant General, 1 January 1820.

⁴¹ BHC, George Ironside Papers, Box 1 (1790-1820); Major General Henry Charles Darling, Military Secretary (to Lord Dalhousie) to Sir John Johnson, 8 December 1820.

[Shawnee].” Darling’s response to Ironside Sr.’s idea was to show the information to the “Major General commanding and should he see no objections to the measure it will be approved by the Commander of the Forces.”⁴² Again, Ironside Sr.’s desire to accommodate the Shawnee while they were at Amherstburg possibly relates to his kinship ties and personal history with them, notwithstanding any number of other reasons. It is notable that despite an evident concern with the welfare of those Natives generally under his superintendence, Ironside Sr. does not ask for similar concessions to be made for other aboriginal groups.

As the incoming Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Ironside Sr. had the responsibility of finalizing the sale of Ojibwa lands on the St. Clair River, Chenail Ecarté, Bear Creek (Sydenham River), River-Aux-Sable (Ausable River), and lands north of the Thames River, together known as the Longwoods, to the Crown. At the initiative of Lieutenant Governor Sir Peregrine Maitland, this task, commenced after John Askin Jr.’s removal from office and upon Elliott’s death in 1819, fell to the new Superintendent (Douglas 2001: 100; see also Surtees 1984: 42-45). The land desired by the Crown, as stated in a letter from the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs to the Surveyor General at Fort George dated 1 September 1819, was described as

the Western District from the Chippewas reserving four miles square at some distance below the rapids of the River St. Clair, one mile in front by four deep bordering on said River St. Clair and adjoining to the Shawanoe Township. Two miles square at the River Aux Sable which emptys into Lake Huron, and two miles at Kettles Point on Lake Huron, in all containing 23,040 Acres, leaving 2,756,960 This agreement No. 5 suspended.⁴³

The desire to acquire land in the Western District of the province was less of an urgent matter in the 1820s than it had been following the War of 1812. Despite this, the Crown’s aspirations for the Longwoods Tract related to the Crown’s ambition to settle Loyalists on the land.

In 1822, Colonel Claus wrote to Ironside Sr. concerning difficulties he confronted in securing an agreement with the Chiefs of the Chippewa of the St. Clair River.⁴⁴ In

⁴² BHC, George Ironside Papers, Box 1 (1790-1820); Major General Darling to Sir John Johnson, 8 December 1820.

⁴³ BHC, George Ironside Papers, Box 3 (1824-1827); Claus to Ironside, 25 March 1825.

⁴⁴ BHC, George Ironside Papers, Box 2 (1821-1823); Claus to Ironside, 8 April 1822.

1823, Claus informed Ironside Sr. that settlers had been caught encroaching on Native land in the area of River Aux Sable, but as “the government has no knowledge of any People being settled there, the Lands not being in the Crown of course no settlers could be placed there.” He suggested that those who encroached “ought to be warned of without they choose to [risk] the consequence of keeping forcible possession of Indian Property.” Claus goes on to state that the “King has only the right of Sovereignty, but not that of soil” and therefore he cannot help those who have decided to take matters into their own hands.⁴⁵ In response to questions about Native reserves at the Longwoods and at Munsee Town, Ironside Sr. stated, “the Chippewa who sold the Longwoods and made the Reserves had long ago applied to the government to have them surveyed,” to which progress he was unaware. In regards to Munsee Town, he stated, “I never heard of it.”⁴⁶ Ironside Sr.’s involvement with these tracts of land was so extensive that those activities involved in the land surrenders and government efforts to relocate aboriginals in the region to the River Aux Sable, continued with his son, George Ironside Jr.

Throughout Ironside Sr.’s tenure as Superintendent of Indian Affairs, many of his duties involved the distribution of presents to Natives. Ironside Sr. as well, made efforts to assure the surrender of First Nations land to the Crown. In turn, he also assisted in the subsequent necessity of setting up reserves. In 1827, Darling, the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, requested clarification on the frequency of present distribution stating “it appears that issues were made almost daily.” Darling suggests that, “As this practice must be attended with a great deal of trouble and afford opportunities of abuse and Irregularity, I request to be informed whether a different system could not be introduced, or approving the Indians before hand such as appointing particular days in the year for Each tribe⁴⁷ to present themselves.”⁴⁸ The desire of the Indian Department to implement changes in the process of present giving was a trend that endured through the early nineteenth century in the British Indian Department (Allen 1992). The British had used gift giving as a means to ensure Native support for British North America in the

⁴⁵ BHC, George Ironside Papers, Box 2 (1821-1823); Claus to Ironside, 30 June 1823.

⁴⁶ BHC, George Ironside Papers, Box 3 (1824-1827); Ironside to Captain Matthews, 13 August 1825.

⁴⁷ All emphasis within quotes appears in original documents.

⁴⁸ BHC, George Ironside Papers, Box 3 (1824-1827); Darling to Ironside, 24 March 1827.

event of hostilities with the United States. Following the War of 1812, the British desired to alter the means in which gifts were given in an attempt to slowly remove their necessity. Colonel Napier, a representative of the Lower Canadian Indian Department, requested information from Ironside Sr. with respect to land surrenders and based on his lengthy residence in Amherstburg, concerning the Hurons residing on the Miami River in the United States, claiming a portion of the Wyandot or Huron Reserve.⁴⁹ In a letter from Mudge to Ironside Sr., Mudge stated, “the Wyandots have a right to certain possession of their property, near Amherstburg, on which they have resided for nearly a century.”⁵⁰ The significance of this will be seen with actions, and consequences of said actions, in which George Ironside Jr. (in the next chapter) engages during his tenure as Superintendent of Indian Affairs at Amherstburg.

Aside from his duties directly related to his position within the Department, Ironside Sr. took an active interest in his Church and the education of the young. In 1829, Ironside Sr., along with William Duff,⁵¹ served as trustees to the Western District School Board, in which 25 students were enrolled.⁵² Ironside Sr. was a Freemason and an active member of St. John’s Anglican Church in Sandwich until a local Presbyterian Church, St. Andrews Presbyterian Church, was established.⁵³ His identity in this community was multifaceted. Throughout his tenure as Superintendent, Ironside Sr. remained very much connected to his family and served his community.

Ironside Sr.’s involvement with social organizations such as the local school board, and Church, as well as his previous involvement with the Friars, demonstrates his thorough engagement with British conventions of class society and civic duty. He may have lived rough and ready and built his status on the frontier, and he may have enjoyed a long marital life with the living symbol of his existence in a hybridized borderland, but he

⁴⁹ BHC, George Ironside Papers, Box 4 (1828-1830); Colonel Napier, Indian Department Lower Canada to Ironside, 27 July 1829.

⁵⁰ BHC, George Ironside Papers, Box 4 (1828-1830); Mudge to Ironside, 8 August 1829.

⁵¹ William Duff was a distinguished man in Amherstburg, and one of the founders of Christ Church Anglican Church in Amherstburg, which remains the oldest church in continued operation in Canada.

⁵² LAC, Colonial Government Journals, Appendix to Journal of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada, Toronto: s.n., 1828: 137.

⁵³ Dennis Carter-Edwards, “Ironside, George,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*.

<http://www.biographi.ca/EN/ShowBio.asp?BioId=37051&query=ironside> (consulted 2 April 2007).

clearly maintained for himself the notion of a British citizen and the social network conventions that all entailed. Despite being fully engaged with a Native way of life, he maintained British practices. This further emphasizes George Ironside Sr.'s ability to truly walk in two worlds, one Native and one European.

ALL IN THE FAMILY

During the later years of George Ironside Sr.'s life and tenure in the Indian Department, his sons Robert and George Jr. assisted their father in the performance of his duties. Robert, the eldest son of George and Isabella (née Vocemassuasias), flirted with official duty to the Indian Department, but ultimately decided that his career goals more aligned with the medical profession. In contrast, George Ironside Jr. grew up at the foot of his father's agency desk, becoming increasingly involved in the politics and affairs of the Indian Department. Ironside Jr. would in due course assume his father's role as Superintendent of Indian Affairs. George Jr.'s increased involvement with his father's affairs at this time approximately correlates with the time in which he married Anne Symington. Evidently, during the latter years of George Ironside Sr.'s duration as Superintendent, his family played an integral role.

RETIREMENT

In 1829, George Ironside Sr.'s health deteriorated such that on 15 October he announced his retirement from the Indian Department. His retirement letter to Sir John Colborne states,

In the petition I have this day forwarded on the subject of my retiring from office I have not continued to urge my former request that my son Robert may be appointed to succeed me, but I would most humbly beg he may be appointed to the Clerkship should your Excellency determine upon promoting his brother [George Ironside Jr.]. I am fully aware of the extent to which I am trespassing on the kind consideration manifested towards me and my family but the arrangement now proposed would in one respect be the same as that which would have followed the granting my original request. The two brothers would hold the two solutions. I, Sir John, have five children, who in consequence either of their age, or their sex, are entirely dependent on me, and who in the absence of all provision from the public must at my

death, should Your Excellency not in the meantime extend your hand to them, become in the strongest [sence] totally unprovided for. Under these circumstances I conclude by beseeching Your Excellency to comply with the prayer of my Petition ... towards the support of my helpless Children, the stipulation entered into by my sons.

Ironside Sr. continued in a postscript to suggest "or at least if your excellency cannot feel yourself at liberty to make the two appointments that (and I am authorized to say my son George joins in my views) you will be pleased to permit me again to recommend my son Robert."⁵⁴ The significance of this letter is found in the timing of its petition. George Ironside Sr. was aware of his deteriorating health and was naturally concerned about the fate of his children. Working within the Indian Department, Robert and George Jr. would be provided a decent wage and would thus be able to support their own families as well as their younger siblings. This letter elicited a negative response from the Indian Department.⁵⁵ Joseph Brant Clench, another agent within the Indian Department who would become a Superintendent, sent a personal letter to Ironside Sr. suggesting that George Jr. should be chosen to succeed Ironside Sr. because he "had been informed that George had done most of the duty [of the Superintendent] for a long time past."⁵⁶ He also suggested that George Jr. is highly deserving of the post, despite Ironside Sr.'s wish for Robert to acquire it.

George Ironside Jr. received a commission on 12 April 1830 as Assistant Superintendent.⁵⁷ Robert would eventually become a medical doctor and surgeon to the Natives. Ironside Sr.'s wish was indeed recognized in April 1830, when he received confirmation that George Jr. would succeed him in the role of Superintendent at Amherstburg.⁵⁸ Both George Ironside Sr. and George Ironside Jr. continued in their positions until 31 May 1831, when George Sr. passed away.

⁵⁴ BHC, George Ironside Papers, Box 4 (1828-1830); Ironside to His Excellency Sir John Colborne, Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, 15 October 1829.

⁵⁵ BHC, George Ironside Papers, Box 4 (1828-1830); Mudge to Ironside, 20 October 1829.

⁵⁶ BHC, George Ironside Papers, Box 4 (1828-1830); Joseph Brant Clench, Superintendent Indian Department to Ironside, 7 December 1829.

⁵⁷ BHC, George Ironside Papers, Box 5 (1830); Lieutenant Colonel James Givins, Chief Superintendent of Indian Affairs, to Ironside, 12 April 1830; and LAC, RG-10, Vol. 569, Givins to Ironside, 12 April 1830.

⁵⁸ BHC, George Ironside Papers, Box 5 (1830); Mudge to Ironside, 21 April 1830.

George Jr. assumed the task of disseminating information concerning the passing of his father to those in the Indian Department,

It is my melancholy duty to intimate to you the death of my father George Ironside Esquire late Superintendent here in the Indian Department. He departed this life on Tuesday the 31 Ullt. having been confined only a few days previously – He spent the greater part of his life in the service of His Majesty having entered the Indian Department as Clerk and Store Keeper in 1792 or 1794.⁵⁹

George Ironside Sr. had spent his life, from his first days in North America living on the aboriginal-American frontier, at the Glaize in Ohio Country, through the War of 1812, and closely until his death as Superintendent of Indian Affairs posted at Amherstburg. He was a dedicated member of the British Indian Department. He was devoted to his wife's kin. He was at the bedside of his long time close friend Matthew Elliott when he passed away. During the closing years of his life, he had required the help of his son, George Jr., to complete his daily tasks. Subsequently, George Ironside Jr., the new Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Western District, would carry on the longer-term legacy of the Ironsides' contributions to the British Colonial state.

⁵⁹ LAC, RG-10, Vol. 569, Ironside Jr. to Givins, 6 June 1831.

CHAPTER 3

GEORGE IRNSIDE JR.

George Ironside Jr., the second son born to George Ironside Sr. and Isabella (née Vocemassuasias), grew up in Amherstburg in the Western District of Upper Canada. His upbringing and interactions with aboriginals connected to his father's agency helped him develop a close relationship with the Wyandot residing in Anderdon¹ Township on the Detroit River. Ironside Jr.'s acceptance into the Indian Department necessitated playing several different roles, each accompanying different personas, dependent upon with whom he was interacting.

George Ironside Jr. manipulated and maneuvered through the boundaries of British/Canadian culture, relying in part on his distinct personal heritage, which included declaring himself and family members on multiple occasions to be half-breeds, and thus well-suited for interacting with First Nations and individual Native people.² This would serve him well in the British Indian Department and establish him in a position of prominence and respectability, a position in which few people of such mixed heritage found themselves.³ His professional career helped him become part of the emerging Upper Canadian class system, and the status and privilege inherent to those who participated in the state formation process of early British North America. Once established in the Upper Canadian class system, heritage and ancestry could be ignored in the name of prominence, prestige and rank in the formation of Canada (Johnson 1989). In other words, individuals like George Ironside Jr. had both barriers and opportunities to negotiate in their desire for prestige. With specific reference to George Jr., his father's

¹ In a letter dated 1 May 1906 from Frank Pedley, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs to C.C. James, the Wyandot possession of the Huron Reserve, seven square miles fronting the Detroit River, was confirmed by the Wyandots in 1791. In 1833, the tract was surrendered to the government so that parts could be sold for the Wyandots benefit. Joseph White, minor Wyandot Chief who signed multiple surrenders, and Alexander Clarke, Wyandot who signed several surrenders were the last two Chiefs. See James (1906); see also Curnoe (1996).

² For examples of how Métis and other individuals of mixed Native-European ancestry succeeded in manipulating boundaries between European and Aboriginal societies, see Campbell (2007); Devine (2004); Hele (2007); and McNab (1999).

³ Most British Protestant men who had taken *a la façon de pays* an Indian wife, and who had the desire and were privy to sufficient rank and wealth could provide the necessary enculturation into the colonial world for their children. For an example of this situation in reference to the Red River Settlement and Alexander Ross' family, see Van Kirk (1983).

association with the Indian Department and his own status as a civil servant to the Crown in the borderlands afforded him opportunities he would not have otherwise been privileged to have. It is interesting that George Jr. maintained this status even when moving away from a region in which the borderlands had evolved into something else (Amherstburg), and to a new borderland in the northern limit of the mid 19th century Upper Canada (Manitoulin Island).

In 1828, George Ironside Jr. married Anne Symington, to whom he remained married until his death (see Appendix 2). Together they had fourteen children. The eldest, Eliza, was born in 1829. Her sister, Annie, followed in 1831. George and Anne's other children included James Symington,⁴ born 1835, and Alexander McGregor,⁵ born 1838. George Arthur born 1840, Charles born 1844, Mary born 1846, Evadne born 1850, Ada born 1852, Sarah born 1854, John born 1856, as well as Julia, Louise and Francis Symington, whose birth dates are unknown. James Symington, Alexander McGregor, and George Arthur would all eventually find careers for themselves with the Indian Department.

IRONSIDE'S FIRST DUTY AS SUPERINTENDENT, THE OJIBWA

Upon the recommendation of his father, George Ironside Jr.⁶ became Assistant Superintendent of Indian Affairs in 1830. In 1831, he became Superintendent following Ironside Sr.'s death. In the role of Superintendent, it was necessary to placate the First Nations, whose affairs Ironside Jr. and other Superintendents of Indian Affairs administered. This task had to be achieved while following orders issued by the Chief Superintendent of Indian Affairs and Lieutenant Governor.

Under Lieutenant Governor John Colborne and Chief Superintendent James Givins, Assistant Superintendent Ironside Jr.'s first duties in 1831 sent him to the Ojibwa

⁴ As Anne Symington's extended family each had a James Symington born to them, it is possible that this was Anne's father's name. In addition to James Symington Ironside, there was James Symington Shortt born to Anne's half-sister Mrs. Shortt, and James Symington Huston born to Anne's sister Eliza Huston. See next chapter for more information on Anne's own family and correspondence.

⁵ Alexander McGregor Ironside was the namesake of a doctor (Alexander McGregor) who stayed with Anne and George for the duration of his two years in Amherstburg.

⁶ Library and Archives Canada (LAC); Record Group (RG)-10, Volume 569 Ironside to Lieutenant Colonel James Givins, Chief Superintendent of Indian Affairs, April 1830.

Reserves on the St. Clair River, Chenail Ecarté, and River-aux-Sables (see Map 3). His orders were to communicate the Lieutenant Governor's desires to the Chippewa residing in the Western District, "respecting their future occupations and mode of life."⁷ Ironside Jr. received the task of "bettering the Chippewa's civilization"⁸ through the introduction of farming, which was believed to be encouraged by collecting them on a single reserve near the River-aux-Sables.⁹ Taking the Lieutenant Governor's directions too literally, Ironside Jr. used "every exertion" to insist on the removal of the Chippewa. This is exhibited by his suggestion of the violent termination of the present giving to extort and force submission of the Natives. This tack had previously been used for the purposes of their removal to aux-Sables. Superintendents, under the direction of the Lieutenant Governor, had previously attempted to convince the Ojibwa to resettle at the aux-Sables using coercive means. After receiving a rather poor reception, he decided his time would better be spent assisting his ailing father in Amherstburg.¹⁰ Understandably, the Ojibwa did not accept him given the methods he used in his efforts at removing them off their lands. For his behaviour, he received an official censure (Telford 1998). It must be stated that his choices and actions were based loosely on his father's example. Despite a reprimand for his actions, he retained his position and rank within Indian Affairs.

IRONSIDE AND THE HURON / WYANDOT

Ironside Jr., who identified himself as a half-breed through his mother, enjoyed a somewhat special relationship with the Wyandot.¹¹ During his formative years, he had extensive contact with the Wyandot village located above the town of Amherstburg on the Detroit River. It is significant to issues of land title, that this group had settled on the east side of the Detroit River in 1701, and moved to the Malden area in the 1740s. Ironside Jr. acknowledged in an 1830 statement to the Wyandot Chiefs that he was "related to the Natives of America and [he] loves them, [they] are particularly under [his]

⁷ Burton Historical Collection (BHC), George Ironside Papers, Box 5 (1830); Givins to Ironside, April 1830.

⁸ BHC, George Ironside Papers, Box 5 (1830); Givins to Ironside, April 1830.

⁹ BHC, George Ironside Papers, Box 5 (1830); Givins to Ironside, April 1830.

¹⁰ LAC; RG-10, Volume 569 Ironside to Givins, 3 June 1830.

¹¹ The Wyandot emerged out of the Iroquois Wars. The Huron who survived joined their neighbouring Tionontati (Petun and Khionontateronon), and scattered into various groups known as Wyandot, a variation of their traditional name, Wendat. See Dickason (2002): 109-10.

care and [his] first concern is for [their] welfare.”¹² Through this statement, Ironside Jr. demonstrated the paternalistic rhetoric that was commonplace among Superintendents. Also significant, was the fact that he directly stated his identity as related to “the Natives of America.” This statement also solidified and added credence to his claim of an indigenous heritage and identity. With this statement, he asserted an Aboriginal identity and thus declared himself to be privy to the inherent rights that go along with the claim. Continuing the perception of his paternal position with the Wyandot, Ironside requested “a piece of land” so that he might “dwell in the midst of [them].” Through this request, Ironside Jr. was suggesting that he would be better able to serve the interests of the Wyandot if he had a couple of acres of their land. As this request was sent in 1830, he was asking as the Assistant Superintendent of the Western District. Ironside Jr. provided examples of the Reverend Mr. Jones, a Mississauga and British missionary at the Rapids on the Credit River, and Mr. Joseph Brant (J. B.) Clench, a Mohawk Indian Agent at Munsee Town.¹³ Ironside Jr. uses these examples in correspondence to both the Wyandots as well as Superintendent General to justify that, as the Superintendent to the Wyandot, he deserved this much.

In 1833, the Wyandots who sent a petition to the Lieutenant Governor, in justification for providing the requested land, asserted that “Mr. George Ironside [Jr.] takes on all occasions in our welfare and prosperity and [gives] of his attention to our comfort and improvement.”¹⁴ The Wyandots continued to comment on how Ironside Jr. is “related to us, the [Natures] of America – We ... desire to set apart for him and his heirs for even a lot of two hundred acres adjoining our own lots.”¹⁵ The action of Ironside Jr. calling on ‘kin’ for help demonstrates the knowledge he had of aboriginal customs.

Ironside Jr.’s distinctive relationship to the Wyandot and Huron were evident in his actions in 1833. In addition to his growing familiarity with the Wyandots, on 13 August 1833, he signed documents conveying the Huron Reserve around the township of Anderdon to the Crown. These documents appear to have not been agreed to by the

¹² BHC, George Ironside Papers, Box 5 (1830).

¹³ BHC, George Ironside Papers, Box 5 (1830); for information on Jones and Clench see also Curnoe, (1996).

¹⁴ LAC; RG-10, Volume 569 Memorial to His Excellency Sir John Colborne, Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada from the Wyandot Indians 1833.

¹⁵ LAC; RG-10, Volume 569 Memorial to Colborne from the Wyandot Indians 1833.

Chiefs of the Wyandot, but rather by the young men of a “half-breed” contingent. Allegations surfaced from the “full-blood” chiefs that coercive methods might have been used in order to obtain the signatures (Douglas 2001: 128). Despite these allegations, the Wyandot as a whole stood to benefit from a close connection to their Superintendent. Three years later, in 1836, the Chiefs and Principal Men of the Wyandot Tribe, which included those elected members representing the Tribe as a whole, requested that the new Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Upper Canada, Sir Francis Bond Head, grant their Superintendent, George Ironside Jr., a piece of land. The close relationship with the Wyandot also included a proposal by the “half-breed” Chiefs to incorporate Ironside Jr. as one of their chief men, thereby further establishing his identity and position with the Wyandot. This proposal was advanced by the Chiefs and Principal Men of the Wyandot Tribe and illustrated how they viewed their Superintendent.

While making his claims, Ironside Jr. devised means for dividing the Wyandot into categories he termed “half-breeds” and “full bloods.” George Ironside Jr. with his proposal to be given land and made a Chief of the Wyandot Tribe ultimately split the interests of the Wyandot between these two factions. His rationale for doing this was likely to provide additional support to the interests of the half-breed contingent (with which he aligned himself). Additionally, his aim was to divide the power of the Chiefs and Principal Men of the Wyandot to allow him to maneuver himself into a position of greater power and control over their lands and resources (Telford 1996).

