

Canadian Historic Sites: Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History No. 14 The British Indian Department and the Frontier in North America, 1755-1830.

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The British Indian Department and the Frontier in North America, 1755-1830

by Robert S. Allen

Endnotes

The Regime of Sir William Johnson

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233.

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speech on the "Protection of the Frontier," 26 January 1792.

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Hammond, Whitehall, 17 March 1792.

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81 Vincent T. Harlow, *The Founding of the Second British Empire, 1763-1793*
(London: Longmans, Green, 1952-64), Vol. 1, p. 612.

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Relations* (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1940-4
1, pp. 48-52, T. Jefferson to G. Hammond, Philadelphia, 29 May 1792.

83 E. A. Cruikshank, ed., *The Correspondence of Lieut. Governor John Graves Simcoe
with Allied Documents relating to his Administration of the Government of Upper
Canada* (Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1923-31 (hereafter cited as *Simcoe*
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84 See H. K. Letcher, "The Imperial Designs of John Graves Simcoe: First Lieu Governor of Upper Canada, 1792-1796" (M.A. thesis, Wayne State University, and S. F. Wise, "The Indian, Diplomacy of John Graves Simcoe, *Canadian Historical Association, Report for 1953* (1954), pp. 36-44.

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88 *Ibid.*, pp. 242-3, Speech of the Western, Indians, Foot of the Miami Rapids, October 1792.

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Indian Confederacy: The Collapse (1793-96)

1 E. A. Cruikshank, ed., *Simcoe*, Vol. 1, p. 301, Speech of the Confederate Indian Nations at the Glaize, n.d.

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5 *MPHSC*, Vol. 24 (1894), pp. 554-5, Simcoe to Butler and McKee, Navy Hall, 20 July 1793.

6 PAC, MG11, CO42, Vol. 96, McKee to Simcoe, Foot of the Miami Rapids, 1 July 1793; see also *MPHSC*, Vol. 24 (1894), pp. 559-60, and E. A. Cruikshank, ed., *Simcoe*, Vol. 1, p. 374.

7 *Upper Canada Gazette*, 11 July 1793.

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the Commissioners of the United States, Miami Rapids, 13 August 1793.

13 Ibid., p. 17, Journal of Captain Brant; Proceedings at the General Council of the Miami Rapids, May-August 1793.

14 PAC, MG11, CO42, Vol. 97, Joseph Brant to Joseph Chew, Niagara, 26 September 1793.

15 *MPHSC*, Vol. 20 (1893), p. 336, Brant to Chew, Grand River, 25 March 1794.

16 PAC, MG11, CO42, Vol. 97, McKee to Simcoe, Miami Rapids, 22 August 1793.

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18 E. A. Cruikshank, ed., *Simcoe*, Vol. 2, pp. 83-4, Dorchester to Simcoe, Quebec, 22 October 1793.

19 PAC, MG11, CO42, Vol. 98, E. A. Cruikshank, ed., *Simcoe*, Vol. 2, pp. 85-6, Proceedings of a Council with the Six Nations, Buffalo Creek, 10 October 1793.

20 PAC, MG11, CO42, Vol. 98, Dundas to Dorchester, Whitehall, 8 January 1794.

21 Ibid.

22 This was, in fact, the wish of the Home Department: see PAC, MG11, CO42, Vol. 98, pp. 318, Dundas to Simcoe, Whitehall, 16 March 1794, and E. A. Cruikshank, ed., *Simcoe*, Vol. 2, p. 187.

23 PAC, MG11, CO42, Vol. 98: E. A. Cruikshank, ed., *Simcoe*, Vol. 2, pp. 149-50; United States, Congress, State Papers, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 480, Speech of Lord Dorchester to the Seven Nations of Canada, Quebec, 10 February 1794.

24 PAC, MG11, CO42, Vol. 98: E. A. Cruikshank, ed., *Simcoe*, Vol. 2, p. 154, Dorchester to Simcoe, Quebec, 17 February 1794; see also William R. Manning, ed., op. cit., Vol. 1, pp. 411-12.

25 For an excellent account of British intrigue with the Indians in the Ohio valley, see Reginald Horsman, "The British Indian Department and the Resistance to General Anthony Wayne, 1793-1795," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. 49 (1962), pp. 269-90.

26 *MPHSC*, Vol. 20 (1892), p. 351, McKee to Chew, Miami Rapids, 8 May 1794, and E. A. Cruikshank, ed., *Simcoe*, Vol. 2, p. 234.

