Revisiting the Colonial Site of Berlin, Now Kitchener's Urban Core

Reginald Good, *Kitchener, Ontario*[1]

> The natural advantages of Berlin, such as they were, she long since outgrew. They consisted, so far as known, of a marsh on her main street, a few sand-hills and an Indian cemetery. —Hervey Bowman, PhD, 1906[2]

The colonial[3] site of Berlin, Upper Canada—today Kitchener, Ontario—was located at the hub of an Indigenous trail network built and maintained by the Hodenosaunee[4] (a confederacy of Iroquoian-speaking Indigenous Nations now generally known as the Six Nations) and their ancestors, including the Attawandaron (Neutral), that the Hodenosaunee conquered and absorbed in the mid-seventeenth century. All Hodenosaunee histories of the Grand River Valley, within which the colonial site of Berlin was located, maintain that the Hodenosaunee "had been accustomed to hunt" over this land "without restriction from time immemorial."[5] Eurowestern histories of the colonial beginnings of Berlin ignore Indigenous occupation of lands in this vicinity prior to colonization and the effect of this occupation on Berlin's urban development. They are constrained by an overriding interpretive paradigm that requires historians to negate or omit the role of Indigenous protagonists. I adopt the term "myth of the pioneers" to refer to this paradigm.[6]

This article begins the process of restoring to Indigenous people their rightful place as protagonists in Berlin's urban development. It describes the myth of the pioneers and how adherence to this myth has played out in non-Indigenous historiography of Berlin/Kitchener. It also sketches the outlines of the Indigenous landscape (hunting grounds, foraging lands, springs, cemetery, and trail network) encountered by Pennsylvania German Mennonite colonists in and around the colonial site of Berlin at the turn of the nineteenth century.

The Myth of the Pioneers

The myth of the pioneers treats history as the chronicle of progress justifying a sense of Eurowestern entitlement to the appropriation of territory and resources. It begins with the arrival of Eurowesterners (I refer to them throughout this article as colonists). Adherence to the myth of the pioneers is one of many tactics historically employed by colonists to erase Indigenous peoples. This is a precondition to the formation of colonial state institutions and identities. Adherence to this myth required historians to negate or omit the participation of Indigenous people in Berlin's urban development.

All non-Indigenous histories of the colonial beginnings of Berlin, which grew into the city of Kitchener, are formulations of the myth of the pioneers. They narrate a storyline that was first articulated in a series of articles published in *Berlin To-Day*, a souvenir booklet, produced in 1906, that commemorated the centennial of the city's founding.

The broad strokes of this narrative are as follows: (1) prior to the arrival of Pennsylvania German Mennonite colonists in the early nineteenth century, the site of Berlin was a wilderness untouched by humans; (2) in its wilderness state the site of Berlin was not conducive to urban development;[7] (3) the establishment of prosperous farmsteads by these colonists, in proximity to the site of Berlin, provided a catalyst for urban development; (4) the Mennonite meetinghouse of Benjamin Eby, located on the grounds of present-day First Mennonite Church, was the first non-agricultural building to be erected in the area; (5) wetlands, which extended across portions of several farm lots on the site of Berlin, were useless to the colonists because they could not be cultivated; (6) colonists were willing to sever and subdivide wetlands on their farms and sell or lease subdivided lots to trades people and entrepreneurs; (7) the present-day intersection of King and Queen Streets, in Kitchener's urban core, became the epicentre of commercial activity generated by the sale of subdivided wetlands; (8) the construction of a colonial road connecting Eby's meetinghouse with nearby businesses located on subdivided wetlands defined the eastern and western boundaries, respectively, of the site of Berlin;[8] and (9) the site of Berlin was named the village of Berlin in or about 1833.

There is no room in this sequence of events to accommodate Indigenous players except, perhaps, in cameo roles. In order to recognize Indigenous protagonists and to incorporate them as pivotal players in the remembered history of Berlin/Kitchener, non-Indigenous historians need to devise more inclusive plots unshackled by the myth of the pioneers. The first step in this regard is to acknowledge that the site of Berlin was not virgin land when Mennonites arrived in the early nineteenth century. Rather, it was a landscape already occupied and altered by Indigenous people whose improvements these "splendid colonizers" appropriated.[9]

Elsewhere, I have narrated the history of a syndicate of Mennonites purchasing sixty thousand acres of lands owned by the Hodenosaunee on the site of present-day Kitchener-Waterloo.[10] In this article I focus on the layout of the trail network, maintained and used on these lands by the Hodenosaunee, forming part of an Indigenous landscape that is largely ignored today.[11] As will be seen below, the probable routes of pre-colonial Hodenosaunee trails help explain the nature and extent of colonization patterns in the vicinity of the site of Berlin.

Hodenosaunee Hunting Grounds

The Hodenosaunee claim a vast, but specific, expanse of hunting grounds in the environs of Lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron, and Michigan by right of conquest over the Attawandaron (Neutral) and Huron-Wendat Confederacies as well as the Tionontate (Petun), Wenro, and Erie Nations.[12]

The boundaries of these Hodenosaunee hunting grounds are delineated within a dashed (or "prickt") line on a map of the Great Lakes (dated July 19, 1701) drawn under Hodenosaunee direction and, possibly, by a Hodenosaunee scribe. The purpose of the map was to depict the area that the Hodenosaunee placed under British protection in order to ensure British assistance, enabling the Hodenosaunee to continue exercising unrestrained hunting and ancillary activities within this region.[13] With respect to the creation of this map by the Hodenosaunee, the British Board of Trade subsequently reported on June 1, 1759, that they

> resolve[d] upon a measure the most wise and prudent with regard to their own interests, and the most advantageous with regard to Ours, that

> could have been framed; they delineated upon paper in the most precise manner the Limits of what they called their hunting grounds, comprehending the great Lakes of Ontario and Erie, and all the circumjacent Lands for the distance of Sixty miles around them, The sole and absolute property of this Country they desired might be secured to them. . . . A Treaty was accordingly entred into and concluded upon these terms by M^r Nanfan then Lieu^t Governor of New York; and a Deed of surrender of the Lands expressing the Terms and Conditions, executed by the Indians.[14]

The original Hodenosaunee map of July 19, 1701, did not survive, but an exact copy or "tracing" of it—including the date—was made by New York colonial surveyor Samuel Clowes sometime before its posting to the Lords of Trade on August 20, 1701.[15] Clearly, the site of Berlin is located within Hodenosaunee hunting grounds delineated on this map, extending from Lake Michigan to Georgian Bay.

The Hodenosaunee historically exercised sovereign jurisdiction over their hunting grounds by controlling who travelled, hunted, fished, planted, and lived in the area.[16] The Hodenosaunee also groomed trails, managed fish and game habitats, and altered the landscape by burning grasslands and underbrush. The predominant species of game hunted by the Hodenosaunee for commercial or trading purposes was beaver. It was this commodity that captured the attention of European cartographers. For example, a map drawn by French cartographer Henri Abraham Chatelain in 1719 entitled "Carte particuliere du Fleuve Saint Louis dressee sur les lieux avec les noms des sauvages du pais" (Detailed map of the Saint Louis River naming places and the Indigenous peoples of the country), identifies the "Country of the Iroquois" south of Lake Ontario and the location of their hunting grounds north of Lakes Ontario and Erie and west of the Ottawa River. Within these hunting grounds Chatelain depicted five main beaver habitats, labelling them "Pais de Chasse de Castor des Iroquois" (Iroquois beaver hunting ground) or, in its abbreviated form, "Chasse de Castor des Iroquois" (Iroquois beaver hunting).[17]

The site of Berlin was not located within any of the prime beaver habitats identified by Chatelain. However, the area was important to the Hodenosaunee because it was situated at the hub of an Indigenous trail network used and maintained by Hodenosaunee to access favoured hunting locations. It also encompassed quintessential characteristics desirable for Indigenous occupation: forested uplands,[18] well-drained campsites,[19] fresh spring water,[20] and wetlands—albeit of limited extent—abounding with fish, fowl, and deer.[21]

The Indigenous trails used and maintained by Hodenosaunee hunting parties in and around the site of Berlin have never been mapped. In fact, they are rarely mentioned in the secondary sources. But the general location of some of them can be inferred from the settlement patterns of colonists, the routes of colonial roads depicted on early maps, and the reminiscences of colonists and their descendants. Three important topographical reference points for reconstructing the probable routes of Indigenous trails in and around the site of Berlin are named in the 1906 quotation from Hervey Bowman that is the epigraph to this article: wetlands, sandhills, and an “Indian” cemetery. It should be stated at the outset that Bowman (1873–1931) held a PhD in history from the University of Leipzig, Germany.[22] He was born in Waterloo Township and lived most of his adult life in Berlin/Kitchener.

