



FRIENDS OF THE **camh** ARCHIVES

NEWSLETTER

A not-for-profit, charitable organization of hospital volunteers

Spring 2021 Volume 29, No. 1

Ontario Historical Society’s Cemetery Preservation Award Presented to Our Board Member, Ed Janiszewski, for the Lakeshore Asylum Cemetery

Announced by the Ontario Historical Society (OHS)

The Cemetery Preservation Award recognizes individuals or a not-for-profit heritage organization demonstrating an outstanding commitment to the preservation and protection of cemeteries in Ontario. The OHS is pleased to present the 2019-20 Cemetery Preservation Award to Ed Janiszewski for his extraordinary efforts to restore, preserve, and maintain the Lakeshore Asylum Cemetery.

Since 2004, Ed Janiszewski has been committed to reclaiming the names of some of society’s most vulnerable citizens through his work at the Lakeshore Asylum Cemetery in Toronto. Largely forgotten after the psychiatric hospital closed in 1979, only a few of the more than 1,500 burials of those who died at the Mimico Asylum/ Lakeshore Psychiatric Hospital were marked. Through his determination to ensure all those buried there were remembered, Ed transcribed all the death and burial records. Later, he helped organize the Lakeshore Asylum Cemetery Project, a group of volunteers dedicated to help maintain and improve the cemetery site.

Their work resulted in the installation of a new entrance gate, black steel fence and historical plaques on the site. Ed’s



Cemetery Fall Visit - Oct 2016, (L-R) Dorothy Quiggin, Deborah Quiggin, Caroline MacLoed, Ed Janiszewski, Margaret McCarthy, Shirley Morris. Photo by Kara Seguin, courtesy of the New Toronto Historical Society and CAMH Archives.

dedication to the Lakeshore Asylum Cemetery will ensure the names and memories of those who died at the former psychiatric hospital will not be lost to history. The OHS Honours and Awards Committee is pleased to present the 2019 Cemetery Preservation Award to Ed Janiszewski.

(INSIDE): Truth and Reconciliation for the CAMH historic Queen Street property site Lands of the Asylum, John P.M. Court, CAMH Corporate Archivist - see page 8



Why was the Mississaugas of the Credit First Nation Chief Joseph Sawyer’s official 1846 portrait re-touched in this manner?

(Pre-restoration photo by D.B. Smith, ca.1975)

By 1816, three unidentified structures were mapped on the pre-asylum (modern CAMH) site, directly south of the Givens residence - which had been ransacked during the 1813 American military attack on York (Toronto), widely attributed to his family’s close allegiance with Upper Canada’s First Nations.



(continued)

Hewton and Griffin Archival Research Awards for 2021

David Berg, MA, LLB, PhD

Independent scholar – Ottawa, Ontario

Griffin Archival Research Award

The So-called Belcher Island Murders of 1941

I am currently conducting research that will lead to a book on the so-called Belcher Island Murders of 1941. Several Inuit were charged with the deaths of several others during incidents of religious fervour. One of the accused, a woman by the name of Mina Sala, led women and children out onto the sea-ice, had them strip off their clothing and dance. Nine of them died as a result. She was charged and shipped to a RCMP facility at Moose Factory to be held pending trial. There, the authorities became concerned about her mental health and had her sent to the Toronto Psychiatric Hospital where she was seen by Dr. Farrar and his team. Their diagnosis? There was nothing wrong with her. She was then sent back north. It seems that she then began acting out at the trial and was then ultimately found unfit to stand trial. It is interesting that she did not display any further symptoms post-trial; the next few years of her life are fairly well documented.

From the research that I have done to date, it would seem to me that the behaviours displayed by Mina were not the result of a psychotic disorder but rather volitional actions as the result of stress, anxiety, and depression, their nature being informed by her cultural milieu. The authorities, misunderstanding what was occurring, and also acutely aware that Mina was charged with a capital offence that



David Berg, Spring 2016, a few kilos outside of what formerly was known as Cape Dorset. "It was -30C." Photo courtesy of David Berg.

could result in her execution, seem to have actively sought the finding of unfitness. Of interest here is the discussion in the literature of the so-called 'pibloktoq' disorder.

The focus of the book will not be the murders but rather the response of the southern institutions (e.g., RCMP, Courts, Department of Justice) to the events of 1941. An important part will be the manner in which I believe the trial of all the accused was tailored so as to avoid finding these Inuit guilty of murder. How they dealt with Mina is an important part of my analysis.

Georgia Black, BA Psych

*Independent scholar and Education Research
Analyst – Toronto, Ontario*

Hewton Archival Research Award

The changing role of patient involvement in psychiatry education (1925-1966): A multi-modal discourse analysis of archival materials from The Toronto Psychiatric Hospital

In recent years, the concept of 'co-production' - where patients take an active role alongside clinicians in the collaborative design and delivery of services - has been applied in psychiatric educational settings. The view of patients as educational partners is in stark contrast to the ways that patients were utilized for the purpose of training health professionals during the 19th and first half of the 20th century.