These actions did not go without notice. In 1836, the Chiefs and Warriors of the Huron and Wyandot, represented by the so-called full-blood contingent of Thomas Splitlog, Thomas Clarke, Nicholas Laford, Matthias Splitlog, John B. White, Matthias Barnett, Joseph B. White, and Peter Roundhead, dispatched a memorial to the House of Commons for the Province of Upper Canada. This formal complaint against George Ironside Jr., and others accused them of “instigating the Government to divide among and concede to the half-breed Natives, not entitled thereto, a Tract of Land between Sandwich and [Amherstburgh], containing Seven Miles square.”¹⁶ The Huron Reserve

¹⁶ Great Britain. Colonial Office, “Canada return to an address of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated 5 March 1839 for, copies or extracts of despatches [sic] from Sir F.B. Head, Bart., K.C.H., on the subject of Canada, with copies or extracts of the answers from the Secretary of State” (London: HMSO, 1839), 140.

was to be broken into three blocks: A, which could be sold for the exclusive benefit of the Huron; B, to constitute the remaining reserve; and C, sold for the general expenses of Upper Canada. Ironside Jr. was granted 200 acres of land from block B, subsequent to being offered land in block C by the Wyandot, which Lieutenant Governor Bond Head refused to sanction.

Prior to Ironside Jr.'s time, "half breed" or mixed-heritage people were excluded from receiving presents. Their signatures were not common on important documents. Nonetheless, this part of the community worked alongside "full-blood" Wyandots to discourage surrender of their reserve prior to Ironside Jr.'s persistent attempts to acquire the sale of the Huron reserve. With Ironside Jr.'s involvement, dissension was created, a factionalism that ultimately won him his title and objective. Chiefs Splitlog and Clarke represented the faction of "full blood" Wyandot, while Chiefs Brown and Warrow represented the mixed heritage faction.

As early as September 1831, Ironside had received instructions from James Givins, Chief Superintendent of Indian Affairs, to approach the Huron and Chippewa in the district to obtain a grant of land "between the mouth of the River Thames and the Chenail Ecarté,"¹⁷ a process which included surveying lands to remain as reserves. However, in 1833, Ironside Jr. informed Givins that subsequent to agreeing to a survey of their reserve,

a few of the Wyandot or Huron residing in the neighbourhood of Amherstburg having interposed and presented by force, the survey of their reserve going on ... and that a surveyor had in consequence of their convenience to the survey taking place, here sent down at great expense for their purpose.¹⁸

In the same letter, Ironside Jr. suggests that the blame for this behaviour stems from the American side of the River. He argued that "I have every reason to believe that the Hurons on the American side and I attribute the above conduct on the part of our Wyandots or Hurons, to the dangerous influence they exercised over them by their American Revolution."¹⁹ This awkward statement by Ironside Jr. does not seem shocking within the context of life on the borderlands nor within the context of British American

¹⁷ LAC; RG-10, Volume 569 G. Ironside to Givins, 1 September 1831.

¹⁸ LAC; RG-10, Volume 569 Ironside to Givins, 28 August 1833.

¹⁹ LAC; RG-10, Volume 569 Ironside to Givins, 28 August 1833.

relations, at that time. The Detroit River marked the international division between the Province of Upper Canada and the Michigan Territory of the United States. This imposed border, which divided the land and people between two emerging states, has been described simply and succinctly as an arbitrary line drawn upon the water (Hele 2008; see also Bellfy 1995). As the division was arbitrary, the people on the borderlands understandably did not always recognize it. Thus, influence, travel, and family would have often traversed the border with ease.²⁰

The proposal to make Ironside one of the Wyandot Chief men appears to involve a conflict of interest. A document promoting Ironside Jr. as chief of the mixed-heritage faction surfaced only 13 days after he was fired in 1837, supposedly due to staff reductions in the Indian Department. Ironside was successful in his maneuver to become chief, partly because the Huron were keen to have a former Indian agent managing their affairs. His desire for the title of chief likely had more to do with his aspiration for a grant of 200 acres of reserve lands and complete control over funds, lands and resources belonging to the Huron. The actions of Ironside Jr. to become chief appear to be in an effort to get the land surrender as directed, and to profit from it. Ironside Jr., with the aid of the Wyandot mixed-heritage faction, quickly restructured the roles and powers of the Headmen within the Huron, which ultimately resulted in positioning himself as head chief. However, the contingent of the full-blooded Wyandot would not continue supporting his actions.

In 1838, Ironside Jr. was rehired by the Indian Department after petitioning Lieutenant Governor George Arthur for a reinstatement on grounds of his support to the government and militia during the December 1837 rebellion.²¹ The year 1838 also marks the year that Ironside Jr. was commissioned captain in the First Essex Militia, a title he would hold for the remainder of his life (Douglas 1980). James Dougall Esq. documented Ironside's affiliation in the rebellion in an article in the *Detroit Free Press* "Capt Broderick, with a detachment of the Thirty-fourth Regiment in wagons, and Lieut. Airey,

²⁰ For information on the ease with which the border was crossed, and that both sides signed treaties, please see Bellfy (1995).

²¹ The political debates between the reformers and conservatives that resulted in armed conflict in the Canadian Rebellion of 1837 emphasized the gendered nature of the political contest. For further information see, Morgan (2003). For further information about the Canadian Rebellion of 1837, see Lindsey (1862); and Read (1896).

of the artillery, with a field-piece, together with Capt. Ironsides and some twenty or more mounted Indians from the Indian reserve, came up in haste from Amherstburg."²² In addition, the *Western Herald and Farmers' Magazine* published a letter from Lieutenant Colonel Richard Airey to Ironside Jr. stating that he had

the honor to request you will be so good as to communicate to the gallant chiefs and warriors of the Huron and Chippewa tribes under your superintendence, the satisfaction I have experienced at the alacrity with which they turned out on Tuesday morning last, on the very first intimation that a blood-stained band of Ruffians from the other side, were carrying fire and sword through the peaceful village of Windsor; - and I beg to thank them for that persevering pursuit, which has been already crowned by the capture of no less than Seven of the scoundrels who dared to pollute Canadian soil with their presence, but who had not the courage to face the brave Indians in open fight.²³

Additionally, Colonel John Prince, a respected lawyer who would eventually become judge to the provisional district of Algoma (Douglas 1980), lent support to Ironside by sending confirmation to J. M. Higginson, the Civil Secretary, that he had personally witnessed the service of Captain Ironside during the frontier troubles of 1837-8.²⁴ This particular connection between Ironside Jr. and Colonel Prince proved important subsequently in Ironside's life.

Huron support for Ironside fluctuated in 1839. Chief Thomas Clarke Jr., elected chief after his father's death and supported by all members of the Huron, argued that the Joseph Warrow faction had never elected Ironside Jr. to the position of chief. This effectively limited Ironside Jr.'s direct influence over the internal affairs of the community. Long after the claims of Chief Thomas Clarke Jr., Ironside maintained a connection to the Wyandots of Anderdon; however, correspondence concerning his position as chief disappeared (Telford 1998).

²² James Dougall, Esq., "That Windsor Battle; The Account of it from a Canadian Standpoint" excerpted from the *Detroit Free Press*, 15 February 1885, in *Michigan Historical Collection* vol. 7 (Lansing: Michigan Historical Commission, 1877).

²³ The *Western Herald and Farmers' Magazine*, Richard Airey Lieutenant Colonel 34th Regiment, Colonel Commanding Western Frontier to George Ironside, 11 December 1838, 335.

²⁴ BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 13 (1845-1849); Colonel John Prince to J. M. Higginson Civil Secretary Indian Department, 9 May 1845.

An example of Ironside Jr.'s continued sense of entitlement to involve himself in the affairs of the Wyandot arose subsequent to his transfer to Manitoulin Island. On a visit to Amherstburg, Ironside Jr. informed Civil Secretary Higginson that,

It may be said that I have no right whatever to interfere with the affairs of the Indians here, as my station is in another part of the Country. As Superintendent, I have [come] and disallowing any intention of unduly interfering with the duties of my successor, Mr. Superintendent Clench, who I believe, has no Knowledge of the matter relative to the timber, nevertheless as the regular constituted Head Chief of the Huron or Wyandot Tribe residing on the Reserve, and feeling a lively interest in their welfare I am indeed to make this representation to His Excellency. Though remains from them, the kindly feeling entertained by me for the Tribe generally, is not the less, and it is in some of regret to observe the Tribe now under the immediate control of a Chief altogether unworthy of the rank he holds.²⁵

From this statement, Ironside Jr.'s motives seem clear: he became chief to protect his own interests. Furthermore, it is worth emphasizing that in the letter he positioned himself as not interfering with Clench's actions as an Indian Agent, but rather as a member of the Tribe. By choosing the persona of a concerned member of the Tribe, Ironside Jr. deemed his involvement prudent and necessary, while attempting to save face within the Indian Department.

During Ironside Jr.'s tenure as the Western Superintendent, issues arose concerning islands in the Detroit River, viz. Bois Blanc, Turkey and Fighting Islands (claimed by Ontario), as the Wyandots declared these as their exclusive property.²⁶ In a subsequent memorial concerning these islands²⁷ to His Excellency the Governor General in Council, the Chippewa, Pottawatomi and Ottawa First Nations stated that

²⁵ LAC, RG-10, Volume 572. Ironside to Higginson, Civil Secretary Indian Department, 10 March 1846.

²⁶ The Ottawas and Chippewas of Detroit surrendered Bois Blanc Island in 1786, see Canada, *Indian Treaties and Surrenders, from 1680 to 1890 v.1*, (Ottawa: Brown Chamberlin, 1891), 272, No. 116. In 1863, the Head and Chief Men of the Wyandot Nation disposed of Fighting Island, for more information on this treaty, please see Canada, *Indian Treaties*, 240, No. 97. The Wyandots of Anderdon surrendered Turkey Island in 1874, see Canada, *Indian Treaties and Surrenders*, v2, 2, No. 141. For more information on the Wyandot claim to the Islands in the Detroit River, see Clarke (1870): 35.

²⁷ The importance and sacredness of islands must not be underestimated. It has been asserted that islands serve as places to discover Aboriginal spirituality; stopping or resting places through the

in or about the years 1830 and 1840 [they had] held Councils at Amherstburgh with the Wyandotts for the purpose of entering into an agreement as to the proper disposal of the Huron Reserve, and in both Councils, the said Wyandotts being anxious to have the whole Tract under their own control, on the ground of their having it in their possession for many years, applied to the white men of influence for assistance, and especially in the Council of 1840, the late George Ironside, Indian Superintendent then, instead of performing his duty to investigate carefully the case in question, interfered and assisted the said Wyandotts.²⁸

Ironside Jr. suggested in a letter to Givins concerning the disposition of the islands, "I would not be surprised that there would be violence to the Wyandots now on the Reserve, if the Islands are also given over to them."²⁹ Ironside Jr.'s comment reflects the Ottawa Chiefs, about whom the correspondence is concerning. The Ottawa believed that they had a right to property in the Islands and were upset at the loss of their own Reserve. Despite disagreement over ownership of the island, based on Treaty records, the Ottawa negotiated for only Bois Blanc Island.³⁰

Undoubtedly, Ironside Jr. had a unique relationship with the Wyandot. Little is understood about Wyandots' reaction to the attention they received from Ironside Jr. This duality was described in a letter written to Ironside Jr. by his brother Robert, medical practitioner and surgeon to the aboriginals of the Western District:

You will know the Wyandotts are a discontented, suspicious and treacherous race and will ever be so. The kindness you show them and the more solicitude you evince to please and serve them the more ungrateful and suspicious they become, fancying I believe that render this kind attention you have some sinister motive.³¹

Robert Ironside makes it abundantly clear that he does not view himself as a member of the Wyandots. This claim by Robert speaks volumes about his and Ironside Jr.'s

Great Lakes; places where ancestors dwell; finally, they are considered meeting grounds between places, countries, cultures, peoples and societies. McNab (2004), 35-46.

²⁸ William N. Fisher, *Memorial of the Chippeway, Pottawatomi, and Ottawa Indians, of Walpole Island! Touching their Claim of the Huron Reserve, Fighting, Bois Blanc, Turkey, and Point au Pelee Islands. To His Excellency the Governor General in Council* (Sarnia: "Canadian" Book & Job Office, 1869). For more information on the dispute between the Chippewa, Pottawatomi, Ottawa against the Wyandot, see "This Day's Minutes" *The Correspondent & Advocate*, 1 February 1836.

²⁹ LAC; RG-10, Volume 569. Ironside to Givins, 1834.

³⁰ Canada, *Indian Treaties and Surrenders*, v. 1, 272, no. 116.

³¹ BHC, George Ironside Papers, Box 12 (July 1843-1844), Robert Ironside to George Ironside, May 1844.

identities and motivations. Robert self-identifies as British, not Native. The “kindness” George Jr. shows the Wyandot is what Robert appears to be criticizing. Robert held the position of surgeon and doctor within Indian Affairs but viewed himself in a very different way than his brother. Both brothers were born to George Ironside Sr. and Isabella, and were both exposed to British and aboriginal cultures. While both were biologically mixed, these individuals assumed divergent identities in the public sphere. The Ironside kinship networks should be to the Iroquois, Shawnee, or British. George’s identity was possibly a result of manipulation and pursuing his own interests as indicated through his actions and correspondence with family members. In addition, it should be noted that, although the Ironsides’ ties were to a very specific group, George Jr. presented vague claims about identity as North American First Nations in general.

Ironside Jr. was active in the Amherstburg community outside of his Superintendent and Chief duties. In 1842, Ironside and his brother Robert both became members of “The Western District Literary, Philosophical, and Agricultural Club.”³² The stated purpose of the club was to enhance the bonds of social and intellectual fellowship through the promotion of learning and knowledge sharing. This is but one piece of evidence that demonstrates Ironside Jr.’s life outside the Indian Department. It also alludes to the fact that Ironside Jr. and Robert did not have such divergent identities after all. Additionally it stands in contrast to Ironside Jr.’s assertions of membership within the Native community. Moreover, it also heavily harkens back to George Ironside Sr.’s own associations with organizations such as the Friars and membership in the Freemasons. Ironside Jr., through his involvement with this organization, demonstrates his ability to negotiate his surroundings while in the borderlands.

IRONSIDE JR. AT MANITOULIN

George Ironside Jr. served as the Superintendent at Amherstburg for 15 years, during which time he continued to contend with the Wyandots and other tribes around the shores of Lake Huron, before being sent to Manitoulin Island in 1846, as Northern

³² George R. Grasset, “First Meeting of the Western District Literary, Philosophical, and Agricultural Club,” *The Western Herald*, 22 July 1842.

Superintendent of Indian Affairs (see Map 4 and 5).³³ Upon arriving at what would become known as 'the Establishment' at Manitowaning³⁴ on Manitoulin Island, Ironside Jr. was also made postmaster. In contrast to his close relationship with the Wyandots of Anderdon, Ironside Jr. exhibited a different and more officious relationship with the Ojibwa and Ottawa (Odawa) of Manitoulin Island and surrounding region as evidenced from his actions while there. The reasons for his move north are not fully known. In this new role Ironside Jr. may have become a departmental troubleshooter, sent to do what he could with the remaining 'experiment' of Manitoulin Island.³⁵ The government 'experiments' involved the relocation of all tribes in the region of Upper Canada to a single reserve, Coldwater-Narrows (established in 1830) or, subsequently, to the Great Manitoulin Island (established 1836) (Nichols 1998; see also Surtees 1966). Alternatively, Ironside Jr. may have become somewhat of a nuisance, if not a legal burden, to the Chief Superintendent and the Lieutenant Governor. His insistence on maintaining his chieftainship, which evidently allowed him to engage in egregious conflicts-of-interest as chief and agent, enabling him access to revenues, lands, and resources of the Huron as well as the rights and privileges that came with being the Indian Superintendent, caused a somewhat hostile environment. The constant bickering and accusations flung between the Huron and Ironside Jr. through the Lieutenant Governor evidently caused paperwork that could be avoided by simply relocating Ironside Jr. away from his current problems (Telford 1998). The only insight from the Burton Historical Collection documents suggests the move was sudden and at the will of the government due to troubles that had evolved with the local Natives at Amherstburg.³⁶ He was thus transferred to the Northern posting at Manitowaning when Thomas

³³ The *Toronto British Colonist* announced Ironside's move to Manitowaning on 23 September 1845.

³⁴ Manitowaning, meaning "the Den of the Great Spirit," was a settlement established by the Government and placed under the control of a resident Superintendent. A clergyman (of the Protestant Faith, during Ironside's tenure it was Reverend Frederick A. O'Meara), a surgeon and schoolmaster were there to assist the Superintendent. In 1843 Manitowaning was the largest settlement on Manitoulin Island, challenged only by Wikwemikong meaning "Beaver Bay," the Roman Catholic community founded by primarily Odawa Indians from Michigan before 1836. Major (1934): 37-45.

³⁵ Douglas Leighton, "The Ironside Family and the Development of the Indian Administration in Upper Canada, 1796-1863," Paper presented at Western District History Conference, 1979. See also Beasdale (1974); Leighton (1977); and Major (1934): 37-42.

³⁶ BHC; George Ironside Papers, Finding Aid/Explanation of Collection page.

Gummersall Anderson received a promotion in Toronto to replace, as Superintendent General of Affairs, Samuel Peter Jarvis (Leighton 1975; see also Telford 1998). Despite differing opinions on the reasons for his relocation once there, Ironside Jr. still had to contend with similar issues and peoples as he had previously.

In 1846, Ironside Jr. provided a list of suggestions relative to the aboriginal forces at Manitoulin Island. In this list, he suggests that the extent of the Native force at Manitoulin Island and in the neighbourhood is approximately 600 fighting men. This was suggested as there was growing resentment from the American Indian Tribes who visited Canada and were dismayed at the "withdrawl recently by our Government of their presents nevertheless their faithfulness is such that their services may be relied upon the event of a war with the United States."³⁷ These troops were believed to be required due to a possible threat on the northern borderland from encroaching American Indians. However, the cooperation of American Indians would likely be secured by sending "efficient persons among them" to help mediate the "American Agressors [sic]." Ironside Jr. presents a list of suggestions to arbitrate this situation. For example, he suggested that

in former times great confusion & detriment to the service has ensued in consequence of orders being given to the chiefs or leaders of the Indian Allies by officers other than Superintendents in whom they generally place unbounded confidence ... I would therefore submit that no orders or instructions should be conveyed to the Indians but through the Superintendents place in command over them.³⁸

From the suggestions Ironside Jr. make, it appears that he was trying to rein in subordinate Indian agents and other British authorities through the apparatus of the Superintendency. Additionally, he was referencing the situation between the Indian Department and the military over control of the aboriginals.

Manitoulin consisted of communities that either had Roman Catholic or Protestant missionaries. The Superintendent's residence was at Manitowaning, which also represented the seat of the Protestant missionary. Directly across the bay facing Manitowaning was Wikwemikong, which was the seat of the Roman Catholic missions.

³⁷ George Ironside, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, "Suggestions by Mr. Superintendent George Ironside relative to the Indian Forces, 16 March 1846," in *Michigan Historical Collection vol., 23* (Lansing: Michigan Historical Commission, 1877), 175.

³⁸ Ironside, "Suggestions by Mr. Superintendent George Ironside," 175-177.

In 1846, the same year that Ironside Jr. believed there to be a threat of aggression from American Indians, he effectively attempted to limit the control of the Roman Catholic Missionaries at Wikwemikong by claiming that Mr. Choné³⁹ was beyond his rights in suggesting to the Natives there that they take timber⁴⁰ from the Manitowaning side of the Island for the construction of a building.⁴¹ While strictly speaking an act of administrative authority over the missionary and perhaps trying to avoid conflict between the two communities, in light of Ironside Jr.'s past record, it is tempting to see this as the start of his effort to again divide and conquer, placing Catholic First Nation against Protestant First Nation instead of half-breed against full blood.

Misfortune struck Ironside Jr. in the same year, when in February, he sent word to Montreal that his building had caught fire, devouring everything including the "whole of the Books, official documents, stationary &c. in the office were consumed together with all my bedding, furniture, groceries and clothing with the exception of a few articles of the latter."⁴² Of course, he suggested that there be no delay in reestablishing the Superintendent's quarters at Manitowaning. Fire struck again in August "in consequence of the extreme dryness of the season, extended over a great part of the Island destroying in its progress every thing before it," including laying "waste nearly all the growing Crops, notwithstanding the ... exertions of the [aboriginal] Inhabitants to save them."⁴³ Surprisingly, the loss of these crops yielded good news for Ironside Jr. He wrote to the Lieutenant General that the loss of Indian corn had caused the Natives to decide to plant wheat, on those lands instead.⁴⁴ Therefore, the loss of the Natives crops facilitated their

³⁹ Father Choné was born at Secort, France in 1808 and was ordained in 1832. He joined the Jesuits in 1837, and arrived in Canada in 1843. In Canada he spent time at Walpole Island, Wikwemikong on Manitoulin Island, Pigeon River/Rivière-aux Tourtres, and Fort William. He died at Wikwemikong in 1878. "23rd. Fr. Choné to a Priest of the Same Society. From Holy Cross Mission, Great Manitoulin, July 22, 1846," *Letters from the New Canada Mission, 1843-1852*, Vol. 6-1, 401-5, 487.

⁴⁰ Timber represents the live trees on the Reserve. The reference here is to the removal of timber from Manitowaning for use at Wikwemikong, which would have possibly represented an act of theft, or at least be interpreted as such.

⁴¹ LAC; RG-10, Volume 572. Ironside to Higginson, 3 February 1846.

⁴² LAC; RG-10, Volume 572. Ironside to Higginson, 5 February 1846.

⁴³ LAC; RG-10, Volume 572. Ironside to George Varden, Assistant Superintendent General Indian Affairs, 10 August 1846.

⁴⁴ LAC; RG-10, Volume 572. Ironside to Major Campbell, Superintendent General Indian Affairs, 8 January 1848.

willingness to accept European ways of farming, and were thus becoming increasingly “civilized,” at least insofar as Ironside Jr. and the Indian Department were concerned.

In his new role Ironside Jr. faced familiar challenges relating to land issues from the First Nations, speculators and the encroaching Euro-Canadian population. In 1846, the Ottawa near Manitowaning revealed to Ironside Jr. several mineral outcroppings of copper, iron and coal. Based on his preliminary examination of the outcroppings, and the commercial potential inherent therein, Ironside recommended a provincial survey of the Island’s minerals.⁴⁵ Following the survey, the Ojibwa petitioned that their rights be protected and demanded compensation for any mineral exploitation (Telford 1996). And in response to a report issued in 1844 detailing the mineral resources along the North Shore of Lake Huron and Lake Superior, a survey was conducted there between 1847 and 1849 (Telford 1996; see also, Chute 1998: 110; and Hele 2002: 129-157). Upon Ironside Jr.’s arrival at Manitowaning, Shingwaukonse,⁴⁶ one of the Chiefs of the Sault Ste. Marie Ojibwa, requested that he petition the Lieutenant Governor to stop mining company operations. Shingwaukonse argued that the operations threatened traditional ways of life and infringed on Ojibwa land rights throughout the Northern Superintendence (Telford 1996). The response to Shingwaukonse’s petition was not satisfactory to the Ojibwa. By 1846, it was reported that 37 mining locations on the shores of Lake Superior and 27 on the shores of Lake Huron had been granted, and ‘not a Shilling’ of proceeds had been paid to the Natives.⁴⁷ According to Telford, the chiefs were also interested in securing an urgent treaty for their lands. Angered by the apparent disregard of their claim by the Governor General, Lord Elgin, the Ojibwa of the north shores of Lake Huron advocated the use of force to remove miners from their territory (Telford 1996).