Wetlands

According to J. W. Connor’s historical account of the beginnings of Berlin in *Berlin To-Day*, when John Hoffman and Samuel Bowman established a furniture factory “a little [north]west of the present Walper House” in or about 1825,[23] their business marked the western edge of the nascent village of Berlin. Beyond the furniture factory lay a swamp whose boundaries were said to have extended westward to the vicinity of the present-day intersection of King and Victoria Streets.[24] Jacob Gaukel Stroh (1848–1935), “born and brought up about 500 feet from the main intersection of the village” of Berlin, provided a more particular description of the extent of the wetlands on Berlin’s main street.[25] Stroh stated that a “spongy swamp, with willow trees along the edge,” covered “almost” a full village block (on both sides of Berlin’s main street between present-day Queen and Ontario streets). “Cattle could scarcely go into it or they would sink.” At the rear of this block, on the north side of Berlin’s main street, “there was a pond, about three feet deep, fed by a spring” that supplied water for a steam-powered furniture factory on the northeast corner of present-day King and Ontario streets established by Jacob and John Hoffman about 1840.[26] Presumably this furniture factory was located on the same site occupied in 1825 by John Hoffman and Samuel Bowman’s factory.

In his reminiscences, Stroh referred to “a swampy section” on the northwest corner of the present-day intersection of Victoria and King Streets. The water level in this swamp must have fluctuated because Stroh indicated that “in wet weather” the swamp overflowed onto Berlin’s main street, which “became almost impassable.” On these occasions, “it was not unusual for farmer’s wagons to be stuck in the mud of the road.”[27] Even when it overflowed, this swamp must not have spread far on the south side of Berlin’s main street because that is precisely where Abraham Weber had chosen to build his house and barn.[28]

A third wetland, which Stroh described as “springy” ground that was “desirable as a tannery” was set back from the south side of Berlin’s main street, between present-day Victoria and Francis Streets. Stroh explained that on this site a tanner would be able to tap groundwater to fill pits to tan hides.[29] The present-day Lang tannery buildings are located there.

Stroh’s descriptions of both the spongy swamp and the springy ground are consistent with these wetlands being peat (muskeg) bogs.[30] Since peat is very absorbent, it acts like a compact sponge saturated with water. This keeps water levels in peat bogs high, just below, or at the surface. And peat bog water contains active tanning ingredients.[31]

On the Victoria/Francis bog Reinhold Lang established a tannery in 1850, after he relocated there from the Ontario/Queen bog. I suspect that Lang’s move was necessitated by the fact that sometime between 1840 and 1850 the latter bog was drained to make Berlin’s main street more passable and, thereby, lowered the water table and decreased the availability of peat bog groundwater that Lang required to tan hides. The Victoria/Francis bog could not be drained as easily or to the same extent because it was located on a lower level. Therefore, it would have been able to provide a plentiful supply of peat bog groundwater. It was also in closer proximity to present-day Schneider Creek and effluent from the tannery could readily be discharged into it without polluting the groundwater on which Lang relied.

Peat bog wetlands of the northeastern woodlands of North America provided a rich smorgasbord of animals and plants that supplied both Indigenous peoples and colonists with food, medicine, weapons, dyes, magic charms, clothing, and materials to make baskets, mats, ropes, twine, cooking and eating utensils, boats, and homes.[32] They provided an ideal fall and winter refuge for the white-tailed deer Hodenosaunee historically relied upon as a major protein source.[33]

As the nineteenth century progressed, Hodenosaunee hunting activity in the wetlands on the site of Berlin gradually declined on account of dwindling deer numbers caused by overhunting and destruction of wildlife habitat.[34] Concomitantly, the wolf population in and around Berlin increased. This was due, in part, to the arrival of Eurowestern livestock, which were easy prey for wolves. Colonists probably blamed the growing wolf population on the inactivity of Hodenosaunee hunters. Colonists falsely believed that, in pre-colonial times, Hodenosaunee had killed wolves for the purpose of protecting their deer stock.[35] Seeking to address the wolf threat to livestock in Berlin, colonists offered a bounty on wolf scalps. As late as 1845, certain Hodenosaunee hunters were enticed by this offer to shoot wolves in Berlin.[36]

Wetlands on the site of Berlin have always loomed large in the imagination of historians. For example, in 1895, Ezra Eby described them as "an impassable swamp, inhabited by bears, wolves, foxes, &c."[37] But late nineteenth-century boosters of Berlin did not regard the wetlands as part of the village site at all. Rather, they touted the attractiveness of Berlin's "well-drained, undulating" topography for urban development.[38] The terms "well-drained" and "undulating" may accurately have applied to Berlin's commercial core "lying on either side of [present-day] King Street, between [present-day] Ontario and Benton streets."[39] However, they did not do justice to the significance of the surrounding sandhills, regarded by colonists as an impediment to urban development.

Sandhills

The first colonial laneway on the site of Berlin was said to have followed the route of present-day Queen Street. It was laid out sometime prior to 1810 by colonist Joseph Schneider and extended from present-day Mill Street to his barn at present-day "57 East King Street."[40] The laneway must have angled eastward in the vicinity of the present-day intersection of Queen and King Streets on account of a sandhill (the "Benton" sandhill) and springs blocking a more direct route.[41] Because a "flock" of sandhills trapped Schneider's barn in "the bottom of a three-and-half-sided sand bowl," the easiest route to the other side of the sandhills passable by wagons was via wetlands to the southwest.[42] For this reason, Schneider's fellow colonists arranged a social gathering to carry out the communal task of "cutting a track" from his barn to a spring located on present-day Victoria Street, where Huether's Brewery was later constructed. There, the track "skirted a swamp . . ., swung over to [present-day] Weber Street, and circled a granddaddy of a sandhill"[43] (the "city-hall square" sandhill)[44] and thence "swerved over to [present-day] King Street" and onward past Eby's meetinghouse.[45]

This "track"—from Schneider's barn west to the Huether's Brewery site and thence east to Eby's meetinghouse via the north side of the "Weber" and "city-hall square" sandhills—was likely the route traversed by James Potter on his way from Galt through Berlin on April 16, 1833, as Potter later recalled having passed the site of present-day Suddaby School on that trip. Evidently, Potter proceeded from Galt to the site of Berlin via present-day Mill Street, one of the original routes of ingress travelled by colonists into the interior of Block No. 2. Renamed Waterloo Township in 1816, it then followed Schneider's laneway to Berlin's main street: "In hunting for the 'Town' he walked through bush and swamp where the Central School [present-day Suddaby School] is now located and found his way to Bishop Benjamin Ebys . . . when he was told that he had missed the Town which consisted then of a few straggling houses around the corner of [present-day] King and Queen Streets."[46]

It is not known when the sandy ridge connecting the "city-hall square" and "Benton" sandhills was lowered sufficiently to permit wagons to pass, but presumably this occurred prior to 1818. That is the date of an early map of Waterloo Township, discussed below, that appears to show the main thoroughfare through the site of Berlin followed present-day King Street.[47]

