

## Antiquarians and Avocationalists from Upper Canada to Ontario

William Fox, Conrad Heidenreich and James Hunter

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Article abstract

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# Antiquarians and Avocationalists from Upper Canada to Ontario

By William Fox, Conrad Heidenreich and James Hunter

Much has been written concerning Ontario archaeological investigations, involving both avocational and professional archaeologists and geologists during the latter half of the century.<sup>1</sup> However, the first historic reference to Indigenous heritage is reflected in the 1797 proclamation by Peter Russell, Administrator of Upper Canada responsible for Indian Affairs, criminalizing any depredation of Mississauga fisheries and burial grounds, based on “many heavy and grievous complaints” received from the Mississaugas.<sup>2</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Michelle A. Hamilton, *Collections and Objections, Aboriginal Material Culture in Southern Ontario, 1791-1914* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010); Gerald Killan, “The Canadian Institute and the Origins of the Ontario Archaeological Tradition 1851-1884,” *Ontario Archaeology* 34 (1980), 3-16; William C. Noble, “One Hundred and Twenty-five Years of Archaeology in the Canadian Provinces,” *Canadian Archaeological Association Bulletin* 4 (1972), 15-16.

<sup>2</sup> Hamilton, *Collections and Objections*, 4.

## Abstract

*The investigation of Indigenous and European archaeological sites in what is now the Province of Ontario spans a period of nearly two centuries. While much of the earliest work involved “digging for curiosities,” establishment of the Canadian Institute in 1849 resulted in a more scientific pursuit of knowledge. With the creation of a Provincial archaeologist and the staffing of academic positions, the professional and avocational/collector branches of archaeological activity split in the latter decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century; however, both remained active. The interplay between them strengthened the still nascent professional branch during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, leading to the increased professionalization of the discipline in the second half of the century.*

**Résumé:** *Les enquêtes sur les sites archéologiques européens et indigènes dans ce qui constitue aujourd'hui la province de l'Ontario couvrent presque deux siècles. Tandis que beaucoup des premiers travaux étaient des « fouilles aux curiosités », la création du Canadian Institute en 1849 a entraîné des recherches de nature plus scientifique. Les deux branches archéologiques – professionnelle et amateur – commencent à se séparer vers la fin du 19<sup>e</sup> siècle avec la création d'un ministère d'archéologie provinciale et avec la dotation de postes académiques. L'interaction entre les deux renforcera la branche professionnelle encore émergente au début du 20<sup>e</sup> siècle, menant à l'avancement de cette discipline à la fin du siècle.*

latter had re-occupied the lands of southern Ontario less than a century before the massive Loyalist migration into the Lake Ontario region after 1783 and the creation of the province of Upper Canada in 1792. With this American invasion came extensive forest clearance and alienation of the northern Lake Ontario shoreline through land cessions negotiated with the Mississauga; plus increasingly unsustainable fisheries, particularly involving the native Atlantic salmon population of Lake Ontario.<sup>3</sup> Depredation of Mississauga and earlier burial sites followed from land clearance and agricultural pursuits; as well as sand quarrying for construction materials. Destruction of sites such as the York “Sandhill,” which even included the grave of an Indigenous casualty of the War of 1812, should have emphasized the protests of the Mississauga, but these concerns were dismissed, along with Russell’s proclamation, by historian Henry Scadding during the latter half of the nineteenth century.<sup>4</sup>

The earliest published reference to an Ontario Indigenous archaeological site is contained in a volume by J. Mackintosh entitled “The Discovery of America by Christopher Columbus; and the Origin of the North American Indians.” In it he

notes “That several monuments of antiquity are very probably concealed from us, by the overgrowth of the forest cannot at all be denied, when we exhibit to the view of the public, a certain fact which recently came to light in the township of Beverly, County of Halton, Upper Canada. A tumulus was discovered containing the remains of about a thousand Indians, with arms and cooking vessels. This golgatha was, when discovered, overgrown with trees of two hundred years growth. It is therefore, reasonable to believe that several marks of civilization have, under similar circumstances, escaped our notice.”<sup>5</sup> The Reverend C. Dade reminisced about seeing eleven pits at this site on the Call farm in 1836, three or four of which “had been opened beyond the memory of the oldest settler,” and he reported that “in one of the smallest pits a person counted 125 skeletons.”<sup>6</sup> That news of this latest discovery travelled rapidly among antiquarians in Upper Canada is evidenced by an 1836 communication from Charles Fothergill of Port Hope to a Dr. Rees in Toronto, wherein he states that he is awaiting a report from associates who had already visited the site, before incurring “the expense of going there.”<sup>7</sup> The mass graves described in

<sup>3</sup> Robert W. Dunfield, *The Atlantic Salmon in the History of North America*, Ottawa: Canadian Special Publication of Fisheries and Aquatic Sciences 80, Department of Fisheries and Oceans, 1985, 74-75.

<sup>4</sup> Hamilton, *Collections and Objections*, 5.