While Telford argues Ironside Jr. disregarded Shingwaukonse’s concerns and actively sought to placate mining companies, it is not clear from available data what Ironside Jr.’s views were on the matter. Regardless, the issue was contentious enough that

⁴⁵ With the number of mineral outcroppings along the North Shore, mining leases were being given out without treaties. The first licenses went to those who were in the area, the Indian or Crown Lands Agents. See Telford (1996).

⁴⁶ For a detailed account of Shingwaukonse, please see Chute (1998).

⁴⁷ *Lake Superior Journal*, “British Justice,” 8 November 1849, p. 2. See also Telford, “The Sound of the Rustling of the Gold,” 127.

by 1849 a coalition of Ojibwa, non-Natives (Allan and Angus Macdonell,⁴⁸ and Wharton Metcalfe, the original directors of the Lake Superior Company) (Telford 1996: 126) and Métis (including Peter Barbeau among others), forcibly shut down the Quebec Mining Company location at Mica Bay (Telford 1996: 157-65). Ironside Jr. joined the military force of 87 troops moving against the Native protest and takeover of the mine (Knight 1982: 7, 15; and Wightman and Wightman 1991). As Ashley Cooper, Captain of the Rifle Brigade, stated in a letter thanking Ironside for his help and service with the detachment, "Captain Ironside joined the Detachment under my command established to Mica Bay at Manitoulin Island and has remained with us up to this date [8 March 1851]."⁴⁹ In a letter to E. A. Meredith, the assistant secretary, Ironside detailed his own accounts of the events he witnessed during the Mica Bay protest:

I left this on the 1st of December with the Detachment ordered to Lake Superior. On the route up H.H. Campbell J.P. joined us at the Bruce Mines and we arrived at the Sault Ste. Marie on the 11th. Having ascertained there that M. Macdonnell and all his party (with the exception of Mr. Wharton Metcalfe and another person left in charge of the Mines) had returned to that place from the Quebec mining station. Mr. Campbell and myself immediately proceeded in the discharge of our duties as Magistrates, after getting through which (my assistance being required in arranging matters for forwarding the troops on to Mica Bay) I requested Mr. Campbell to report to the Attorney General our proceedings on the occasion and he did so on the 5th of the same month after returning to his residence at the Bruce Mines.

The necessary preparations having been made the Troops embarked at the Sault for Mica Bay on the 7th but the attempt to reach our destination proving unsuccessful. In consequence of tempestuous weather and the lateness of the season we were under the necessity of returning to the Sault Ste. Marie where we arrived on the 12th and being informed that Mr. Metcalfe had come down there the day previous and intended going back immediately to the Mines. I lost no time in having him arrested.

Mr. Metcalfe is now at the Sault in Mr. Wilson's charge, and so soon as the ice becomes safe for travelling on, he as especial Constable is to take the prisoner to Toronto they will therefore probably leave the Sault sometime during the present month. Mr.

⁴⁸ For more information on the Macdonells and their involvement with the Sault Ste. Marie Ojibwa, see Knight and Chute (2006).

⁴⁹ LAC, RG-10, Volume 572. Ashley Cooper, Captain of the Rifle Brigade to Captain Ironside, 15 December 1849.

Metcalf having consented to tread on foot as far as Penetanguishine. In reference to the necessary expenses of this journey down as well as the cost of the prisoner's board, in the mean time at the Sault. I beg to say I mentioned to Mr. Wilson that I thought under the peculiar circumstances of the case they would all be paid by the Government. I also beg leave to state for the information of His Excellency the Governor General that Captain Cooper having intimated to me that my services were no longer required by him and as I had ended my magisterial duties there I set off from the Sault on the 17th Ult. Accompanied by three Indians whom I had taken up with me from this, and we arrived here on the 28th. The three above mentioned Indians were with Captain Cooper sanctioned engaged by me to act as guides and runners had the services as such been required and as these people expected to be paid for their time I beg to be informed how I am to proceed in applying for it for them.⁵⁰

Following the hostility at Mica Bay, Ironside was determined to see those responsible tried in court for their misdeeds. Wharton Metcalfe, supposed to stand trial in the Home District, appears to have fled to the American side of the border after being released on bail, much to the annoyance and dismay of Ironside Jr.⁵¹ This disappointment served to heighten his desire to see the rest of the instigators of the Mica Bay protest tried. In correspondence with Superintendent General Bruce, Ironside Jr. wrote, "I have the honor to state to you that agreeably to a notification from the Attorney General dated the 8th October last, I am required to be at Toronto in the month of May next to attend the assizes as a witness on the trial of the persons apprehended for the outrages committed at Mica Bay."⁵² The Macdonells, Shingwaukonse, Nebenaigooching (Chief of the Batchewana Band, and Shingwaukonse's son-in-law), and others involved in the Mica Bay Affair turned themselves in on 4 December 1849; all eventually received pardons.⁵³ Following this confrontation, all involved in the Indian Department were adamant about the need to have treaties signed to enable access to the rich mineral resources of the north

⁵⁰ LAC, RG-10, Volume 572. Ironside to Civil Servant Edmund Allen Meredith, Assistant Secretary, 11 January 1850.

⁵¹ LAC, RG-10, Volume 572. Ironside to the Honorable James Leslie, Provincial Secretary, 8 March 1850.

⁵² LAC, RG-10, Volume 572. Ironside to Lieutenant Colonel the Hon. B. Bruce, Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 8 March 1851.

⁵³ For additional detailed information concerning the Mica Bay Affair, the individuals involved, and the specific causes for the standoff. See Knight(1982); Wightman and Wightman(1991); Telford (1998); and Telford(2002).

shores of Lakes Huron and Superior, thereby avoiding another incident (Telford 1996: 142).

During Ironside Jr.'s tenure at Manitowaning, the most notable and best-documented engagements in which he participated were the Robinson Treaties of 1850 and the subsequent Manitoulin Island Treaty of 1862. The task of negotiating the Robinson Treaties fell to the auspices of William Benjamin Robinson, a former manager at the Bruce Mine, on the north shore of Lake Huron, and brother of Chief Justice John Beverly Robinson (Surtees 1986). The desire of prospectors and business developers to gain access to the mineral, fish and lumber resources along the north shores of Lakes Huron and Superior, as well as increased control over aboriginal actions, placed some pressure on Robinson to sign a treaty.

The initial stage of the treaty involved the Vidal Survey (Lovisek 2001). Government commissioners Alexander Vidal and Thomas G. Anderson undertook this survey to investigate Native claims on the north shores of Lakes Huron and Superior (Knight 1982; Telford 1996). The Ojibwa opposed the survey. Ironside Jr. intervened in the interests of the government to allow completion of the survey, ignoring wishes of the Ojibwa to keep surveyors off their land (Telford 1996: 131). During the Robinson Huron Treaty negotiations, the Teme-Augama Anishnabe were left out; no annuity payments had been received, but their land appeared to have been ceded to the government, which has led to modern day land claims (McNab 1998; see also McNab 1999). The Robinson-Huron Treaty was concluded on 9 September 1850, two days after the Robinson-Superior Treaty had been signed.

Ironside Jr.'s choices and actions subsequent to the Robinson Treaties continued to demonstrate similarities between his treatment of the Ojibwa and that of the Wyandot. As of 1852, Wemyss McKenzie Simpson (last Factor for the Hudson's Bay Company at Sault Ste. Marie, Indian Commissioner, and twice Ironside Jr.'s son-in-law when he successively married two of Ironside Jr.'s daughters), Ironside Jr., Joseph Wilson (crown lands agent for Sault Ste. Marie), John William Keating (Indian agent and surveyor),⁵⁴ Arthur Rankin, James Cuthbertson, and Arthur Maitland (all mining agents), had:

⁵⁴ For information on John William Keating, see Telford (1997).

formed a powerful clique hostile to all organizations. This hostility executed particularly against missions and Native bands, which challenged their economic and political hegemony along the north shores of Lakes Huron and Superior. This group sought to make the coastal bands into wage labourers economically dependent on the Hudson's Bay Company and the mining enterprises (Chute 1998: 148; see also Telford 1996: 181).

Ironside Jr.'s involvement in the suppression of Native rights and life ways suggests possibly a dislike of the First Nations whom he superintended, or perhaps a strategic plan designed to protect his own vested interests to increase personal wealth and prestige, or simply his paternalistic belief that he knew what was best for them. Or perhaps it reflects a combination of these and other motivations. There is little evidence to suggest that Ironside Jr. felt compelled to 'help' the Ojibwa.

During 1852, the north shore of Lake Huron, including Manitoulin Island, succumbed to a cholera outbreak. Father Hanipaux,⁵⁵ the Catholic Jesuit missionary at Holy Cross Mission at Wikwemikong,⁵⁶ suggested that several deaths that occurred at the Protestant Agent's headquarters at Manitowaning as a result of the outbreak, was due to competing religious practices on the island.⁵⁷ The Cholera outbreak which led to such tragedy was read by the missionaries as a manifestation of the Protestant community's close association with their own Catholic community.

Of the victims of the Cholera outbreak, two children were orphaned who were later adopted, with the agreement of their relatives and Superintendent Ironside Jr., by two Catholic Native women of Holy Cross. The children were baptized Catholic, as per protocol. After the danger had passed, Anglican minister Frederick O'Meara returned to Manitowaning to arrange for the blind Protestant grandfather of the children to reclaim

⁵⁵ Father Hanipaux was born at Saint-Georges Dougueux, France in 1805, and was ordained in 1829. He joined the Jesuits in 1837 and five years later arrived in Canada. He was missionary at Laprairie and Wikwemikong, but became ill and died in Quebec in 1872. "84th Fr. Hanipaux to his Superior in Paris. From Penetanguishene on Lake Huron, April 30, 1852," *Letters from the New Canada Mission, 1843-1852, Vol. 6-2* (Midland, Ontario: William Lonc, 2001), 389-95, 493.

⁵⁶ A secular Priest, Father Proulx, started Holy Cross Mission in 1825. During its beginnings, the mission was Roman Catholic, as the British government had suppressed all actions and entrance of Jesuit Fathers into Canada. In 1840, the Mission was taken over by the Jesuits (following the 1837 Rebellion). Major (1934): 37-42.

⁵⁷ "Letter #8B: Hanipaux: History of the work of the Holy Cross Mission, Wikwemikong, Jan. 1, 1856." *Letters from Manitoulin Island, 1853-1870, Vol. 6-3* (Ottawa, Ontario: William Lonc, 2007), 104-112.

them. Ironside Jr., fearful of repercussions from the Protestant inhabitants of Manitowaning as well as his own minister, helped O'Meara with this proposal, despite his previous acceptance of the adoptions. Ironside Jr. personally removed the children from their adoptive mothers. The chiefs of Wikwemikong "were extremely upset to know that they had been deceived and misled in an act detrimental to their religion and their conscience."⁵⁸ There is little doubt that Ironside Jr. exasperated the situation by mishandling the adoption of the two children.

Following this incident, there were substantial expenditures made to support settlement at Manitowaning by providing inhabitants with houses, workshops, and daily help. These initiatives were unsuccessful. The villagers eventually left in an effort to get away from Manitowaning, Ironside, and Protestantism. As the community moved, Ironside Jr. enacted remonstrances and prohibitions against the inhabitants of Manitowaning wherever on the Island they chose to settle. Most of the former villagers of Manitowaning appear to have moved to Little Current and Wikwemikong. Ironside Jr.'s harassment extended to prohibiting their selling of cordwood to steamboats, as well as other activities that would have aided in their economic betterment. Thus, a ten-year negative association between the Catholic Anishnabe of Wikwemikong and their Protestant Superintendent began. Following the Cholera outbreak Manitowaning never successfully got back on its feet, despite effort and resources spent by the Indian Department. As a result, that community eventually dissolved as people left the village, the Protestant missionary, and Ironside Jr. These actions likely angered Ironside Jr., and made his administration more personal, in that he seemed to constantly try and undermine the autonomy of the Native communities on the island, he especially to target Wikwemikong, thus beginning a 10 year negative relationship.

In 1861, the Chiefs and Principal Men of Wikwemikong filed with the Lieutenant Governor a petition of significant length, 15 complaints in total, against their Superintendent. In the same year Ironside Jr., along with Deputy Superintendent General Spragge and Lieutenant Governor Sir Edmund Walker Head, began discussions with the Ottawa, Ojibwa and Pottawatomi residing on Manitoulin Island regarding the surrender

⁵⁸ "Letter #8B: Hanipaux: History of the work of the Holy Cross Mission, Wikwemikong, Jan. 1, 1856." *Letters from Manitoulin Island, 1853-1870, Vol. 6-3* (Ottawa, Ontario: William Long, 2007), 104-112.

of the Island. The events preceding the Manitoulin Island Treaty⁵⁹ signed in 1863 are the most telling concerning Ironside Jr.'s direct actions towards individuals of Manitoulin Island. The 1863 treaty and Ironside's involvement generated significant opposition from the people of Wikwemikong, which took several forms. Most important to Ironside were a series of death threats against him and others who were found to agree with his actions.⁶⁰

Of the 15 complaints by 97 members of Wikwemikong and 73 individuals of other Bands of Manitoulin Island (not including those at Manitowaning), several relate directly to Ironside Jr.'s behaviour toward the people of Wikwemikong. In explaining to the Lieutenant Governor the reasons for their complaints, the Wikwemikong Band wrote,

He said to [us] the Queen asks you to surrender your lands, if you let it go you and your Children shall never be in need. I complied with his request because I love the Queen and the Governor General but some time after [we] made the Surrender [we] began to think that [our] Children would be reduced to poverty. [We] have already seen that his promises have come to nothing. Now [We] make [our] thoughts known together with the thoughts of those living on the Island.⁶¹

The signatories⁶² of the petition continued their appeal against Ironside Jr. stating that "[We] received no Annuity for three years on account of this Saw mill Affair⁶³ – he only wants to make us poor, he takes no interest in our welfare, [we] think or his object is to keep us in poverty."⁶⁴ The petitioners also stated that, "Even now he frequently has recourse to threats in order to obtain the signatures of the Indians when they refuse to give him."⁶⁵ These reactions were not what Ironside Jr. had faced in his dealings with the

⁵⁹ Robert J. Surtees, "Treaty Research Report: Manitoulin Island Treaties" (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1986).

⁶⁰ LAC, RG-10, Volume 573. Layton to Ironside, 26 February 1862; Ironside to Walcot, 16 March 1862; Ironside to Spragge, 14 August 1862.

⁶¹ LAC, RG-10, Volume 573. Chiefs of Wikwemikong to Lieutenant Governor, 23 May 1861.

⁶² This petition was signed by 97 members of Wikwemikong, along with ten individuals from Sheshegwaning, 21 from Sheguiandah, 31 from Michiquotinong (M'Chigeeng), five from Mindemoya, and 18 from Wikwemikongsing [?].

⁶³ The members of Wikwemikong had been petitioning Ironside for a Saw Mill for their personal use for approximately three years. Ironside had been keeping a portion of their annuities as a way to pay for the Saw Mill, however Wikwemikong never received their Saw Mill after three years and were rightly annoyed.

⁶⁴ LAC, RG-10, Volume 573. Chiefs of Wikwemikong to Lieutenant Governor, 23 May 1861.

⁶⁵ LAC, RG-10, Volume 573. Chiefs of Wikwemikong to Lieutenant Governor, 23 May 1861.

Wyandot, as he had been a Head Chief with an adopted role. Ridiculing his behaviour as a government representative, the petition states, "It is well known that Our Superintendent never takes any trouble to impart to us useful information."⁶⁶ An explanation for Ironside Jr.'s behaviour was suggested by Father Choné: "It seems to me that the Department of Indian Affairs wants to reduce the residents of the island to an involuntary inaction, and thereby win their case by slanderous rumours."⁶⁷ Ironside Jr.'s attitude toward the people of Wikwemikong would seem to have been unbiased indifference, evident in his blatant disregard for Wikwemikong. In due course, they took matters into their own hands and refused to acknowledge him as their superintendent, "Now we the inhabitants of this Island have unanimously agreed, Odahwahs and Ojebways not to recognize him any longer as our Superintendent."⁶⁸ It is vital to note that Wikwemikong was Roman Catholic, with a long history of Jesuit missionary involvement. In contrast, Ironside Jr. resided at Manitowaning, a government station and Protestant missionary site that was collapsing and disappearing, perhaps partly as a result of Ironside Jr.'s actions.⁶⁹ The actions of Ironside Jr. appalled the residents of Manitowaning and motivated their decision to move away from the village.

In Ironside Jr.'s response to these accusations, he attributes responsibility for his dealings with the inhabitants of Manitoulin Island to the orders he received from the Chief Superintendent. He justified his actions as doing what he believed best and easiest for the people of Wikwemikong. In response to an accusation of theft made against him, "I beg to enclose herewith a Certificate on the Subject from Parties (Indians) who had always assisted me in distributing the various articles procured by me for the different Bands on account of those themselves."⁷⁰ Ironside Jr. disagreed with the contention that he made threats to withhold annuity payments. He did, however, admit suggesting a penalty for uncooperative behaviour; "To the obstinate among those who participate in the Annuity, I mentioned that if they continued to oppose me in the matter of the Census

⁶⁶ LAC, RG-10, Volume 573. Chiefs of Wikwemikong to the Lieutenant Governor, Sir Edmund Walker Head, 23 May 1861.

⁶⁷ "Letter 34: Choné to Scholastics, Aug. 21, 1861." *Letters from Manitoulin Island, 1853-1870*, Vol. 6-3 (Ottawa, Ontario: William Linc, 2007): 188-197.

⁶⁸ LAC, RG-10, Volume 573. Chiefs of Wikwemikong to the Lieutenant Governor, 23 May 1861.

⁶⁹ See Dickason (2002); see also, Beasdale (1974); and Major (1934): 37-42.

⁷⁰ LAC, RG-10, Volume 573. Ironside to Lieutenant Governor, 17 July 1861.

taking⁷¹ I would have to recommend to the Superintendent General the withholding of them for a time, their share of the money.”⁷² This represented a violation of the treaty; however, this tactic was regularly practiced as a means of control, despite it being an apparent infringement of the law.⁷³ Ironside Jr.’s task of Census taking was to facilitate keeping track and numbers of Natives under his Superintendence for the purpose of Annuity payments.

Despite aggressive behaviour directed at him, Ironside Jr. continued with the task assigned to him, that of securing the Island for treaty. In a letter to Spragge he suggests,

that no assertion has been spared by me to promote the views of the Government in their intentions regarding the Indians, ... and also the better to attain the objects sought for, I have been obliged to have recourse to addressing myself to the Indians individually on the subject, as opportunities presented themselves to me and that in the majority of cases they expressed their willingness to accept the offer adding, however, “I would be afraid to say openly what I have now told you, because it would expose me to persecution from certain parties on the Island.”⁷⁴

The individuals to whom Ironside Jr. had been speaking foreshadowed his eventual demise. Members of the Manitoulin Island community appeared apprehensive about agreeing with Ironside Jr. due to fear of the Wikwemikong Band. George Obbedoswai, member of the Wikwemikong council, provided testimony to interpreter David Layton that a death threat had been clearly made: “They allowing the full amount of money received for the same and that in the event of the Superintendent going over and making any remonstrances upon the subject they would kill him.”⁷⁵ Whether the Jesuit presence at Wikwemikong influenced these threats is unclear. However the Jesuit Missionary Father Choné was one of several to face accusations of instigating or intensifying the

⁷¹ A component of the Superintendent’s job was to record the number and location of the First Nation individuals to whom they worked with. The first Canadian census was completed in 1871, which included the names of all inhabitants in the new Nation of Canada.

⁷² LAC, RG-10, Volume 573. Ironside to Lieutenant Governor, 17 July 1861.

⁷³ For instance, this tactic continued into the 1930s as evidenced by Brownlie (2003): 110, 117-20.

⁷⁴ LAC, RG-10, Volume 573. Ironside to William Spragge, 14 August 1862.

⁷⁵ LAC, RG-10, Volume 573. Obbedoswai in Statement to Layton, 26 February 1862.

hostilities between the Natives and Ironside.⁷⁶ Choné's involvement enabled Wikwemikong to abstain from the Manitoulin Island Treaty, thus becoming an unceded territory in Ontario. The willpower of the Wikwemikong people is impressive. Through their threats and actions, their resistance to the colonial authority embodied in Ironside Jr., they succeeded in attaining their objectives.

Ironside Jr., as Northern Superintendent, had provided additional necessary support for those chosen by government to conduct surveying and treaty signing. His involvement in actions leading up to the land surrenders of the Robinson Treaties and the Manitoulin Island Treaty did not make him popular among the Ojibwa, Ottawa, or Pottawatami of whom he was Superintendent. Ironside spent almost twenty years as Northern Superintendent, dying in 1863 in the midst of the Manitoulin Island conflict.

The circumstances surrounding his death were questionable, but evidence suggests that the stress became too much for him to handle and his heart gave out. His son Alexander McGregor Ironside succeeded him very briefly. Visiting Superintendent Dupont would remain in the position for several years following, until Indian Agent James Charles Phipps took over in 1864.

⁷⁶ For information on Father Choné's involvement with the Wikwemikong Band, see Charlton(2004); Chute (1998): 69-70, 176-84; Leighton (1975): 202; and Robert Surtees, "Treaty Research Report: Manitoulin Island Treaties" (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1986).

CHAPTER 4

THE IRNSIDE CLAN

Of the nine surviving children of George Ironside Sr. and Isabella, their three eldest sons, J. Alexander Sr., Robert and George Jr., appear to have been the closest, and potentially the most literate, of the Ironside siblings. These three also represent the continuation of their father's legacy, as each in his own way became involved with the British Colonial Government. It has already been established that George Jr. followed his father's example as Superintendent in the Indian Department, less known is the fate of his siblings, children, and other affiliates of the family.

George Ironside Sr. compiled his last will and testament on 29 May 1831, two days before his death, in which he bequeathed to his children Mary, Matthew, Margaret, Sarah, and James the house and surrounding lot of land in Amherstburg. To his eldest son Alexander Sr. he gave his wearing apparel. To Robert he gave his shaving apparatus. To George Jr. he left his silver snuffbox, epaulet and sabre. His accumulated lands in the Township of Colchester in the Western District were to be sold with the liquidation of all just and lawful claims against his estate and the proceeds going to the executors of his will. Any proceeds remaining were to be divided between his wife Isabella and son William, with Isabella receiving one third and William two thirds. He concludes his will by appointing his son-in-law John Patton of Prescott, and his own sons Robert and George Jr., as executors of his will.¹

By the time of his death in 1863, George Ironside Jr.'s three eldest sons, James Symington Ironside, Alexander McGregor Ironside, and George Arthur Ironside all held positions within the British North American, and after Confederation in 1867, Canadian government. This speaks to George Jr.'s own identity within his family as being more of a career civil servant than a frontiersman. Thus, according to George Jr.'s own actions, it appears that he had a foot in both the Native and British colonial worlds. His choices clearly echo the values of upper middle class continuity rather than personal advancement. Continuing the legacy of his father and grandfather, James Symington,

¹ Surrogate Court, Essex County, Windsor, Last Will and Testament of George Ironside Senior, 29 May 1831, Archives of Ontario (AO) RG 22-311, GS 1 reel 719.

born in 1835, received his first posting at Sault Ste. Marie as Clerk in 1880 with a salary of \$600.00.² In 1887, his pay increased to \$650.00³; and in 1892, he was promoted to Clerk and Landing Waiter and received a pay increase of \$100.00.⁴ Similarly, Alexander McGregor, born in 1838, received his first posting as Clerk at Manitowaning in 1863, with a salary of \$720.00.⁵ In his position as Clerk he was responsible to the Indian Agent, James Charles Phipps. For the 1871 Dominion of Canada Census, Alexander McGregor acted as commissioner for district number 87, or Manitoulin.⁶ George Arthur Ironside was born in 1840. He received his commission as Collector of Internal Revenue at Port Arthur in April 1870 with a salary of \$800.00.⁷ In 1888, his salary increased to \$1000.00 per year.⁸ Together these three men carried on the Ironside legacy on the northern frontier of the British North American state.