27 E. A. Cruikshank, ed., *Simcoe*, Vol. 2, p. 126, Journal of Colonel Alexander McKee in Indian Country, 22 October 1793.

28 William Clark. "Journal of General Wayne's Campaign," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. 1 (1915), pp. 418-44, and Dale Van Every, op. cit., Vol. 3, pp. 10-11.

29 Louise P. Kellogg, op. cit., p. 221.

30 United States, Congress, State Papers, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 491; E. A. Cruikshank, ed., *Simcoe*, Vol. 2, p. 127, McKee's Journal.

31 *Centinel of the Northwest Territory*, 15 February 1794.

32 Ibid., 17 May 1794.

33 United States, Congress, State Papers, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 487; PAC, RG8, C series, Vol. 247, McKee to Chew, Miami Rapids, 7 July 1794.

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36 Ibid., p. 360, England to Wyandot Assembled, Detroit, 6 August 1794.

37 Ibid., p. 362, England to Simcoe, Detroit, 8 August 1794.

38 *MPHSC*, Vol. 12 (1888), p. 141.

39 United States, Congress, State Papers, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 490; E. A. Cruikshank, ed., *Simcoe*, Vol. 2, p. 372, Wayne to the Western Indians, Headquarters, Grand Blanc, 1 August 1794.

40 PAC, MG11, CO42, Vol. 101; *MPHSC*, Vol. 20 (1892), p.370; E. A. Cruikshank, ed., *Simcoe*, Vol. 3, p. 8, McKee's account of the battle, Camp Near Fort Miami, 27 August 1794.

41 Ibid.

42 *Upper Canada Gazette*, 10 December 1794.

43 United States, Congress, State Papers, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 492.

44 PAC, RG8, C series, Vol. 248; *MPHSC*, Vol. 20 (1892), p. 382, Intelligence of Sergeant George Huffnogle, Detroit, 10 November 1794.

45 Isaac Weld., op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 215.

46 United States, Congress, State Papers, op. cit., Vol. 1, pp. 448-491, reprinted in *Scots Magazine*, Vol. 56 (1794), pp. 790-1.

47 E. A. Cruikshank, ed., *Simcoe*, Vol. 3, p. 8; *MPHSC*, Vol. 20 (1892), p. 372, McKee to Chew, Camp Near Fort Miami, 27 August 1794.

48 E. A. Cruikshank, ed., *Simcoe*, Vol. 2, p. 396, Campbell to England, Fort Miami, 21 August 1794.

49 Ibid.

50 PAC, MG12, WO1, Vol. 14, Campbell, to England, Fort Miami, 21 August 1794.

51 United States, Congress, State Papers, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 491; PAC, MG12, WO1, Vol. 14, Correspondence between Campbell and Wayne, Fort Miami, 21 and 22 August 1794.

S2 PAC, MG12, WO1, Vol. 14: E. A. Cruikshank, ed., *Simcoe*, Vol. 3, p. 21, England to Simcoe, Detroit, 30 August 1794.

S3 United States, Congress, State Papers, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 494.

44 E. A. Cruikshank, ed., *Simcoe*, Vol. 3, pp. 121-5, Simcoe to the Indian, Nation Assembled at the Wyandot Village, 13 October 1794; W. L. Stone, op. cit., Vol. 3, pp. 391-3.

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56 United States, Congress, Senate, Indian Affairs Committee, op. cit., pp. 34-5; E. A. Cruikshank, ed., *Simcoe*, Vol. 3, pp. 263-4, Treaty of Kanandorquie, 11 November 1794.

57 For a complete discussion of the negotiations between Grenville and Jay, see Samuel F. Bemis, *Jay's Treaty: A Study in Commerce and Diplomacy* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1962), and for a criticism, see A. L. Burt, *United States. An Interpretation: An insight into the philosophy of the 18th-century British political and mercantile system* is found in PAC, MG23, A2, Vol. 9, pp. 52-61, "Consideration, on the propriety of Great Britain, abandoning the Indian posts and coming to a good understanding with America, July 1794."

58 Hawkesbury to Grenville, Addiscombe Place, 17 October 1794, PRO, 30/8, Chatham Papers, Bundle 152, quoted in G. S. Graham, "The Indian, Menace and Retention, of the Western Posts," *Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. 15 (1934), p. 10.