<sup>5</sup> James Mackintosh, *The Discovery Of America, By Christopher Columbus; And The Origin Of The North American Indians*. Toronto: Printed by W.J. Coates, 1836, 135.

<sup>6</sup> Reverend Charles Dade, “Indian Remains – Being a Description of an Indian Burial Ground in Beverly Township, Ten Miles From Dundas,” *The Canadian Journal, A Repertory of Industry, Science, and Art; And A Record Of the Proceedings Of The Canadian Institute*, August (Toronto: H. Scobie, 1852), 6.

<sup>7</sup> Mima Kapches, Antiquarians to Archaeologists in Nineteenth-Century Toronto, *Northeast Anthropology* 47 (1994), 88.

the aforementioned reports were most likely the early seventeenth century Neutral mortuary site known as the Dwyer Ossuary.<sup>8</sup> This identification is further supported by Henry Schoolcraft,<sup>9</sup> who describes a visit to the “Beverly Ossuaries” in 1843, noting that the site is some twelve miles from Dundas, an almost exact distance to the Dwyer site, using the most direct route on the township road system. His report includes a description of the cemetery layout and looted condition; as well as, six plates of related artifact drawings.

The first newspaper report of a site investigation is found in the 27 August 1839 issue of Kingston’s *Upper Canada Herald*, which describes the excavation of a five-foot-high, oval burial mound at the rear of Sir Allen McNab’s Dundurn residence on Burlington Heights, supervised by “several officers of the 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion”—presumably, of the Hamilton or Gore Militia, of which Colonel McNab was commanding officer.<sup>10</sup> An extended interment was exposed, apparently accompanied by a “stone hatchet” and mica sheets. Extension of their excavation resulted in the discovery of “two more hatchets, several arrow heads, and a flat narrow piece of stone four or five inches

in length, with two small holes drilled through it...” The lack of wampum surprised the reporters, who opined that “The absence of silver ornaments, beads, and anything like metal, and the presence of stone hatchets, which have been out of use amongst the Indians ever since their intercourse with the whites, prove that this body must have lain there 150 or 200 years, and perhaps much longer, ...” Not surprisingly, twentieth-century excavations in the Dundurn Castle grounds by McMaster University produced evidence of a Middle Woodland occupation.<sup>11</sup> Perhaps of equal interest is the perspective of the newspaper reporter, who initiated the article by stating that “Our readers would feel surprised to hear that any relics of the Indian tribes, who formerly thronged the shores of Burlington Bay were still in existence in so populous and old a place as Hamilton,” perhaps alluding to earlier discoveries reported a century later; such as, the burial mound discovered on the Robert Land farm upon agricultural clearing of his property in what is downtown Hamilton.<sup>12</sup>

The timing of this event and the participation of military officers can be explained by contemporary political events in the Canadas. Local militias had been

<sup>8</sup> Frank Ridley, *Archaeology of the Neutral Indians* (Etobicoke Historical Society. Port Credit: The Weekly, 1961), 26-32.

<sup>9</sup> Henry Schoolcraft, *Information Respecting The History, Condition and Prospects Of The Indian Tribes Of The United States*, Part 1 (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo and Co., 1853), 103-104.

<sup>10</sup> William A. Fox, “Description of an Indian Grave, Opened at Hamilton, April 1839,” *KEWA Newsletter of the London Chapter, Ontario Archaeological Society*, 85:3 (1985), 1-3.

<sup>11</sup> John R. Triggs, *Archaeology at Dundurn Castle 1991* (Department of Culture and Recreation, The Corporation of the City of Hamilton, 1993), 29.

<sup>12</sup> John H. Land, “Notes on the Indian Burial Mound, Foot of Emerald Street, Hamilton,” *Papers and Records of the Wentworth Historical Society*, 6 (1915), 50.

called up to quell rebellions supported by the U.S. government in both Upper and Lower Canada in 1837 and '38, and following this, the British government further increased the British military presence at garrisons in Amherstburg, York, Kingston, and Montreal, where it was not unusual for gentleman officers to display an interest in collecting natural and cultural curios. The collecting of ethnographic material extends back to the earliest Indigenous–European contact<sup>13</sup> and included British military officers, such as Jasper Grant, stationed in Upper Canada prior to the War of 1812.<sup>14</sup> Among the British army personnel dispatched to Montreal following the rebellion was one Dr. Edward Bawtree, who arrived on 14 May 1844.<sup>15</sup> Following a rapid series of assignments to garrisons around Montréal, he arrived as an assistant surgeon to a small detachment of the 84th Regiment of Foot at the Penetanguishene Garrison in July of 1845.