By the time Berlin was incorporated as a city in 1912, its urban core had extended along the length of King Street from Eby's meetinghouse in the east to Victoria Street in the west. The anonymous author of a newspaper article reprinted in *Berlin: Celebration of Cityhood 1912* conflated the staged development of Berlin's main street in the following simplistic, sweeping statement:

> In a clearing amid the primeval forest [the site of present-day First Mennonite Church] a narrow road wound along, climbing the sand hills that occupied the sites of the post office and town hall and descending to a swamp, passable for a long time only on corduroy bridges and infested with bears and wolves. Here and there along this road [in 1835] were strung out the few workshops, the two stores and the twenty-five buildings, mostly log buildings.[48]

The author implied that the site of Berlin was a tree-covered wilderness before colonists hewed out of it a line of road that became the backbone of Berlin's urban development. There is no mention of an Indigenous presence, let alone an Indigenous alteration of the landscape. However, the colonists themselves were aware that the lands on which they settled constituted Indigenous "hunting grounds" and that Indigenous trails provided the original routes of ingress and egress through these grounds.[49]

What was the process by which this knowledge of Indigenous occupation of the site of Berlin was ignored and forgotten in the remembered history of the area? For one thing, Indigenous people were de-humanized.[50] Then the effects of Indigenous occupation were downplayed as "natural" features on par with deer runs, fish spawning passages, and bird flyways.[51] This characterization of the effects of Indigenous occupation led Hervey Bowman to casually reference "an Indian cemetery" as one of the three "natural advantages" of the site on which Berlin was founded.[52] Bowman did not specify where this cemetery was located beyond implying that it was situated at the east end of the site of Berlin. At the time of his writing in 1906, the existence of the cemetery would have been common knowledge and therefore Bowman had no need to provide further details about it. Eighty years later, I encountered a credible oral tradition that an Indigenous cemetery was located on the First Mennonite Church grounds. This must have been the one to which Bowman referred.

An "Indian" Cemetery

During the course of conducting oral history interviews in preparation for writing a commissioned history of First Mennonite Church, Kitchener, I was introduced to evidence that Indigenous people were buried on the First Mennonite Church grounds prior to the first internments of colonists on that site. At the time, neither my informants nor I were aware of what Hervey Bowman had written on this subject. Among the persons I interviewed were Doug Millar (1920–1999) and Anne (Eby) Millar (1922–2016). Doug Millar was a descendant of Samuel Eby (1772–1849), who in 1804 established a farmstead at the crossing of two Indigenous trails near the present-day intersection of Courtland and Carwood Avenues.[53] Samuel Eby was nicknamed "Indian" Sam, supposedly on account of "his labours on behalf of the Mohawks" (the Mohawk were one of the nations in the Hodenosaunee confederacy) who annually passed through the vicinity.[54] Anne Millar was a descendant of Benjamin Eby (1785–1853), who established a farmstead just west of present-day First Mennonite Church in 1806–1807.

Doug and Anne Millar recalled to me that when the horse sheds at First Mennonite Church were taken down and the yard was graded in the 1940s to make a parking lot for automobiles, numerous "Indian" bones were unearthed. I wondered how the Millars knew that these were "Indian" bones. They responded that they remembered a time when "everyone" at First Mennonite Church knew that an Indigenous cemetery was located on the First Mennonite Church grounds. As a result, when bones were unearthed, it went almost without saying they were "Indian" bones. All the First Mennonite Church congregants at that time had a farm background and they knew the difference between human and animal bones. Furthermore, the bones could not have been those of deceased Mennonite congregants because, in Anne Millar's words, "we knew where the white people were buried" (in marked graves in the cemetery plot beside the parking lot).

What makes Doug and Anne Millar's account credible is that they were recounting their lived experiences within a living oral tradition. The Millars were unfamiliar with any published references to an Indigenous cemetery on the First Mennonite Church grounds. Therefore, their disclosure was an independent account uninfluenced by anything that Bowman had written. Of course, I wanted to include this information in the First Mennonite Church history I was writing, but at one of the unrecorded meetings I attended in 1987 with the reading committee appointed by First Mennonite Church to receive feedback on instalments of my manuscript drafts, I was orally dissuaded from doing so. My personal recollection of that meeting includes some of the rationales that individual committee members adduced for their opposition to publishing the Millars' account. These were that (1) it was not corroborated and therefore might not be factually correct;[55] (2) the bones to which the Millars referred were not those of Mennonite congregants and therefore their alleged disinterment was irrelevant to First Mennonite Church history; (3) archaeologists might use this information to seek permission to excavate the First Mennonite Church parking lot (to the inconvenience of the current congregation); and (4) contemporary Indigenous people might assert rights to the First Mennonite Church property and stage annoying and unwelcome protests on the First Mennonite Church grounds.

On the basis of the reading committee's unanimous opposition to including the Millars' account in the history of First Mennonite Church, I deleted all references to it in my manuscript. In doing so, I participated in the erasure of Indigenous people from the remembered history of Berlin/Kitchener and in the perpetuation of the myth of the pioneers. I regret that I did not then have time to attempt to obtain corroboration for the Millars' recollections by interviewing other people at First Mennonite Church concerning their memories of the grading of the church parking lot. Now it is unlikely that anyone who would be in a position to either confirm or deny the Millars' account is left.

The Indigenous cemetery referenced by Bowman must have been an active one when the colonists arrived, otherwise the colonists and their descendants would not have known that Indigenous people were buried in it. Corroboration for this being an active Indigenous cemetery at the time of colonization is W. V. (Ben) Uttley's statement in *A History of Kitchener*, with respect to the cemetery located on the First Mennonite Church grounds, that “the first burial in this cemetery is said to have been an [unnamed] Indian.”[56] The first *recorded* burial in this cemetery is that of Joab (also known as George) Smith, a colonist who was accidentally killed in “Eby’s Town”[57] (presumably named after the founder of the town, Joseph Eby). In or about 1808, this settlement was in the vicinity of the confluence of present-day Shoemaker and Schneider Creeks.[58] Joab Smith was buried before 1810, when his grave was mentioned in a land transfer instrument.[59] Consequently, the “Indian” burial referred to by Uttley must have taken place before that date. Joab Smith’s grave was actually located on land owned by Joseph Eby, whose farm abutted the east side of Benjamin Eby’s farm. When Joseph Eby subsequently sold land in this vicinity in 1810, he reserved “one half acre of land . . . where George Smith’s grave is . . . for the use of a grave yard and church buildings.”[60] On February 15, 1816, this reservation was gifted by Joseph and Elizabeth Eby to “John Gressman and Jacob Snyder, Elders of the Menonist Society and their Successors in the said Society of Block number Two aforesaid . . . for the use of building a meeting house thereon for the said Society and for such meetings as the said Elders and their Successors shall give privilege to meet therein as also for a public school house and grave yard.”[61] In the same deed, Jacob and Mary Shontz gifted one acre and a half to the same persons for the same purpose.[62] Subsequently, on October 7, 1816, Benjamin and Mary Eby gifted another three-quarters of an acre to the same parties for the same purpose.[63] The present-day First Mennonite Church grounds include all of the above gifts of contiguous plots of land.

The probability that an Indigenous cemetery was already located in proximity to Benjamin Eby’s farmstead would explain why Smith was buried on the present-day First Mennonite Church grounds before any public buildings such as a school or meetinghouse had been erected in the vicinity. Since Smith had been killed in Eby’s Town, one normally would have expected that the burial would have taken place closer to that fledgling urban centre. Further corroboration that the Indigenous cemetery referenced by Bowman was located where the First Mennonite Church cemetery now stands is that all the graves in the current cemetery face west. Traditionally, Mennonite graves face east, as Christian graves around the world typically do.[64] A plausible explanation for why this tradition was not practiced in the First Mennonite Church cemetery is that the contrary Hodenosaunee pattern of burying bodies facing west had been established by Indigenous users prior to colonization and that colonists merely perpetuated the existing orientation of internment.[65] If an Indigenous cemetery were located on the First Mennonite Church grounds, as the above evidence suggests, it would have been accessed by one or more Indigenous trails. The probable routes of some of those trails are discussed below.