In the wake of the psychological fallout from WWI, there was a call to increase psychiatric training for physicians as a matter of priority. Subsequently, the Toronto Psychiatric



A few members of clinical staff at the Toronto Psychiatric Hospital (TPH), ca.1949; courtesy of Dr. Mary Struthers (centre – now Dr. Mary S. McKim-Mackenzie, London ON)

Hospital was established in December 1925 and was at the forefront of training psychiatrists in Canada until its closure in 1966. Over the forty-year period that the hospital was active, there were significant changes in policy, legislation and clinical practice which impacted the ways in which mental illness was understood and treated. Whilst there is ample discussion of the developments in psychiatric education over this period, there is less of a focus on the changing role patients may have played in psychiatric education. To this end, I propose to conduct a multi-modal discourse analysis where I will examine photographic and textual materials which include representations of patients used for the purpose of training psychiatrists at the Toronto Psychiatric Hospital from 1925 - 1966. I will search relevant holdings in relation to the above criteria from both the CAMH Archives and The University of Toronto archives for the Department of Psychiatry.

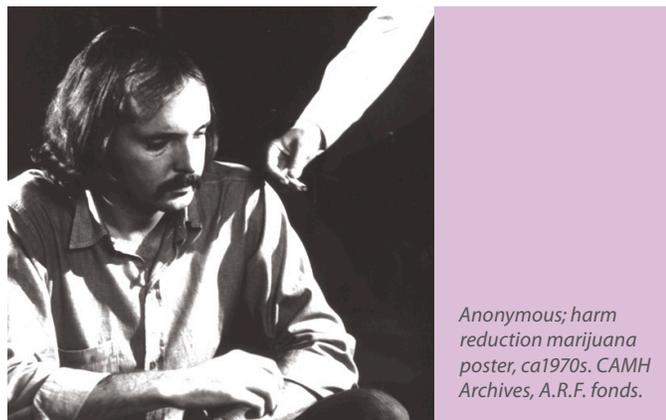
David Hazzan, MA, PhD candidate

Department of History, York University, Toronto

Hewton Archival Research Award

**Dissertation – Speeding Toward Babylon:
Subcultural Drug Use in Canada in the
1960s and 1970s**

Between the early 1960s and late 1970s, drug-using subcultures in Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver became angrier and more nihilistic, which was reflected in their drug using habits. Even though there were very dark undercurrents to the “peace, love, and happiness” movement, it was still a utopian project, based upon drugs meant to “expand the mind,” like LSD and marijuana. But as the promise of the sixties evaporated, so too did this utopianism. Subcultural art, especially music, changed to become angrier and more aggressive, and the drugs changed, from “mind expanding” to “mind destroying” – cocaine, heroin, speed,



Anonymous; harm reduction marijuana poster, ca1970s. CAMH Archives, A.R.F. fonds.

and alcohol. This led to an expansion in addiction, and a deterioration in the mental health for a generation of musicians and other artists who used drugs.

My study, *Speeding Towards Babylon: Subcultural Drug Use in Canada, 1960-1980*, is the first doctoral study in (the subject of) Canadian History that examines drug use from a cultural point of view. I work on the premise that drug use is a social and cultural phenomenon. Most people who use drugs use them in a group, whether it is a group of hippies sharing a joint, a couple of heroin addicts shooting up in an alley, or a line of regulars sitting at a bar. The drugs used can vary according to supply and demand, but mostly it is a social and cultural decision which drugs to use, and how, where, and with whom. This, in my view, points to the importance of studying drug users within cultures and subcultures, rather than as isolated individuals or cases.

Fiona L. Kenney, BA, Master of Design Studies, PhD candidate

School of Architecture, McGill University, Montreal

Hewton Archival Research Award

**Dissertation - Architecture as/of Care:
Ethics and the Design of the Hospice**

Architectural ethics—like medical ethics—have historically been based on absolute principles, as critiqued by proponents of care ethics. Care ethics instead emphasizes compassion, emotional awareness, and empathy—all critical to palliative care. These values are central to medicine and nursing but seldom appreciated in architecture. Like physicians, architects are bound by professional codes of ethics, which demand their commitment to the health and safety of the public. While the physician’s ethical decision-making is exigent and its repercussions immediately visible, the architect’s ethical choices, embedded in their design, can



“The Village,” Langley, BC. (By permission.)

take years to become visible. Recent literature demonstrates the social and psychological consequences of insensitive architecture, and it is because of these implications that I argue that architects ought to re-examine their approach to designing for those most in need of care.

Palliative care today occurs in many settings, treating many chronic illnesses. Although the Alzheimer Society of Canada suggests that palliative care improves the quality of life of those living with advanced dementia, research has found that seniors with dementia are “infrequently referred to or are denied access to hospice care.” (C.I.H.L., “Seniors living with dementia in Canada facing gap in palliative care.”) Despite the demand for these facilities as aging populations grow, little scholarship has investigated the ethical questions that these new demands raise for the future of palliative care architecture. As demand for these facilities grows, this conversation would increasingly benefit from study into its architectural dimensions of these ethical conversations. My research focuses on these questions. What assumptions have historically underlain approaches to hospice design? What impact might a shift towards care in architectural ethics have on the way we design for palliative care? How might designers negotiate between the universal specifications of hospice architecture and the unique needs of residents depending on specific conditions? For example, the dementia village model, developed in the Netherlands and most recently adapted in Langley, BC, is an example of an architectural response to specific needs.