The area was occupied by British Anglicans and “Canadien” Catholics. Some of the latter Métis families had moved from Michilimackinac to Drummond Island following the American Revolution and then on to Penetanguishene fol-

lowing the War of 1812 and the return of Drummond Island to the Americans in 1828. They were joined by Québécois from east of Montreal in the 1840s, creating a staunch Francophone Catholic community. Bawtree introduced himself to both communities, socializing with the Hallen, Mitchell, and Anderson families and befriending Fathers Proulx and Charest, perhaps facilitated by his capacity for the French language. Another associate, Captain Thomas Anderson, was Superintendent of the Indian Department and, while a fur trader in Iowa from 1800 to 1814, had married Margaret (Grey Cloud Woman) granddaughter of Wabasha, a chief of the Mdewankatan Dakota Sioux in 1810. In 1820, he remarried to Elizabeth Ann Hamilton, a cousin of Dr. Bawtree’s future wife Louisa Mitchell, and was perhaps influential in Bawtree’s appointment as the Indian Department doctor to the Ojibwa bands on Beausoleil and adjacent islands in 1846. Anderson was responsible for the establishment of the Manitouaning settlement on Manitoulin in 1837. Perhaps due to his personal and professional connections to Indigenous communities, Anderson collected ethnographic and

<sup>13</sup> Robert J. McGhee, “Contact Between Native North Americans and the Medieval Norse: A Review of the Evidence,” *American Antiquity*, 49:1 (1984), 4-26.

<sup>14</sup> Ruth B. Phillips, *Patterns of Power, The Jasper Grant Collection and Great Lakes Indian Art of the Early Nineteenth Century*, (The McMichael Canadian Collection, Kleinburg, Ontario, 1984).

<sup>15</sup> Conrad Heidenreich, “Dr. Edward William Bawtree, M.D., *A Brief Description of some Sepulchral Pits of Indian Origin, Lately Discovered near Penetanguishene*.” p.141, Figures, 39. On file at the Simcoe County Archives, Minesing, Ontario, and Huronia Museum, Midland, Ontario. Dr. Bawtree’s manuscript paper, catalogue of artifacts and drawings are in the Archives of Ontario. An early manuscript of his paper and artifact catalogue are in Record Group: F 1052-7-0-1, “Royal Canadian Institute Research Papers,” and the drawings in Record Group F 1052-7-0-1; Reference Code: F 1052-1; Barcode # B410717; Container # D 192. p. 41.

archaeological material and reported on the discovery of a Huron/Wendat ossuary in an 1847 issue of the Toronto *Empire* newspaper.

In June of 1847, Dr. Bawtree was married to Louisa Mitchell by the Reverend George Hallen at the Penetanguishene Garrison Anglican church. Louisa was a granddaughter of the famous Anishinabeg fur trader, Elizabeth Bertrand, and one of the minister's daughters who attended the wedding. Mary Hallen, was an accomplished artist. Besides administering to the Garrison and Ojibwa, Dr. Bawtree also undertook medical services to Penetanguishene and surrounding farms for which the villagers awarded him with a platter in 1848.

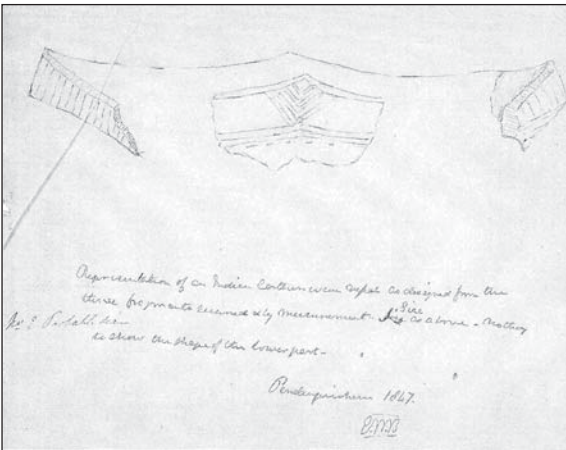
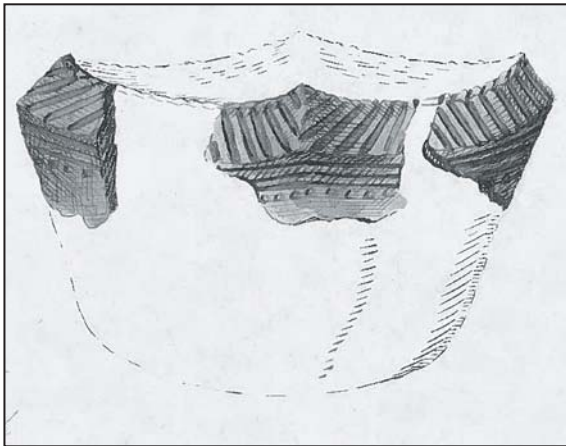
The above biographical details are intended to define a series of converging vectors—heritage and family connections, professional responsibilities, personal interests and capacity, and place, which combined to create the first avocational archaeologist, as opposed to antiquarian, in what is now Ontario. Dr. Bawtree began to collect Huron/Wendat artifacts in 1846, and a year later was informed by “Canadian” farmers of the discovery of Huron/Wendat ossuaries through land clearance. In Bawtree's opinion, the main objective of the farmers was the recovery of still useable copper and brass kettles. He accompanied the farmers and, by late 1847, had recorded the structure of five ossuaries, three of which were opened for the first time. By the end of 1849, he had

completed his collection of local Huron/Wendat artifacts and natural history specimens. Bawtree had also assembled a 41-page portfolio of watercolour and pencil drawings of 72 artefacts, which he had created in collaboration with Mary Hallen. Later, his sister-in-law, Mrs. John Bawtree (née Helen Inglis), a talented miniaturist, added some watercolours drawn from items in Dr. Bawtree's private collection. [See pages 68-69]