Probable Routes of Indigenous Trails in and around the Site of Berlin

In his reminiscences of the beginnings of Berlin, published in the annual volumes of the Waterloo Historical Society, Jacob Gaukel Stroh mentioned in passing that present-day "King Street, Queen Street and Frederick Street" were "from the beginning the principal streets of the village" of Berlin, and "the main entrances from the surrounding country."[66] In other words, all these roads were in use from the time that wetlands on the site of Berlin were subdivided and leased or sold as village lots. Although Stroh did not explicitly state that the course of these streets followed the routes of pre-colonial Indigenous trails, there is ample primary evidence to support this conclusion in manuscript archival records, published newspaper articles, and transcribed oral history accounts. For example, Stroh recalled personally observing "tall, handsome, well-built Mohawks" stopping at the "tavern," built and operated by his grandfather Frederick Gaukel in Berlin in 1833, on their annual journeys over the Indigenous trail "leading from Detroit through Berlin to Guelph and then up to the Midland district."[67]

Stroh's account of annual Hodenosaunee hunting expeditions through the area is confirmed by the reminiscences of Elizabeth (Betzner) Sherk (1811–1894). Sherk's grandparents Samuel (1738–1811) and Maria (1744–1806) (Detweiler) Betzner established a farmstead in the vicinity of the present-day Pioneer Tower in 1800. Elizabeth Sherk's obituary recounted that she "often related to her grandchildren of the days when the Mohawk braves met and held their councils at a point on the opposite side of the [Grand] river every autumn when on their hunting expeditions. She saw the incoming of the settlers, the clearing of the river farms, the construction of the Ferrie mill [at present-day Kitchener (Doon)], the disappearance of the red man and the crowning of the hill, at whose foot they used to gather, with a [Presbyterian] church and the conversion of that district into fine farms with here [and] there a prosperous village."[68]

It is significant that Stroh knew about an historic Hodenosaunee hunting trail running through Berlin, parts of which are depicted on a map entitled "Part of the River Thames in Upper Canada, from whence it discharges itself into Lake St. Clair to Oxford in its Upper Forks, and from Hence to the head of Burlington Bay, shewing the route of Lieut. Governor Simcoe in the year 1793."[69] However, Stroh's description of the trail's route is lacking in detail. According to Simcoe's map of 1793, the said trail did not run directly from Detroit to present-day Kitchener. Rather, it ran parallel to the north shore of Lake Erie to the head of Lake Ontario via "the Mohawk Village" (Brantford). From the head of Lake Ontario, the trail ran to sulphur springs at present-day Cambridge (Preston),[70] via a fishing station in the Ouse (Grand) River.[71] From the sulphur springs, the Hodenosaunee crossed the Grand River at one of two fords: present-day Freeport Bridge or present-day Cambridge (Blair).

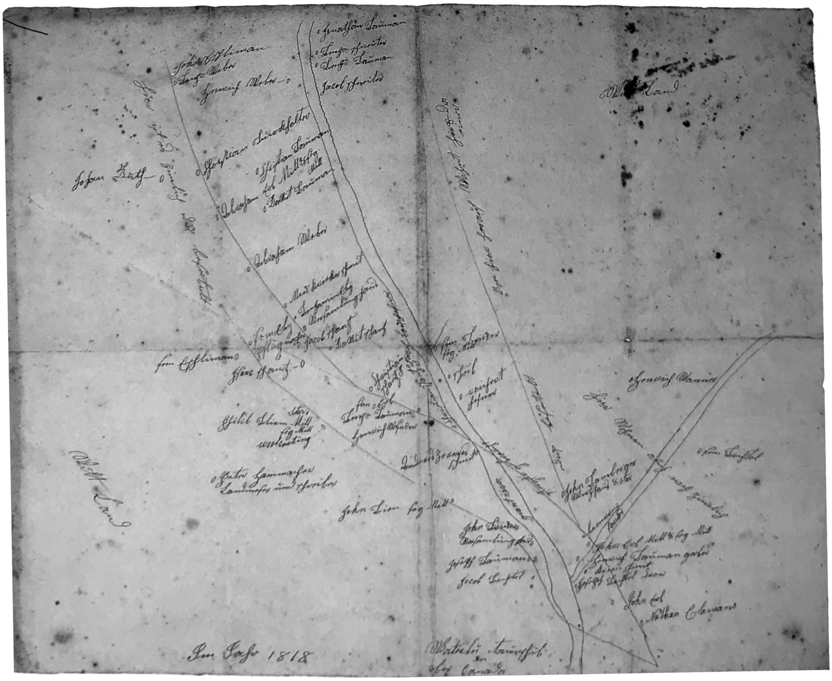

Figure 1. Map of Waterloo Township, 1818. Courtesy of Muddy Creek Farm Library (Ephrata, Pennsylvania).

An early map of Waterloo Township, dated 1818, depicts three main colonial roads in the vicinity of the eventual site of Berlin.[72] I assume that all these roads followed, or at least approximated, the routes of existing Hodenosaunee trails because the map is dated before roads financed by the municipality were constructed in Waterloo Township. One road ran from present-day Cambridge (Preston) to the present-day Freeport Bridge, then in a diagonal line past Isaac

Shantz's farmstead to the vicinity of present-day Highland Road.[73] This road is omitted entirely on all published reproductions of the 1818 map. The only reference to it that I have located in the secondary literature is Uttley's passing comment in 1929 that

> soon after Joseph Schneider constructed his road [present-day Queen Street], the settlers arranged a "bee" and cut a trail from the corner of [present-day] King and Queen streets to the present corner of King and Victoria streets; skirted a swamp that lay where the Huether brewery stands, and cut over to [present-day] Weber street; then along Weber street in a southwesterly [*sic*; should read southeasterly] direction and around a big sand hill that squatted where the city hall rests, and on and down and past the East End Mennonite church, *to join a road that led to Freeport.*[74]

Another road branched off the road running from present-day Dundas below present-day Cambridge (Preston) and crossed the Grand River at a ford in present-day Cambridge (Blair). Local historian Ellis Little described this road as follows:

> It would seem that when settlers began coming to the southern part of Beasley's Block [Block No. 2, later Waterloo Township], a trail or early road branched off the Beverly Road at the point where Speedsville Road (the first concession in Beasley's Lower Block) headed north. The trail followed the high banks along the Grand until a small creek led down to the edge of the larger river. (This in 1988 is just past the Preston Sewage Plant on Lowther street at Linear Park.) Here the banks of the Grand were less precipitous and a fording place crossed over to the west bank on to the property of Nathaniel Dodge [east of present-day Cambridge (Blair)] . . . who established himself on the west bank of [the] Grand [River], probably in the late 1790s. He built a log cabin on the rising slope where Cruickston Park would be located. Dodge, it appears, made ends meet by trapping and trading with the Indians who seasonally passed up and down the river.[75]

The ford leading to Nathaniel Dodge's home was "probably much used in the first two decades of the nineteenth century . . . before the bridge at Shade's Mills (Galt) was built in 1819 and Livergood's Bridge [Freeport] was erected in 1820."[76] From present-day Cruickston Park this road followed the west bank of the Grand River to the vicinity of present-day Schneider Creek, then continued up the west bank of Schneider Creek past Sam Eby's distillery. Finally, it crossed the road leading from present-day Freeport Bridge, coming to an abrupt end in the vicinity of Joseph Schneider's farmstead, which is not marked on the map. Colonists named this road "Samuel Eby's Road."[77]

A third road branched off the road running from present-day Freeport Bridge to Sam Eby's farmstead, in the vicinity of the present-day Fairview Park Mall. It then ran towards Abraham Erb's mill (present-day Waterloo) via Jacob Shantz's farmstead, Eby's meetinghouse, Benjamin Eby's farmstead, and Abraham Weber's farmstead.[78] There are no obvious reference points on the face of the map to indicate whether this road followed either present-day King Street or present-day Duke/Weber Streets through the sandhills. However, if the map is at all true to scale, it shows that the road curved slightly to the south between Benjamin Eby's and Abraham Weber's farmsteads, which would indicate that it followed a route approximating present-day King Street.