The available documents I examined in order to explore the relationship of the Ironside clan are primarily comprised of correspondence between Robert, Alexander Sr. and other close friends to George Jr. Personal sources are those that do not appear in official record books, primarily those letters saved in the Burton Historical Collection.

² Canada, Dept. of the Secretary of State, *The civil service list of Canada [1885] containing the names of all persons employed in the several departments of the civil service, together with those employed in the two Houses of Parliament, upon 1st July, 1885 ... to which is added "The Civil Service Act" and "The Civil Service Superannuation Act of 1883", with an analytical index to each* (Ottawa: MacLean, Rogers & Co., 1886), 53.

³ Canada, Dept. of the Secretary of State, *The civil service list of Canada 1887 containing the names of all persons employed in the several departments of the civil service, together with those employed in the two Houses of Parliament, upon 1st of July, 1887 ... to which are added "The Civil Service Act" and "The Civil Service Superannuation Act", with an analytical index to each* (Ottawa: MacLean, Rogers & Co., 1888), 58.

⁴ Canada, Dept. of the Secretary of State, *The civil service list of Canada, 1892 containing the names of all persons employed in the several departments of the civil service, together with those employed in the two Houses of Parliament on the 1st July, 1892 ... to which are added "The Civil Service Act" and amending Acts (chap. 12, 51 Vic. and chap. 12, 52 Vic.) consolidated, and "The Civil Service Superannuation Act" with an analytical index to each* (Ottawa: S.E. Dawson, 1893), 171.

⁵ Canada, *The civil service list of Canada 1887*, 26.

⁶ Canada, *Sessional papers of the Dominion of Canada: volume VI, fourth session of the first Parliament, session 1871* (Ottawa: I.B. Taylor, 1871), 64-152.

⁷ Canada, *The civil service list of Canada 1887*, 41.

⁸ Canada, Dept. of the Secretary of State, *The civil service list of Canada 1888 containing the names of all persons employed in the several departments of the civil service, together with those employed in the two Houses of Parliament, upon 1st July, 1888 ... to which are added "The Civil Service Act" and amending Act (chap. 12, 51 Vic.) and "The Civil Service Superannuation Act", with an analytical index to each* (Ottawa: A. Senecal, 1889), 35.

Both official and personal sources are drawn on in this chapter, to attempt to provide an understanding of the relationship among brothers, father and sons, and with other relatives of the Ironside family.

George Jr., Robert, and Alexander Sr. maintained mostly formal, business-related communication with each other, as evidenced by their surviving letters. Nevertheless, glimpses into their identity and family relationships become possible through understanding the history and upbringing in the borderlands shared by the brothers. Discussions included accounting information and those topics concerning the Superintendence of the Western District (while George Jr. remained there). Alternatively, the aspects of a more personal nature include information about family, health, and welfare of related individuals.

BROTHERS

As information, personal papers, and other correspondence between George Ironside Sr.'s three eldest sons is scarce, and details concerning their identity and personality must be gleaned through an examination of their careers and the few papers they did leave behind. Alexander Sr.'s profession is somewhat indefinable. There is correspondence to suggest that he had something to do with the medical profession, where at times he is referred to as Doctor. For example, in an 1849 letter to Major Campbell, the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, George Jr. suggests after delivering news of Doctor Saul Darling's death at the Establishment of Manitowaning,

I would also beg leave most respectfully to recommend through you to His Excellency the Governor General that my Brother Dr. A[lexander] Ironside now of Chatham Canada West be appointed to fill the situation now vacant by the death of Dr. Darling.

My brother being connected by Blood relationship with the aborigines of the country and his speaking the Indian language peculiarly fits him for the situation and I trust it will not be considered presumptuous in me in this recommending him.

My brother will forward a memorial to His Excellency in which he will state more fully his claims which induces him to apply for the situation.⁹

⁹ Library and Archives Canada (LAC); Record Group (RG)-10, Volume 572 Ironside to Major Campbell, Superintendent General Indian Affairs, 8 October 1849.

From this correspondence, it appears that Alexander Sr. was a medical doctor, or at the very least entrenched within the medical profession other than as a doctor. Also of note is that George Jr., while in the northern borderlands appeared to want family around. Most interesting with this statement made by George Jr. is the second sentence in which he circumscribed his brother Alexander Sr. as being connected by blood to the 'aborigines' and able to speak the language. George Jr. does not describe himself as also being connected to the 'aborigines' and able to speak the language, thus suggesting his manipulation of his identity to allow for personal gain. From George Jr. and Alexander Sr.'s mutual and shared heritage it can be suggested that through this particular comment George Jr. could be just as easily speaking about himself as his younger brother.

Through my examination of other documentation it appears likely that Alexander Sr. acted as an intermediary of sorts by sending account information related to the medical practice from the garrisons, which he administered, to the government. He appears to have been married¹⁰ and had three children named Alexander, George, and Margaret. Alexander¹¹, based on his correspondence practiced medicine in a civilian capacity.

Robert was a medical doctor with a government posting. Robert's profession is known from a letter sent by his father, George Ironside Sr., in 1829 requesting that a recently opened position of 'Surgeon to the Indians' be filled by his son: "I request you will have the goodness to recommend my son Robert, who is a Licensed Practitioner of Physic and understands and speaks the Indian Language."¹² It must be noted here that George Sr. does not reference a blood relationship to the First Nations. Robert was married to a woman by the name of Margaret (possibly Johnston).¹³ It is not known whether they had any children.

Through the available correspondence between Robert, Alexander Sr., and George Jr., it becomes clear that Robert, who became involved in Indian Affairs, and

¹⁰ Alexander's wife's name does not appear in any correspondence, nor are any other children mentioned.

¹¹ All subsequent references to Alexander will be to Alexander Sr. the son of George Ironside Sr.

¹² LAC; RG-8, Volume 268, George Ironside Sr. to Colonel Duncan Campbell Napier, 2 May 1829.

¹³ There is a reference to Alexander and a woman whom Eliza Huston thought was engaged to him by the name of Miss. Johnston. BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 4 (1828-1830); Eliza Huston to Anne Ironside, 16 June 1829.

George Jr., as Indian Agent, lived in closer vicinity to each other than to Alexander Sr., who resided in Chatham. The documents tended to consist of short notes relative to business matters or plans for a visit.¹⁴ Robert appears to have been affiliated with the Indian Department as medical doctor to the Wyandot Natives at or around Anderdon.

As will become evident in the following chapter, similar trends noted from the correspondence between Eliza, Dr. Huston, and Anne, are seen in the letters between the three Ironside brothers. There is usually a stated purpose for writing, which in the vast majority of circumstances is related to payments or money. Additionally, as brothers, they send their own (and in the case of Robert, his wife's) regards to George Jr. and Anne.

The availability or lack of money is an issue discussed extensively between brothers. Robert and Alexander Sr. both present George Jr. with account information concerning each other for outstanding services. In his position as Indian Superintendent, George Jr. was placed in a situation of prominence and prestige and was therefore more readily able to access funds (Johnson 1989). Robert and Alexander Sr. influenced George Jr. to aid with their desired outcomes, in effect making their brother their own inside man. For example, in 1838, Robert forwarded to George Jr. a copy of "Alexander Sr.'s account against Government for Medical attendance rendered to a detachment of the Queen's Light Infantry some time ago stationed at Chatham."¹⁵ Similarly, in 1847, Alexander Sr. informs George Jr. that he has appointed William Alexander McCrae his attorney, in the interest of ascertaining any "Losses and Claims in respect to the Rebellion and Invasions of [the] Province during the years of 1837 and 1838."¹⁶ As well, Robert petitions George Jr. for financial assistance

You are about borrowing money from the Bank with the same facility that you can get £100 you can obtain £12.10 more. Why not do this and partly relieve me from the embarrassment I am

¹⁴ Information on male sibling correspondence is incredibly scarce. Historian Françoise Noël has asserted, in relation to the Douglas Brothers of Upper Canada that their correspondence tended to consist of notes regarding visits or desires for visits. Letters also concerned practical, philosophical, or religious issues. Emotionality does not appear to have played a part in the brothers' correspondence. Noël(2003): 266-269.

¹⁵ BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 9 (1838-1839); Robert Ironside to George Ironside, 27 May 1838.

¹⁶ LAC; RG-19-E-5-c, Volume 5486, file 368; 1847; Alexander Ironside – Upper Canada Rebellion Land Losses.

labouring under. This would add but little to your debt, but would be of infinite service to me. My means are but limited and I cannot want what is due me without suffering.¹⁷

Similarly, Alexander Sr. requests to borrow money from George Jr.,

I would like to borrow about \$40 for 3 or 4 weeks from you to arrange the affair, as money is so scarce here ... if you can let me have the money be kind enough to send it up in a day or five ... If you have not the money by you will you be good enough to borrow that amount for me & oblige.¹⁸

With the absence of George Jr.'s responses, and any correspondence between Robert and Alexander Sr., as well as others outside or within the family, it cannot be assumed that help is being sought solely from George Jr., or that his help was always given. The absence of personal detail from these letters, for example information of Robert's health and job opportunities, suggests different types of relationships between George Jr. and each of his two brothers.

News of family and circumstances were often shared between brothers in letters, for example, when Alexander and his family appear to have been going through a period of poor health. Another example is when Alexander Sr. sends word to George Jr. that "it is very sickly just within a few days [...] two of our children is [sic] very ill with fever we have been obliged to set up all night last night with them, but appear rather better this morning."¹⁹ Similar news sent by Alexander Sr. several years later suggests that he "would have answered [George Jr.'s] letter sooner but [he has] had a very sore hand & could not write. Geo: has been very ill with an affection of the lung brought on from Influenza. [He] was fearful at one time that he would not get well, but, he is now, [he] is glad to say getting better, [they] have all been ill with the influenza."²⁰ Correspondingly,

¹⁷ BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 10 (1840-1841); Robert Ironside to George Ironside, 6 January 1841.

¹⁸ BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 12 (1843-1844); Alexander Ironside to George Ironside, 2 July 1843.

¹⁹ BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 10 (1840-1841); Alexander Ironside to George Ironside, 21 August 1840.

²⁰ BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 12 (1843-1844); Alexander Ironside to George Ironside, 26 November 1843.

Alexander Sr. again complains of being “ill with the influenza” in another letter addressed to George a year later.²¹

Along with family news, Alexander Sr. shared with George Jr. personal accomplishments of which evidently he was quite proud. One such example is when Alexander Sr. tells George Jr. that he “had a visit from Dr. Shortt the Inspector of Hospitals on a tour of inspection & I am glad to say that he complimented me lightly in my quarterly returns & on write & wants to know how you get on &c. &c.”²² If this is the same Shortt (James Symington) as related to Anne,²³ no such reference is made. Alexander Sr.’s practice of sharing these events and accomplishments with his older brother George Jr. might reflect a situation in which George Jr. inherited the role of ‘father figure’ especially in the case of Alexander Sr.

Other discussion in the correspondence from Alexander Sr. included the town gossip from Chatham. Although not directly related to George Ironside Jr.’s identity, the following examples are offered to provide a broader understanding of the circumstances and borderland environments in which the Ironside siblings were all negotiating in their own ways. The mere fact that these events were transmitted between the brothers suggests that they were of some importance. The historical significance of these events, specifically the charivari, suggests a religious and moral connection of the Ironside family to the days when its practice was observed and possibly accepted. Specifically two incidents occurred that deserve to be mentioned. The first is suggestive of what would have been expected as proper behaviour by a doctor in nineteenth century Upper Canada.

I have no news worth adding to you but by the by I have just been informed that Doctor Barr ... of this place was [assaulted] last night windows & sashes Broken, doors drove in &c. &c. pumpkins thrown in the windows & I do not know what all was done in the house, it appears what caused all this he thought proper to get worried last night to a Scotch girl a servant man formerly of the

²¹ BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 12 (1843-1844); Alexander Ironside to George Ironside, 10 July 1844.

²² BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 10 (1840-1841); Alexander Ironside to George Ironside, 21 August 1840.

²³ James Symington Shortt was the son of Mrs. Shortt, Anne Symington’s half-sister. He was enlisted with the British army stationed in Upper Canada, and it possible that he was affiliated with the medical profession. His association with George’s brothers is unknown. As this is the only reference to “Shortt” in all correspondence between Alexander, Robert, and George identity cannot be proven.

stage proprietor & has just came up from District where she has been at work. They were married yesterday evening no one present but his servant man a Methodist Preacher married them.²⁴ I appear that the old fellow must have been very much allowed indeed for it is said that in sponging out of bed that he left rather an offensive smelling material behind him.²⁵

This demonstrates that gossip travelled not only among women, but also among men, too. The mere fact that this somewhat obscure event was deemed to be worth writing about by Alexander Sr. to George Jr. demonstrates the nature of their relationship in that anecdotes could be shared unrelated to official matters. Additionally, the actions towards Dr. Barr are highly suggestive of a form of collective protest known as the *charivari*. The public ritualistic behaviour associated with charivari has been associated as a mock serenade of a newly married couple (Crowley 1979). Behaviours associated suggest the use of the charivari as a hazardous method of social control, where folk justice meted out approval or censure. Charivari occurred when wives were subject to abuse and domination by their husbands. Acts of sodomy against a rural young worker are also known to have constituted the crime. The primary cause for the charivari to occur was when a widower married a girl significantly his junior, a widower herself, or still a child. Additionally when a man from outside the community married a local girl, the infringement or transgression of social and community norms provided the justification for the charivari (Cashmere 1991; see also Dobash and Dobash 2007). Based on what has been suggested about the actions and purposes of charivari it seems increasingly likely that the actions towards Dr. Barr committed on his wedding night can be interpreted as the social action movement of charivari. The mere presence of this event in a letter from Alexander Sr. to George Jr. suggests the abnormality of the event and further provides interpretation of their relationship. Additionally, Alexander Sr.'s act of writing the details of Dr. Barr can be interpreted as the sharing of accepted cultural norms between brothers.

The second piece of gossip concerns a murder that occurred in Chatham,

A murder has been committed here 3 or 4 days ago near this place,
one Negro shot another through the window, the ball passed

²⁴ See King (1995) for an explanation for the legal and social justification that would have accompanied females in a similar situation as the Scotch girl to opt for marriage.

²⁵ BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 10 (1840-1841); Alexander Ironside to George Ironside, 28 October 1840.

through the left vessel at the base of the heart, he of course died instant. I was called up only to have a post mortem examination of the body. The murderer fled, but search is making for him. We have no snow here as yet, the day has been very mild, lots of mud. I just returned from west Tilbury last night about 12 Oclk & have not been out all day.²⁶

It seems unlikely that Alexander Sr. was the medical examiner on many other murders. George Jr., Alexander Sr. and Robert regularly shared occupational requests as well as community gossip in their communication with each other.

FRIENDS

The Ironside family maintained correspondence with many friends throughout the years. Based on the correspondence of the Ironside family, friendships were important part of their lives in the borderlands. George Sr. valued his friendship with Matthew Elliott and was at his bedside for his death. Based on correspondence, the lengthiest friendship George Jr. engaged in was with Dr. Alexander McGregor, who evidently became very close to the Ironside family as a whole. George Jr. and Anne's children maintained correspondence with their own friends, in addition to those individuals who had influenced their father's life, for example Colonel John Prince who would become the first judge of Algoma.

In 1835, J. M. Rogers sent a letter to Ironside informing him of his arrival in Quebec. He detailed his astonishment upon his arrival of not being positioned in the Commissariat, but rather appointed to the aid of Dr. Mr. General Depart. Capt. Dickson, Major of Brigade, and the same office his brother held. He then remarked that his duties in Quebec were vastly different from those performed in Amherstburg. He established himself as a local and his connection to George Jr. became clear. He requested a favour from George Jr., "my Brother wants to know if you would [be able] to get a pair of Moose Deer Horns for him, the very largest you possibly can get if possible beneath about 150th he wants to send them to England to the under secretary of State, we don't

²⁶ BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 13 (1845-1849); Alexander Ironside to George Ironside, 25 December 1846.

care what expense it may cost in their coming down.”²⁷ This is the only reference in any Ironside correspondence where there is a disregard for the cost of something. True, the ambivalence about cost is related to a wealthy friend, not Ironside himself. This is still suggestive of the discrepancy in attitudes towards money. Rogers continues to discuss the fashion of Quebec, and how his clothing is inappropriate, and the general conventions in comparison to those of Amherstburg,

I found myself quite rusty on my arrival here, my Amherstburg Cloathes would not do. I was obliged to get a fresh [set] out of consequence, [everyone] laughs at such cut Cloathes, drinking won't do in these offices, if a fellow is known to be boosy often in fact at all, he is marked down as a [drunk] and not taken notice of, I have not drank any thing but Ginger & strong beer, a few glasses of malted Wine in the Evening & I believe 2 glasses of Brandy & water since my arrival. I feel all the better for it & am getting as fat as possible. The other chaps tell me its in consequence of being away from my Wife, they said I sh_d [underscore appears in text] too much, furniture & House rent I find will come very dear however I think I shall raise a [very] good Establishment during the Winter.²⁸

With the above quote, it appears that there were very large discrepancies between acceptable behaviour in Upper and Lower Canada during the nineteenth century. Rogers ends his letter by asking George Jr. to

Tell Mrs. Rogers to give to you in her own hand writing for my conformations whether she intend writing to me any more or not, Perhaps she is so taken up with her numerous relations that I am forgotten I would not wonder at any of their advice to her from what I have heard here.²⁹

Whoever Rogers was, he has left his wife in Amherstburg while he fulfilled his duty, and progressively got fat in Quebec. The importance of this letter is the comparison it offers between Quebec and Amherstburg and how something accepted in one location was frowned upon, or caused name calling in the other. Additionally, the relationship

²⁷ BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 7 (1834-1835); J. M. Rogers to George Ironside, 25 August 1835.

²⁸ BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 7 (1834-1835); J. M. Rogers to George Ironside, 25 August 1835.

²⁹ BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 7 (1834-1835); J. M. Rogers to George Ironside, 25 August 1835.

expressed between Rogers and George Jr. through this single letter demonstrates a more divergent identity than was evident in other correspondence.

Alexander McGregor, another friend of George Jr., maintained a more lengthy correspondence with him. The earliest letter of Alexander McGregor's to George Jr. that was preserved dates to 1837 in response to a note from George Jr. asking about his whereabouts and providing a status update on the family. Suggestive of his position as a friend and confidant to George Jr., McGregor³⁰ tells him, "You know Ironside what I say to you I say as one of your warmest friends and [wellwishers]. No one more so I shall feel an interest in whatever concerns your happiness and prosperity in this and I also ever I care and where ever I go."³¹ Throughout the correspondence between McGregor and George Jr., there was expression of a great and lasting friendship. McGregor informed George Jr. that the 34th Regiment was relocated to Chatham, and allays any fears that they might interfere with Alexander Sr.'s medical practice. Additionally, it appeared as though George Jr. confided a fear about providing for his family in a letter to McGregor. In regard to the mention of George Jr.'s fear, McGregor responded, "I cannot see any real cause you why should grieve or annoy yourself about providing for your family you are obliged with love ... and you have a nice family why should you fret yourself."³² This fear is understandable as 1837 was the beginning of talks of downsizing the Indian Department, which before the year was out would cost George Jr. his position as Superintendent.

McGregor occupied a very similar medical army position as Dr. Huston,³³ and as such some commonalities in their writing and correspondence can be noted. Unlike Dr. Huston who was an assistant surgeon, however, there is no evidence that Dr. McGregor was more specialized than a standard medical doctor in the British military. Most evident is the obvious complaint about the locations and posts to which they were assigned. Speaking about Simcoe, Upper Canada, McGregor suggested that, "I have seen a good

³⁰ In reference to Alexander McGregor, "McGregor" will be used to ensure differentiation from Alexander Ironside.

³¹ BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 9 (1838-1839); Dr. Alexander McGregor to George Ironside, 10 July 1837.

³² BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 9 (1838-1839); Dr. Alexander McGregor to George Ironside, 10 July 1837.

³³ Dr. Huston was an assistant surgeon in the British military. He was also George and Anne's brother-in-law through marriage to Eliza, Anne's sister.

deal of the world and a great many places but I would not live there if I was to get 300 years. I utterly detest the place, and I disclose I would live in a prison rather than live there.”³⁴ Writing from Sandwich, McGregor again complained, “my Regiment never was any kind so sick of a place as I am of this ... I have been at Detroit, I don’t much like the place, tho’ the Yankees are civil enough, I have little or no news to give you.”³⁵ These complaints about location must be interpreted as a coping mechanism, especially if one considers that these men were not provided with options as to where they were sent, away from family and friends.

Another commonality between Dr. Huston and Dr. McGregor’s correspondence is the continual desire to find out information about friends and be remembered to these same friends. In remembering those remaining in Amherstburg, McGregor told George Jr., “I feel obliged by the kind consolations you afforded all my fair friends poor things I am afraid it will be a [while before] I see them make my kindest love to them all I need not give you names.”³⁶ McGregor asked about specific individuals in the Amherstburg community in following correspondence. In 1838 he enquires, “How is Mr. & Mrs. Rudyard. I wish you would tell either of them to write to me as you know afar times from her fine hand waked by very acceptable this you may hint to her yourself.”³⁷ Intriguingly, McGregor asked after George Jr.’s sisters who rarely appear to be mentioned anywhere, “I hope Miss Mary is keeping her health, the country air will do her good Mrs. Ironside I am sure will like the change.”³⁸ These articles of correspondence reflect the social circles George Jr. walked in, and it is vital to note that there is no mention of the Wyandot therein.

³⁴ BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 9 (1838-1839); Dr. Alexander McGregor to George Ironside, 7 August 1838.

³⁵ BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 9 (1838-1839); Dr. Alexander McGregor to George Ironside, 6 May 1839.

³⁶ BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 9 (1838-1839); Dr. Alexander McGregor to George Ironside, 10 July 1837.

³⁷ BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 9 (1838-1839); Dr. Alexander McGregor to George Ironside, 7 August 1838.

³⁸ BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 9 (1838-1839); Dr. Alexander McGregor to George Ironside, 6 May 1839.