Dr. Bawtree published a paper in July 1848, entitled: “A Brief Description of Some Sepulchral Pits of Indian Origin” in the *Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal*. The paper was sponsored by Sir James McGrigor, Director General of the Medical Department of the British Army. It included a plate illustrating the structure of ossuary #5, plus ten artefacts, and translations from Père Charlevoix's *Histoire* (1744) concerning Wendat burial practices, which Bawtree thought would help him to understand what he was finding. For that reason, he called them respectfully “sepulchral pits,” not “bone pits.” He was also struck by the beauty of the artefacts, particularly the decorated ceramic vessel rim sherds and pipes. An abstract of his paper, was published subsequently by the *Smithsonian Institution*, including five of Bawtree's figures, in Ephraim Squier's 1851 volume entitled “Antiquities of the State of New York.”<sup>16</sup>

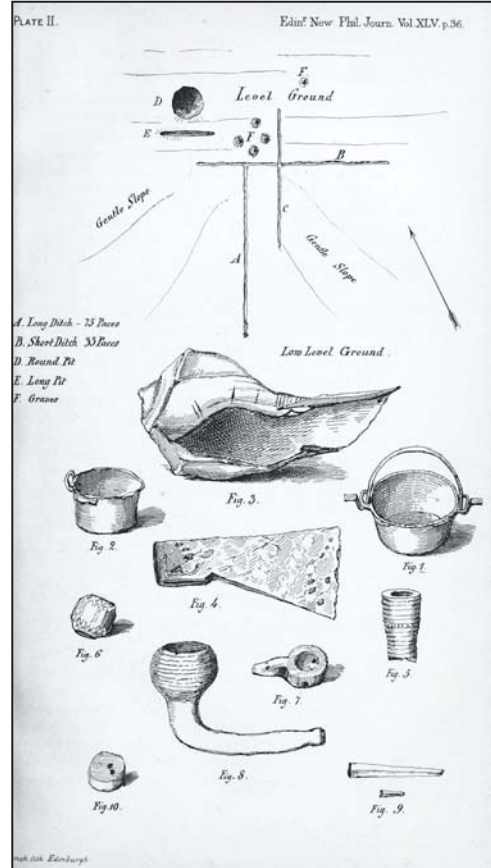
After his return to England in 1850, Dr. Bawtree donated the artefact collection to the Museum of the Fort Pitt Army

<sup>16</sup> Ephraim G. Squier, *Antiquities of the State of New York. Being The Results Of Extensive Original Surveys And Explorations, With A supplement On The Antiquities Of The West; Illustrated By Fourteen Quarto Plates And Eighty Engravings On Wood* (Buffalo: G.H. Derby and Co., 1851), 100-108.



**Above:** Vessel 2a, drawn by Dr. Bawtree. This is the same vessel as 2b. Since Mary Hallen refused to draw complete vessels from shards, Dr. Bawtree probably asked his sister-in-law to draw them in watercolour. AO, Royal Canadian Institute fonds: F 1052-1, "Royal Canadian Institute drawings of aboriginal artefacts;" Barcode #B410717; Container: D 192.

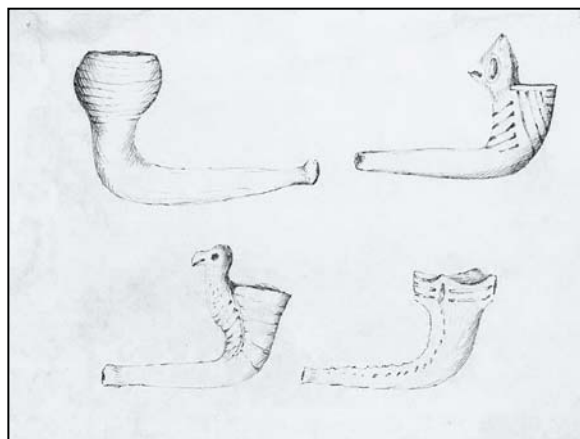
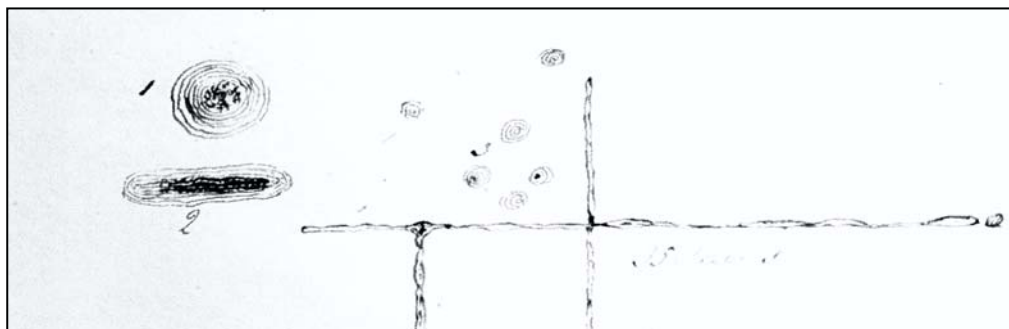
**Left:** Vessel 2b, likely drawn by Mrs. John Bawtree. AO, Royal Canadian Institute fonds: F 1052-1, "Royal Canadian Institute drawings of aboriginal artefacts;" Barcode #B410717; Container: D 192.