Was this road a segment of the Hodenosaunee hunting trail referred to by Stroh, which ran from Detroit to the Midland District? I suggest that it was a composite of two routes: a Hodenosaunee hunting trail and a Hodenosaunee foraging trail. Local historian Ivan Groh recounted in or about 1960 that "a Mohawk Indian from Caledonia" told a fellow local historian, Winfield Brewster of Cambridge (Hespeler), that Hodenosaunee hunting trails "followed the high ground and heavily wooded areas" so that Hodenosaunee travellers would have the best view while "they themselves could not be seen."[79] Secondary sources corroborate that Indigenous hunting trails generally followed "the driest courses, for from the ridges the water was most quickly shed; the hilltops, too, were wind-swept of snow in winter and of brush and leaves in summer, and suffered least from the annual forest fires; for the Indian, the hilltops were coigns of vantage and signalling."[80]

Therefore, it seems likely that the Hodenosaunee hunting trail referred to by Stroh would have run past the "Indian" cemetery on the present-day First Mennonite Church grounds, then followed high ground by veering to the north side of a cedar swamp in the vicinity of present-day Cedar Street and proceeding along the ridge at the top of the "Weber" sand hill through the site of Berlin. It also seems likely that a branch foraging trail diverged from this hunting trail in the vicinity of the same cedar swamp, bypassing the cedar swamp on the south side to gain access to flora and fauna in the bogs at the base of the "Weber" sand hill. This trail would have rejoined the primary hunting trail on the near side of the swamp at the intersection of present-day Victoria and King Streets. If this hypothesis is correct, the third road marked on the 1818 map of Waterloo Township would have followed the route of the Hodenosaunee hunting trail until the vicinity of the "Indian" cemetery, then branched off onto the Hodenosaunee foraging trail, which led into the wetlands.

In the vicinity of the site of Berlin, the Hodenosaunee hunting trail running from the direction of the "Indian" cemetery branched off to the north (running to the mouth of the present-day Nottawasaga River via present-day Guelph),[81] to the south (running to the headwaters of tributaries of the La Tranche (present-day Thames) River via present-day New Hamburg and the headwaters of the present-day Nith River),[82] and to the west (running to present-day Collingwood via the marsh at the source of the Ouse (Grand) River).[83]

I conjecture that these Hodenosaunee hunting trails converged by a spring at the intersection of present-day Frederick and Spetz Streets where George Rebscher constructed a brewery in or about 1840.[84] At any rate, the location of colonists' farmsteads indicate the northern branch of the Hodenosaunee hunting trail proceeded along the highest ground past John Brubacher's farmstead and Jacob Kolb's farmstead to present-day Guelph via a ford in the Grand River at present-day Breslau. The southern branch of the Hodenosaunee hunting trail snaked its way through the "Weber," "city-hall square," and "Benton" sandhills via present-day Frederick Street and a section of the Hodenosaunee foraging trail (present-day King Street) to the present-day intersection of King and Queen Streets. That would explain why Stroh indicated that his grandfather Gaukel's hotel, located at that intersection, was situated on the route of the Hodenosaunee hunting trail leading from Detroit to the Midland District.[85] It also would explain why Stroh related that "King Street, Queen Street and Frederick Street" were "from the beginning the principal streets of the village" of Berlin, and "the main entrances from the surrounding country."[86]

Until roughly the mid-nineteenth century, Hodenosaunee and Anishnaabeg were said to have been "frequently seen at the impromptu trading post alongside a pump and trough" at the southeast corner of present-day Queen and King Streets. Anishnaabeg "travelling from the north to such places as Dundas and York (Toronto)" were said to have been seen "to stop here for a day and leave their weapons here until they returned."[87]

From the present-day intersection of Queen and King Streets, the southern Hodenosaunee hunting trail would have followed a route approximating present-day Queen Street until it connected with the Hodenosaunee hunting trail running from the present-day Freeport Bridge towards the headwaters of the present-day Nith River, adjoining the Thames River watershed. Such a route would be consistent with a statement made by Lieutenant-Governor J. G. Simcoe to Colonial Secretary Henry Dundas, on September 20, 1793:

> I have information of an harbour [present-day Penetanguishene Harbour] which is described to be an excellent one, three leagues to the southward of Matchedash Bay, on Lake Huron, and of a River [the Nottawasaga] some few miles beyond it, whose entrance is said to be navigable; this River I apprehend is the same which the Indians mention as affording a communication with the main branch of the La Tranche (or Thames).[88]

This list of probable Hodenosaunee trails in and around the site of Berlin is not exhaustive. For example, I suspect that Joseph Eby's "Eby's Town"—at the confluence of present-day Shoemaker and Schneider Creeks and midway between "Samuel Eby's Road" and the Hodenosaunee hunting trial running past the "Indian" cemetery—was located on another Hodenosaunee trail. The site of Sam Eby's farmstead would have been a logical southern terminus for such a trail. The "Indian" cemetery would have been a logical northern terminus for such a trail.

According to the reminiscences of James Young, published in 1880, in "earlier times" Hodenosaunee hunting expeditions were "numerous and constant." Subsequently their hunting expeditions "assumed a more regular character, and were chiefly confined to upward trips in the fall in pursuit of fur-bearing animals, and the return downwards in the spring with their furs and other products of the chase." The "Grand River and its tributaries continued to be the principal hunting-ground" of the Hodenosaunee "till long after settlement had commenced, and the axe of the backwoodsman began to denude the country at once of its forests and its game."[89] Gradually, the Hodenosaunee had to hunt further afield. On December 10, 1842, superintendent James Winniett, commenting on the "progress" in "civilization" of the Hodenosaunee, noted that the Hodenosaunee's "favorite hunting grounds" were thought to be primarily in the townships of "Norwich, Zorra, Durham, Wingham, Blenheim, and the Chippawa Creek . . . but when unsuccessful in those places they extend their roaming to a greater distance."[90]

As late as October 29, 1859, the *Globe* newspaper reprinted the follow article from the Galt *Reporter*:

> OFF TO THEIR HUNTING GROUNDS.—During the past week several parties of Indians have passed through Galt on their way to their hunting grounds in Wallace, Mornington, and other Townaships [*sic*] in that direction. They generally came from the neighborhood of Brantford, and passed through the town in true "Indian file." If the snow that fell on Saturday last was sufficient for the purposes of tracking, many a "noble buck" would fall that day before the rifle of his pursuers. Several hunting parties left Galt early in the morning, but we heard of nothing save small game falling before their guns.[91]

After 1859 I have not located any dated, firsthand descriptions of specific Hodenosaunee hunting parties travelling through Berlin and vicinity. The reasons for this phenomenon are beyond the scope of this article and remain to be explored.