Suki Lee, MA, PhD candidate

Department of History, Carleton University, Ottawa

Hewton Archival Research Award

Dissertation – A Geographical Approach to Confinement in Asylums Based on Jarvis’s Law: Spatial Aspects in Toronto’s “Provincial Lunatic Asylum,” 1841 – 1901

When doing research at Library and Archives Canada, I found letters concerning two women born in Toronto, Annie May Pernet and Emma Cooper, who in 1884 and 1895, were sent to asylums in Germany at the ages of twenty-one and forty-four, respectively. They were an exception to the rule of Jarvis’ law, which is found in an 1850 essay by American physician Edward Jarvis, “The influence of distance from, and proximity to, an insane hospital, on its use by any people.” Jarvis’ essay described the perceived phenomenon of diminishing numbers of admissions coming from areas at increasing physical distances from asylums.

My proposed research will locate patients in the Toronto asylum who were the exception to Jarvis’ Law and sent over

200 miles from their homes. I will draw on admission records from 1841 to 1901 from the Provincial Lunatic Asylum, also known as Asylum for the Insane, in the period under study. The analysis will include a geographical approach to spatial dimensions using Jarvis’ medical geographical concept of distance-decay patterns. My research will take a transnational approach to mapping the distance of asylum “inmates” from their place of origin, to their current residence, and place of confinement. Specifically, I will look at spatial aspects of medical confinement in the asylum and the distances of those confined people from their homes, illustrating how data can reveal new categories. The problem of distance is a dark story of families pushing their relatives away. Families were active participants in discourses about madness, which led to dynamic interpretations of confinement. Insanity was often viewed and dealt with according to its impact on the physical, social, and economic well-being of the family.



Provincial Asylum, Toronto - North Perimeter Wall as seen from Queen Street facing south-east, ca.1875. CAMH Archives.

Steven Maynard, MA, PhD

*Adjunct Associate Professor, Department of History,
Queen’s University, Kingston*

Hewton Archival Research Award

**Homosexuality, Psychiatry, and the Law
in Early Twentieth-Century Toronto**

Through his many contributions to the history of psychiatry, the prolific Dr. R. E. Turner traced the development of forensic psychiatric services in Canada. Turner placed particular significance on the establishment in 1956 of the Forensic Clinic of the Toronto Psychiatric Hospital (TPH), a product of the previous decade’s public and professional concern over “sexual deviation.” Turner also noted, however, that nearly 5,000 people were received by the TPH from the courts in the thirty years prior to the inception of the Forensic Clinic. And yet, we know very little about the prehistory of the postwar concern over sexual deviation and the medico-legal realm in Ontario. Was the preoccupation with “perversion” peculiar to the postwar period or did it

have precedents? I plan to research in the CAMH Archives to trace the place of homosexuality in psychiatric services in early twentieth-century Toronto.

In my previous research in the criminal records of men charged with homosexual offences, I documented how Toronto courts drew upon medical/psychiatric expertise as early as the first decade of the twentieth century. Reflecting the prevailing understanding of homosexuality as a mental illness, the courts sent men to the TPH (opened in December of 1925) and to its predecessor, the Psychiatric Clinic of the Toronto General Hospital. Men were sent for psychiatric examination in order to determine their fitness to stand trial and/or to aid in determining their sentences. The courts also relied during trials on the expert testimony of doctors, including Dr. C. K. Clarke and his colleagues. Based on men sent by the courts, the TPH conducted case histories of and published pioneering research on homosexuality during the 1930s. While the court records reveal a great deal, their status as legal documents mean that they furnish only a partial picture of the psychiatric domain.



Toronto Psychiatry Hospital (TPH) at 2 Surrey Place. TPH opened in 1925 under Provincial Government and University of Toronto auspices, aided by a major grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, as the principal clinical teaching and research base for the Department of Psychiatry. It was succeeded in those capacities in 1966 by the Clarke Institute of Psychiatry and in 1998 by the Centre for Addiction and Mental Health (CAMH). The building was re-deployed after 1966 by the Government as Surrey Place Centre, a facility for developmentally delayed children.

Clarence B. Farrar (1874–1970). Prof. Farrar had been selected by Prof. C.K. Clarke, University of Toronto's inaugural Head of Psychiatry, to succeed him in that chair and as the first Director of the Toronto Psychiatric Hospital (TPH), opened in 1925. Dr. Farrar served in both capacities until 1947.

Photos courtesy of the CAMH Archives, Clarke Institute fonds.