**Above:** Lithograph plate of artefacts that accompanied Bawtree's 1849 Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal article. Mary Hallen likely did the original drawings.

Medical Hospital in Chatham, Kent, where he had last studied. He retired in 1872, with the rank of surgeon major and "Honorary Deputy Inspector-General of Army Hospitals." On 2 September 1893, just before he made his will, he donated a manuscript of his paper, his catalogue

of artefacts and the drawings to the *Canadian Institute*, probably on the suggestion of his daughter Jessie, a member of the *Canadian Indian Research and Aid Society*. In 1956, the *Royal Canadian Institute* donated the collection to the *Archives of Ontario*.



**Top:** Enlargement showing a part from Ossuary #5; the round ossuary itself, a trench-like ossuary and a few outlying pits, one of which had a complete skeleton in it. Both the trench and round ossuary show the skeletal material at the bottom. It is interesting that he showed that the round ossuary was "funnel" shaped.

**Above left:** Catlinite pipe (in watercolour), drawn by "Mrs. J.B."; Mrs. John Bawtree (nee Helen Inglis), a sister-in-law of Dr. Bawtree. The pipe is from a Petun ossuary.

**Above right:** Four pipes, drawn by Mary Hallen. All drawings: AO, Royal Canadian Institute fonds: F 1052-1, "Royal Canadian Institute drawings of aboriginal artefacts," Barcode #B410717; Container: D 192.

Other events in Europe would also impact the Penetanguishene community. In 1773, Pope Clement XIV issued a papal bull suppressing the Jesuit Order, and that same year the British crown laid claim to Jesuit property in Canada and declared that the Society of Jesus in New France

was dissolved. Later the church relented and the Bishop of Montreal invited the Order to return.<sup>17</sup> Thus, in 1842 Father Jean-Pierre Chazelle arrived in Montreal in a party of nine Jesuits charged with responsibility for colleges and Indian missions. Subsequently, as Superior for

<sup>17</sup> Paul J. Delaney and Andrew D. Nicholls, *After the Fire, Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons Since 1649* (East Georgian Bay Historical Foundation, Meaford: Oliver Graphics), 1989, 8.



Upper Canada, he established missions at Walpole, Manitoulin, and Sault Ste. Marie, and developed a strong interest in the history of the seventeenth-century Jesuit missions. Before he passed away in 1845 while traveling through Green Bay, Chazelle undertook a brief survey of Wendake in 1844. He inspected the sites of Ste. Marie I and II, as well as two other reputed mission locations, and reported to the Jesuit superior general in Rome, with a recommendation to excavate the site of Ste. Marie I. He was assisted in his investigations by the Reverend George Hallen who surveyed and produced plans of the two Jesuit establishments in 1845.<sup>18</sup> Presumably inspired by Chazelle's enthusiasm, Father Proulx purchased the Ste. Marie I property that same year and sold it in 1847 to the Jesuit superintendent of Indian missions, Father Peter Point, S.J.

Chazelle's zealous campaign to document the seventeenth-century Jesuit presence in Wendake was carried on by Father Felix Martin, a noted antiquarian who was assigned Jesuit Superior for Lower Canada in 1844. The Reverend Hallen forwarded his Ste. Marie plans to Father Martin in Montreal, who subsequently published them in 1852 as part of a map entitled "Carte de l'ancien Pays des Hurons." Martin was a prolific writer concerning the seventeenth-century missions and undertook an extensive field

season throughout Wendake in 1855; including excavations at Fort Ste. Marie I and an ossuary in Medonte Township, plus a visit to Fort Ste. Marie II, all of which he recorded in water colour sketches. He was also in possession of artefact sketches drawn by Mary Hallen in 1847 and used these in subsequent publications such as his 1877 volume entitled *Hurons et Iroquois: le P. Jean de Brebeuf*.

The excavation of Huron/Wendat archaeological sites was continued by Dr. Joseph-Charles Taché, a senior Federal bureaucrat, who established a "Musée huron" at Laval University.<sup>19</sup> The lack of notes makes it difficult to determine when and exactly where he began his excavations, which we do know included sixteen ossuaries. We also understand, based on an 1866 letter to the U.S. historian Francis Parkman, that he had ceased active research as of 1864, and may have begun field work around 1859.<sup>20</sup> This is consistent with the fact that Father Martin, who excavated in Wendake during the summer of 1855, makes no reference to his activities. Taché mentions in his letter to Parkman that his museum, without a catalogue, was presented to Laval University; and in 1871 Daniel Wilson reports studying with John Langton and the Reverend James Douglas "upwards of eighty skulls" in the Taché collection at the Laval University Museum.<sup>21</sup> He also

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 7, 11.