59 For the text of Jay's Treaty, 19 November 1794, see United States, Congress, Papers, op. cit., *Foreign Relations*, Vol. 1, p. 470, and Samuel F. Bemis, op. cit., Appendix 6, pp. 321-4.

60 PAC, MG11, CO42, Vol. 100; E. A. Cruikshank, ed., *Simcoe*, Vol. 3, pp. 185-6, Portland to Dorchester and Simcoe, Whitehall, 19 November 1794.

61 PAC, MG11, CO42, Vol. 101; E. A. Cruikshank, ed., *Simcoe*, Vol. 3, p. 251, Dorchester to Portland, Quebec, 1 January 1795.

62 United States, Congress, State Papers, op. cit., *Indian Affairs*, Vol. 1, p. 528; E. A. Cruikshank, ed., *Simcoe*, Vol. 3, pp. 252-3; Anthony Wayne to the Indians of Sandusky, Greenville, 1 January 1795.

63 E. A. Cruikshank, ed., *Simcoe*, Vol. 3, p. 279, England to McKee, Detroit, 30 January 1795.

64 *Ibid.*, p. 330, Brant to Joseph Chew, Grand River, 17 March 1795.

65 Anthony Wayne, *Anthony Wayne, a Name in Arms: Soldier Diplomat, Defense and Expansion Westward of a Nation; The Wayne-Knox-Pickering McHenry Correspondence*, ed., R. C. Knopf (Pittsburgh: Univ. of Pittsburgh Press, 1959), p. 10; Pickering to Wayne, War Office, 8 April 1795.

66 *Ibid.*, p. 395.

67 PAC, RG8, C series, Vol. 248; *MPHSC*, Vol. 20 (1892), pp. 408-9, Brant to Colonel John Butler, Grand River, 23 July 1795.

68 United States, Congress, State Papers, op. cit., *Indian Affairs*, Vol. 1, p. 562; *MPHSC*, Vol. 20 (1892), pp. 410-9; PAC, MG11, CO42, Vol. 319; PAC, RG8, C series, Vol. 248; United States, Congress, Senate, Indian Affairs Committee, op. cit., p. 45, and for a text of the Treaty of Greenville, 3 August 1793 see Appendix B.

69 PAC, MG11, CO42, Vol. 319; E. A. Cruikshank, ed., *Simcoe*, Vol. 4, pp. 83-7, S to the Six Nations Assembled, Fort Erie, 28 August 1795.

70 E. A. Cruikshank, ed., *Simcoe*, Vol. 4, pp. 180-1, Dorchester to Simcoe, Quebec, 1 January 1796.

71 PAC, MG11, CO42, Vol. 105: E. A. Cruikshank, ed., *Simcoe*, Vol. 4, p. 286, Bec to the Commander of the Western Posts, Quebec, General Order of 1 June 1796.

72 Quoted in Nelson V. Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

The Quiet Years (1796-1807)

1 Colonel McKee had purchased the land at Chenail Ecarté in May of 1790, and his intention was to eventually offer the Indians the area for settlement: *see* PAC, MG11, CO42, Vol. 105, letters of McKee to Joseph Chew, Secretary of Indian Affairs, 17 and 18 September 1795, and Dorchester to Portland, Quebec, 18 June 1796. In 1850 the area of this area became what is now known as Walpole Island, Indian, Reserve No. 1.

2 PAC, RG8, C series, Vol. 250: *MPHSC*, Vol. 20 (1892), pp. 499-500, A. McKee to Captain James Green, Military Secretary, Detroit River, 22 January 1797. In 1797 alone, the Indians consumed 96,000 rations and 3,500 bushels of corn, and an allowance was promised and granted.

3 PAC, RG10, A4, Vol. 14, Council at Chenail Ecarté, 30 August 1796; Reginald Horsman, *Matthew Elliott, British Indian Agent* (Detroit: Wayne State Univ., 1964), p. 116.

4 The Queen's Rangers was a Loyalist regiment, and under the command of John Graves Simcoe fought gallantly throughout the American Revolution until the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown in October of 1781. The unit was reformed in 1792-93 as a pioneer corps for service in Upper Canada, and was disbanded in 1802. The Royal Canadian, Volunteers was a provincial corps raised in 1794. This regiment was stationed in Upper Canada until 1802, when it was disbanded.

5 PAC, RG8, C series, Vol. 1206. Peter Russell, Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, to Lieutenant General Robert Prescott, Governor-in-chief and Commander of the Forces in British North America, York, 20 August 1796.