Matthew Smith, MA, PhD

*Professor of Health History,
University of Strathclyde, Scotland*

Griffin Archival Research Award

Crystal Clear: The History of Hydrotherapy as a Treatment for Mental Illness

Water has been used to treat mental illness since Ancient Greece, and is still prescribed today in the form of aquatic therapy or cold water swimming. Although the methods of baths, showers, hot and cold water packs, and immersions in wells, pools, and fountains have remained relatively constant, the rationale for doing so has varied enormously and has reflected the ways in which understandings of mental illness have changed. Whether one's paradigm for understanding mental illness was religious, humoral, neurological, psychoanalytical, or hormonal, hydrotherapy could – and did – play a role. In this project, I trace the – heretofore unexplored – history of hydrotherapy leading up to, during, and following the asylum era (c. 1800–1980) in North America and Britain. In particular, a considerable amount of my focus will concentrate on how hydrotherapy was employed, understood, and experienced in asylums.

As such, I am drawn to Canadian archival records that pertain to psychiatric institutions and psychiatric practices during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Patient case files will help demonstrate how the efficacy of hydrotherapy was interpreted by hospital staff. Annual reports and minutes will describe how the often high costs associated with installing hydrotherapeutic equipment were justified. Finally, images will be extremely helpful in showing hydrotherapy in action and will hopefully find their way into the book that I will write on the subject.



Blanket packs - faces blurred

Filippo M. Sposini, MA, PhD candidate

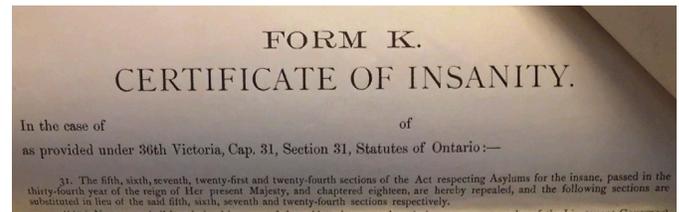
Institute for the History and Philosophy of Science and Technology (IHPST), University of Toronto

Griffin Archival Research Award

Dissertation – The Certification of Insanity: A Transnational History

The certification of insanity originated as a medico-legal procedure for regulating admission to lunatic asylums. My dissertation explores the certification of insanity as a transnational phenomenon emerging in the second half of the nineteenth century. Considering a variety of sources, it traces the origins of a certification system developed in Victorian Britain and its diffusion in numerous jurisdictions. A relatively uncharted territory in historiography, my thesis is that the spread of lunacy certificates around the world created far-reaching consequences for individuals, science, and society. In particular, this procedure created stigmatized identities for patients, it exposed medical practitioners' lack of expertise, and it produced the "certified insane" as a statistical category.

As Britain enlarged its sphere of influence, mental institutions started to populate the colonial world. Ontario was just one of many jurisdictions that adopted a certification system originally developed in Victorian England. My plan is to trace the expansion of the British system of certification.



Hand-coloured depiction of the Provincial Asylum in Toronto, from a steel engraving: *Canadian Illustrated News* (l:29, 21 May 1870, 456), CAMH Archives.

A REQUEST to All Readers for Your Feedback on this and earlier editions of our Newsletter

Positive and/or Negative

From the Board of Directors, Friends of the CAMH Archives

This brief request is to ask for your comments on our semi-annual Newsletter. Your ideas on one or all of the following topics will help to determine the future scope and format of the publication.

- Our current approach for general content, i.e. news and other topics of current interest, not overly clinical, scientific nor academic
- Appearance, format and general readability
- New article ideas, including work that you yourself might like to contribute
- Individuals that you think would be interested in contributing to, or providing editorial support, for the Newsletter

In addition, there are several vacancies on the Board, and we invite expressions of interest from any of our members who would like to play a more active role in the operations of the Friends.

Earlier issues of the Newsletter can be found at our web site - Indexed and individually linked:

<https://www.camh.ca/en/health-info/camh-library/camh-archives/friends-of-the-archives>

I hope you will consider providing us with your feedback, both positive and negative, by email:

Friends.Archives@camh.ca

Thank you for your continued support.

Syd Jones, President

Friends of the CAMH Archives

CanadaHelps online Memberships' and Donations' portal:

<https://www.canadahelps.org/en/charities/the-museum-of-mental-health-services-toronto-inc/>

Centre for Addiction and Mental Health

1001 Queen Street West

Toronto, Ontario M6J 1H4

Hewton and Griffin Funding Awards to Support Archival Research in 2022

The Friends of the CAMH Archives (FoCA), dedicated to the history of Canadian psychiatry, mental health and addiction, have established two endowment funds. These endowments annually provide funding in memory of their late colleagues, Ms. E.M. (Lil) Hewton and Dr. John D.M. Griffin, OC, MD, MA, FRCPC.

These funding awards will provide financial assistance to students, and others not necessarily associated with an academic institution, who propose to undertake archival research on an aspect of the history of mental health, including addiction, in Canada. The FoCA Board at its discretion may approve awards to a maximum of \$5,000 each.

There is no application form. Candidates are invited to submit a letter of intent, not exceeding 500 words, together with a budget and résumé, not later than November 30, 2021. These research awards are conditional on the recipients agreeing to submit progress reports within one year, and a final report including a financial synopsis within two years of receiving their financial allocation.