<sup>19</sup> Marie Renier, *Stratégies museales a l'égard du patrimoine amerindien*, Thesis submitted to the Faculté des études supérieures, Laval University, Quebec City, 2010, 66-70.

<sup>20</sup> Mima Kapches, Transcription of J.C. Taché's 1866 Letter to Francis Parkman, *Arch Notes, Newsletter of the Ontario Archaeological Society*, 19:4 (2014), 5.

<sup>21</sup> Sir Daniel Wilson, "The Huron Race and Its Head-Form," *The Canadian Journal of Science, Literature*

reports recording eleven additional crania excavated from Wendat ossuaries by a Dr. Thorburn of Toronto. The Taché collection was given to the Musée de la Civilisation in Quebec City in 1995,<sup>22</sup> and recent inquiries have indicated that at least a portion of the original collection now resides there. We look forward to reviewing it, as Wilson states that it included

weapons, pottery, stone-pipes, clay-tubes, large tropical shells... the native wampum, kettles, knives and personal ornaments of copper, beads, and other relics of European workmanship. One prized object of the latter class is a fragment of one of the Jesuit Mission church-bells.<sup>23</sup>

The movement to commemorate and venerate the seventeenth-century French Jesuits of Wendake continued with the work of Father Arthur Jones S.J., the archivist of St. Mary's College in Montreal, as presented in his substantial Ontario Archives volume entitled "8ENDAKE EHEN" or Old Huronia."<sup>24</sup> It also manifested itself through the establishment in 1907 of a small chapel at Waubashene, at the purported site of the mission Saint-

Ignace II,<sup>25</sup> sponsored by the Archbishop of Toronto. This commemorative initiative was followed in 1925 by the construction of the present-day Martyrs' Shrine church in Midland, just north of the site of Fort Ste. Marie I.

One cannot over-estimate the significance of the Canadian Institute, which was established in 1849 and "incorporated by royal charter in 1851,"<sup>26</sup> and the arrival of Daniel Wilson to Toronto in 1853<sup>27</sup> in promoting the study of Indigenous heritage through the presentation and publication of research papers.<sup>28</sup> A review of John Patterson's *General Index to Publications 1852-1912* indicates that those volumes contain no less than 216 references to "American Indians" contained in presentations to the Institute, published over that fifty-year period—topics ranging from archaeology to ethnography to then-current social conditions of Indigenous populations throughout the Americas.<sup>29</sup> Contributors speaking specifically on Ontario subjects ranged from an Ottawa surgeon, Dr. Edward Van Courtlandt;<sup>30</sup> to a self-

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*ture, and History*: Vol. XIII No. II, New Series, No. LXXIV (August, 1871), 122.

<sup>22</sup> Kapches, "Transcription," 8.

<sup>23</sup> Wilson, "The Huron Race," 121.

<sup>24</sup> Arthur E. Jones, S.J., "8ENDAKE EHEN" or *Old Huronia*, Fifth Report of the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario, by Alexander Fraser, Provincial Archivist, 1908, (Toronto: L.K. Cameron, 1909).

<sup>25</sup> Delaney and Nicholls, *After the Fire*, 20.

<sup>26</sup> Killan, "The Canadian Institute," 3.

<sup>27</sup> Marinell Ash, "A fine, genial, hearty band': David Laing, Daniel Wilson and Scottish Archaeology," *The Scottish Antiquarian Tradition, Essays to mark the bicentenary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland 1780-1980*, Ed. A.S Bell (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1981), 111.

<sup>28</sup> Kapches, "Antiquarians to Archaeologists," 89-90.

<sup>29</sup> John Patterson, *Canadian Institute. General Index to Publications 1852-1912* (Toronto: University Press, 1914).

<sup>30</sup> Edward Van Courtlandt, Notice of an Indian Burying Ground, Bytown, *The Canadian Journal*, A

identified Odawah Warrior named Francis Assikinack;<sup>31</sup> to the famous artist and recorder of nineteenth-century Indigenous life, Paul Kane; to Daniel Wilson, whose research ranged widely from pre-contact copper mining and tool production to craniometry, to the importation of marine shells by Ontario Indigenous groups.<sup>32</sup>