6 PAC, RG8, C series, Vol. 249; *MPHSC*, Vol. 20 (1892), pp. 451-5, Colonel Alexander McKee to Lord Dorchester, Detroit, 7 June 1796 (Plan for the Future Government of the Indian Department).

7 *Ibid.*

8 PAC, RG8, C series, Vol. 250; *MPHSC*, Vol. 20 (1892), pp. 518-9, Captain Peter Drummond to James Green, Island of St. Joseph, 29 June 1797.

9 *Ibid.*

10 *Ibid.*

11 *MPHSC*, Vol. 23 (1895), pp. 31-2, Thomas McKee to Prideaux Selby, Secretary of Indian Affairs, Amherstburg, 12 August 1804.

12 E. A. Cruikshank, ed., *Simcoe*, Vol. 3, p. 314, Joseph Brant to Joseph Chew, (

River, 5 March 1795.

13 PAC, MG11, CO42, Vol. 319, Simcoe to Dorchester, Kingston, 4 March 1795

14 Ibid.

15 Isaac Weld, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 343-59.

16 Ibid.; *see also* Reginald Horsman, *Matthew Elliott, British Indian Agent* (Detroit: Wayne State Univ., 1964), pp. 120-2.

17 PAC, RG8, C series, Vol. 250; *MPHSC*, Vol. 20 (1892), pp. 524-5, McLean to C Amherstburg, 3 August 1797.

18 PAC, RG8, C series, Vol. 250; *MPHSC*, Vol. 20 (1892), pp. 535-9, McLean to C Amherstburg, 14 September 1797.

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid., *see also* Reginald Horsman, *Matthew Elliott, British Indian Agent* (Detroit: Wayne State Univ. 1964), pp. 128-32.

21 PAC, RG8, C series, Vol. 250, McLean to Green, Amherstburg, 23 September 1797.

22 Ibid., McLean to Green, Amherstburg, 18 October and 17 November 1797.

23 PAC, MG11, CO42, Vol. 110, Prescott to Portland, Quebec, 27 December 1797.

24 Ibid., Vol. 321, Brant's Power of Attorney to sell the Grant River Lands, 24 November 1796.

25 Ibid., Speech of Joseph Brant to William Claus Respecting Indian Lands, Fort George, 24 November 1796.

26 Ibid., and Charles M. Johnston, ed., *The Valley of the Six Nations; A Collection of Documents on the Indian Lands of the Grand River* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1964) (hereafter cited as *Valley of the Six Nations*), introduction, pp. xlv-xlv.

27 Quoted in Charles M. Johnston, ed., *Valley of the Six Nations*, p. 70.

28 Ibid., pp. 87-9.

29 Ibid., pp. 97-8 (Transfer of Grand River Tracts to the Crown, 5 February 1797).

30 Charles M. Johnston, "Joseph Brant, the Grand River Lands and the North American Crisis," *Ontario History*, Vol. 55 (1963), pp. 280-1.

31 *MPHSC*, Vol. 20 (1892), pp. 596-8.

32 Ibid., pp. 620-1; PAC, RG8, C series, Vol. 251, McLean to Green, Amherstburg, 14 August 1798.

33 PAC, MG11, CO42, Vol. 112, Prescott to Portland, Quebec, 13 November 1797.

34 Ibid., Prescott to Portland, Quebec, 5 March 1799.

35 PAC, MG24, A6, Peter Hunter Papers, Hunter to Portland, Quebec, 28 December 1799.

36 PAC, RG8, C series, Vol. 252: *MPHSC*, Vol. 20 (1892), pp. 631-5, McLean to S Johnson, Amherstburg, 24 May 1799.

37 PAC, RG8, C series. Vol. 252; *MPHSC*, Vol. 20 (1892), p. 637, Thomas McKee William Claus, Amherstburg, 5 June 1799.

38 PAC, MG24, A6, Peter Hunter Papers, Distribution of Forces in Upper Canada Quebec, 1 December 1799.

39 Charles M. Johnston, ed., *Valley of the Six Nations*, pp. 104-5, 105-9; W. L. St op. cit., Vol. 2, Appendix, pp. xiv-xxxv, Iroquois Councils at Fort George, 8 Oct 1803, 29 June 1804 and 28 July 1806.