For examples of the archival research projects (formerly “Bursaries”) previously awarded, please refer to that feature as included in the SPRING editions of our past years’ Newsletters, indexed at: <https://www.camh.ca/en/health-info/camh-library/camh-archives/friends-of-the-archives>

To apply for a 2022 award, please submit an application by the November 30, 2021 deadline to:
Sydney Jones – President, Friends of the Archives
CAMH, 1001 Queen Street West, Toronto, Ontario M6J 1H4



Preliminary architectural concept design, 1970s, for the Joseph Workman Theatre wing (foreground) – Queen Street Mental Health Centre; attr. Somerville, McMurrich & Oxley, Architects. Donation of Dr. Andrew Lesk, 2021, to the CAMH Archives.

Friends of the CAMH Archives (FoCA)

Centre for Addiction and Mental Health
1001 Queen St. West, Toronto, Ontario M6J 1H4
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Membership Renewal Notice for 2021

New & renewal memberships and donations are preferred via our safe, secure, online partner:



www.canadahelps.org or by surface mail

Name: _____ Prefix: _____

Address: _____ Postal Code: _____

E-mail: _____

* Membership: \$30.00 or \$25.00 for students & seniors, on a calendar year basis (currently valid through Dec. 31, 2021)

* Donation: \$ _____ (optional, at your discretion) Total: \$ _____

** An Income Tax receipt will be provided for your membership remittance plus any additional donation.*

*Please consider remitting online or, alternatively, by mailing this form together with a cheque, payable to “Friends of the CAMH Archives”
Surface mailing address: Friends of the CAMH Archives, 1001 Queen Street West, Toronto, Ontario M6J 1H4*

Lands of the Asylum

The Land Acknowledgement for the Centre for Addiction and Mental Health declares that “the site of CAMH appears in colonial records as the council grounds of the Mississaugas of the New Credit.” That site now is a 27-acre campus (originally 50 acres) on the south side of Queen Street West, between Shaw Street and Dovercourt Road. The original acreage was carved out of what was then the Military Reserve - just over 1,000 acres of land set aside by Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe in the 1790s west of the Town of York for military purposes.

Recalled in the traditions of the Ojibwe, and described in their own documentation - in addition to colonial records - that our Archives’ volunteer researchers had uncovered from Archives of Ontario microfilm, is a presentation that

they had prepared in 1860 for meeting with visiting UK representatives of the Crown. These Ojibwe leaders described a parcel - by then part of the Military Reserve - that had been used *indefinitely* as a Mississauga council meeting place and campground. In their own words, “A lot of three acres... near or where the Provincial Lunatic Asylum now stands [in 1860] was a Reserve for Camping and Council purposes.”

There had, of course, been modest settlements of the Ojibwe and their predecessors along the waterways on the north shore of Lake Ontario – including what we know as Garrison Creek – for thousands of years. A beautiful map of York prepared by a British officer in 1817, recently acquired by Library & Archives Canada (LAC) and supported by two other maps from 1816 and 1818, may finally support locating more precisely this long-remembered council and camping site of the Mississaugas.



Plan of York, U.C., detail; surveyed and drawn in August 1817 by Lieutenant E.A. Smith. Courtesy LAC R2513-188-6-E Box 33. N.B. - Enlarge this image on your screen for the upper-left section of this map for noting the three structures - south side of (modern) Queen Street where Givens Street today runs north and Workman Way runs south.

Most of the First Nations around the upper Great Lakes and in Upper Canada remained allied during the War of 1812-14 with the Crown. Led by the Shawnee chief Tecumseh, they saw the British as essential to stemming the westward flow of American settlers and preserving a land for themselves west of the Ohio River. Early British victories at Detroit and Fort Mackinac, in the straits between Lakes Huron and Superior, gave them confidence in their choice. Despite their ambiguous pre-war land settlements with the Crown, as well as some violent disputes (including murder) in the vicinity of York, the Ojibwe remained allies throughout the war.

The warriors were the first to engage

Early on the morning of April 27, 1813, when an American fleet appeared off York and began sending its powerful raiding force toward the shore, the warriors were the first to engage. Co-ordinated by their liaison officer with the British Army, Major James Givins, and led by several of their own chiefs, including Chief Yellowhead, perhaps 75 men (estimates of their number vary widely) spread out along the shoreline. A mixture of Ojibwe, Chippawa and Mississauga warriors, they had the bad luck to face the best unit of the invading force and were soon badly outnumbered. They fell back through the woods and at least five were killed. The day ended badly for everyone fighting on the side of the Crown.



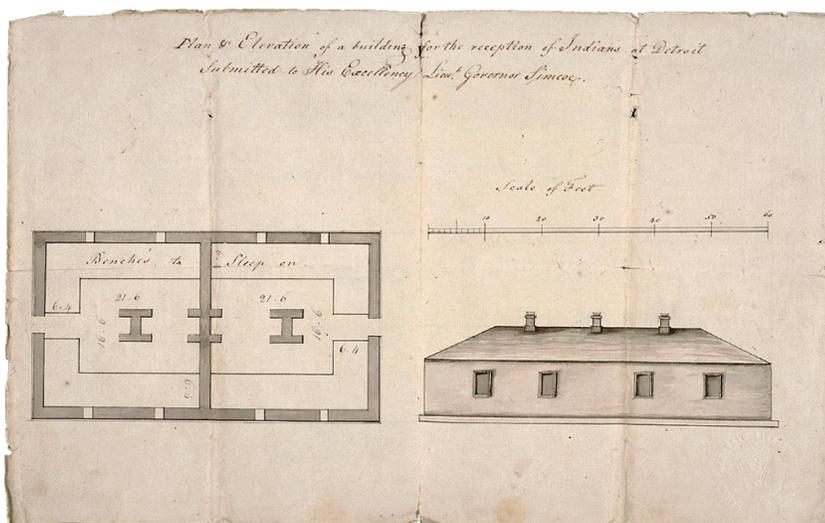
Enlarged extract of "1846 Gray: Toronto Reserve," attr. to Lt. C.G. Gray, Royal Engineers stationed in Canada, 1846.

