“Rejoicing in this unpronounceable name”: Peter Jones’s Authorial Identity

Kyle Carsten Wyatt*

In 1845 the Reverend Peter Jones visited Great Britain for the third time. For almost a year, he travelled throughout England and Scotland raising money for a proposed residential school and for Methodist missionary projects among Upper Canada’s Aboriginal populations. Though he had made similar speaking tours in 1831 and 1838, the press buzzed about the visit of an “illustrious stranger.”¹ The *Aberdeen Banner* noted on August 15, “We are sure that the numerous and respectable audiences that have listened to this remarkable man are ready to acknowledge that they have not only had their curiosity gratified but their minds improved.” Two days earlier, the *Aberdeen Journal* reported, “Much interest has been excited by the visit to our city of an Indian chief, erst rejoicing in [his] unpronounceable name.” On July 28, *The Caledonian Mercury* emphasized the stranger’s unusual name with the headline “Kahkewaquonaby, the North American Indian Chief and Missionary.” Its article observed, “He may have wielded the tomahawk and dug up the hatchet of war; but he has long since exchanged them for the far more effective weapon, the pen, which he uses with a power that might excite the envy of Oxford itself.” Newspaper reports such as these served to both construct and reflect nineteenth-century fascinations with Native North Americans.² They juxtapose a formulaic Indian figure

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1 From “The ‘The Indian Chief,’” an unattributed newspaper clipping in the Peter Jones Letterbook, Peter Jones Collection, Pratt Library, Victoria University in the University of Toronto, Box 3, File 4. Unless otherwise stated, all subsequent newspaper and periodical quotations are from clippings found in the Letterbook.

2 Throughout this essay I will use the terms “Aboriginal” and “Native” to refer to North America’s Indigenous populations. At times, however, I will also use “Indian” and “Heathen.” I do so consciously, to critically refer to the constructed figures and stereotypes that often represent Native North Americans, even as those constructions seldom bear resemblance to actual Native peoples.

with a writerly Oxbridge-type. The tomahawk and hatchet stand in sharp contrast to the more civilized pen; the heathen is fused with the evangelist. As the Edinburgh *Witness* remarked on July 26, this duality “[possessed] the highest interest, and even a species of thrilling novelty, to the Christian people of this country.” Britons attended Peter Jones’s speaking engagements – where he discussed his personal salvation and missionary projects throughout Upper Canada – because of the curiosity that surrounded him. Many of Jones’s speeches and sermons appeared in print, and he was an important translator of Scripture and hymns. The same type of novelty that surrounded his public appearances often accompanied his publications.

This paper considers the representations of Peter Jones’s authorial identity. It considers ways that paratextual evidence might complicate the manner in which we approach Jones as an author and translator, as well as his published works.³ I will consider peritexts – evidence that circulates with a book – such as bindings, frontispieces, and title pages. This evidence speaks to competing social values, commercial motives, and doctrinal pressures that contributed to the construction of Jones’s authorial identity. I will also look at epitexts – those paratextual elements that exist independently of a book – such as newspapers, correspondence, journals, and photographs. Together, this paratextual evidence demonstrates ways in which Jones was seen and constructed as alternatively Indian and non-Indian, savage and Methodist. In fact, simply the two names generally used to refer to Jones – “Kahkewaquonaby” and “Peter Jones” – point to the different ways he was publicly presented and perceived among Aboriginal, European, and white North American audiences. These two names are rooted in different cultural traditions and serve different symbolic functions in the presentation of Jones’s publications.

The man known today as Peter Jones was born on 1 January 1802, near present-day Hamilton, Ontario.⁴ He was the son of a Welsh-American father and a Mississauga Ojibwe mother.⁵ His father,

3 For more on the differences between paratexts, epitexts, and peritexts, see Gerard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

4 For the most comprehensive Jones biography, see Donald B. Smith, *Sacred Feathers* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987). For a concise biography, see “Jones, Peter.” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, 2000, Library and Archives Canada <<http://www.biographi.ca/index-e.html>>.