Most interesting, however, is when McGregor sends his condolences to George Jr. and Anne in on the occasion of Dr. Huston's passing. He worried that he might be delivering the bad news if Mrs. Ironside had not heard from her family yet. He wrote,

My Dear Ironside I am very sorry to see in the newspapers the death of Dr. Huston, if Mrs. Ironside does not know of it don't alarm her, tell her gently. I really feel for Mrs. Huston and her young family bad news don't come alone one of our officers received word of the death of his Father.³⁹

When this letter arrived in 1839, McGregor was stationed at Toronto, likely as the doctor to Government House. Without saying as much, it appeared that McGregor is on call, possibly as a personal doctor, to the Governor General as long as he remained at York. McGregor suggested that the "Governor General is still here [and] I believe will remain until the great question of the Union of the provinces is finally & for ever settled whether it is for good or bad is ... to be found out." Concerning the Act of Union, he continued to discuss his fear that "as talks [...] ultimate good [...] indeed I think it is only the commencement of a great struggle to cede this country to the U[nited] States, [...] the Queen is to be married, the Duke of Wellington has been very ill."⁴⁰

The fear that Canada would be ceded to the United States was persuasive and genuine. The 1837-1838 rebellion was one year prior to Dr. McGregor's posting at Government House, and the War of 1812 was still in recent memory. In addition, participants in the 1837-1838 rebellion hid out in the United States. The population of the United States continued to grow steadily. The American idea of Manifest Destiny was just being formulated during the formative period of the American Jacksonian Democratic era.⁴¹ The Union of the Provinces, known as the Act of Union brought together Upper and Lower Canada in 1841, and together became the United Province of Canada, with the previous renamed as Canada West and Canada East, respectively (Careless 1967). The Act of Union effectively alleviated some fears about United States interests in the British North American territory.

³⁹ BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 9 (1838-1839); Dr. Alexander McGregor to George Ironside, 30 December 1839.

⁴⁰ BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 9 (1838-1839); Dr. Alexander McGregor to George Ironside, 30 December 1839.

⁴¹ For further explanation of the Jacksonian era, and Manifest Destiny see, May (2002); Merk (1966); Monro (1985); and Stuart (1988).

In 1841, McGregor received notice that he was to leave Canada for England. He sent a last letter to George Jr. asking him to please

Remember me most kindly to all my friends in the best Mr. Duff and family don't forget Susan also the Misses Janes & My Dear Ironside my best & kindest wishes for your welfare I hope will you attend you this life & I hope you will be long spared to your family tell Mrs. Ironside I shall ever remember her kindness to me & where ever I go I will always cherish that grateful remembrance that I once was an intimate 2 your family and if ever it is in my power, I hope to do say mention of it any good it will be my anxious endeavour. Farewell.⁴²

His affection for the Ironside family is truly demonstrated with these final words he furnished to his long time friend George Ironside Jr.

The last available letter from Dr. Alexander McGregor to George Ironside Jr. appeared in 1842. That the correspondence did not continue after that date may have been due to George Jr. and family having been relocated to Manitoulin Island, although it is also possible that the correspondence did continue, but for whatever reasons, the letters were not preserved.

Dr. McGregor stated in his last letter, that he left Canada for England. However, when he arrived in England he discovered that he was reassigned to his present Corps, which effectively brought him back to Canada. A point of significance in this letter is his detailed discussion of his desire not to take a wife. McGregor suggested to George Jr., "I suppose you now live a very domesticated life, depend upon it, nothing like it but by my preaching you will be rather suspicious that I have got a wife – No! No! upon 7/6⁴³ per diem it will never pay."⁴⁴ McGregor's feelings concerning not getting married correspond to literature on imperial British medical officers. The decision not to marry was common, whether by choice or through heavy suggestions from superiors.

Correspondence between George Jr. and his friends ceased with his relocation to Manitowaning or conversely have not survived through time. For several years there are few personal letters available until George Jr. and Anne's children are old enough to take

⁴² BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 10 (1840-1841); Dr. Alexander McGregor to George Ironside, 2 January 1841.

⁴³ The figure 7/6 means seven shillings, six pence, which was a short form of writing currency equations.

⁴⁴ BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 11 (1842-June 1843); Dr. Alexander McGregor to George Ironside, 26 July 1842.

on the task of corresponding with friends themselves. Specifically, Alexander McGregor Ironside maintained friendships with certain individuals such as Dr. Robert Bell and his father's old friend, John Prince.

THIRD GENERATION IRONSIDES

A friendship developed between several of George Jr. and Anne's children and Dr. Robert Bell. Born in 1841, Dr. Bell was a medical doctor, professor of Chemistry and Natural History at Queen's University, geologist, naturalist, and the Assistant Director of the Geological Survey of Canada between 1857 and 1908.⁴⁵ This friendship was manifested through the exchange of letters and other correspondence between members of the Ironside family and Dr. Bell. The friendship between Alexander McGregor Ironside⁴⁶ and Bell appears to have been established while Bell was at Manitowaning. There is a reference to Bell climbing a tall tree at the "Little Current" and how his climbing was not all for naught, because he was destined to climb up in the world the same way, "breaking all branches that obstruct [his] road in the same manner."⁴⁷ Evidently Alexander McGregor Ironside was impressed with his friend's success and foresaw it long before. This friendship is not surprising in that Bell was three years Alexander McGregor Ironside's junior, and that in 1857 the then 15-year-old Bell began what would become 50 years of field work for the Geological Survey of Canada.

Unlike the situations already discussed, a small collection of the letters sent from the Ironside children had survived. The first of these letters dated December 1860 appears to have been sent from Alexander McGregor Ironside. It was sent in response to a letter from Bell informing Ironside of his safe arrival in Montreal with no broken bones. The connection between these two men appears to be an interest in music, more specifically the ability of Bell to acquire musical instruments and music at the request of Alexander McGregor Ironside. Bell apparently is holding off sending music to Ironside until there is less chance of it going astray. Alexander McGregor Ironside agrees, and requests that

⁴⁵ LAC; MG-29, B15, Vol. 1-64; Robert Bell Fonds

⁴⁶ Alexander McGregor Ironside should not be confused with his namesake Alexander McGregor, or his uncle Alexander Ironside. He will henceforth be referred to as Alexander McGregor Ironside.

⁴⁷ LAC; MG-29, B15, Vol. 22, file 61; Alexander McGregor Ironside to Dr. Robert Bell, 16 March 1861.

when it is sent it be addressed through the Postmaster at Killarney. He even includes the cost of postage, and if postage is under the two dollars sent, Bell is to purchase himself a necktie.⁴⁸

The next correspondence between Alexander McGregor Ironside and Bell is most telling of their relationship, and also the relationship Alexander McGregor Ironside had with his sisters. This letter was received in 1861, and included the music that he discussed previously,

Today's mail put me in possession of your kind and welcome letter – the music bringing up the rear in grand style, with the loss of none; and for which I would now offer you many many thanks from myself, and my sisters for whom the music was got – which please accept I need scarcely say as regards it, that my sisters appear to be all of one opinion in pronouncing the pieces, one and all, very pretty or very beautiful. I know not which – of course it could not be otherwise by any chance in the world whatever. For myself, I scarcely think that, as yet, they have practiced more than two pieces at most, and would require a little more time to ascertain their individual merit.⁴⁹

It seems evident from this that Alexander McGregor Ironside truly cared for his sisters. The interest of Alexander McGregor Ironside and his immediate family in playing musical instruments while on the frontier demonstrates that they might have been in denial of where they actually were or trying to maintain a social distance from other residents, or creating a personal, social connection with the urbane world to the south. They do appear to have followed a very British Colonial lifestyle despite residing on the frontier. The letter goes to congratulate Bell on his receiving a Professorship. This would likely have been at Queen's University in Kingston, Canada West.

George Ironside Jr.'s friend and supporter, John Prince relocated to Sault Ste. Marie upon receiving his appointment as the first judge of Algoma District. In a diary entry dated 19 July 1863, he writes,

I walked up to the Hudson Bay Post and saw Simpson about the Petition to Gov't to appoint Alex'r McGregor Ironside to the office in the Indian Department held by his poor father, and I drafted the

⁴⁸ LAC; MG-29, B15, Vol. 22, file 61; Alexander McGregor Ironside to Dr. Robert Bell, 29 December 1860.

⁴⁹ LAC; MG-29, B15, Vol. 22, file 61; Alexander McGregor Ironside to Dr. Robert Bell, 16 March 1861.

Petition there which Simpson approved of highly. Spent 20 minutes with poor Mrs. Ironside & Miss I. & Mrs. Simpson and then walked home (Douglas 1980).

Evidently, Prince who had been a supporter of George Jr. was using his influence and abilities to help Alexander McGregor Ironside. The approval of the petition drafted by Prince and Simpson for the appointment of Alexander McGregor Ironside into the position that his father held is demonstrative of the dynamics of the Ironside family, and also demonstrative of how the state functioned. Wemyss Simpson, Chief Factor of the Hudson Bay Company and the local judge, along with Prince both highly approved of Alexander McGregor Ironside replacing his father as Indian Superintendent in the Northern District. The fact that Prince visited Mrs. (Anne) Ironside so soon after George Jr.'s death speaks volumes about his personal relationship with George Jr. and the Ironside family as a whole.

As events occurred, Alexander McGregor Ironside did not succeed his father. He did however remain involved in the British North American and Canadian governments. The 1871 Dominion of Canada Census, for which Alexander McGregor Ironside helped in gathering data, reveals for the district of Algoma Centre, and the Sub-District of Sault Ste. Marie, significant data about that generation of the Ironside clan. Annie, George Jr. and Anne's second eldest daughter, married Wemyss McKenzie Simpson and in their 18 years of marriage they created quite an extensive family. Belonging to the Church of England, they had ten children, including a set of twins by 1871 (See Appendix 6).⁵⁰ Anne Ironside, George Jr.'s widow, was 60 years old and would evidently live for another 32 years, remaining at Sault Ste. Marie and continuing as the matriarch of her extensive family. As the older Ironside children were mostly female, those who did not continue living with Anne, and were thus not included as members of her household on the census, are not easily traceable.

In 1890, Bell requested information about aboriginal folklore around Manitoulin Island from Alexander McGregor Ironside, who readily promised to do some research and communicate the results to him. Alexander McGregor Ironside offers regret for not being able to provide more ready service, since he had not paid attention years ago to the stories of the old Natives, who had since

⁵⁰ LAC; RG-31, 1871 Census: District 089 (Algoma Centre), Sub-District B (Sault Ste. Marie).

passed away to their happy hunting grounds and in effect taken their stories with them – though the only ones I have ever heard anything at all about had reference I think to Nainebojho and to the Rapids at the Sault. I seldom have an opportunity now of meeting with the older Indians of the more remote Reserves in this Superintendency to hear what they might have to tell, and as for the old Indian story tellers of Wikwemikong they have died years ago.⁵¹

In this one passage, Alexander McGregor Ironside places himself in the same location as his late father, George Ironside Jr. He demonstrates that he has minimal knowledge of the traditional accounts of the people around whom he grew up. Whether this extends to his paternal grandmother one can only speculate. His mention of Wikwemikong is very interesting given the events and strained relationship between his father and members of that Band. Likewise, the implications of this passage suggest that George Ironside Jr.'s children, the generation of Alexander McGregor Ironside and his siblings, felt no identity or connection with their Native heritage. Furthermore, this suggests that George Jr.'s use of his Native identity was external, perhaps manipulative purposes, rather than as an internal and external expression of what he truly believed himself to be, since it was an identity choice that he chose not to pass onto his children.

Dr. Robert Bell resurfaces when he sends a letter of sympathy to Sarah Ironside on the event of her mother's passing. The death of Anne came as a shock to the family, for she was ill with bronchitis and it was assumed that she would recover. Apparently, her last day or two was spent in extreme pain. Sarah enclosed in her response to Bell a little sketch of Anne's early life, which appeared with the obituary, but unfortunately these have not survived with the correspondence.⁵² Thus through expressing condolences and remembering the live members of the Ironside family, Bell effectively reestablishes his connection to them.

From what can be gathered from the personal correspondence between George Jr. and his brothers and friends, and the little correspondence available between his children and their friends, it seems evident that the Ironside family were all connected to a family support system. His relationship with his sisters remains unknown. His friendship with

⁵¹ LAC; MG-29, B15, Vol. 22, file 61; Alexander McGregor Ironside to Dr. Robert Bell, 14 February 1890.

⁵² LAC; MG-29, B15, Vol. 22, file 62; Sarah Ironside to Dr. Robert Bell, 28 May 1902.

Dr. Alexander McGregor proved so rewarding that he named a son after this man. Perhaps based on his positive examples, his eldest sons chose to follow their father's example in respect to careers within the government. It is also blatantly obvious from McGregor (Ironside)'s letters to Dr. Bell, that he enjoyed a close relationship with his sisters.

George Ironside Jr. was more than just the Superintendent of Indian Affairs. He was a brother, a friend, a husband, and a father. This alternate side of his life, his private persona, becomes abundantly more comprehensible through the available correspondence between himself, his brothers and his friends. This personal investigation of George Ironside Jr. demonstrates an aspect of his identity rarely, visible in the official documentation generated as a result of his profession. The crucial elements of his identity and personality, as well as that of his family, are exemplified through the correspondence each sends to their respective recipients. Ironside siblings, friends, and the third generation of this family each established their own niche in the ever-changing world of nineteenth century British North America, before Confederation in 1867, and after, in Canada. George Jr.'s brothers Alexander Sr. and Robert appear to have maintained an official relationship as well as what can best be described as a friendship. George Jr. and Anne's extensive friendship with Dr. Alexander McGregor not only allowed their shared residence for a span of two years, but also was so close that he provided the name for their second son. Comparatively, Alexander McGregor Ironside maintained a friendship with his contemporary Dr. Robert Bell, which in addition to the obvious intimacy provided access to resources and information from Toronto.

This correspondence engaged in by the men of the Ironside family established friendships and solidified familial bonds. Each of the three generations examined carried out both official and personal correspondence. The information shared between the correspondents provides vital information for the understanding of motives, family relationships, and most significantly individual identity. It was this identity that evolved and solidified within the border regions of the British North American state.

CHAPTER 5

ANNE SYMINGTON'S CORRESPONDENCE

In 1810, Anne Symington, the youngest of four surviving children, was born to Elizabeth Brooks and Mr. Symington.¹ Anne and her three sisters, Mrs. Shortt², Mary Arnold and Eliza Huston shared a mother, but only Eliza shared the same father. In 1828, Anne Symington married George Ironside Junior, a marriage that lasted until his death in 1863. Anne therefore remained at George's side through the personal and public events in which he partook, and was with him during his relocation to Manitowaning. Together they had fourteen children (see Appendix 2). The basis for this chapter has been taken from personal correspondence, which has been utilized to examine family relationships of the Ironside, Symington, and Huston families.

Recent scholarship on women's lives in the beginning and middle of the nineteenth century in Upper Canada, although scarce, has contested the notion of the woman as domestic and has attempted to further explore what women really did (Floyd 2002). The roles played by men and women differed dramatically. Men's lives were preoccupied with the public sphere, the workplace and society, whereas women's lives supposedly centered on domesticity, specifically the home, and household (Morgan 1996). For most colonial women, the central aspects of motherhood and marriage encompassed their emotional and physical lives by determining "whom she was, where she lived, and what she did" (Errington 1995: xvi).

The documents on which this chapter is based are primarily comprised of correspondence in the form of letters sent from Eliza or her husband Dr. James L. Huston, cousin James Symington Shortt, other family members or close friends to Anne and George Ironside. As these documents do not comprise official records, they are at times incredibly personal. None of the letters sent from Anne to her family and friends

¹ Mr. Symington's first name is unknown. Contrary to other nineteenth century examples, the female's first name has survived, whereas the man's has not. Burton Historical Collection (BHC); George Ironside Papers, Box 7 (1834-1835); James Symington Shortt (Anne's nephew) to George Ironside Jr., 3 November 1834.

² Mrs. Shortt's first name is unknown.

are included. The available correspondence permits an understanding and insight into George and Anne's worldviews and sense of identity.³

The letters reviewed for this chapter encompass the kind of personal communications that served an emotional lifeline between the families separated by geography and careers.⁴ They also provided the writer with the ability to acknowledge the experiences of daily life, which undoubtedly included the apprehensions between public and private that constructed the nineteenth century individual's identity (Smith and Sullivan 1995). Letters offered a means for the author to maintain contact with friends and relatives from their youth, as well as reaffirm the emotional connections with family (Errington 1995). One thing that must be considered in any examination of personal letters from this period is the cost involved. For example, paper and postage were both quite expensive during the nineteenth century. Only in 1896, with the introduction of the Penny Post, was the cost of postage within the British Commonwealth regulated under the direction of John Henniker Heaton and William Mulock (Jeffery 2006). The high costs associated with maintaining correspondence likely influenced the scarcity of such letters, at least for some economic classes, as well as the "crossing" that occurs in letters of the time period where multiple lines of text were written over each other, to provide more space per sheet of paper (Noël 2003). Occasionally, letters written would not be sent for an extended period until the funds to pay for postage could be obtained (Errington 2007). This is evidenced through several letters having been opened up before being mailed and additional inscriptions being added. Additionally, many letters would have been destroyed by accident or on purpose. The mere fact that these survived suggests their importance for future reference (Noël 2003).

HERITAGE

Information exists concerning where and how the Symington sisters spent their early years. There appears to be a significant age difference between Anne and her

³ Interesting to note is the collection and preservation of these records. All the documents concerning Anne come from the Burton Historical Collection, which had been sold to Mr. Burton by Mrs. Mary Ironside, the widow of George Jr. and Anne's youngest son, John Symington Clarke Ironside. BHC; George Ironside Papers, Finding Aid/Explanation of Collection page.

⁴ For more information on transatlantic communication see Gerber (2005); see also Errington (2007): 136-158.

siblings. Mrs. Shortt passed away in or before 1834, her age and cause of death unknown; however, she did leave a son, James Symington Shortt who took the opportunity of his mother's passing to initiate correspondence with his aunt, Anne. Letters between Mary Arnold and Anne are lacking. However, there is an extensive correspondence with Eliza who through her letters appears to be counseling and advising Anne in matters of domesticity, fashion, and other aspects of being a good wife and housekeeper. Her tips and advice were likely due to a combination of her older age, as well as the fact that she had had at least two children prior to Anne's marriage. The closeness demonstrated through Eliza and Anne is not unusual as sisters tended to remain together between childhood and adolescence until marriage finally separated them, at least in respect to physical distance (Davidoff and Hall 1987). Despite physical distance, Eliza continuously looked out for her younger sister's welfare and happiness.

It needs to be noted that Anne, Eliza, Mrs. Shortt and Mary inherited a piece of land consisting of 400 acres in the township of Whitby, in the Home District 40 miles east of Toronto, from their deceased mother.⁵ A standard assumption would be that there would have been disputes or arguments over the purpose of the land and the revenue it attained. According to James Symington Shortt,

Mr. Arnold took upon himself to give this man a title for the whole of it, and the man very foolishly bought it and paid £400 for it without making every inquiry as the man is really worth something and cannot afford to start another ... for you will be obliged to prosecute him, for your share, it would be well for Mrs. [Ironsides] and yourself to give me a deed for your 100 acres and I will bring the action for 200 acres I hereby owing the expense of another law suit to him, and to you a great deal of trouble and expense living so far from it as you do, and the quantity being so small you could have not object in keeping it to ... speculation, as it is wild and some [distances] back from the main road.⁶

Despite the assumption of disputes over the land and revenue, this does not appear to be the case between Anne and Eliza. Through their correspondence on the subject, they encouraged each other's opinions in relation to the land, and it appears that they shared the revenue from it. Granted, much of the correspondence in relation to the land occurred

⁵ BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 7 (1834-1835); James Symington Shortt to George Ironside, 3 November 1834.

⁶ BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 7 (1834-1835); James Symington Shortt to George Ironside, 3 November 1834.

between George Jr. and the Doctor; both men appear to be constantly looking out for their mutual best interest.

Anne Symington likely married within her class to George Ironside Jr.⁷ George's government position within the Indian Department as Indian Agent, an assured salary after receiving a military commission at the rank of Captain in 1838 (Douglas 1980), and control over the granting of licenses, placed him in a position of authority within the community. Office holding always implied a limited possibility of wealth, security, and status, and involved the exercise of power (Johnson 1989). Anne, as his wife, both reflected and enhanced George Ironside Jr.'s social status (McKenna 1990). Despite Anne and George Jr.'s place in the higher classes of society, no known diary or journal has come to light by these individuals.

When George Ironside Sr. arrived in North America, his choice of marriage partners was limited. During the late 18th century in the North American frontier, it was widely accepted that white European men took wives of First Nations ancestry. On the British North American borderlands with the United States, in the early 19th century more white European women as potential marriage partners were available as the region shifted from a garrisoned and economic frontier, to an urban/rural settlement of the British empire. The acceptance of intermarriage that had been prevalent during George Sr.'s time had dissipated by the time George Jr. sought a wife. It is worth noting, for example, that in other parts of the British Empire, authorities sought legal means to fight against unions between individuals of different ancestries (Brooks 2002; Templin 2004).

What we know about Anne, Eliza, and the latter's husband, Dr. Huston, as well as their respective families, has been gleaned from letters of correspondence. Letters undoubtedly had purpose, scope and style. The form of every letter followed similar nineteenth century conventions, especially in their salutations. As will become evident, the characters in the authors' lives played prominent roles in each of their writing. Similarly, there was great value placed on the passage of family information between sisters (Bloom 1996).

It must be noted however, that the available correspondence for this chapter entirely lacks Anne's half of this literary dialogue. The lack of Anne's own words and

⁷ For example see, Kerber *et al.*, (1989).

descriptions forces myself, or any researcher, to place a strong reliance on the words of her family members. In effect, we need to conceptualize Eliza, who wrote letters to Anne available for study, as the speaker, and must assume Anne is the listener. Nonetheless, if a reader assumes that the words written resemble that of a vocal conversation, then the message has meaning in social dialogue (Bakhtin 1981). Similarly, as David Gerber (2005) has asserted

the conversation of pens is ... almost always a one-way conversation, in which the voice of the unrepresented interlocutor may at best be heard as an echo speaking through the writer, offering for example, instruction on what to write, or what to not write, or criticism of the content, form, or style of previous letter, to which the writer feels compelled to respond.

Therefore, through Eliza's half of this literary dialogue, we can hear the echoes of Anne's hopes, desires, anxieties and worries, arising from the domestic world she shared with George Jr.⁸ So while overt absence of Anne's voice and her words places her in a category with most other Upper Canadian people (Errington 1995), the presence of extensive correspondence between 1828 and 1844 from Eliza and her husband affords us the opportunity to find the traces or echoes that allow Anne to speak and be heard. I acknowledge, however, that in the absence of her responses I am limited to speculation regarding her response to Eliza's correspondence. It is possible Anne did not welcome or refuted the domestic advice or concerns Eliza raised. However, the scope and breadth of correspondence, to my mind, refutes that possibility, given the continued focus of Eliza's letters, and the echoes of Anne's consent, enthusiasm and request for more reflected in those letters we do have available from the one side of this literary dialogue.