While the barracks of the garrison were only a few kilometres east of the landing site – where the Fort York branch of the Toronto Public Library is now – the warriors clearly were also not far away, camped somewhere on the Military Reserve. The three 1816-1818 maps now suggest where that camp may have been.

Surveyed and drawn by Lieutenant E.A. Smith of the British Army in August 1817, that map is part of a trove of maps, architectural drawings and engravings once owned by Sir John Sherbrooke, a career soldier who had been Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia during the War of 1812. The collection was bought by the LAC at auction in 2013, having been in Sherbrooke's family since his death in England in 1830.

The 1817 map on page 8 shows the Town of York shortly after the war, with the newly rebuilt fortifications of the garrison – the present Fort York – on the west side of Garrison Creek. About 150 buildings are shown, with a dozen of the government buildings and homes of prominent citizens labelled. Among these is the home of James Givins, at the top of what is now Givins Street, a few blocks from Trinity-Bellwoods Park. The ravine of Garrison Creek dominates the landscape and what is labelled "Dundas" is the present Queen Street.

Three modest buildings can be seen on the south side of Queen, at the foot of today's road to the Givins home. On open ground of the Military Reserve, they are unlabeled and would have been unremarkable as outbuildings of the garrison. No army records have been found for the construction here of three structures for the Mississaugas, however an interesting precedent exists.



"Plan & elevation, ca.1790" of a Detroit barracks' structure for visiting warriors and, perhaps, their families. Although no army records have been found for similar structures in York, it may have been the precedent for the three 1816-17 structures on the south side of Queen Street. Archives of Ontario, Image I0005434.

The Archives of Ontario holds a British forces' drawing (above) of a building proposed and presumably built at Detroit in the 1790s for the use of visiting allied warriors. This was when, despite the outcome of the American Revolution, the western posts were still in British hands. With six central fireplaces, and wide benches around the inside of the exterior walls, it vaguely suggests a longhouse and could have sheltered 40 or more people at once (the warriors having little equipment). Labelled "a building for the reception of Indians," it was what the army now calls "transient barracks."

If the three 1816-17 "Queen Street" structures were for the use of the Mississaugas, it would have been a sensible place to put them. While on land of the Military Reserve – that is, on land controlled by the Ordnance Board – they were still a comfortable distance away from the garrison, which both the warriors and the soldiers would have preferred. And it is significant that they were nearby to the Givins home.

James Givins, 53 years of age in 1812, was well experienced with solid relationships among the Ojibwe. He had learned their language as a teenager in frontier Detroit, when he had gone there in 1775 from England with the new lieutenant governor. He later joined Simcoe's regiment of Queen's Rangers and served as an interpreter and liaison officer. In 1797 he was made Assistant Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Home District around York, responsible for the distribution of annual gifts (or tribute, as some regarded

it) and diplomacy with First Nations in general.

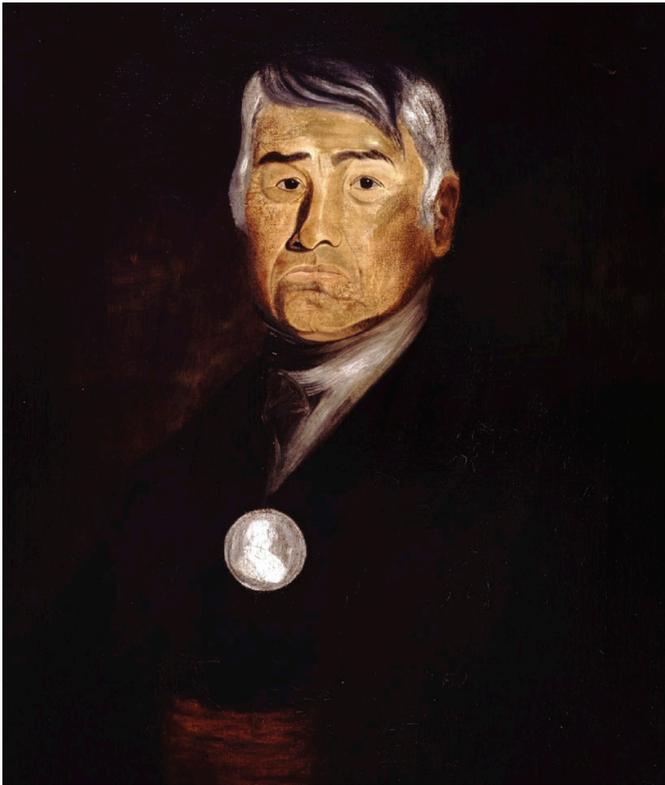
He bought his substantial lot in 1802, not far from his fellow Queen's Ranger veteran, Aeneas Shaw and right across the road from the Military Reserve. By 1812, he and his wife, Angelique had seven children and their home – designed by William Berczy and named "Pine Grove" – was one of York's more admired houses.