5 The Mississauga community is a part of the larger Ojibwe Nation. Depending on region and historical moment, Annishnabe, Ojibwa, Ojibway, Chippewa, Chippeway, and other spelling variations can also refer to the Ojibwe Nation.

Augustus Jones, travelled throughout Upper Canada surveying such routes as Yonge and Dundas Streets.⁶ Augustus was married to Sarah Tekarihogen, the daughter of a leading Mohawk chief, but took a second wife among the Mississaugas. Because Augustus's second marriage was not legally or socially acceptable in Upper Canada, he left the upbringing of Peter and his older brother, John, to Tuhbenahneequay and lived with the Mohawk Nation near the Grand River. Though raised by his mother, Peter did not formally become a member of the patrilineal Mississauga society until he was nine years old, when a Mississauga male adopted Peter in place of a deceased son.⁷

Several days after Peter's birth, in a traditional Ojibwe ceremony, Wahbanosay gave his grandson the name Kahkewaquonaby, meaning "sacred waving feathers."⁸ In 1814 Augustus, who had always maintained an interest in his sons' well-being, arranged for Peter to attend an English school near Stoney Creek, Upper Canada. There he was known as Peter Jones. Three years later Peter left the school and went to live with his father and his Mohawk family. Peter was later adopted by the Mohawks – traditional enemies of the Ojibwes – and given the name Desagondensta, meaning "he stands people on their feet."⁹ At the urging of his father, he accepted Anglican baptism in 1818, but he remained, in his own words, "the same wild Indian as before."¹⁰ In 1820 he returned to school, and in June 1823, at a five-day camp-meeting of the Methodist Episcopal Church led by William Case, he experienced conversion. Once again, at the age of twenty-one, he was baptized Peter Jones.

6 Dundas Street, known as Highway 5 west of Toronto, originally connected York and the town of Dundas in south central Ontario. Today it forms one of Toronto's major east-west arteries. Yonge Street is a major north-south artery that runs from Lake Ontario in downtown Toronto to the Ontario-Minnesota border at Rainy River. It initially formed a military link between Lake Ontario and the northern Great Lakes.

7 Jones was adopted by Chief James Ajetance, or Captain Jim, just prior to the outbreak of the War of 1812. See Smith, *Sacred Feathers* 67. See also Bernd C. Peyer, *The Tutor'd Mind: Indian Missionary-Writers in Antebellum America* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), 233.

8 Peter Jones, *Life and Journals of Kah-ke-wa-quo-na-by: (Rev. Peter Jones), Wesleyan Missionary* (Toronto, 1861), 2.

9 Jones rarely referenced his Mohawk name, and neither the press nor title pages made use of Desagondensta.

10 Jones *Life and Journals*, 7.

The story of Peter Jones, then, is in many ways a complex story of names and identities; each major event in his early life was marked by a change in name. Especially for Ojibwe and Methodist communities, the act of naming was synonymous with identity formation. For nineteenth-century Ojibwe society, the naming ceremony was the most important event in a young person's life.¹¹ An individual's name was more than a label – it *was* his or her identity. Without a name, a child was without identity except to its mother and father. Episcopal Methodist doctrine also emphasized the importance of naming.¹² A Native North American who experienced conversion and accepted Methodist baptism was christened in the "Spirit of Adoption" – to use John Wesley's earlier phrase – and given an anglicized name.¹³ This name was a public marker of one's salvation and his or her commitment to Christian "civilization." It was also a way of measuring the success of missionary projects among Native Canadians. Kahkewaquonaby symbolized one type of Ojibwe identity and, after conversion, Peter Jones symbolized a different, Methodist one.¹⁴

According to Basil Johnston, an Ojibwe ethnologist and storyteller, a name given during a traditional naming ceremony could be temporary or permanent; it could be superseded by a different name in the future: "Circumstances and events occurring in later life that altered the image, character, or reputation of a person may produce a change in name."¹⁵ In *History of the Ojebway Indians*, Peter Jones called these circumstances "extraordinary occasions."¹⁶ The 1823 camp meeting was one such occasion. It not only altered Jones's image

11 For more on the traditional naming ceremony, see Basil Johnston, *Ojibway Ceremonies* (1982; Toronto: McClelland, 2003), 11–30.