Importantly, then, while the correspondence only indirectly offers insights into the personal lives of George Jr. and Anne's life, they nonetheless do offer glimpses, see beyond the official, constructed identities George Jr. employed in his professional life. Moreover, the act of Eliza and Anne corresponding with one another is important beyond just shedding light on George Jr. These letters documented their positions as domestic

⁸ These letters would have embraced the description and notions of the topics discussed shared by participants, the author and the reader. The ideology of uncorrupted, as well as true, pure, and virtuous Georgian womanhood and motherhood was reciprocal. See Mumford (1999).

middle-class colonial wives,⁹ and epitomize the recognition women shared with each other about similar life events and within the female space of the 19th century.¹⁰

MARRIAGE

H. B. Brewster, a former associate and friend of the Symingtons and Hustons, sent a congratulatory letter to Anne on the occasion of her recent marriage, dated September 1828: "I had the great gratification of receiving a letter from Doctor Huston from Grenville Corps to which he tells me of your marriage ... wishing you my dear ... little darling girl all the happiness this [can] afford to give to you & your amiable husband."¹¹ Therefore, it can be assumed that Anne Symington and George Ironside Junior were married in 1828. At the time of their marriage, Anne would have been 18 years old, George 22. By conventional standards of the early nineteenth century, they were a bit young, but of an appropriate age.¹² Perhaps Anne and George were married slightly before the statistical average because of the influence of George's job prospects. George Ironside Sr. would be alive for three additional years, and "Old Mrs. Ironside," as referred to by Eliza, was still active sugaring in the spring.¹³ In Eliza's reminiscence, she very fondly remembers old Mrs. Ironside's maple sugar cakes.

WHO WAS ELIZA? WHO WERE THE HUSTONS?

⁹ Welter (1966); with specific reference to the 'cult of domesticity' see also, Cott (1977); Davidoff and Hall (1987); and Little (2002).

¹⁰ See, Huff (1996).

¹¹ BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 4 (1828-1830); H.B. Brewster to Anne Ironside, 25 September 1828.

¹² According to Greer (1985: 51), those living in British North America during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries tended to get married, and individuals tended to be younger than their European counterparts. They also tended to remarry soon after the death of a spouse. Correspondingly, according to Ward (1990: 51-3), women from selected parishes in Cornwall, Upper Canada tended to marry at a younger age at the beginning than later in the century. Similarly, Gagan (1981: 87) suggests that women in Upper Canada during the nineteenth century tended to marry around the age of 21.

¹³ BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 4 (1828-1830); Eliza Huston to Anne Ironside, 21 December 1828.

Eliza was married to the Irish Dr. James L. Huston (see Appendix 3), an army surgeon and member of the Royal Staff Corp.¹⁴ As a surgeon in the British military, Dr. Huston would have been required to obtain a recognized medical license, and qualify at the Army Medical School at Netley, Southampton (Lankford 1987). For the men who qualified, Foreign Service in such places as Canada, Gibraltar, the Sudan, India, and the West Indies could last for as long as six years at a time, and overseas work usually accounted for more than half their careers. These doctors were encouraged not to marry. Despite official discouragement, wives and children did occasionally accompany medical officers on duty. The implication of army medical service generally resulted in frequent and at times distant relocations away from family and friends. But Eliza and her children always accompanied the Doctor on his assignments, wherever the army sent him (see Appendix 4). The alternative appears to have never been considered. However, one reference is made to a military voyage, when the Doctor was placed in charge of the 68th Regiment, the Durham Regiment of Foot (Light Infantry). This trip took the Hustons from a post in Quebec back to England, where Eliza was the only woman on board the ship.¹⁵ This attests to the lack of women who accompanied their husbands on official army duty, and the stature of the Doctor, as the few accompanying officers' wives, would likely have travelled on ships separate from their husbands. It also holds the implication that Eliza, as the only woman on board might have held additional responsibilities for the ship or the men. Also, had Eliza been pregnant and given birth aboard the ship she would have ultimately been alone in her ordeal, which presents a dangerous scenario.

Dr. Huston is among many army doctors who in memoirs, journals, and letters lamented over the tedious nature of garrison life and the lack of suitable associates at any post (Lankford 1987, 212-215). For example, a letter received by Anne from the Doctor suggests that the Hustons' location at the Post of Grenville does not begin to compare to their previous time in Amherstburg. He claimed that "Here we have nothing, no pears, no Peaches, no Apples, as we used to have. We do not like the Staff Corps dasher much and

¹⁴ BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 4 (1828-1830); J.L. Huston to George Ironside, 21 October 1828.

¹⁵ BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 4 (1828-1830); Eliza Huston to Anne Ironside, 29 December 1829.

the Civilians here are not known, so that we spend our time completely alone.”¹⁶ These sentiments continue throughout the complete range of communication. It must be said that their correspondence suggests a concerted effort made by the Doctor and Eliza to acculturate to their surroundings.

Eliza, the Doctor (as he is referred to in all correspondence), and their sons George and Arthur (in early letters, Arthur is referred to by a diminutive of his middle name, Knoxxy¹⁷), spent what appears to be a significant amount of time with Anne and the Ironside clan in Amherstburg. The time of their stay in Amherstburg suggests that they were present at Anne and George’s wedding, or at least were present at approximately the same period.

The date of birth of Julia, the eldest daughter of the Hustons, is unknown. It is possible that she was born either in Amherstburg or elsewhere. She was, however, christened by Mr. Notfels while in Amherstburg.¹⁸ Their younger children, Eliza (born 13 July 1829), Anna Louisa (born 24 August 1831), Felicia Jane (born in 1834) and James Symington (born in 1837) likely never met Anne or George, at least not in their formative years.¹⁹ The Huston family developed a significant attachment to the Canadas, and continued to reiterate their wish to be in almost any place other than that in which they found themselves.

The assumption is that Eliza and Doctor Huston stayed in Amherstburg with (or nearby) Anne and George until their correspondence begins in July 1828. Eliza and the Doctor’s acquaintance with George is never more prominent than in a letter sent to Anne in 1838 in response to the Upper Canadian Rebellion. Eliza states in the letter, “We have had many accounts of the riots in Canada but we never thought you had so much cause for fear as your letter describes I fancy I see G. with the Colours in his hand & his white

¹⁶ BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 4 (1828-1830); Dr. J.L. Huston to Anne Ironside, 18 September 1828.

¹⁷ The continued use, while at a young age of referring to Arthur as Knoxxy suggests that there is an informal relationship between the recipient (Anne), the writer (Eliza or Dr. Huston), and the subject (Arthur Knox). As Arthur gets older, he begins to be referred to by his formal name (Arthur). The informality of ‘Knoxxy,’ affirms his young child status.

¹⁸ BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 9 (1838-1839); John George Browne (Huston) to Anne Ironside, 9 November 1839.

¹⁹ An unnamed girl was born March 1833 who died before age 2.

eyes dancing in his head with joy.”²⁰ Of course, in this letter, Eliza was referring to her knowledge of George and his likely excitement in participating in the Upper Canadian Rebellion.

WISHES OF AMHERSTBURG

In 1828, the Doctor was ordered to join the Staff Corps at Grenville, on the border between the Upper and Lower Canadian towns of Ottawa and Montreal (See Map 6).²¹ Upon arrival in South Grenville in September of the same year, Eliza sent her first letter²² to Anne. Similar to subsequent correspondence from Eliza to her sister, there is a discussion of the children, some expression of disgust or a severe distaste over their current location, followed by a longing to be back in Amherstburg and see each other once again. Much of the time, Eliza inquires how friends remaining in Amherstburg were doing, in other words, she was seeking to know the local gossip, and always pleads for Anne to send more and longer posts to Eliza informing her of every detail of Anne and George’s life. This first letter from Eliza to Anne suggests that Eliza was becoming acclimated to an incommensurable lifestyle in a foreign place. Eliza spent a good deal of time and space explaining just how much the family wished to be back in Amherstburg, George Browne, Eliza’s son,

says he must go and see you and he will sweep up the kitchen berth for you and that he did not want George Ironside to take him in the Little boat to the steam boat ... We complain as much as you do about the completeness of our house we never sit down to a meal that we do not wish for you both to be with us how sincerely do I wish my self back in Amherstburg poor George took a hearty cry when we final came to this place and he asked will we never go home again Mamma.²³

The actions of the young George Browne suggests the happiness and contentment that the children experienced while at Amherstburg and their desire to be reunited with their aunt

²⁰ BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 9 (1838-1839); Eliza Huston to Anne Ironside, 4 August 1838.

²¹ BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 4 (1828-1830); J.L. Huston to Anne Ironside, 24 July 1828.

²² Her first letter kept as part of the collection of George Ironside Papers at the Burton Historical Collection.

²³ BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 4 (1828-1830); Eliza Huston to Anne Ironside, 11 September 1828.

and uncle, in the place they consider home. The Doctor insinuated the same in his next letter to Anne, "Many a wish I have for Amherstburg."²⁴ In further correspondence, Eliza suggests an error in judgment, that "altho we thought Amherstburgh a very dear place we feel now how much we should have forseen it as a station."²⁵ After several years, Dr. Huston writing from Maidstone, Kent continued to remember Amherstburg fondly, "God knows I often wish for poor old Canada, where we often had £100 together, but here we hardly have 100?"²⁶ The affection that Eliza and Dr. Huston continuously associate with Amherstburg, Anne, and George Jr., never wavers throughout any of their correspondence. As time passes, and as the children grow older, they began to detail the extent of their fondness for Amherstburg. Specifically, George Browne sent Anne, his aunt a letter dated 17 March 1836 suggesting that after so many years, their memories of Amherstburg are still clear. He lamented that "There are no nice trees such as the Beach, the Maple, or the Hickory but the only kind here are the Birch and the Spruce we are always wishing for a few peaches or some good Apples out of Mrs. Elliots²⁷ Garden we have hardly seen a peach or cake of Maple sugar since we left Amherstburg."²⁸ It is also possible that this is a response by George Browne to complaints by Anne about life in the same location, on the frontier away from significant British influences and culture, but there simply is no way to confirm Anne's view of Amherstburg, either during the period she lived there, or how she may have thought of the place after moving north.

Eliza's aspiration to become acquainted with the gossip of Amherstburg is highly suggestive of a desire to maintain connections to the community and place in which the family felt most at home. Correspondingly, Eliza and the Doctor continue to request that Anne and George Jr. remember them to their friends and anyone who they knew, and anyone whom asks about them. In the first letter to Anne, Eliza stated, "You must

²⁴ BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 4 (1828-1830); J.L. Huston to Anne Ironside, 18 September 1828.

²⁵ BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 4 (1828-1830); Eliza Huston to Anne Ironside, 21 December 1828.

²⁶ BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 6 (1831-1833); J.L. Huston to Anne Ironside, 31 August 1831.

²⁷ Mrs. Elliott is Matthew Elliott's widow who maintained a family property and orchard just south of Amherstburg into the 1830s (and continued by future generations of Elliotts). This represents a clear social model and community in which the Ironsides are attempting to fit.

²⁸ BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 7 (1834-1835); George John Browne (Huston) to Anne Ironside, 17 March 1836.

remember me particularly to the Elliotts, Gordons, Bailey, Coxes the William Berchys & Robert & Wife tell Mrs. Elliott we often talk of the many pleasant evening we have spent at her house.”²⁹ Several years later, the Doctor was still stating that Eliza “bids me tell you to remember us to all our particular friends at Amherstburgh.”³⁰ Maintaining an interest in what has happened to their friends and family in 1831, Dr. Huston inquired after George Jr.’s brothers Robert and Alexander Sr., and asked how they are succeeding in their professions. Dr. Huston inquired about recent marriages and whether specific individuals have arrived from England as had been planned. He also suggested that he would like “full detail of every thing that has happened to [Anne, her] family and all the people that [she] think consider [the Doctor and Eliza] friends, or that [they] return as such.”³¹ The act of remembering people or locations are suggestive of the intrinsic instability that these supposedly fixed entities and landscapes have and ultimately relates to what gives memory its power (Halbwachs 1992). This power is in the connection to what is being remembered, the ability of the individual remembering to visualize what was. In addition, the significance of Eliza asking to be remembered to these individuals suggests that Anne and George Jr. still maintained contact and even friendship with these people, clearly all belonging to the more urbane, Euro-Canadian social groups of the Amherstburg region.

Concern for George’s brothers’ welfare extends beyond simply asking after them.³² While in Quebec in 1829, Dr. Huston made a concerted effort to establish Robert in the position as medical doctor to the Amherstburg Detachment of the army. This initiative is undertaken when he heard of

extensive redirections in the Medical Department of the Army and it is said that private Doctors are to be unpaid to do this duty of Detachments. When I heard this I mentioned Robert to the Inspector of Hospitals, and so far able to succeed in having Robert employed as to get leave to ask him, whether he would do the

²⁹ BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 4 (1828-1830); Eliza Huston to Anne Ironside, 11 September 1828.

³⁰ BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 6 (1831-1833); J.L. Huston to Anne Ironside, 31 August 1831.

³¹ BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 6 (1831-1833); J.L. Huston to Anne Ironside, 31 August 1831.

³² This concern is related to the merging of the kinship networks and the acceptance thereof. See Noël (2003): 20.

business of attending to the Men, Women, & Children at Amherstburgh for the established allowance Viz, 2^d per man per week.³³

Dr. Huston genuinely appears to be attempting to help George's brother with employment options. A few months later, the Doctor again provided aid to Dr. Robert Ironside. The help provided this time is in the form of "Vaccine Matter," easily removable from a thread.³⁴ The continued offer of assistance and concern from Eliza and the Doctor helped forge connections and unity between the two families.

CHILDREN, CHILDREN, AND MORE CHILDREN

Maintaining familial connections between Eliza and Anne evidently played an increasingly important role in their correspondence as the time spent separated continued, and as they each added to their respective families. Childbearing and housekeeping are the ideological and fundamental ties to domesticity for nineteenth century women (Morgan 1996). For advice and support in childbearing and rearing children, women often turned to their sisters, mothers, daughters, women friends, and neighbours (Errington 1995). In addition, the advent of the conception of the 'cult of true womanhood' likely emphasized the importance of the capable and gentle domestic housekeeper surrounded by her children.³⁵ First put forth in the literature by Barbara Welter in 1966, the 'cult of true womanhood' established an ideal for women, that of piety, purity, submissiveness and domesticity. Welter among others have hypothesized that in addition to the biological differences between men and women, there existed very real and important emotional, spiritual, and some argued, intellectual and moral differences. This belief ultimately resulted in the separation of society into the public and the private sphere, ultimately caging the woman in the home. The 'cult of true womanhood' must be understood as descriptive of the ideal rather than the reality. Most visibly, in the case of Anne and Eliza's correspondence this is articulated in descriptions of the children, specifically what they look like, how they act, what they are doing, and

³³ BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 4 (1828-1830); J.L. Huston to George Ironside, 29 March 1829.

³⁴ BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 4 (1828-1830); J.L. Huston to Anne Ironside, 13 June 1829.

³⁵ See Commachio (1999): 19-25; Errington (1995): 21-4, 34-6; Morgan (1996): 4; Prentice *et al.* (1996): 156-162; and Welter (1966).

eventually how they begin to establish their own identities. This connection increases as the children grow, until Eliza's children take the primary reason for communicating with Anne. While the children were still young, the task of sharing intimate details fell to Eliza and the Doctor. For example, Eliza wrote to Anne,

you need not fear that the baby will starve I never feed her she sits at table & feeds herself and eats until her face is so red and greasy that she looks as if she would burst she is highly accomplished she spits, kicks and does everything else that Koxxy [wants] to teach her, G[eorge] is very well ... Koxxy does not like this place he says it is a wasty dirty stinking old Quebec and he wishes the snow would go a way and then he will go back to Amherstburg. G. Wants you to tell him if you have the goat & how many [babies] she has had.³⁶

In addition to describing the children, Eliza continued to demonstrate disdain for her current location through the words of her children. With the above statement, Eliza was presumably addressing the fears and concerns of her sister, specifically in reference to her daughter not eating enough.

The subjects Eliza wrote about and the words she chose demonstrate the flow of conversation and interests between Eliza and Anne. Despite the absence of Anne's own words, those documents transmitted from her sister demonstrate a specific aspect of Anne and consequently George Ironside Jr.'s identity. It can be assumed that similar situations occurred to George and Anne's children as Eliza discusses her children. These anecdotes have been included to provide a rare glimpse into the private and home life, as well as family values, of George and Anne.

Eliza continues to discuss events and daily experiences concerning her children, including school to their appearance:

George does not go to School but to the Hospital every day where he says his lessons to his Father he is going to put him in his Lattin grammer in a day or so when we get fixed. Knoxxy knows his letters & spatters a little [F]rench to his play pate Joe, a little French boy that lives down stairs. Last summer he had but two freckles on his nose but now it is getting quite full he grown very tall & is always expecting poetry in Mr. Johnsons style. The baby can scarcely speak a word plain all she (except calling us all) is bob wife & take care she goes all by signs. She grows very pretty I

³⁶ BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 4 (1828-1830); Eliza Huston to Anne Ironside, 21 December 1828.

think, but Knoxxy not contented with keeping himself close ... but he borrowed my scissors the other day to cut his work he said (for he is very fond of sewing) & when I went back to the room were they even I found the poor thing with every lock of the front hair cut off he said he left plenty behind that even cut her ear lock.³⁷

The above anecdote about Knoxxy cutting off his sister's hair is among the funnier and perhaps worrisome events detailed in the correspondence between Eliza and Anne. This event is imbued with importance concerning how the children got along with each other, and begins to demonstrate the particulars of Knoxxy's personality. Issues of attention, boredom, and lack of a suitable playmate, as older brother George Browne had been learning with his father at the hospital, might have contributed to Knoxxy's inventiveness in cutting his sister's hair. As he grew older, his parents began to suggest a career in medicine, perhaps based on his ingenuity and boldness.

Comparatively, Dr. Huston ensured that minute details of the children's appearance and daily activities were forwarded to Anne:

Little George has grown much since you saw him, and I think will turn out a fine boy. Indeed he does so much in assisting us, that I hardly know what we should do without him. Knox is as brave and bold as need be, he is a fine highspirited little boy. He often talks of you, and every thing at Amherstburgh, and bids me say to you that he has now three instruments of Music. He has at present three holes in his inexplicable [?], so much for poverty, and puts two of his fingers thro the third, and is [pious] as any fellow in Christiandom. Little Julia is a sweet entertaining ... child, may god spare her to us. Eliza is a dear and pretty little babe. She is now very ill getting her teeth, but I cannot see any thing serious, and I hope to see her soon running about, as she now creeps (emphasis from original).³⁸

Personality characteristics, appearance and health were always included in descriptions of the children. In a letter from Dr. Huston to Anne in 1831, Arthur, George, and Julia were old enough to add their signatures to the end of the letter. This letter was opened up after being sealed to deliver news of the birth of an additional daughter to Eliza. The details of the children that the Doctor and Eliza chose to include, demonstrate that they are indeed growing older:

³⁷ BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 4 (1828-1830); Eliza Huston to Anne Ironside, 5 July 1829.

³⁸ BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 5 (1830); J.L. Huston to Anne Ironside, 28 March 1830.

little Julia, who is ... full of life and spirits. Arthur goes to school regularly He write fair round hand, and reads very well. George ... is reading [L]atin fables, French & writes well, dances and rides beautifully. His appearance is gentlemanlike, and handsome, and I still hope I may live to see them all turn out well.³⁹

Arthur had matured past his affectionate nickname and had been attending school.

George was growing older as he learned to read and write more languages and engage in more activities. Whether the differential treatment of Julia and Eliza was due to their gender or their youth is unknown.

Dr. Huston related that their five children were doing well,

George your old friend is nearly full grown and is a smart and well looking fellow. I think he will make ... [as good] an officer as any in the Army. Our trip to England impressed him much ... Arthur is a very steady, and worthy boy, he is much addicted to natural pursuits, and I think will make a very good Doctor. We will do what we can for him, and teach all we know. Our three little girls are as nice a little pack as any man can wish for. Julia is a most entertaining lass full of wit and fun. Eliza a steady determined and well looking girl, and Louisa an English girl, a very fruity and bright little thing.⁴⁰

Dr. Huston suggests the boys future professions, supposedly based on their interests and personalities. George seemed fit for the army; whereas it was deemed that Arthur would likely make a good doctor. The treatment received by Julia, Eliza and Louisa varied greatly from their brothers. Likely, this differential approach by their father was based on the assumption that these girls would grow up to be proper Georgian/Victorian⁴¹ ladies. From the breadth of information concerning the children, it is obvious that Anne desired to obtain this information, and a fair assumption is that similar information about Anne and George's own children would have been forwarded to the Hustons.

RELIGION

³⁹ BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 6 (1831-1833); J.L. Huston to Anne Ironside, 31 August 1831.

⁴⁰ BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 7 (1834-1835); J.L. Huston to Anne Ironside, 10 November 1834.

⁴¹ The Georgian era persisted throughout the duration of the reigns of Kings George I, II, III, and IV, lasting approximately from 1714 until 1837. The Victorian era began in 1837 with the ascendancy of Queen Victoria to the British Throne. This era lasted the duration of her reign, until 1901.

The topic of religion appears once throughout the full collection of letters between Anne and her relatives. From the discussion it appears that Anne had expressed concern as to the religious faith of her children and Eliza responded. The discussion endures all of two sentences, in a single letter dated 5 November 1828, shortly after Anne and George's nuptials. Eliza requested Anne to "Give [her love] to Brother Elser & tell him I wish him joy of his promotion ... I hope you will keep your own it is different with George as his father belonged to the Church of Scotland his Children would have been taught up to the same had there been one in this place."⁴² Interesting to note is the neglect to mention Native sensibilities, thus confirming the absolute absence of identity extending to Native belief systems. Tradition plays a role in the above statement, as George belonged to the same church as his father. The emphasis Upper Canadian colonial women placed on religion and tradition has been examined extensively, although much of the scholarship has primarily focused on women married to ministers and on their importance as missionaries.⁴³ It must be assumed that religion played a significant part of Anne, George Jr. and their children's lives; however, the lack of descriptive information regarding religious practice, aside from the above two sentences, suggests that it was not an issue in either family.

HOUSEHOLD PRESENTATION

The ability to be a good wife was connected to the ability of maintaining a clean and orderly home, which resulted in increased status and respectability. Eliza offers her sister much advice related to both these aspects. Eliza provides advice to her younger sister to aid her in domestic tasks such as washing and sewing. For example, Eliza questioned, "Why don't you make up knorky [sic] dress it is not worth keeping & it will look very well for the Fall. I washed mine myself and does fade much make it with a bias flour as wide as ... will allow just ... hem ... or [leave] a raw edge underneath."⁴⁴ In

⁴² BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 4 (1828-1830); Eliza Huston to Anne Ironside, 5 November 1828.

⁴³ For examples, see Backhouse (1991); Errington, (1995); Hare and Barman (2006); Hele (2002); Hele (1992); Knight (2003); Morgan (1996); Mumford (1999); Murphy (2003); Sleeper-Smith (2000); and Stoeltje (1975).