Conclusion

There is general and widespread acknowledgement in archival records, newspaper articles, and reminiscences published in the annual volumes of the Waterloo Historical Society that Pennsylvania German Mennonite colonists erected farmsteads in and around the colonial site of Berlin on Indigenous trails within Indigenous hunting grounds. Hitherto, Berlin/Kitchener's historiography has not referenced this documentation. A preliminary attempt has been made here to address this consequential gap in the historical narrative by systematically explaining how the nature and extent of colonial settlement patterns in and around the site of Berlin were shaped by pre-colonial Indigenous occupation and improvements, particularly Hodenosaunee hunting trails. This evidence suggests that Berlin was an obvious colonial village site because it was situated at the hub of a Hodenosaunee trail network that channelled and fed colonial urban growth. Further research is required to uncover and analyze additional evidence of Indigenous occupation on the site of Berlin prior to colonization and to explain the effect of this occupation on Berlin's urban development. Such research should include documentary, archaeological, and oral tradition sources of Indigenous people as well as colonists.

Notes

[1] I am grateful to Professor Emeritus Gary A. Warrick, Dave Neufeld, and Phil Monture, who read earlier drafts of this article and provided numerous suggestions, as did the anonymous reviewers for *Journal of Mennonite Studies*. I did not accept all their suggestions. The views expressed here are my own.

[2] H. M. Bowman, "Characteristics of the People," *Berlin To-Day: Centennial Number in Celebration of the Old Boys' and Girls' Reunion* (Berlin, ON: Berlin News Record, 1906). Reprinted in rych mills, "Hervey Bowman, Author," *Waterloo Historical Society* 102 (2014): 216–17.

[3] I define colonial in this context as the invasion of Indigenous physical space by Eurowesterners; the drawing of abstract, atomized property boundaries on this physical space; and the exercise of exclusive ownership over these new property units by interloping Eurowestern occupants.

[4] There are many variant spellings of the Iroquoian name for their confederacy. The spelling here is that used in Lewis Henry Morgan, *League of the Iroquois* (New York: Corinth Books, 1962), 3–36. First published in 1851, Morgan based this spelling on the pronunciation of the name by Seneca informants.

[5] New York State Library, Manuscript #13350–51, "Account of the descriptions given by Mr. Norton Concerning his Country customs & manners," Mar. 12, 1805. See also Susan M. Hill, *The Clay We are Made Of: Haudenosaunee Land Tenure on the Grand River* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2017); and Six Nations Lands and Resources Department, *Six Nations of the Grand River: Land Rights, Financial Justice, Creative Solutions* (Ohsweken, ON: Six Nations Lands and Resources Department, 2020).

[6] The "myth of the pioneers" is identified and described by Royce MacGillivray, "Local History as a Form of Popular Culture in Ontario," *New York History* 65, no. 4 (Oct. 1984): 371. Elizabeth Furniss explores a similar phenomenon in the local context of Williams Lake, British Columbia. Furniss employs a different term, "the frontier myth," to refer to the sensibility of difference constructed by Eurowesterners to justify Eurowestern entitlement and Indigenous marginalization. Unlike the "myth of the pioneers," which applies to colonial beginnings, the "myth of the frontier," as defined by Furniss, is not limited to time or place. Elizabeth Furniss, *The Burden of History: Colonialism and the Frontier Myth in a Rural Canadian Community* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999).

[7] The anonymous author of an historical article entitled "One Hundred Years Young," published in *Berlin To-Day*, expounded that the site of Berlin had "no natural advantages to speak of" and that its inception could only be attributed to the character of German-speaking Mennonite "pioneers from Pennsylvania" who were attracted to the area by its "fertile soil and a bracing climate." "One Hundred Years Young," *Berlin To-Day*.

[8] J. W. Connor, the author of "Historical Sketch" in *Berlin To-Day*, recounted that Eby "first came here just a hundred years ago on Victoria Day, [1806,] located on lot 2, 'German Company's Tract,' giving out a 'job of two acres,' and arranged for the building of a house." Eby laid the foundation for the "growth and prosperity" of a village by donating land on the edge of a cemetery for the building of a Mennonite meetinghouse called "Ben Eby's," or simply "Eby's," and "giving a site" of nonarable land to John Hoffman and Samuel Bowman for establishing a furniture factory. The meetinghouse was said to have been built in 1813 on the present-day First Mennonite Church grounds. The furniture factory was said to have been constructed in 1825 on a lot "a little [north]west of the present Walper House [now Walper Hotel], just on the edge of the swamp that stretched as far as the knoll just east of the G[rand] T[runk] R[ailway], where Abraham Weber had located in 1807." The original main street of the village was a "narrow road" that connected Eby's meetinghouse with the furniture factory by climbing a sand hill and "discending [*sic*] to a swamp." J. W. Connor, "Historical Sketch," *Berlin To-Day*.

[9] Theobald Spetz, "The Importance of Local History," *Centennial Supplement of the Waterloo Historical Society* (Kitchener, ON: Waterloo Historical Society, 2013), 15.

[10] Reginald Good, "'Lost Inheritance': Alienation of Six Nations' Lands in Upper Canada, 1784–1805," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 19 (2001): 92–102.

[11] When colonization of the site of Berlin began in the early 1800s, there is evidence that one extended Anishnaabe family (that of "Old Jack") possessed family "hunting grounds" in the vicinity. Donald B. Smith, *Mississauga Portraits: Ojibwe Voices from Nineteenth-Century Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 131. Members of this family may have assisted the Hodenosaunee in maintaining segments of the Hodenosaunee hunting trail network that passed through this area.

[12] Neal Ferris, *The Archaeology of Native-Lived Colonialism: Challenging History in the Great Lakes* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2009), 114. This claim has been contested by certain Anishnaabeg, now generally known as Mississauga. For a good summary of the current scholarly consensus on this issue see chapter 5, "Iroquoian to Iroquois in Southwestern Ontario."

[13] Richard (Rick) Laprairie, "Reoriented Perspectives on the Clowes Map of 1701," *The Portolan*, no. 91 (Winter 2014): 17–19.

[14] "Report on the Preceding Petition" (i.e., the petition of Benjamin Franklin), June 1, 1759, in *The Documentary History of the State of New-York*, ed. E. B. O'Callaghan, vol. 2 (Albany, NY: Weed, Parsons, 1850), 452.

[15] Laprairie, "Reoriented Perspectives," 9.

[16] J. A. Brandão and William A. Starna, "The Treaties of 1701: A Triumph of Iroquois Diplomacy, *Ethnohistory* 43, no. 2 (Spring 1996): 209–44; Victor P. Lytwyn, "A Dish with One Spoon: The Shared Hunting Grounds Agreement in the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence Valley Region," *Papers of the Twenty-Eighth Algonquian Conference* (1997): 210–27. See also Reginald Good, "Mississauga-Mennonite Relations in the Upper Grand River Valley," *Ontario History* 87, no. 2 (June 1995): 155–72; and Reginald Good, "Colonizing a People: Mennonite Settlement in Waterloo Township, Ontario, 1799–1840" in David T. McNab, ed., *Earth, Water, Air and Fire: Studies in Canadian Ethnohistory* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 1998), 145–80. An analysis of the Dish with One Spoon Treaty is beyond the scope of this article. However, there is evidence that the Six Nations did not permit Mississaugas to live and hunt in the Grand River valley until sometime after 1720. For example, in 1721 John Durant, state chaplain to the Fort of Cataracouy (on the site of present-day Kingston), stated that the French hoped to trade from their newly erected fort at Niagara with the Mississaugas, located "about thirty leagues [distant] from that of Niagara." "Mr. Durant's Memorial Relative to French Post at Niagara" (July 1, 1721), in *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York*, ed. E. B. O'Callaghan, vol. 5 (Albany, NY: Weed, Parsons, 1855), 588–91. A thirty-league radius from Niagara Falls would extend in an arc from present-day Long Point to Luther Marsh (the source of the Grand River) and then to Ajax.

[17] Henri Abraham Chatelain, *Atlas Historique*, vol. 6 (Amsterdam: Freres Chatelain Libraires, 1719), 91.