12 See especially Neil Semple, *The Lord's Dominion: The History of Canadian Methodism* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), 157.

13 Wesley often used the phrase "Spirit of Adoption" in his sermons. The phrase comes from Romans 8:14–16. For Wesley, experiencing the "Spirit of Adoption" was evidence that one was "a child of God." See, for example, "The Marks of New Birth," Global Ministries of the United Methodist Church, 2009 <<http://new.gbgm-umc.org/umhistory/wesley/sermons/18/>>.

14 This is not to say that Peter Jones simply rejected his Ojibwe background. Rather, it is to say that his anglicized name symbolized a *Christianized* Mississauga identity. As a Christian Mississauga missionary, Jones was informed by a Methodist worldview that advocated the "civilization" of Native North Americans.

15 Basil Johnston, *Ojibway Heritage* (1976; Toronto: McClelland, 2003), 141.

16 Peter Jones, *History of the Ojebway Indians with Especial Reference to their Conversion to Christianity* (London, 1861), 161.

of himself, it also led to spiritual rebirth and the adoption of his anglicized name. Jones would later describe his spiritual affliction in a sermon delivered on 25 September 1831, in Leeds, England:

It is about eight years since I heard of these glorious weapons, and they were leveled to the very bottom of my heart, when the great Spirit directed the arrow which the Missionary shot, even straight to my heart; they shewed me, my Christian friends, that I was a sinner, and as a sinner, I needed a Saviour [...] I fell down upon my knees, and I cried, "O! thou great and good Spirit, have mercy upon me for the sake of Jesus Christ in whom I trust!" And when I prayed in this way, and gave my heart to him, he plucked me away from the devil's ground and put me upon Christian ground [...] And my Christian friends, whenever a man is truly converted, his heart is changed, "all old things pass away, and all things become new."¹⁷

Here and elsewhere, Jones characterized his experiences at the camp meeting not just in terms of conversion but also in terms of rebirth – a Methodist concept known as New Birth.¹⁸ Like an arrow, the Gospel pierced his Indian heart with fatal accuracy. He fell down – not just onto the ground but into Hell. In delivering mercy, Christ figuratively transplanted his heathen heart with a new, Christian one. Jones thus emerged from Hell wholly transformed – christened a new person. He was not only saved, he was born again.

Because the names Kahkewaquonaby and Peter Jones are firmly rooted in distinct cultural traditions – neither of which Jones was born into – their use is not interchangeable. Indeed Kahkewaquonaby and Peter Jones were not the same person. The former identifies a boy – and later a young man – who was adopted into his mother's Ojibwe community. The latter name denotes the spiritually afflicted man who enthusiastically accepted baptism and adopted a Methodist worldview. Following his conversion, Jones began teaching Sunday school and preaching. In 1825 he began working as the first Indian missionary to serve the Ojibwe Nation and also founded the Credit River Mission for Mississauga converts. He became the first Native writer in Canada to keep a journal, and he made the first Ojibwe translations of Scripture with his brother, John. He was ordained a

17 Peter Jones, *The Sermon and Speeches of the Rev. Peter Jones, Alias, Kah-ke-wa-quon-a-by, the Converted Indian Chief* (Leeds, Eng., 1831), 7-8.

18 For one explanation of "New Birth," see John Wesley, "The New Birth," Global Ministries of the United Methodist Church, 2009 <<http://new.gbmg-umc.org/umhistory/wesley/sermons/45/>>.