The Indian Department and the Northwest in the War of 1812 (1807-15)

1 For the effects of the Chesapeake Crisis on the affairs of Upper Canada and significance in Anglo-American relations, see A. L. Burt, *United States*, pp. 241-Reginald Horsman, *The Causes of the War of 1812* (New York: A. S. Barnes, 1961), pp. 102-4; E. A. Cruikshank, "The Chesapeake Crisis as it Affected Upper Canada, *Ontario Historical Society, Papers and Records*, Vol. 24 (1927), pp. 281-322, and Isaac Brock, *The Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, K. I* F. B. Tupper (London: Simpkin, Marshall, 1847), pp. 60-3, Lieutenant Colonel Brock to Viscount Castlereagh, Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, York, 1 July 1807.

2 Details of British defence measures for Canada are found in J. Mackay Hitschmann, *Safeguarding Canada, 1763-1871* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1965), pp. 10-11.

3 Canada, Public Archives, *Report on Canadian Archives for 1896* (Ottawa: 1896), pp. 189-31, note B, Craig to Gore, Quebec, 6 December 1807.

4 *MPHSC*, Vol. 25 (1894), pp. 232-3, Craig to Gore, Quebec, 28 December 1807.

5 PAC, RG10, A4, Vol. 11, Gore to Claus, York, 29 January 1808, enclosing "Sec Instructions." An excellent brief account of the British intrigue among the tribes during this period is Reginald Horsman, "British Indian Policy in the Northwest, 1807-1812," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. 45 (1958), pp. 51-66.

6 PAC, MG11, CO42, Vol. 136; *MPHSC*, Vol. 25 (1894), pp. 239-40, Craig to Gore, Quebec, 10 March 1808.

7 PAC, MG11, CO42, Vol. 136; *MPHSC*, Vol. 25 (1894), pp. 242-4, Colonel William Claus, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, and James Girty, Interpreter, to Shawnee Assembled, Amherstburg, 25 March 1808.

8 PAC, RG10, A4, Vol. 11; *MPHSC*, Vol. 23 (1895), pp. 34-57, Indian, Council at Amherstburg, 11 and 13 July 1808.

9 PAC, RG8, C series, Vol. 256, Claus to Prideaux Selby, 18 January 1809.

10 E.A. Cruikshank, ed., *Records of Niagara in the Days of Commodore Grant and Lieut.-Governor Gore, 1805-1811* (Niagara-on-the-Lake: Niagara Historical Society, 1931), p. 63, Claus to Selby, Indian Council House, Fort George, 10 August 1809.

11 *Ibid.*, pp. 84-9, Proceedings of Councils with the Six Nations at the Council House, Fort George, 10 and 13 March 1809.

12 PAC, RG8, C series Vol. 256, copies of letters and documents regarding the charges and disagreements between the officer commanding at St. Joseph and the storekeeper of the Indian Department at that post, York, 26 February 1810.

13 PAC, RG10, A4, Vol. 3, the dispute at St. Joseph, 1810.

14 PAC, MG11, CO42, Vol. 143; *MPHSC*, Vol. 25 (1894), pp. 269-70, Elliott to Clamorgan, Amherstburg, 9 July 1810.

15 PAC, MG11, CO42, Vol. 143; *MPHSC*, Vol. 25 (1894), pp. 275-77, Speech of Tecumseh to Major Taylor, commandant at Fort Malden, Amherstburg, 15 November 1810.

16 PAC, MG11, CO42, Vol. 143; *MPHSC*, Vol. 25 (1894), pp. 277-78, Elliott to Clamorgan, Amherstburg, 16 November 1810.

17 PAC, MG11, CO42, Vol. 143, *MPHSC*, Vol. 25 (1894), pp. 280-81, Craig to Gore, Quebec, 2 February 1811.

18 PAC, MG11, CO42, Vol. 143, Gore to Claus, York, 26 February 1811.

19 The religious doctrine of the Prophet found similar expression in the teaching of the Paiute, Wovoka, in 1889-90, and the philosophy of the Seneca, Handsome Lake. For example, to be a follower of the religion of Handsome Lake, a life known as Gaiwiio is to possess and express a somewhat nostalgic and deeply emotional identification with Indianness itself, as opposed to identification with white men, and white-dominated organizations, and in some cases of a desire for personal spiritual salvation achievable by a renunciation, of sin and the acceptance of the leadership of Handsome Lake and the Great Spirit. These themes are developed in Anthony F. C. Wallace, *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca* (New Haven: A. A. Knopf, 1970), Robert M. Utey, *The Last Days of the Sioux Nation* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1963), and Alvin M. Josephy, *The Patriot Chiefs: A Chronicle of American Indian Leadership* (New York: Viking, 1961).