[18] W. V. (Ben) Uttley, "Berlin, Now Kitchener in the Beginning," *Waterloo Historical Society* 20 (1932): 315. Uttley states: "When the settlers arrived [on the site of Berlin] their holdings were primeval forest lands, and were still Indian hunting grounds. On either side of King Street were numerous big and little sandhills, clothed with pine trees." The reference to forest cover can be corroborated in part by the fact that Joseph Schneider erected a sawmill on Schneider Creek in or about 1820. "It was driven by an old-fashioned water wheel and was the first power plant ever erected in the city." W. V. Uttley,

"Joseph Schneider: Founder of the City," *Waterloo Historical Society* 17 (1929): 114.

[19] William W. Evans, *Waterloo County Gazetteer and Directory for 1884–5* (Toronto: Hill & Weir, 1884), xliv. Evans stated with respect to the site of Berlin that it "is somewhat undulating, affording very convenient drainage."

[20] Springs were located at the present-day intersections of King and Queen Streets and King and Victoria Streets. Breweries, which historically depended on clear and constant flowing springs for their water supplies, were established on these springs in the early nineteenth century:

[21] "Excerpts from Reminiscences by Isaac Moyer 1910," in *Hannes Schneider and His Wife Catharine Haus Schneider: Their Descendants and Times, 1534–1939*, ed. Joseph Meyer Snyder (Kitchener, ON: Miriam Helen Snyder, 1937 [*sic*]), 150B.

[22] Harold Russell and rych mills, "Hervey Bowman, Gentleman," *Waterloo Historical Society* 102 (2014): 198–213.

[23] Connor, "Historical Sketch," n.p.

[24] Connor, "Historical Sketch," n.p.

[25] Nathaniel Stroh, "Indian Relics Collected by Jacob Gaukel Stroh," *Waterloo Historical Society* 45 (1957): 9.

[26] Jacob Stroh, "Reminiscences of Berlin (Now Kitchener)—Part 1," *Waterloo Historical Society* 18 (1930): 179.

[27] Stroh, "Reminiscences of Berlin (Now Kitchener)—Part 1," 188.

[28] Stroh, "Reminiscences of Berlin (Now Kitchener)—Part 1," 177; Susan M. Burke and Matthew H. Hill, eds., *From Pennsylvania to Waterloo: Pennsylvania-German Folk Culture in Transition* (Kitchener, ON: Friends of the Joseph Schneider Haus, 1991), 38, fig. 10.11.

[29] Stroh, "Reminiscences of Berlin (Now Kitchener)—Part 1," 178, 190.

[30] Frank T. Shutt, *Peat Muck and Mud Deposits: Their Nature, Composition and Agricultural Uses* (Ottawa: J. O. Patenaude, 1933). The earliest known classification of wetlands in and around Berlin as peat bogs appears in an 1891 report of Ontario's Bureau of Mines. Under the heading "Peat Deposits in America," there is a description of "a small peat-bog of about twenty-five acres in extent," referred to as the "Berlin bog," situated "immediately south of the town of Berlin, Waterloo county," where such "small bogs are said to be common." *First Report of the [Ontario] Bureau of Mines 1891* (Toronto: Warwick & Sons, 1892), 190–91.

[31] K. Y. Børsheim, B. E. Christensen and T. J. Painter, "Preservation of Fish by Embedment in *Sphagnum* Moss, Peat or Holocellulose: Experimental Proof of the Oxopolysaccharidic Nature of the Preservative Substance and of Its Antimicrobial and Tanning Action," *Innovative Food Science and Emerging Technologies* 2, no. 1 (Mar. 2001): 63–74. See also Andrew Steele, *The Natural and Agricultural History of Peat-Moss or Turf-Bog* (Edinburgh: W. & D. Laing and Adam Black, 1826), 7–13.

[32] Kate Redmond, "Browsing the Bog," *Field Station Bulletin*, no. 32 (2007): 1–56. This article includes a list of plants found in the Cedarburg Bog in Cedarburg, Wisconsin, and the uses made of these plants by both Indigenous peoples of the Eastern Woodlands (including the Hodenosaunee) and Eurowestern colonists.

[33] Donald A. Bezella, "A Preliminary Survey of Archaeological Sites Surrounding Cedarburg Bog," *Field Station Bulletin*, no. 25 (Fall 1992): 1–9.

[34] An extended Mississauga family living in the vicinity of the site of Berlin in the early nineteenth century also would have hunted in the area, but it is not clear at this point whether deer would have been one of their primary objects of pursuit. As one Mississauga speaker noted in 1846, the Mississauga "were brought up in the midst of marshes, where there were vast numbers of musk-rats and catfish, sturgeon, beavers and otters, and lived on those animals." *Minutes of the General Council of Indian Chiefs and Principal Men Held at Orillia, Lake Simcoe Narrows*, July 30–31, 1846 (Montreal: Canada Gazette Office, 1846), 18. Albers and Kay's study of Indian land-use in the western Great Lakes and northern Plains during the period 1620–1830 finds that there were large regions where territorial sharing by members of different Indian nations was the rule, rather than the exception. Patricia Albers and Jeanne Kay, "Sharing the Land: A Study in American Indian Territoriality," in *A Cultural Geography of North American Indians*, ed. Thomas E. Ross and Tyrel G. Moore (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1987), 47–91. The site of Berlin may well have been located within one of those areas.

[35] This assumption is based on the observation that colonists elsewhere in North America blamed the increase of wolf populations on the displacement of Indigenous people. William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983), 199–200n99.

[36] Wellington County Museum and Archives (Ferus, ON), District Correspondence, series 1, file 12, A980.14, Receipt issued by George Wilson, Berlin Justice of the Peace, to Henry Wite ("an Indian") for producing "Seven Wolf Scalps with the ears on the same and has proved to my satisfaction the said wolves were killed within this District" on June 6, 1845. Handwritten notations on the receipt indicate that Wite received a bounty of £19.10.0 for these scalps.

[37] *Waterloo County Gazetteer and Directory for 1884–5*, lxxiii. This information was said to have been derived from a series of articles published by Peter E. W. Moyer in the *Waterloo Chronicle* newspaper in 1866. Ezra Eby subsequently paraphrased this information: "At this time [of colonization] Berlin was a dense and impassable swamp, inhabited by wolves, bears, foxes and other wild animals. Sheep in considerable numbers proved a prey to the howling wolves." Ezra E. Eby, *A Biographical History of Waterloo Township and Other Townships of the County*, vol. 1 (Berlin, ON: n.p., 1895), 47.

[38] *Waterloo County Gazetteer and Directory for 1884–5*, xliv.

[39] Uttley, "Joseph Schneider: Founder of the City," 118.

[40] W. V. (Ben) Uttley, *A History of Kitchener, Ontario* (Waterloo, ON: Chronicle Press, 1937), 16.

[41] rych mills, "A Corner in Time: Kitchener's Queen & King" (presentation to the Waterloo Historical Society, Waterloo Region Museum, Mar. 31, 2014).

[42] mills, "A Corner in Time."

[43] Uttley, "Berlin, Now Kitchener in the Beginning," 316.

[44] Uttley, "Joseph Schneider: Founder of the City," 115.

[45] Uttley, "Berlin, Now Kitchener in the Beginning," 316.

[46] Typescript from the *Galt Reporter*, June 7, 1883, reprinted in *Hannes Schneider*, 150B.

[47] Burke and Hill, *From Pennsylvania to Waterloo*, 38, fig. 10.11.

[48] "Berlin," *The Gazette* (Montreal), May 31, 1912, 8. Reprinted in *Berlin: Celebration of Cityhood 1912* (Berlin, ON: German Printing and Publishing Company, 1912).

[49] Eldon Weber acknowledged that "Indian trails on the solid ground following near the major watercourses were the settlers' first paths. However, because their wagons often required still firmer soil on which to be drawn it was necessary to abandon most of these trails and replace them." Eldon D. Weber, "Waterloo Township, German Company Tract Lot Number 16," *Waterloo Historical Society* 58 (1970): 12.