Methodist minister in 1827, given a deaconship in 1830, and was made an elder in 1833. He travelled to England three times – in 1831, 1838, and 1845 – to advocate for the land claims of Credit Mississaugas, to raise money for Methodist missionary projects, and to promote the founding of residential schools in Upper Canada. He married Eliza Field in 1833, and he died in 1856. I emphasize the difference between Jones's names because they are not simple equivalents, even though they were often used so. Despite the symbolic, cultural, theological, and personal differences between Peter Jones and Kahkewaquonaby, nineteenth-century print culture frequently conflated the two names.

For discussions of Jones's authorial identity, title pages survive as some of the most useful peritextual evidence. Many of Jones's publications, such as his speeches and sermons, were issued as pamphlets and lacked lettered bindings. Other publications, such as his Biblical translations, were issued in lettered bindings that indicated the book of the Bible – St. John or Genesis, for example – but not the translator. Moreover, because Jones's translations were heavily used by missionaries and Native converts, the majority of extant copies have been rebound in the twentieth century due to wear. Lettered bindings that do survive most often come from Jones's posthumous publications – *Life and Journals of Kah-Ke-Wa-Quo-Na-By* (1860) and *History of the Ojebway Indians* (1861). These latter publications, as well as some translations, also include other peritextual evidence such as forewords and dedications. Title pages are not the only peritexts we might consider; they are, however, especially useful because they exist for *all* of Jones's publications.

As Juliet Gardiner has noted in her work on the commodification of the author, peritexts such as title pages and dust jackets mark both the author's proprietorship of a text and his or her letting go of its meaning.¹⁹ Title pages began to emerge in the fifteenth century – shortly after the advent of the press – and have historically been the prerogative of the compositor, printer, or publisher, not the author. Initially they served to both protect unbound texts and to generate revenue. They maintained the latter role well into the twentieth century and, thus, represent a common peritext with

19 Juliet Gardiner, "Recuperating the Author: Consuming Fictions of the 1990s," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 94, no. 2 (2000): 255-74.

which nineteenth-century print culture commodified the author-function.²⁰

Jones's earliest works were translations of Methodist hymns. These collections were published by the New York Conference beginning in 1827. The title page of this first publication, *Collection of Hymns for the Use of Native Christians of the Iroquois*, lists "Peter Jones" as the translator. The title page of *Tracts in the Chipeway and English*, published in 1828, also includes the title in both English and Ojibwe. Neither indicates the translator. The 1829 edition of *Collection of Hymns for the Use of Native Christians of the Chipeway Tongue* contains two title pages that face one another. The English title page, which appears on the left, lists "Peter Jones" as the translator. The Ojibwe title page, which appears on the right, lists "Kahkewaquonnaby" [sic] as the translator.

Jones began publishing longer translations of Scripture in the 1830s. In 1831, the British and Foreign Bible Society arranged for the printing of *The Gospel According to St. John*. Similar to the 1829 edition of hymns, "Peter Jones," along with his brother John, is listed as the translator on the English title page. Facing it, the Ojibwe title page credits the translation to "Kahkewaquonaby" and "Thayendanegen." In 1831 James Baxter printed an Ojibwe translation of St. Matthew for the York Auxiliary Bible Society. Written mostly in Ojibwe, the title page lists "Kahkewagwonnaby" [sic] as translator. J.H. Lawrence printed Jones's translation of Genesis for the York Bible Society in 1835. Its English title page lists "P. Jones" as the translator, while its Ojibwe title page lists "Kahkewaquonaby." Lawrence also printed Jones's translation of *Part of the Discipline of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada* in 1835. Again, "Peter Jones" and "Kahkeqaquonby" [sic] appear on the English and Ojibwe titles pages respectively.