When war broke out, his job was to make sure that First Nations got the rations and ammunition they needed and, in battle, to coordinate their action with that of other British forces. He was with Brock at Detroit, fought alongside the warriors in the Niagara Peninsula and, as we've seen, at York. There is every indication that he and the Ojibwe leaders regarded one another with respect.

John Ross Robertson observed (years later) that few Mississauga lived in muddy York before the war, preferring only to visit, for trade or otherwise, or to stop at the Givins home (which Robertson called a farm). On the morning of the battle, half a dozen of the wounded warriors took refuge there; Angelique famously cleared the front room of their solid house to dress their wounds, while her husband's military posting required him to move east of the town with General Shaeffe. That afternoon, her life was threatened and their home thoroughly ransacked by renegade American soldiers – beyond the control of their American General Dearborn and resentfully aware of her husband's longstanding connection with the warriors.



"Pine Grove," architect William Berczy; Givins family home, 1804 – 1894. Drawing by Owen Staples, 1888 - TPL pictures-r-6101.



Nawahjegezhegwabe, a.k.a. Credit Head Chief Joseph Sawyer (ca.1784–1863), 1847 Portrait: Painted on the eve of the Mississauga's departure from their Credit River lands. He wears his King George III medal, given to those chiefs who had helped the British during the War of 1812. He and James Givins shared battle leadership at Detroit, Niagara, and possibly at York – hence would have known each other well. When Chief Sawyer's portrait was recently restored, his expression, as Donald Smith has written, was revealed as one of "dejection, deception, and betrayal." Attributed to James Spencer, courtesy TPL Baldwin Room JRR 4.

Twenty years later, under pressure of all kinds, the Mississaugas accepted an offer of the Six Nations of the Grand River to move to better farmland within the Six Nations tract – remaining the home of the Mississaugas of The Credit First Nation today, at Hagersville. From negotiations during the 1840s, by 1846 the land where the cabins had stood – now severed from the Military Reserve – had become the site of construction for the new “Provincial Lunatic Asylum” (PLA).

Ojibwe First Nations of southern Ontario held a council at Sarnia in September 1860. They agreed that their persisting land claims should be the main item on the agenda of their forthcoming meeting with the Duke of Newcastle, who was then Colonial Secretary and a member of the retinue of the visiting Prince of Wales. Among nine properties they considered to be non-surrendered and uncompensated was the parcel of “three acres near or where the Provincial Lunatic Asylum now [1860] stands” and which “was a Reserve for Camping and Council purposes.” That it had apparently been on the Military Reserve was only one of many complicating factors, which included poor record-keeping and inefficiency among the pertinent government departments.

Their meeting with the Duke of Newcastle happened on the

day that the Prince of Wales was welcomed to Queen's Park, but only three Ojibwe elders were allowed to attend. The Duke met separately with his British and Canadian advisors, who reminded him that recent legislative changes in the United Kingdom – the passage of *An Act Respecting the Management of the Indian Lands and Property* in June – had handed all matters of land claims to Canadian authorities. Newcastle

Incompatible understandings of land use and ownership

accepted that advice, agreeing that there was nothing he could do for the Ojibwe and that he should not interfere.

It was not until 1997 that a settlement was reached for the 200 acres of land set aside at the mouth of the Credit River in 1820 as a permanent home for the Mississaugas; it had been sold long before but never formally surrendered. By then it was prime real estate, and the Mississaugas in Hagersville accepted a settlement of \$12.8 million for the land. Finally, to deal with the injustice of the 1805 purchase of what is now much of Toronto for ten shillings – a “purchase” that exploited two incompatible understandings of land use and ownership – the federal government offered a settlement of \$145 million, which also encompassed a block of land in Burlington. Subsumed in the settlement was the question of the council and campground on the old Military Reserve. The offer, structured as modest individual payments and a substantial trust fund, was accepted in late 2010.

The three unlabeled structures on Queen Street recorded on the 1817 map are an example of what Haitian scholar Michel-Rolph Trouillot has called “retrospective significance” – an event or a feature that was considered unremarkable at the time, but which is of great interest to us now. Yet because the events, people and/or buildings that were considered unimportant in their day are less likely to have left behind an archival record, many simply fade from history. The current imperatives of Reconciliation are driving reassessments of this past, not least throughout Canada's archival profession, and at CAMH. The most apt metaphor may be in the title of the latest superb book by Donald Smith, a leading scholar of First Nations and of the Mississaugas in particular: those council grounds on the Military Reserve, we understand now, were “Seen but Not Seen.”

Or to paraphrase a recent popular song, “What's history got to do with it?” In 2007, the General Assembly proclaimed the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), “as a standard of achievement to be pursued in a spirit of partnership and mutual respect.” Among the specifics is this excerpt of Article 13: “Indigenous peoples have the right to revitalize, use, develop and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies, writing systems and literatures.”