⁴⁴ BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 4 (1828-1830); Eliza Huston to Anne Ironside, 18 September 1828.

addition, she spent a great deal of time and space in the letters with details to make her sister appear as a 'proper' lady:

Now I must have another touch at the fashions I ought make the Doctor tell you that the full frocks are cut straight way ... round the neck with a bit of byas but those silk with out fullness are cut byas front with a stomach now I think if you could get some stuff (which they may have at Detroit) the colour of your silk frocks it looks something like coloured ... muslin and put two byas flowers about 3 middle fingers with the buttons of the front to come to the bottom of the hem & the bottom of the second just the cover they top of the first and the [second] of silk which is now round the button will make ... for the to prone the other does not require any ... take the frock now for look pretty on the edge of the flources & a hand with a point mad of the same and lined with some thing strong if you can get this ... I think you would have a beautiful dress even for Quebec, I suppose on the receipt of this poor G. will be packed off to Detroit, the more curls you ware the better but not [if] the hair is parted very far back & scarcely any separation in the front and because of coloured gauze or ribbon behind anything to make the head look large you can easily make your hair curl if you [gather] up in a good many more curls and dont separate [them] into the small curls merely stretch them out a little to make them look large and full, white not [colour] are worn again that only for the bottom ... and when you wear white Collars you are not to turn them over the binding is [very] plain round the neck with a broach, you might work yourself some very pretty ones or look muslin with a simple little wreath and then, Beaver are quite out both here and Montreal nothing but black velvet and a procession of the flowers I got a very neat one at Montreal for 11 dollars.⁴⁵

The above offers insight into the sensibilities of not only Eliza, but Anne as well. It can reasonably be suggested that if Eliza and Anne had differed in opinion on this matter it would not have been discussed so often and at such length. What this says about George Jr. and his family suggests that they saw themselves in the emerging colonial world (and colonial state) of Amherstburg – even if removed from the more sophisticated and cutting edge social world of Montreal – and not in the borderlands region Amherstburg had been.

Furthermore, cleaning and household chores were very much a component of women's life, and were advertised as the component of the married woman's life (Errington 1995). Arguably, these chores related to the pressure for a wife to be

⁴⁵ BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 4 (1828-1830); Eliza Huston to Anne Symington Ironside, 21 December 1828.

submissive to her husband and home (Welter 1966). At various stages, Eliza provided suggestions and hints to Anne for how to best clean household items, for example, for a teapot, "the best way is first to rub it well with sweet oil and ... then wash it very clean with soap & ... wipe it very very dry & then rub it with dry witing."⁴⁶ Anne, suggestive from their appearance in Eliza's letters, readily accepted these helpful suggestions.

FASHION

A significant component of status and class in the Georgian and Victorian eras was fashion (Noël 2003). For those women of the social elite, which would have included those married to government officers, fashion and manners were of utmost importance, especially for the maintenance of status (McKenna 1990). Fashion or clothing more generally had significant social and symbolic value in early modern society (Coates and Morgan 2002). Eliza, and presumably Anne, corresponded a great deal concerning the fashions of the town and of the time.

Hairstyle is related to fashion and domesticity. Eliza made sure that her sister was aware of the latest hairstyle fads, and sent systematic instructions on how to achieve the desired look. Eliza reported on the fashions of Quebec, and as previously stated, provided very detailed instructions on how Anne could achieve a similar aesthetic appeal. The fact that these style tips are coming from Quebec ensured that they were up to date and therefore Anne was assured that she would be the first in Amherstburg with the latest style. The family's interest in the social trends of Quebec speaks to the relative social position of Amherstburg in the broader colonial worldview of the time. Amherstburg was not the fashion hub of the British Colonial world, but their interest in the fashion trends speak to how the family viewed the world in which they lived; their interest was in the wider Colonial world rather than the impact that local fashion had on the Wyandot community. In addition to providing Anne with fashion tips for herself, Eliza also offered suggestions on how to ensure that George Jr. was quite the fashionable fellow in Amherstburg. George Jr. should put

his [hair] to the one side & cut it in ringlets about his cheeks for that is quite the fashion here. Trousers without pleats & coats very

⁴⁶ BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 4 (1828-1830); Eliza Huston to Anne Ironside, 4 January 1829.

long in the waist, gowns are still worn very wide and rather short ... come quite above the knees by as or straight with a pipeing of the same or leaves or indeed any thing one rages but all the trimming must be of the same. The gown sleeves that [are] all the way down cut at the [wrists] as they used to be and a very broad waistband broader then your middle finger, fronts bias with 3 pleats at each side long in the waist not very high in the [back] with a trimming to correspond with the top of the hem. Black velvet boncuts are still all the go. I have got one for which I paid 2 pounds 10 sterling. The hair is worn as high as you can make it in bows just on the top of the head with flower or bows of ribbon pink, red ... you must have a comb horn will do as the hair is [pushed] over ... & one like mine in the back to support the ... front hair is worn by some in large curls."⁴⁷

This offers some insight into how George Jr. attempted to situate himself within the society to which he believed himself to belong. The way he visually portrayed himself speaks volumes to how he chose to identify (see Appendix 5). The emphasis on female and male fashion trends is suggestive of his inclination to fit in and appear as others in style within wider British Colonial community. Moreover, had Anne and George Jr. followed the advice given to them, it would suggest a desire to be removed from their location in the borderlands and placed firmly within British colonialism, or a construction of the places they lived as belonging to that urbane British world, and not as the intersections of worlds it had been as George Jr. was growing up. Only if this advice had been ignored, which based on the extensiveness of it in the correspondence seems unlikely; it might suggest mediation between worlds, British and aboriginal.

As time continued to pass, Eliza commenced suggesting fashion trends for the children. In connection with her desire to better dress the children, in 1836 Eliza received the opportunity to send a box of goods to Amherstburg. She sent

one of your Girl Louisa's frock & would have sent Eliza's but it was not finished but you must make one for each of them like the one sent I hope you dress them very neat indeed I am sure you do trousers are going out of fashion in England for Children I do not intend to let ours wear them this summer your days I hope you will not think too gay I am told it will wash but can not say for certain. The Caps I suppose were too much crushed to wear but they will

⁴⁷ BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 4 (1828-1830); Eliza Huston to Anne Symington Ironside, 29 December 1829.

give you some idea how they are now worn I want to send you a work box but must wait for a very good opportunity.⁴⁸

The passing down of clothing and other items of fashion created a connection between cousins who never met. The longest and most detailed bit of fashion advice that Eliza offered her sister concerns European fashion, and comes when the Doctor is stationed in 1838 just outside Cork, Ireland. Along with fashion advice, she suggests how best to wash and prepare the clothing and hair. She referred to a box she had sent two years prior.

I was afraid that what few things I could send would the offend of the box I am afraid then that I have sent will get very much [ruined] when you wash the one trimmed with blue put pink for a change & sew the edging on it is now only tacked not sewed to black silk [sew] about an inch wide and tied with pink [it] looks very well I mean like the blond lugs with tunik they are as much worn as caps and particularly with good hair like yours, the gowns I have had made on chance they will I am afraid be too large but you can easily alter the bodies if the sleeves are too long take off the cuff and make them shorter they should be the exact length underneath or they do not look well the cotton one is very comfortable for a nurse make it fit you nicely the Muslin de Laim is made from one of mine that was made in London not two months since they are worn very long indeed you will wonder what I have sent as old fib & frock for, they are for patrons the frock is Louisa's and fits very [tight] you must rip it before you can cut the patron correctly cut the cape of it a little longer in front & shorter behind to bring the large part more on the shoulder the jib when braided only round the wings and tied too round the neck. Looks very pretty the frais should be served with cruch cotton fades & looks shabby make your Eldest boys [wear] very short up to his knees no trousers nobody but some small grey and white plaids one together worn for boys girls up to 5 years were long storking & frocks not farther then the knees, shoes not boots & you cannot think how pretty they look so you plait you Girls hair if you do not you must divide it in four 2 having down the back tied with brown ribbon and 2 in the front tied at the end and then up in the way or if long enough comb it behind the ears & only have plaits, I wish I could have sent the children drapes but you must my bear & take the will for the [time] perhaps by the next box they will fair better.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 8 (1836-1837); Eliza Huston to Anne Ironside, 17 March 1836.

⁴⁹ BHC; George Ironside Papers, Box 9 (1838-1839); Eliza Huston to Anne Ironside, 4 August 1838.

Eliza expresses fear of having sent unwanted items; however, the letter itself is proof of Anne's interest and thankfulness of the articles sent. As evidenced from the extensive focus by Eliza on the popular fashions, and cleaning and sewing tips it is obvious that she, and correspondingly, Anne, are incredibly concerned with fashion and other aspects of domesticity.

After Dr. Huston's death in 1839, correspondence between the sisters tails off in the Burton Historical Collection holdings. The fate of Eliza and her children in Ireland after 1844 is not known. Nor is it known if Anne continued to communicate with family members after her family relocated to Manitowaning. Nonetheless, the friendship and affinity that these sisters appeared to share stretched across time and space. Eliza and her family continuously moved between Europe and North America, with stays in Amherstburg, Montreal, Grenville, Quebec, London (England), Maidstone (Kent, England), St. John's Newfoundland, back to London, Cove Cork (Ireland), and finally Dublin, always trying to get back to Canada and, Amherstburg specifically. The details they shared with each other about their lives, their children, and other pertinent information enforced these transatlantic connections. Correspondence between family members promoted a connection to the imagined world of landscape, faces, and relationships (Errington 2007). Letters served to capture personal thoughts and experiences. For Anne, Eliza, and their respective families, these letters were then sent to distant relatives. While events were detailed, safety was assured. The content of these letters allowed Eliza to speak in a more private way about things that might not have been discussed in public (Hare and Barman 2006), or with her spouse. Correspondence between Eliza and Anne took on aspects of a sustained conversation, which ultimately resulted in continued familial obligations (Errington 2007). These letters were kept because there was significance to the recipient about the content and sender. The content of these private words allow for exploration into the personality, identity, and family relationships of the Ironside family. As with the colonial context throughout the rest of the world, the personality and identity of the Ironside family demonstrate that they strove for increased acceptance and mobility within the developing British colonial social class structure. Despite George Jr. claiming dual identity and the ability to walk in both the Native and British worlds, his domestic space, wife and children all clearly defined

themselves as belonging to only one half of their father and grandfather's legacy: that of British colonialists. With Eliza's help and direction on fashion and style, the Ironside family progressively became more and more saturated in British colonial attitudes and existence. The experiences of Eliza, so far removed from Amherstburg, continued to influence the Ironsides and the identity they portrayed.

CONCLUSION

Approximately one hundred and fifty years after the death of George Ironside Jr., the effects of his and his father George Ironside Sr.'s, 43 years of involvement with the Indian Department, and actions on the emerging Canadian landscape, remain evident. The nineteenth century brought great changes to the landscape of North America and within British Indian policy. The foundation of British/Canadian and United States First Nations policies, the signing of treaties, social stratification and the growth of national/state ideologies all played a role in the identities chosen by families, the Ironsides included, and the development of heterogeneous communities in the region. The identities chosen by the members of the Ironside family differed between individuals and generations. The participation of some family members in treaties and as Indian Agents for the British colonial government furthered their roles as paternalistic colonial actors. Their desire for prominence and prestige aligned with the goals and actions of their contemporaries. The initiatives undertaken by George Ironside Sr., George Ironside Jr., William Keating, J. B. Clench, and T. G. Anderson, among many other Indian Agents in the employ of the British Government, resulted in the current relationship between the Canadian state and First Nations. The Ironside legacy includes aiding the Crown in obtaining the Anderdon reserve and the lands around Amherstburg. The failure for the Ironsides to obtain surrenders for the Chenail-Ecarté (or at least the Walpole Island delta of the larger treaty area) and Wikwemikong serve to tarnish their record in the eyes of the Crown, as these two tracts remain uncaded Aboriginal territories in Ontario. George Ironside Jr. was involved with the land negotiations for both these tracts of land, but ultimately failed. This family represents a legacy of service to the British Indian Department, a desire for prominence and prestige within the British colonial empire they were a part of, as well as the ability to claim involvement in the formation of the Canadian nation-state.

The significance of studying family and individual identity over several generations allows for an understanding of how the processes of state and border formation affected choices of personal and family identity construction. Simply, the identity in these borderlands became hybridized, as there is a wider range of choices or dimensions of identity at play. Thus, the influence of one generation that expressed a

specific identity augmented future generations, and ultimately allowed families and individuals over different generations to choose to identify with a particular or several ethnic communities. The Ironside family was unique in their ability to embrace their European heritage and only noted their Native heritage (this apparently only is suggestive of George Jr.) as a device of validation when it was needed. Telling about the colonial reality of this family was that they subscribed to British sensibilities and their social status as professionals inside and out of the Indian Department created a unique opportunity to excel inside the British colonial world, marry people from that world, and be influential community leaders within it. Not to be forgotten is the lack of tangible evidence that would demonstrate continued connection to the First Nations community and their maternal Native identity and heritage.

George Ironside Jr., as an active colonial agent within the British sphere, situated himself as a distinct kind of Métis person. The use of ethnohistoric methodologies allowed for the combination of anthropological and historical concepts to permit a better understanding of these processes. The Ironside family perpetually existed within and followed the changing locus of the borderlands of the North American Continent; George Sr. settled in the Ohio Valley between white settlers and aboriginal lands; moved to Amherstburg on the British North American/United States border; and finally George Jr. lived out his days in Manitowaning, the northern fringes of Euro-Canadian and aboriginal border spheres. George Sr.'s reason or justification for leaving his family, friends, and home of Aberdeen in the Scottish highlands to travel across the Atlantic and settle in Ohio Country at the confluence of British and Native influence remains unknown, aside from the economic motivation of trading in the Ohio Country. He held a Masters of Arts degree from Kings College. How exactly this influenced his future choices, identity and actions can only be speculated upon, however his success likely resulted from the fact that he was indeed literate and educated. His importance, especially being literate, to his good friend Matthew Elliott cannot be over-emphasized. It can also be assumed that his education and intelligence influenced his position while at the Glaze, and subsequently impacted the abilities and opportunities provided to his children. The presence of three sons who ultimately succeeded in influential careers, Robert and Alexander both as

doctors and George Jr. in his father's footsteps, speaks volumes about the British colonial opportunities provided to them.

Following norms of the time, George Ironside Sr.'s marriage *a la façon de pays* with Vocemassuasias, her subsequent baptism, and the Christianization of their marriage demonstrate their relationship and the dominant heritage therein. Ironside's kinship ties to Coocoochee undoubtedly increased his stature while at the Glaize, while both Coocoochee and Vocemassuasias witnessed similar effects through their connections with him. Their children were of biologically mixed ancestry. Despite biology, individuals readily adopted or formed their own identities, at times widely different from their own siblings. George Jr., who had much to gain from claiming his self-declared "half-breed" status in relations with the Wyandot, ensured to structure his identity as such. As discussed, this evocation of Native identity by George Jr. was for the self-interested and manipulative contexts in which he found himself, while his personal identity was aligned with the rest of the Ironside family's sense of membership in the British colonial class, an identity so clearly glimpsed in both his and his wife, Anne's, personal correspondence.

Professionally, George Ironside Jr. fulfilled his position as Indian Superintendent as the government deemed appropriate, despite several rocky moments. George Ironside Jr. was undoubtedly an agent of the state. The job of Superintendent of Indian Affairs was ultimately to service the needs of the state, which conflicted with the interests of the First Nations. He repeatedly claimed that his heritage allowed him to be a better colonial agent. There is no doubt that George Ironside Jr. was very good at servicing the interests of the state. George Jr.'s declaration of himself as chief of mixed heritage Wyandot demonstrates that he believed that his identity of "half-breed" was a distinct identity that transcended individual Native nation affiliation. The lack of continuance of this identity claim while at Manitoulin Island suggests that this declaration was clearly of material benefit to him. There is a lack of tangible evidence to demonstrate his identity as a half-breed, or Native, operated within his personal world or was an identity that was similarly invoked by his family or friends. This continues to suggest the manipulation of his half-breed status for a specific desired effect, rather than truly embracing it. There is no doubt that George Jr. was engrossed in the patriarchal establishment of the British North America state building, and continued to demonstrate the value his unique position gave

him continually serving on the borders. His acceptance of identity characteristics from both these bodies placed him in a further liminal and subverting state. Luck came to his side and he maintained until his death both the tile of Superintendent and the title of Chief. His personal desires for wealth and prestige must not be forgotten. At Manitowaning, George Ironside Jr. repeatedly demonstrated to the Anishnabe under his superintendence his ability to service the Crown's interests.

The Ironsides, from George Ironside Sr. through the subsequent two generations examined, all maintained and valued their close friendships and associations. George Sr.'s association with Matthew Elliott proved beneficial professionally and personally as well. George Jr.'s most notable friendship was with Dr. Alexander McGregor, who became the namesake for George and Anne's second son, Alexander McGregor Ironside. George Jr. also maintained correspondence with other Indian Superintendents, administrative officials, and Anne's family, not to mention members of his own family. Alexander McGregor Ironside's correspondence however brief, with Dr. Robert Bell, demonstrated the intricacies of his established relationship with his peers and siblings, as well as his mother, Anne. The presence of individuals such as John Prince and Wemyss McKenzie Simpson in the Ironsides' lives speaks to how they were connected within the British North American state and society.

George Ironside Jr.'s marriage to Anne Symington in 1828 further enabled him to enhance his identity as a member of the British colonial class. George Jr. was a product of the borderlands in which he was reared, and his decision to marry Anne suggests a greater validation by the British colonial society than had he married a Native woman. Anne and her relationship with her sister, Eliza Huston, provided a significantly improved understanding of George Ironside Jr., his identity, and actions. The discussions between Anne and Eliza situate them both within time and space as belonging to the upper-middle class of British North American women that typify the early nineteenth century. Their shared discussion of domesticity, family, and life styles further embeds them in the colonial world. The use of correspondence sent by Eliza to Anne provides a unique opportunity to examine interpersonal relationships between these two sisters and their respective families. The examination of these documents enlightens their motivations, shared history, and personal thoughts in a similar but varied way that a diary

might allow. The breadth of information and materials discussed evidently demonstrate the closeness of these sisters.

Several themes run throughout the Ironsides' lives and correspondence. George Ironside Sr. and George Ironside Jr. continuously sought to better themselves within the North American continent, never straying too far from their allotted place as cultural intermediaries between British and Native worlds. Their own initiatives occasionally proved too much for them to handle and they succumbed to difficulties. Within a year of receiving his posting as Superintendent of the Western District, George Ironside Sr. was petitioning the Lieutenant Governor to sanction the conversion of a meeting hall into a council room for the Shawnee visiting the post. George Ironside Jr. sought to represent the Wyandot as a new, half-breed variant of Chief and Indian Agent and saw necessity in aligning himself with Rev. Frederick O'Meara at Manitowaning rather than the Jesuits of Wikwemikong, as likely dictated by his own social standing and religious background. Alexander McGregor Ironside sought the posting in the same position previously held by his father with the help of his father's friends. Anne Symington desired to remain 'in style' and up-to-date with her wifely duties.

Power and privilege were provided to this family; how they chose to use it and what came of their initiatives remains based on their identity. It was the family's choice of identity that propelled them to certain and specific desires and ultimately created the niche in which they found themselves.

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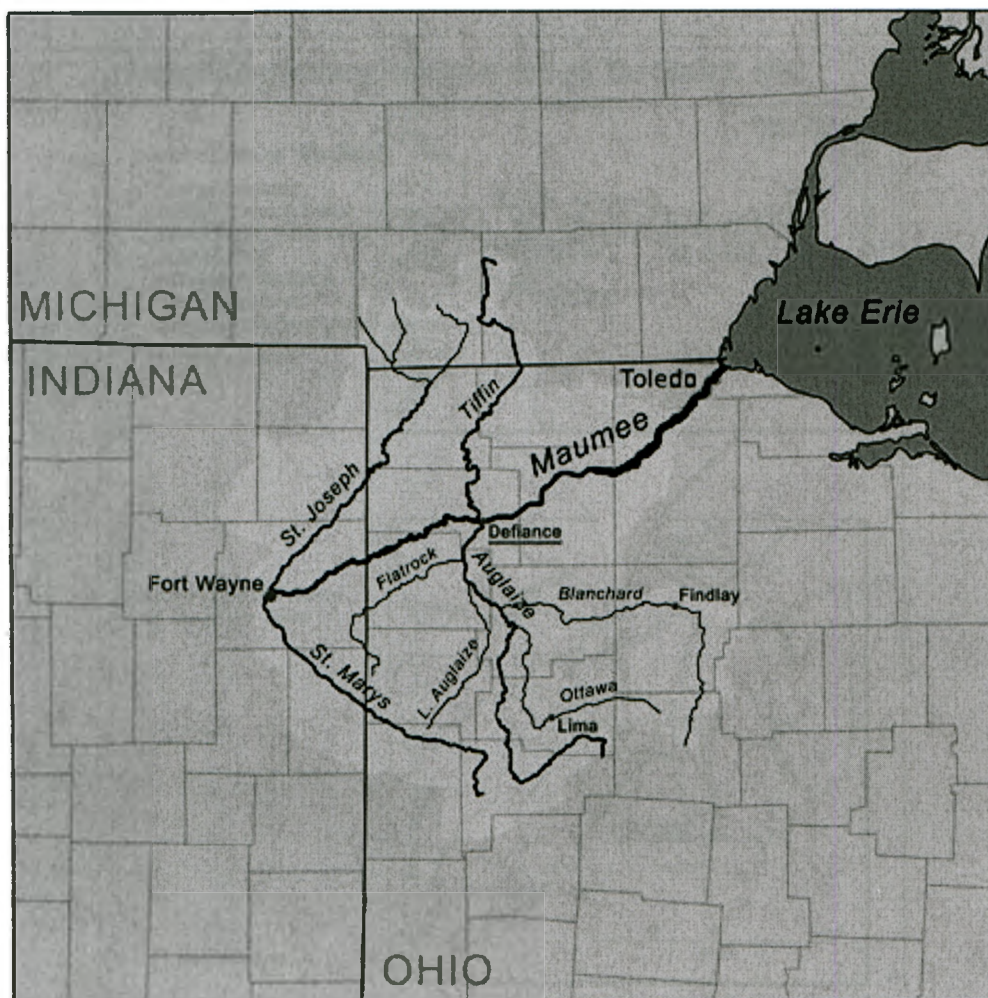
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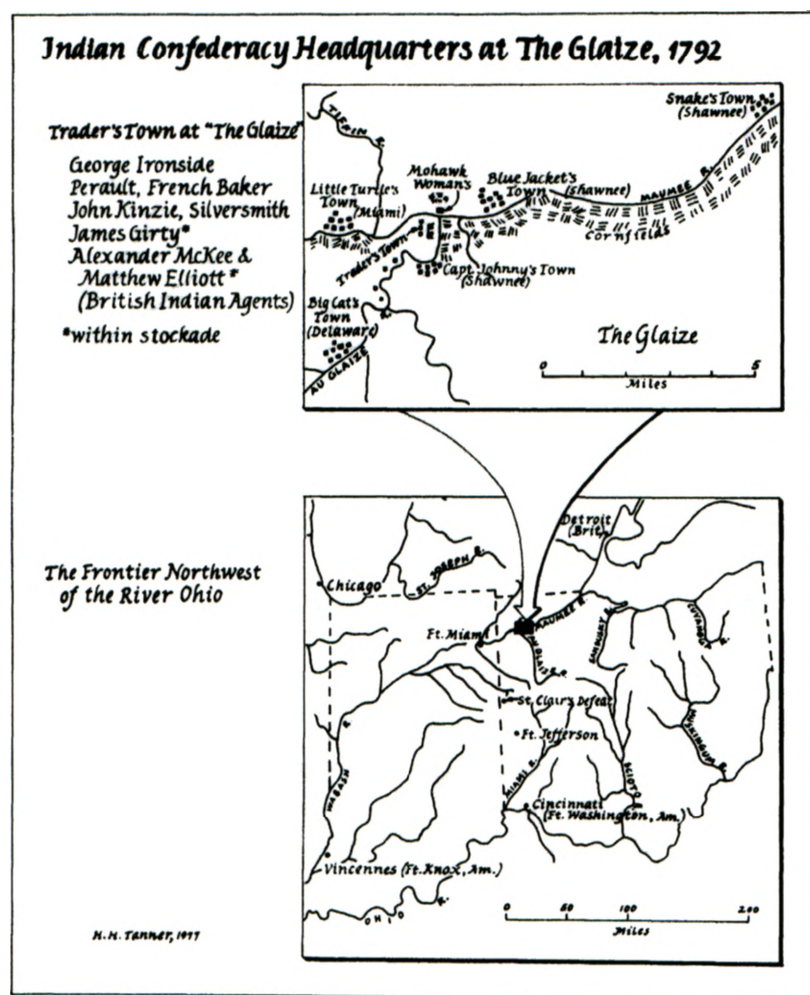
MAP 1



Map of the Maumee River watershed.