Two additional collections of hymns were published during Jones's lifetime. In 1836 the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions published *Nugumouinun Genvnugmouat*, which Crocker and Brewster printed in Boston. Neither "Peter Jones" nor "Kahkewaquonaby" appear on the title page, though a "Note" on the following page credits "Mr. Peter Jones, an Ojibwa convert and licensed preacher" as the translator. In 1840, Jones published *A*

20 For more on the history, development, and use of the title page, see Theodore Low De Vinne, *A Treatise on Title-Pages: With Numerous Illustrations in Facsimile and Some Observations on the Early and Recent Printing of Books* (New York: Century, 1904). For a more recent view, see Margaret M. Smith, *The Title-Page: Its Early Development, 1460-1510* (London: British Library, 2000).

Collection of Chippeway and English Hymns for the Use of the Native Indians. Again, English and Ojibwe title pages face one another, with “Peter Jones” appearing as the translator on the verso and “Kahkewaquonaby” on the recto.

As translations of Methodist hymns and Biblical texts, the above works were intended primarily for Native converts and missionaries in Upper Canada. These translations were part of a larger Methodist tradition that emphasized reading. John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, had proselytized using the press as early as 1733, and he argued that reading was of absolute necessity for all Methodists. By the 1830s, Methodist conferences in Britain, the United States, and Canada all recognized the importance of disseminating religious texts. Though an ecumenical organization, the British and Foreign Bible Society of London also recognized the importance of Scriptural translations. Founded in 1804, the Bible Society originally distributed affordable Welsh translations throughout Wales. It funded its translations and distributions of foreign Bibles by selling a variety of affordable English Bibles to the British poor. The Bible Society later extended its reach to Europe, India, and the Americas.²¹ In 1831, the Bible Society made Jones a grant of two hundred New Testaments to take back to Upper Canada missions. It also printed one thousand copies of the bilingual *The Gospel of According to St. John* for use in the Ojibwe Nation.

North American Bible societies, as well as Methodist conferences in Upper Canada and the United States, published Jones’s other hymnal and Scriptural translations. While some volumes were sold for a minimal price – Methodism emphasized the importance of reading through pecuniary sacrifice – Jones’s translations were published primarily to benefit Native converts who often had limited funds with which to purchase books. Profit was not the motivating factor behind their publication.

Title pages for these missionary translations begin to suggest the complicated ways Jones was presented as an author. They use both “Peter Jones” or “Kahkewaquonaby,” tending to favour Jones’s anglicized name for English title pages and his Ojibwe name for Ojibwe title pages. But subtle inconsistencies do exist. For example,

21 For a succinct account of the British and Foreign Bible Society and their publication policies, see Leslie Howsam, *Cheap Bibles: Nineteenth-Century Publishing and the British and Foreign Bible Society*, Cambridge Studies in Publishing and Printing History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

various misspellings of "Kahkewaquonaby" appear, despite the fact that Jones himself spelled his Ojibwe name consistently and helped proof many of his translations.²² The misspellings, as well as inconsistent uses of Kahkewaquonaby, suggest Jones may not have composed title page copy himself and, thus, did not determine how title pages would represent him.

One might argue that "Kahkewaquonaby" legitimized Jones's translations for Ojibwe readers, despite the importance that Native Methodists placed on anglicized names. Moreover, one might argue that title pages suggest Jones felt comfortable identifying as both Peter Jones and Kahkewaquonaby. This, however, was not the case. Beginning with his journal and early Ojibwe translations, and continuing until his death forty-three years later, Jones amassed a large body of papers that detail his life as a missionary, minister, author, translator, and husband. These papers overwhelmingly demonstrate that he identified publicly and personally as Peter Jones and not as Kahkewaquonaby. Legal documents such as certificates of marriage, ordination, and deaconship show that he was legally known as Peter Jones in both Upper Canada and the Methodist Church. Letters of introduction and Jones's personal correspondence also indicate that his ministerial colleagues, officials in Upper Canada and Britain, friends, and family knew and addressed him as Peter Jones. Throughout his letters, the subject of salutations and valedictions were consistently "Peter Jones" or "Rev. Peter Jones."