Sources & Further Reading

John P.M. Court

Historically-consistent names of people and places are used here in context, such as “Ojibwe” rather than “Anishinaabek Nation”. An intriguing and revealing story of the painting of the Ojibwe Chief Joseph Sawyer is told by Donald B. Smith in *Mississauga Portraits: Ojibwe Voices from Nineteenth-Century Canada* (UTP 2013), which is also the source of material here on the meeting of 1860 and the recent land-claims settlements. His latest book is *Seen but Not Seen: Influential Canadians and the First Nations from the 1840s to Today* (UTP 2020). It explores the history of Indigenous marginalization.

The claim presented by Ojibwe elders in 1860 is in the Archives of Ontario, MS-45, reel 91, 4-73 as “Mississauga Indian Land Claim ... To the Right Honourable the Duke of Newcastle, Her Majesty’s Minister for the Colonies, etc.” A holograph copy was obtained and transcribed by the CAMH Archives. Although out of date, a still useful account of the tortuous early land negotiations of the Mississauga may be found in Peter Schmalz, *The Ojibwa of Southern Ontario* (UTP 1991). For the Mississaugas’ land claim settlement of 2010, see David Sharpe, “Mississaugas of the New Credit Ink Historic Claim Settlement,” *Tekawennake* (3 Nov. 2010).

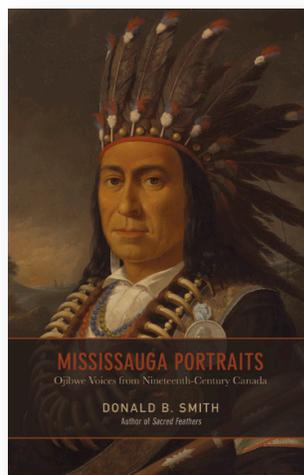
There is another British Army map, dated March 16, 1816 (reproduced on p.1, above), which also indicates three structures at the same pre-Asylum location, although with less elaborate detail. For a wonderful selection of maps of York, early Toronto and the vicinity of the Fort, see the Maps link at www.fortyork.ca.

The definitive story of the Battle of York is Robert Malcomson’s *Capital in Flames: The American Attack on York, 1813* (Robin Brass Studio 2008); for other sources on the War of 1812, see his Appendices, Glossary and Bibliography.

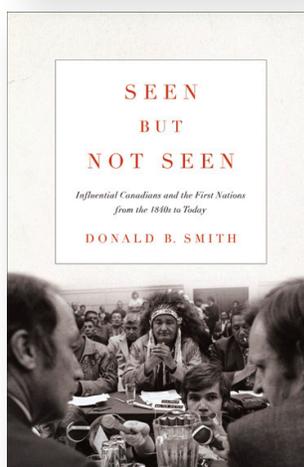
A summary of the life of James Givins and of NAWAHJEZHEGWABE (signifying “the sloping sky”; known in English as Joseph Sawyer) are in the Dictionary of Canadian Biography. For the story of the lawlessness following the battle – including a list of items lost by the Givins household – see *The Town of York, 1793-1815: A Collection of Documents of Early Toronto*, esp. “York and the War of 1812” from p.279, by Edith G. Firth (Champlain Society & University of Toronto Press, 1962); and “Silver, booze and pantaloons: the American looting of York in April 1813,” by Fred Blair in the *Fife & Drum* newsletter (Friends of Fort York), April 2020.

We are indebted to: City of Toronto historian Richard Gerard for drawing our attention to the Smith map; to Ryerson University professor Carl Benn for pointing to the structure in Detroit; to Calgary University

Prof. Emeritus Donald B. Smith for helpful guidance, supplementing his monumental scholarship in this field; to Robert Kennedy, Editor of the Friends of Fort York newsletter, *Fife & Drum* in which this article will also appear, and our shared design-layout wizard, Ted Smolak; and to Kahontakwas Diane Longboat and other colleagues of CAMH Shkaabe Makwa. Diane has thoughtfully added that, “This paper is critically important to CAMH as a foundational document supporting our assertion on the use of our lands by the Mississaugas of the Credit. In fact, it should be considered an asset to the Land Acknowledgement and an affirmation of the importance of the Truth and Reconciliation Action Plan for the continuance of stewarding the land for the coming generations.”



Cover portrait of Maun-gua-dous by Paul Kane, ca. 1851, accessioned by the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.



Cover illustration: in contrast to their anonymous predecessors of 1860, who were left outside the room while the Duke of Newcastle conferred with his aides, in the flyleaf of this new book by Prof. Smith, all participants shown on the cover are identified: Red Paper brief to the government presented by: Harold Cardinal, President of the Indian Association, on the left (partially obscured); centre - Walter Deiter, President of the National Indian Brotherhood (later to become the Assembly of First Nations); and right - Dave Courchene, President of the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood. In the foreground, left - Prime Minister

Pierre Trudeau and (right) Minister of Indian Affairs, Jean Chrétien. Photo: Duncan Cameron / Library and Archives Canada / PA-193380.