By Kmusser, May 16, 2007.

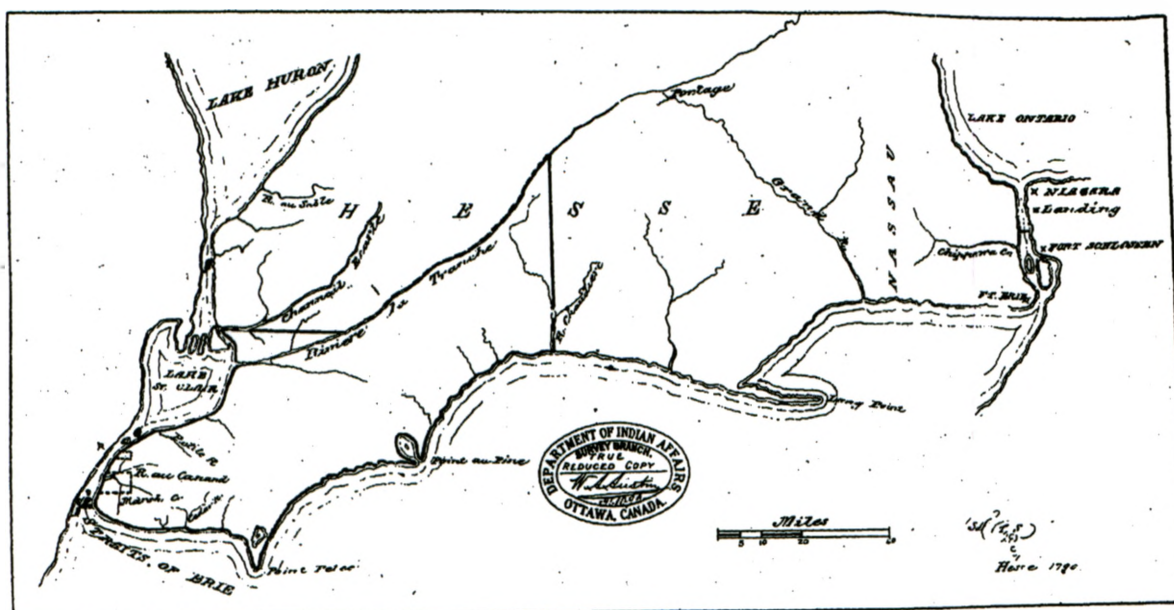
MAP 2



The Glaize Settlement, in the old Northwest.

Taken from: Helen Hornbeck Tanner, "The Glaize in 1792: A Composite Indian Community" *Ethnohistory* 25, 1 (1978), 17.

MAP 3



The District of Hesse, The Western District of Upper Canada

Taken from: Canada. *Indian Treaties and Surrenders, from 1680-1902*. Vol. 1. Ottawa:
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MAP 4



The Western District of Upper Canada, in relation to Manitoulin Island

Taken from: Map of Canada West, 1846.

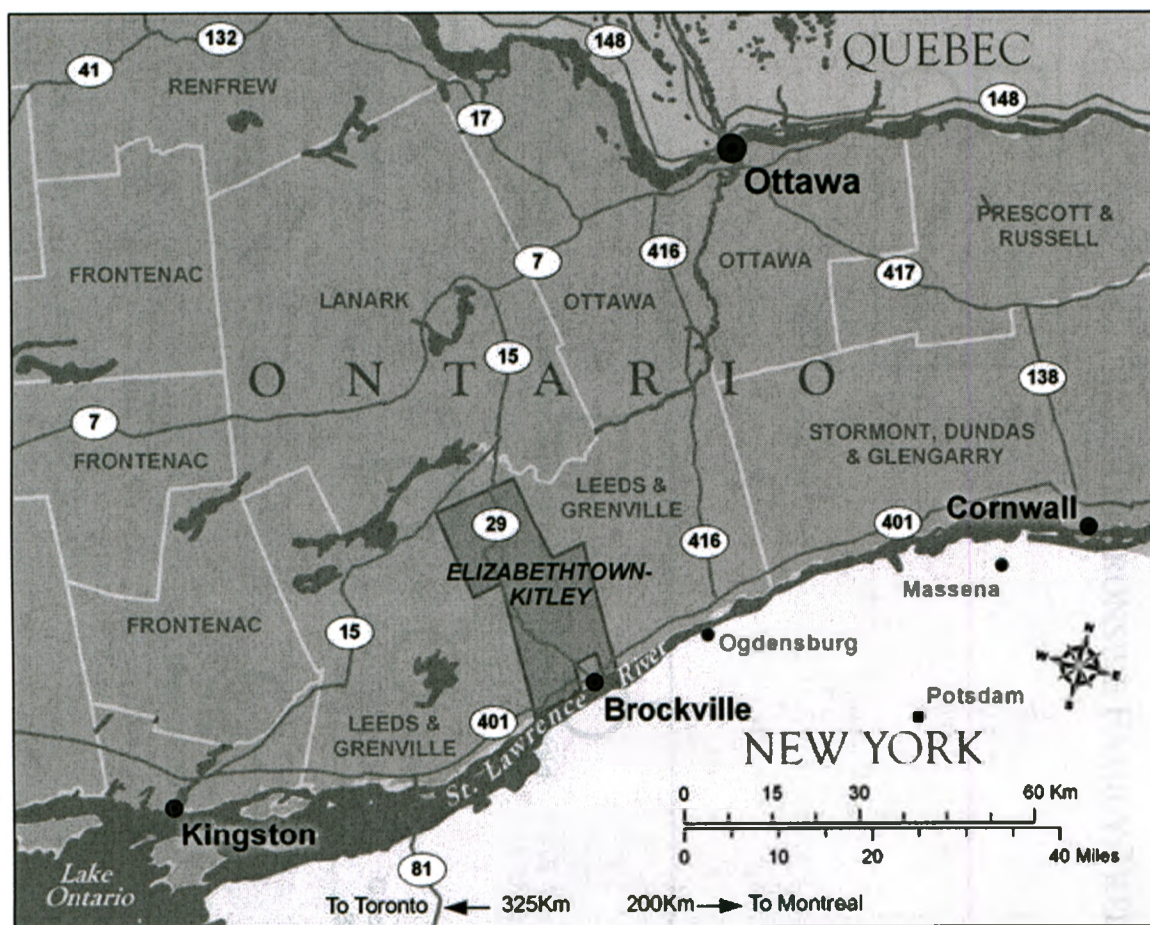
MAP 5



‘Manitoulin Island’

Taken from: Map of Sudbury, NL-17, 1969

MAP 6



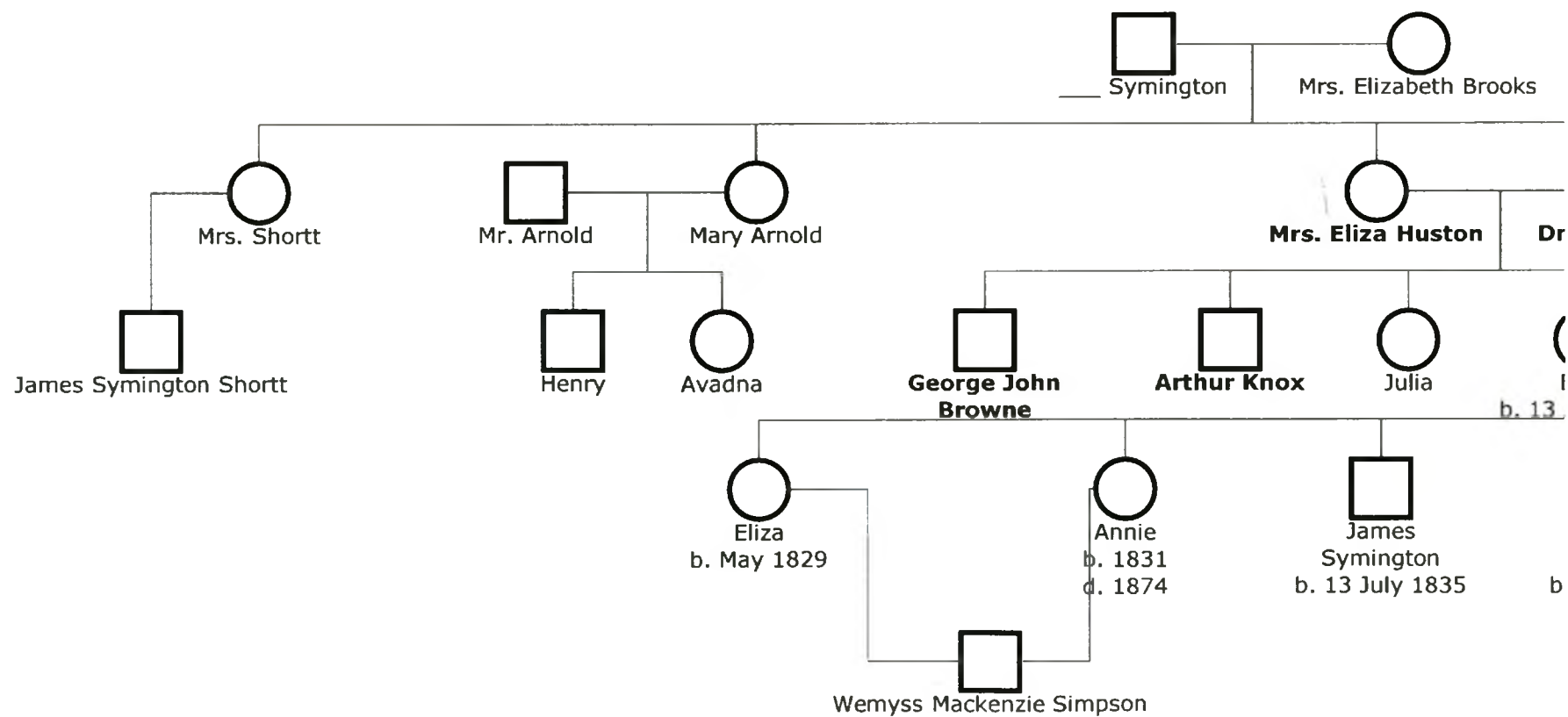
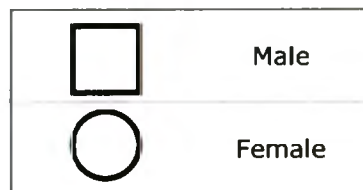
Map of Grenville

Taken from: Township of Elizabethtown-Kitley

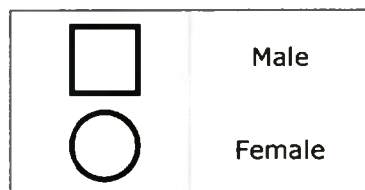
http://www.elizabethtown-kitley.on.ca/moving_to_the_area.htm

THE IRONSIDE FAMILY TREE

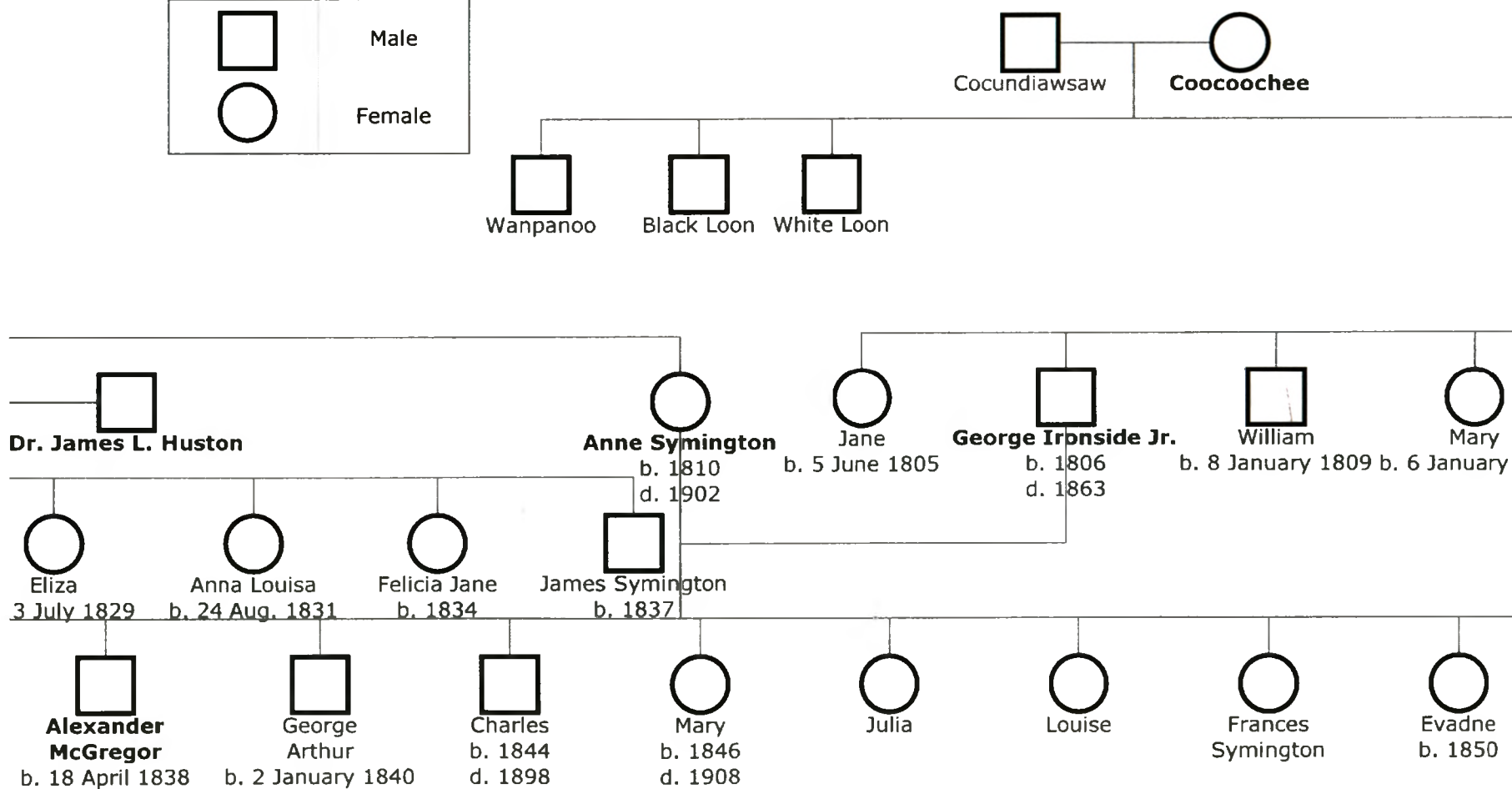
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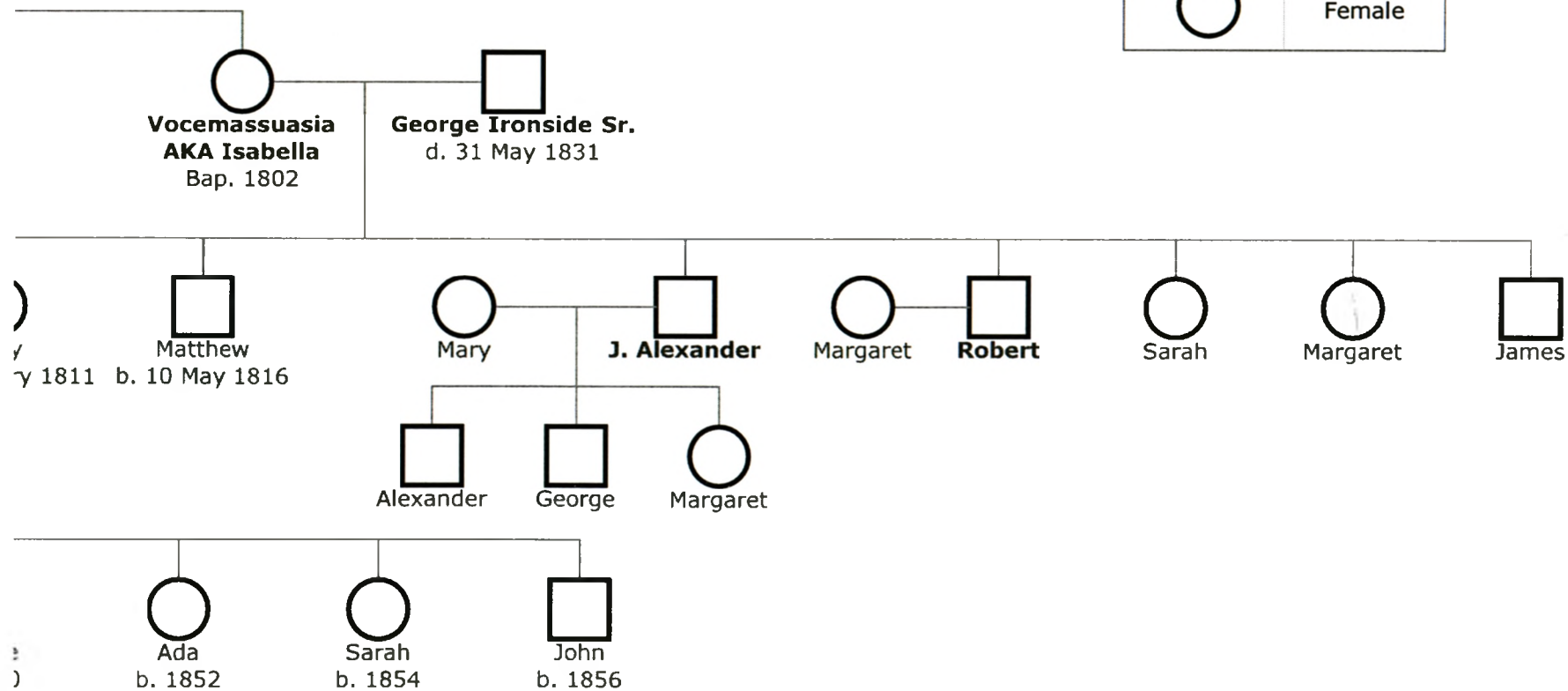
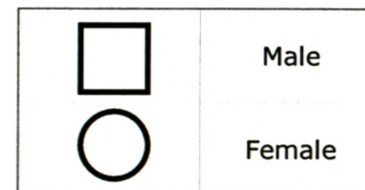


THE IRONSIDE FAMILY TREE



THE IRONSIDE FAMILY TREE

Legend:



APPENDIX 2

COOCOOCHEE FAMILY TREE

Coocoochee was likely born circa 1740 around the Richelieu River in present day Quebec of either the Wolf or Bear clan of the Iroquois. She was married to Cokundiawsaw who was mortally wounded in combat in 1790 against General Harmar's attack at present day Fort Wayne.

Children:

1. Wapanoo
2. Black Loon
3. White Loon
4. Vocemassuasia (baptized 1802, 'Isabella')

APPENDIX 3

IRONSIDE-SYMRINGTON FAMILY TREE

George Ironside Jr., son of George Ironside Sr. and Isabella (née Vocemassuasias), was born in 1806. In 1828 in Amherstburg, Upper Canada he married Anne Symington, daughter of Elizabeth Brooks and ____ Symington. He died in 1862 while serving as Superintendent of the Northern District of Upper Canada at Manitowaning on Manitoulin Island. Anne died in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario in 1902.

Children:

1. Eliza, born May 1829 in Amherstburg
2. Annie, born 1831 in Amherstburg, died 1874 in Sault Ste. Marie, ON
3. James Symington, born 13 July 1835
4. Alexander McGregor, born 18 April 1838
5. George Arthur, born 2 January 1840
6. Charles, born 1844, died 1898 in Sault Ste. Marie, ON
7. Mary, born 1846, died 1908 in Sault Ste. Marie, ON
8. Julia
9. Louise
10. Frances Symington
11. Evadne, born 1850
12. Ada, born 1852
13. Sarah, born 1854
14. John, born 1856

APPENDIX 4

HUSTON FAMILY TREE

Mrs. Eliza Huston, daughter of Mrs. Elizabeth Crooks and ____ Symington, was born before 1810. Her date of death is unknown. She was first married to ____ Browne. She later married Dr. James L. Huston who died 9 November 1839.

Children of Mrs. Eliza Crooks and Mr. ____ Browne

1. George John Browne

Children of Mrs. Eliza Huston and Dr. James L. Huston.

1. Arthur Knox
2. Julia
3. Eliza, born 13 July 1829
4. Anna Louisa, born 24 August 1831
5. Girl, March 1833
6. Felicia Jane, born 1834
7. James Symington, born 1837

APPENDIX 5
HUSTON FAMILY TRAVELS

Year	Location
1815	Assistant Surgeon of the Royal Newfoundland Fencible Infantry
1819	Received MD from University of Edinburgh
1821	Appointed Surgeon and Attached to Staff
1825	Assistant Staff Surgeon to the barracks at Fort Malden
1828	Amherstburg
1828, July	Montreal
1828, September	Grenville
1828, November	Montreal
1828, December	Lusho [?]
1829	Quebec
1829, December	London
1830, March	Maidstone, Kent
1833, January	St. John's Newfoundland*
1837, December	London
1838, August	Cove Cork, Ireland
1839, November	Dublin, Ireland

* Doctor Huston, Eliza and the family were almost sent to Jamaica; however, they felt that the climate would be healthier in Newfoundland. The fear of 'climate' in the West Indies was related to the prevalence of diseases such as Malaria.

APPENDIX 6
GEORGE IRONSIDE JR.



Picture thanks to Fort Malden National Historic Site. Original credits to Paul Kane, 1846.

APPENDIX 7

MCKENZIE SIMPSON FAMILY TREE

Annie Ironside, daughter of George Ironside Jr. and Anne Symington was born 1831 in Amherstburg, Upper Canada. In 1853, Annie Ironside married Wemyss McKenzie Simpson son of Geddes Mackenzie Simpson. Wemyss was born in 1825 and died in 1894 in Sault Ste. Marie.

Children:

1. Frank, born in 1853
2. Scott, born in 1855
3. Charles, born in 1856
4. Annie, born in 1858
5. Stanley, born in 1859
6. Isabel, born in 1861
7. Ann, born in 1862
8. Fanny, born in 1864 and died in Sault Ste. Marie in 1867
9. Geraldine, born in 1865 twin of Gerald
10. Gerald, born in 1865 twin of Geraldine
11. Agnes, born in 1874 and died five months later
12. Edith, born in 1888