In fact, Jones's resounding commitment to Methodism would have made it difficult for him to identify as Kahkewaquonaby. In the 25 September 1831 sermon I discussed above, Jones concluded by invoking 2 Corinthians 5:17: "Therefore if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature: old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new." Conversion remade Jones. His Ojibwe name passed away; it represented his former self and worldview. Jones found this previous worldview incongruous with Methodism. In a sermon delivered on 26 September 1831, at the Albion Street Chapel in Leeds, Jones explained the meaning of Kahkewaquonaby:

It is very natural for people when they see a stranger to wish to know something about him, especially a stranger from a great distance, one who is of another nation, of another colour, and

22 Throughout his diary Jones records his proofing and correcting activities for his various translations. On 14 October 1831, for example, he corrected "three or four proof-sheets" of *The Gospel According to St. John* while in London.

of another language. [...] I suppose many of you have seen my Indian name, and some of you may have been puzzled with it. I will speak it for you, Kah-ke-wa-quon-a-by, the literal meaning of which is, the "Sacred Feather"; the name refers to the feathers which we used to exhibit in our heathen worship.²³

Jones acknowledged the curiosity surrounding his Ojibwe name; he demonstrated an awareness of its rhetorical power. With its novel and puzzling sound, the name validated the speaker to his British audience. It made him more than "a Missionary from the wilderness." It made him "a *bona fide* Indian."²⁴ But just as Jones pronounced his Ojibwe name for the audience, he distanced himself from it: "A man cannot be a Christian and go on in the ways of the wicked."²⁵

By discussing his Ojibwe namesake with the past tense "used" and equating it with "heathen worship," Jones showed that he no longer identified as Kahkewaquonaby. At his naming ceremony, he was given a group of eagle feathers and a war club, which symbolized his name and his place among the Mississaugas. He was to keep them as a "memorial of [his] dedication."²⁶ After conversion, however, Jones misplaced the sacred objects: "I lost both and consequently became powerless and wingless!"²⁷ In the Ojibwe tradition of naming, an individual's name could change as his image or character changed, but, according to Jones, an individual could have "but one name" at any given time.²⁸ By misplacing the feathers and war club, Jones signalled that they were no longer symbolic of his identity; he signalled the cessation of his dedication to Kahkewaquonaby. As a spiritually afflicted young man and later as an ordained Methodist minister, Jones experienced a dramatically changed self-image following his acceptance of Christ. The anglicized, born-again Peter Jones superseded Kahkewaquonaby as Jones's primary identification. Jones remained Ojibwe, of course, but he was now a *Christian* Mississauga. By not distinguishing between Peter Jones and Kahkewaquonaby, title pages inaccurately associate rigidity with the Ojibwe tradition of naming and fail to observe the importance of anglicized names

23 Jones, *Sermon and Speeches*, 11.

24 [Grant Thornton], "Romance in Real Life," *The New England Magazine* (October 1833): 354.

25 Jones, *Sermon and Speeches*, 8.

26 Jones, *Life and Journals*, 2.

27 Jones, *Life and Journals*, 2.

28 Jones, *History of Ojebway Indians*, 160.

among Native Methodists. More importantly, these title pages fail to acknowledge Jones's agency as both a Mississauga and a Christian.