20 *Western Intelligencer*, 11 August 1811.

21 *Scioto Gazette*, 27 November 1811.

22 *Western Intelligencer*, 25 December 1811.

23 PAC, MG12, WO17, Vol. 1516, Strength returns, Canada, 25 November 1811.

24 PAC, RG8, C series, Vol. 673; Sir Isaac Brock, op. cit., pp. 123-30, Brock to Prevost, York, 2 December 1811.

25 For the diplomatic manoeuvring in the spring of 1812, see William R. Manly, ed., op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 613 ff., and Reginald Horsman, *The Causes of the War of 1812* (New York: A. S. Barnes, 1962), pp. 208-16.

26 PAC, MG11, CO42, Vol. 146; *MPHSC*, Vol. 25 (1894), pp. 295-304, Instructions to the Good Government of the Indian, Department, received by Sir George Prevost, Quebec, 1 May 1812.

27 Confidential statement of Robert Dickson, received at Fort George, 14 July 1812, in W. C. H. Wood, ed., *Select British Documents of the Canadian War of 1812* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1920-28), Vol. 1, pp. 426-7.

28 Ibid.

29 In 1797, Dickson had married To-to-win, the sister of an influential chief of Wah-pe-ton-wan Sioux. He had established a trading post at Lake Traverse in Minnesota and traded with most of the tribes on the upper Mississippi, but particularly with the Sioux.

30 *Western Spy*, 21 March 1812.

31 Quoted in E. A. Cruikshank, "Robert Dickson, the Indian Trader," *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. 12 (1892), p. 138.

32 Louise P. Kellogg, op. cit., p. 279.

33 *Western Spy*, 23 May 1812.

34 PAC, RG8, C series, Vol. 256: W. C. H. Wood, ed., op. cit., Vol 1, p. 424, Dicks B. Clegg, Military Secretary to Brock, 18 June 1812.

35 PAC, RG8, C series, Vol. 676, Claus to Brock, Amherstburg, 20 June 1812.

36 Ibid., John Askin, Jr., to W. Claus, Michilimackinac, 18 July 1812. Askin, never so determined a set of people as the Chippewa (Ojibway) and Ottawa. "Since Capitulation. they have not tasted a single drop of liquor, nor even, killed a f belonging to any person, a thing never known before, for they generally dest everything they meet with."

37 A. C. Casselman, ed., *Richardson's War of 1812, with Notes and Life of the A* (Welland: Tribune Office, 1896-1908), pp. 26-46; Alec R. Gilpin, *The War of 1812: the Old Northwest* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1958), pp. 96-7, 100-04.

38 Alec R. Gilpin, op. cit., pp. 126-8; Mentor L. Williams, ed., "John, Kinzie's N of the Fort Dearborn Massacre," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, (1953), pp. 343-62.

39 PAC, RG8, C series. Vol. 688; A. C. Casselman, ed., op. cit., pp. 49-92, Brock t Prevost, Detroit, 17 August 1812.

40 PAC, RG8, C series, Vol. 677: Charles M. Johnston, ed., *Valley of the Six Nati* 197; and see G. F. G. Stanley, "The Indians in the War of 1812," *Canadian Hist Review*, Vol. 31, No.2 (June 1950), pp. 14S-65.

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48 Ibid.

49 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 44, Procter to Prevost, Detroit, 9 August 1813.

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- 65 *MPHSC*, Vol. 15 (1890), p. 551, Drummond to Prevost, Kingston, 3 May 1814.
- 66 PAC, RG8, C series, Vol. 1222, appointed as of 18 May 1814.
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- 68 Charles M. Johnston, ed., *Valley of the Six Nations*, p. 206.
- 69 W. C. H. Wood, ed., op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 605, Sheaffe to Prevost, Fort George, 1 October 1812; Charles M. Johnston, ed., *Valley of the Six Nations*, p. 206.
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- 72 Charles M. Johnston, ed., *Valley of the Six Nations*, pp. 219-20, Noah Freer, military secretary to Prevost, to Drummond, Quebec, 1 March 1814.
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82 Ibid., p. 292, Dickson, to Lawe, 4 February 1814.