Other *Canadian Journal* articles included an aforementioned report concerning an 1836 visit to the seventeenth-century Neutral Dwyer ossuaries north of Dundas, Ontario by the Reverend Charles Dade, Mathematical Master at Upper Canada College in Toronto.<sup>33</sup> Dr. Edward Van Courtlandt reported the discovery by construction workers in 1843 of an ossuary, mistakenly thought to be situated in the City of Ottawa.<sup>34</sup> In January of 1856, Daniel Wilson read a paper before the Canadian Institute, reporting

on a summer 1855 visit to the Keweenaw Peninsula on the south shore of Lake Superior to study Indigenous mining of the local native copper deposits and evidence of ancient copper tool manufacturing. He compares the stone mauls on the Michigan mining sites with specimens he had seen at copper mining sites in northern Wales, discusses native copper artifacts discovered in Middle Woodland mounds to the south, and cites Alexander Henry's eighteenth-century observations along the Ontonagan River.<sup>35</sup> This was followed at the February meeting, by a report by Dr. Thomas Reynolds on the "Discovery of Copper and other Indian Relics, Near Brockville" exposed in 1847 at a depth of fourteen or fifteen feet by excavations for the St. Lawrence Canal at Les Galops Rapids, which artefacts he rightly argues are pre-contact.<sup>36</sup> They, and a series of lithic artefacts, appear to

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*Repertory of Industry, Science, and Art; And A Record Of the Proceedings Of The Canadian Institute.* Volume 1 (1852), 160-61.

<sup>31</sup> Francis Assikinack, "Legends and Traditions of the Odawah Indians," *The Canadian Journal of Industry, Science, and Art*: Conducted By The Editing Committee Of The Canadian Institute, New Series No. XIV – (March 1858), 115-25, "Social and Warlike Customs of the Odawah Indians," *The Canadian Journal of Industry, Science, and Art*: Conducted By The Editing Committee Of The Canadian Institute, New Series No. XVI – (July 1858), 297-309.

<sup>32</sup> Sir Daniel Wilson, "Observations Suggested by Specimens of a Class of Conchological Relics of the Red Indian Tribes of Canada West," *The Canadian Journal*, (February 1855), 155-59, "The Ancient Miners of Lake Superior," *The Canadian Journal of Industry, Science, and Art*: Conducted By The Editing Committee Of The Canadian Institute, New Series No. III – (May 1856), 225-37, "Narcotic Usages and Superstitions of the Old and New World," *The Canadian Journal*, New Series. No. X – (July 1857), 253-64 and New Series No. XI – September, (Toronto: H. Scobie, 1857), 324-33, "Some Ethnographic Phases of Conchology," *The Canadian Journal*, New Series No. XVII – (September 1858), 365-402.

<sup>33</sup> Dade, "Indian Remains," 6.

<sup>34</sup> Jean-Luc Pilon, "On the Nature of Archaeology in the Ottawa Area and Archaeological Mysteries," *Ontario Archaeology* 75 (2003), 17-28, Randy Boswell and Jean-Luc Pilon, "New Documentary Evidence of 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Excavations of Ancient Aboriginal Burials at 'Hull Landing': New Light on Old Questions," *Arch Notes Newsletter of the Ontario Archaeological Society*, 19:3 (2104), 5-10.

<sup>35</sup> Wilson, "The Ancient Miners," 225-37.

<sup>36</sup> Thomas Reynolds, "Discovery of Copper and other Indian Relics near Brockville," *The Canadian*

have been associated with an Archaic Period cemetery including extended inhumations forming a circle and cremations. Images of three of the four native copper artefacts (and a much later St. Lawrence Iroquoian human face ceramic pipe effigy) are provided in the paper, and were shared subsequently with Ephraim Squier, who had them published in the *Smithsonian Institution Transactions*. Reynolds' paper is followed by a brief report on a metallurgical analysis of the copper artefacts and of Lake Superior native copper specimens undertaken by Henry Croft, Professor of Chemistry at University College, Toronto. The results indicated that the tools were "composed of copper almost pure, differing in no material respect from the native copper of Lake Superior..."<sup>37</sup>

At the end of that year, Daniel Wilson, in an article entitled "Discovery of Indian Remains, County Norfolk, Canada West" used the discovery of a child's grave during agricultural land clearing in Windham Township to remind readers of an October, 1855 *Canadian Journal* paper providing special directions for the formation of a collection of Indigenous crania. He and a Dr. Hodder provide an osteological analysis of the Norfolk

County burial, and directions are provided concerning the careful excavation, recording, and packaging of skeletal remains when discovered by members of the public.<sup>38</sup>

In 1857, Daniel Wilson presented a talk to the Canadian Institute on "Narcotic Usages and Superstitions of the Old and New World," referencing information from Paul Kane on Indigenous smoking habits, a gift of a pre-contact clay pipe from Six Nations Reserve from the Anishinabe missionary, Peter Jones, and personal discoveries of archaeological artifacts during a field trip with the Reverend George Bell in Norfolk County, north of Lake Erie. He goes on to describe bossed ceramics, determined a century later to be characteristic of Early Ontario Iroquoian vessels in the region. Finally, Wilson provides important information concerning a celebrated Manitoulin pipe maker "*Pabahmesad*, or the Flier" and Indigenous pipestone sources.<sup>39</sup> Later that year, he returned to a topic discussed in an 1855 presentation concerning whelk shells recovered from Ontario Indigenous sites, two specimens of which were donated to the Institute. The paper entitled "Some Ethnographic Phases of Conchology" describes the

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*Journal of Industry, Science, and Art*: Conducted By The Editing Committee Of The Canadian Institute. New Series No. IV – (July 1856), 329-34.