[50] W. H. Peterson referred to the Indigenous people of Block No. 2 (later Waterloo Township) as "two-legged wolves" who—if given the opportunity—"might enter your home, and snatch one of your lambs, or sheep [i.e., weak and defenseless wives and children], and tear it to pieces." Editorial, *Das Canada Museum*, Dec. 18, 1840. Peter E. W. Moyer referred to the same people as "Red men of the forest" who "roamed" their "native wilds" along with "bears, wolves, and other wild animals." [Peter E. W. Moyer], Berlin *Daily News*, July 16, 1879, 2; [Peter E. W. Moyer], "The Early Settlement of Waterloo Township" (1869), reprinted with annotations by Lorna Bergey, *Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage* 15, no. 2 (Apr. 1992): 9–20.

[51] For example, it was said that "the deer were here before the Indians, so the first Indian trails probably followed the runways of the deer." Ivan Groh, "The Pioneers of Clearview (And Some of Their Successors): Being a Brief History of School Section Number Nineteen in the Township of Waterloo from about 1800 to 1960" (unpublished manuscript).

[52] Bowman, "Characteristics of the People."

[53] Doug Millar showed me this site in person during the course of my research of First Mennonite Church's history in 1984 and 1985 and explained to me that it was the site of an intersection of Indian trails.

[54] Uttley, "Berlin, Now Kitchener in the Beginning," 315.

[55] I do not recollect any reading committee members encouraging me to conduct more extensive oral history interviews among First Mennonite Church congregants on this subject with a view to obtaining corroboration of the Millars' account.

[56] Uttley, *A History of Kitchener, Ontario*, 27.

[57] Samuel and Magdalena Eby to John Eckert, Archives of Ontario, Copy Book #65 for Waterloo County, Jan. 11, 1808, 178.

[58] Eby to Eckert, 178. Eby's Town also was referred to as Ebytown. Ezra E. Eby, *A Biographical History of the Eby Family* (Berlin, ON: Hett and Eby, 1889), 30.

[59] Joseph Eby to Jacob Shontz, Archives of Ontario, Copy Book #65 for Waterloo County, June 1, 1810, 231–32.

[60] Eby to Shontz, 231–32.

[61] "Joseph and Elizabeth Eby and Jacob and Mary Shontz, of the one part, to Elders of the Menonist Society and their Successors in the said Society of Block number Two aforesaid of the other part," Archives of Ontario, Copy Book #67 for Waterloo County, Feb. 15, 1816, 3–4.

[62] Eby and Shontz, Feb. 15, 1816, 3–4.

[63] Benjamin Eby and his wife Mary to John Cressman and Jacob Snyder, "Elders of the Menonist Society and their Successors in the said Eldership of Waterloo Township," Oct. 7, 1816, 2–3.

[64] For a discussion of this ingrained Christian practice of burying their dead facing east, see Richard Hoggett, *The Archaeology of the East Anglican Conversion* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2010), 97.

[65] For a discussion of the normative Iroquoian practice of burying their dead facing west see Anthony Wonderley and Martha L. Sempowski, *Origins of the Iroquois League: Narratives, Symbols, and Archaeology* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2019), 196.

[66] Stroh, "Reminiscences of Berlin (Now Kitchener)—Part 1," 176.

[67] Stroh, "Indian Relics Collected by Jacob Gaukel Stroh," 9. The term Mohawk was often used by non-Indigenous speakers as a synecdoche referencing the Hodenosaunee as a whole.

[68] "Death of (Rev.) Mrs. David Sherk," *The Daily Record* (Berlin), Aug. 27, 1894, 1.

[69] "Part of the River Thames in Upper Canada, from whence it discharges itself into Lake St. Clair to Oxford in its Upper Forks, and from Hence to the head of Burlington Bay, shewing the route of Lieut. Governor Simcoe in the year 1793," Library and Archives Canada, H2/400/[1793] (ca. 1900).

[70] In 1837, William Peterson, a Methodist exhorter in Berlin who edited *Das Canada Museum*, a local German-language newspaper, reported that "we hardly have anything to fear" from "a party of peaceful Indians [who recently] passed through Preston with wives and children" en route to their "usual hunting grounds." Editorial, *Das Canada Museum*, Nov. 21, 1837.

[71] James E. Kerr, "Early Days in Galt," *Waterloo Historical Society* 8 (1920): 118; Margaret Elliot quoted in Andrew Taylor, *Our Yesterdays: A History of the Township of North Dumfries* (Preston, ON: Progress Printing, 1970), 269.

[72] Burke and Hill, *From Pennsylvania to Waterloo*, 38, fig. 10.11.

[73] This route is omitted entirely from the published transcription of the 1818 map.

[74] Uttley, "Joseph Schneider: Founder of the City," 113. Italics added for emphasis.

[75] Ellis Little, "Fording Places in Waterloo Township in the 1800s," *Centennial Supplement of the Waterloo Historical Society*, 174.

[76] Little, "Fording Places in Waterloo Township in the 1800s," 176.

[77] Bylaw #22 of the Township of Waterloo, 1822, in Waterloo Township Council, *Consolidated Bylaws of the Township of Waterloo up to the Year 1913* (Preston, ON: Preston Progress Printing, 1913), 91.

[78] Burke and Hill, *From Pennsylvania to Waterloo*, 38, fig. 10.11.

[79] Groh, "The Pioneers of Clearview." I assume that the Indigenous informant cited here relayed this information to Brewster when travelling through Waterloo Township.

[80] Archer Butler Hulbert, *Historic Highways of America*, vol. 2, *Indian Thoroughfares* (Cleveland: A. H. Clark, 1902), 14–15.

[81] E. A. Cruikshank, ed., *The Correspondence of Lieut. Governor John Graves Simcoe*, vol. 2, *1793–1794* (Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1924), 56–65; J. G. Simcoe to Henry Dundas, Sept. 20, 1793, in ibid., 56.

[82] A. F. Hunter, "The Trail of the Aborigines Through Waterloo County," *Waterloo Historical Society* 15 (1927): 264; O. A. F. Hamilton, "New Hamburg Historical Notes," *Waterloo Historical Society* 24 (1936): 229. Hamilton wrote, "Between the years 1800 and 1820, there appears to have been an Indian village on the banks of the little river, afterwards known as Schmidt's,

or Smith's Creek, now the River Nith, where the centre of New Hamburg stands today."

[83] John Connon, *The Early History of Elora, Ontario and Vicinity* (Elora, ON: Elora Express and Fergus News-Record, 1930), 92; Jean Hutchinson, *West Garafraxa Township: Centennial History* (Belwood, ON: n.p., 1967), 4–5.

[84] Uttley, *A History of Kitchener, Ontario*, 69.

[85] Stroh, "Indian Relics Collected by Jacob Gaukel Stroh," 9.

[86] Stroh, "Reminiscences of Berlin (Now Kitchener)—Part 1," 176.

[87] Bill Moyer, "Yesterday Revisited," *K-W Real Estate News*, Dec. 2, 1977, A-2.

[88] J. G. Simcoe to Henry Dundas, Sept. 20, 1793, in Cruikshank, *Correspondence of Lieut. Governor John Graves Simcoe*, 2:56. It should be noted that Indian hunting trails typically ran along the heights of watersheds, not the banks of rivers and streams.

[89] James Young, *Reminiscences of the Early History of Galt and the Settlement of Dumfries in the Province of Ontario* (Toronto: Hunter, Rose and Company, 1880), 11–12.

[90] James Winniett, "Answers to the questions put by the Commissioners," Dec. 10, 1842, in Province of Canada, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly*, 1847, Appendix T, "Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada," Appendix no. 17.

[91] "Canada," *The Globe*, Oct. 29, 1859, 2.