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97 For the battle at Rock Island Rapids, 21 July 1814, see *MPHSC*, Vol. 15 (1890 622; Milo M. Quaife, "An Artilleryman of Old Fort Mackinac," *Burton Historical Collection Leaflet*, No. 6 (1928), pp. 39-40; Alec R. Gilpin, op. cit., pp. 249-50.

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99 Thomas G. Anderson, "Journal at Fort McKay. August 10-November 23, 18 *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. 9 (1882), p. 232, Anderson to McDouall, ("Tige" Anderson replaced McKay as the British commandant at Prairie du Ch the summer of 1814.

100 Alec R. Gilpin, op. cit., p. 251; Reginald Horsman, "Wisconsin, and the Wa 1812," *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, Vol. 46 (1962), p. 13. Taylor lost 3 killed

wounded.

101 See Appendix B for a typical invoice of gifts distributed to the tribes by the British Indian, Department in 1814.

102 PAC, RB8, C series, Vol. 258, Dickson to Drummond, Prairie du Chien, 17 January 1815.

103 Quoted in Louise A. Tohill, "Robert Dickson: A Story of Trade, War and Diplomacy" (M. A. thesis, Minnesota, 1927), p. 73.

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106 Thomas G. Anderson, op. cit., p. 201.

107 W. C. H. Wood, ed., op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 538, McDouall to Robinson, 21 July 1815.

The End of an Era (1815-30)

1 W. C. H. Wood, ed., op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 524; and see Vincent T. Harlow and F. M. Brant, eds., *British Colonial Developments, 1774-1834* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), p. 481.

2 R. L. Fisher, "The Treaties of Portage de Sioux," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. 19 (1933), pp. 495, 504-5.

3 Benjamin Drake, op. cit., p. 90.

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5 Quoted in A. L. Burt, *United States*, p. 378, n. 16.

6 PAC, MG11, CO42, Vol. 167, Addison, to McDouall, 15 July 1816.

7 PAC, MG12, WO17, Vol. 1523, Strength return, Canada, 25 December 1819.

8 For details, see A. L. Burt, *United States*, pp. 381-2.

9 Detroit, Public Library, Burton Historical Collection, William Woodbridge P. Austin, E. Wing to William Woodbridge, Detroit, 9 July 1815.

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11 PAC, RG8, C series, Vol. 258, Lt. Col. James to Governor Lewis Cass, Sandwich, 10 October 1815, and Evidence of the Kickapoo, Chemango, at the inquest of the murder of Akochis, Indian Reserve, Malden, 6 October 1815.

12 Over 2,000 Indians were rationsed at Amherstburg in 1816; see Detroit, Public Library, Burton, Historical Collection. George Ironside Papers, Amherstburg, 1816, December 1816.

13 Detroit, Public Library, Burton Historical Collection, Silas Farmer Papers, J
Cass to John C. Calhoun, Detroit, 3 August 1819.

14 Robert J. Surtees, "The Development of an Indian Reserve Policy in Canada"
Ontario History, Vol. 61 (June 1969), p. 89.

15 PAC, MG11, CO42, Vol. 388; V. T. Harlow and F. Madden, eds., op. cit., pp. 5
Colborne to Secretary R. W. Hay, York, 3 May 1829.

16 For Colborne's letter which provides an excellent and early example of the
philosophy which eventually brought about the development of a paternalistic
system in Canada, see Appendix C.

17 PAC. RG19, A5a, Vol. 5, Kempt to Colborne, Quebec, 16 May 1829.

18 Ibid., Vol. 116. Murray to Kempt, 25 January 1830.

19 Robert J. Surtees, op. cit., p. 97.

20 Roy Harvey Pearce, *The Savages of America, A Study of the Indian and the
Civilization* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1953), pp. 196-212.

21 Lydia H. Sigourney, *Traits of the Aborigines of America, A Poem* (Cambridge
Hilliard & Metcalf, 1822), pp. 177-8.

22 Robert J. Surtees, op. cit., p. 92.

23 PAC, RG10, C2, Vol. 456, General order, 13 April 1930.

Appendix A

1 PAC, MG11, CO42, Vol. 319.

2 Greenville was written, as Grenville (SIC) by Wayne or his secretary through
the articles of peace.

Appendix B

1 PAC, MG11, CO42, Vol. 258.

Appendix C

1 PAC, MG11, CO42, Vol. 388.

2 Reserves.

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