<sup>37</sup> Henry Croft, "Report On Copper Implements Found Near Brockville," *The Canadian Journal of Industry, Science, and Art*: Conducted By The Editing Committee Of The Canadian Institute, New Series No. IV – (July 1856), 335.

<sup>38</sup> Sir Daniel Wilson, "Discovery of Indian Remains, County of Norfolk, Canada West," *The Canadian Journal of Industry, Science, and Art*: Conducted By The Editing Committee Of The Canadian Institute, New Series No. VI – (November 1856), 511-19.

<sup>39</sup> Wilson, "Narcotic Usages," (July 1857), 253-64 and (September 1857), 324-33.

previous three discoveries and then references Dr. Bawtree's 1848 article in the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*. He again describes the Dwyer ossuary conch shells and marine shell beads reported by Schoolcraft, suggesting that the mortuary context of such shells may reflect a sacred significance, similar to that reported for a variety of East Asian peoples.<sup>40</sup>

Following the flurry of archaeological presentations and papers during the mid-1850s is the paper "On Some Ancient Mounds Upon the Shores of the Bay of Quinte" read by Thomas Wallbridge at the March, 1860 meeting of the Institute. He discusses the distribution of conical mounds along the Bay of Quinte shoreline and up the Trent River, and provides detailed drawings describing the structure of the one apparently undisturbed burial mound which he excavated in the company of Henry Cawthra of Toronto in August of 1859.<sup>41</sup> Artifact drawings are presented in a separate plate, clearly indicating the late Middle Woodland age of the mound.

Such excavation recording and reporting is far beyond the standards of the Victorian antiquarian curiosity collector,

confirming Thomas Wallbridge along with Dr. Edward Bawtree as Ontario's earliest avocational archaeologists. That Father Felix Martin should be placed among them is debatable, given the lack of detail reported for artefact recoveries associated with his Ste. Marie I excavations; although, he did publish the Jesuit establishment survey maps provided by the Rev. George Hallen and the Wendat artefact drawings produced by his daughter, Mary Hallen. Consideration of Joseph-Charles Taché's contributions must await the future discovery of any field notes which may have survived.

Antiquarians in Ontario such as Daniel Wilson<sup>42</sup> and Charles Hirschfelder<sup>43</sup> continued to assemble artefact collections and lectured on their interpretation during the latter half of the nineteenth century, while artefact collecting or "pot hunting" proceeded in this intellectual background; as indeed, it continues to this day.<sup>44</sup> The Province's first professional archaeologists—Boyle<sup>45</sup> and Montgomery<sup>46</sup>—were employed by the end of the century and relied on the growing cadre of avocational archaeologists; such as Andrew Hunter, George Laidlaw, Edward

<sup>40</sup> Wilson, "Some Ethnographic Phases of Conchology," 383-402.

<sup>41</sup> Thomas C. Wallbridge, "On some Ancient Mounds on the shores of the Bay of Quinte," *The Canadian Journal of Industry, Science, and Art*: Conducted By The Editing Committee Of The Canadian Institute, New Series No. XXIX Vol. V – (September 1860), 409-417, plus Plate I, Figures 1-3.

<sup>42</sup> Killan, "The Canadian Institute," 3-16.

<sup>43</sup> Kapches, "Antiquarians to Archaeologists," 92-94.

<sup>44</sup> William A. Fox, "The Freulton/Misner Site Looting and Prosecution," *Arch Notes Newsletter of the Ontario Archaeological Society*, 85:4 (1985), 31-39.

<sup>45</sup> Gerald Killan, *David Boyle From Artisan To Archaeologist*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983).

<sup>46</sup> Mima Kapches, "Profile. Henry Montgomery, PhD (1849-1919): Professor of Archaeologic Geology," *Ontario Archaeology* 75 (2003), 29-37.

Sowter, and William Wintemberg to report finds from their local areas. These early avocational activities led to a professional career for William Wintemberg at the National Museum of Canada. As time passed during the twentieth century, the miniscule number of professional archaeologists in academic employ con-

tinued to rely on the discoveries and observations of avocational archaeologists; including Wintemberg's associate, Peter Pringle.<sup>47</sup> This "symbiotic relationship" between professional and avocational<sup>48</sup> continued up until the florescence of the Ontario cultural resource management industry in the mid-1980s.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Peter M. Pringle, "Getting Down to Business from a Collector's Point of View," *American Antiquity*, 4:3, 273-76, 1939, William C. Reeve, *Peter M. Pringle Master Decoy Maker* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), 143-71.

<sup>48</sup> Peter M. Pringle, "The "Put" and "Take" Proposition," *American Antiquity*, 6:3 (1941), 266-71.

<sup>49</sup> William A. Fox, "The Archaeological Conservation Programme: A Quiet Success," *KEWA Newsletter of the London Chapter, Ontario Archaeological Society*, 81:7 (1981), 2-5.