The interchangeable use of Peter Jones and Kahkewaquonaby – whether in the nineteenth century or the twenty-first – ignores what Paula Gunn Allen has called "the cultural customs of the subject."²⁹ In her study of Pocahontas, Allen underlines how name changes can reflect changes in identity and societal roles. She differentiates between Pocahontas, Matoaka, Amonute, and Lady Rebecca because the four names are appropriate for specific stages of Pocahontas's life and not appropriate for others. For example, John Smith met Pocahontas but it was Lady Rebecca that John Rolfe married. Allen presents a complex Powhatan woman and attempts to recover a fuller sense of her agency in interactions with Algonquian society, the Virginian Company, and the Church of England. Like Lady Rebecca, Peter Jones negotiated multiple worldviews when he accepted baptism. The two shared a similar Algonquin heritage – a heritage in which individuals could be remade or reborn. By emphasizing Jones's anglicized name, we neither ignore nor undermine the influence of his Mississauga community. Indeed, in doing so we recognize that name changes existed as part of nineteenth-century Mississauga society. We also acknowledge the complexities that surrounded Jones as a Christian and refer to him the way he referred to himself.

If Jones and those who knew him were apt to use Peter Jones, what were the conditions that led to the inconsistent and varied uses of Kahkewaquonaby on title pages? And how did the use of Kahkewaquonaby function on title pages meant for fundraising or commercial profit, rather than for distribution among Upper Canada's Native populations? The rest of this paper considers Jones's broader authorial identity – a public persona affected by the tastes of nineteenth-century print culture. Even while he identified as Peter Jones, the public increasingly clamoured after Kahkewaquonaby. Competing social values, financial motives, doctrinal pressures, and Jones himself all contributed to the construction of this public, authorial identity. Jones's public appearances, his royal audiences, and a group of photographs suggest ways and reasons this public figure was constructed. Once widely known, Kahkewaquonaby proved a marketable figure, which could attract readers and help generate sales.

29 Paula Gunn Allen, *Pocahontas: Medicine Woman, Spy, Entrepreneur, Diplomat* (2003; San Francisco: Harper, 2004), 18.

On 13 May 1831, Jones recorded in his diary, "Ever since I came to London, my presence, or rather the report of an Indian going to appear at a public meeting, created no little excitement, and brought out many to the meetings."³⁰ Jones recognized that the British public clamoured after a type, not simply an individual. Newspapers and magazines throughout Britain described the frenzy surrounding Jones's appearances. Even across the ocean, the American press commented on the British fascination with the curious visitor:

An Indian is a rare species in England. [...] He was feasted by the rich and the great. Carriages, and servant in livery, awaited his pleasure, and bright eyes sparkled when he was named. He was looked upon as a great chief – a prince – an Indian king; and many romantic young ladies, who had never passed beyond the sound of Bow bell, dreamed of the charms and solitude amid the great wilds – "the antres vast and deserts idle" – of the great west.³¹

Like their subjects, King William IV and Queen Adelaide were eager to meet Jones, and they did on 5 April 1832. William was delighted by his visitor's "Chippeway costume," and he asked Jones what his Indian name was.³² The king's question suggests that though the name Kahkewaquonaby had circulated on title pages among Ojibwe readers, it had not yet widely circulated among British or American audiences. In fact, the *New England Magazine* seemed completely unaware of Jones's Ojibwe name in 1833: "What his native cognomen, – whether it was 'Red Lightning,' or the 'Storm King,' or 'Walk-in-the-Water,' – we know not; but in plain English he is known as Peter Jones."³³

By the time Jones made his third and final visit to Great Britain in 1845, the situation had changed dramatically. Unlike 1831-32 newspaper reports, which tended to talk about "Rev. Peter Jones," references to Kahkewaquonaby dominated the headlines and articles of the British press in 1845. Peter Jones took a secondary role or none at all. An Aberdeen *Banner* headline on 15 August 1845, simply read, "Kahkewaquonaby." The *Caledonian Mercury* printed a similar headline on 28 July 1845: "Kahkewaquonaby, the North American Indian Chief and Missionary." The *Inverness Courier's* article "The Indian Chief, Kahkewaquonaby" acknowledged Jones's anglicized

30 Jones, *Life and Journals*, 300.

31 [Thornton], 354.

32 Jones, *Life and Journals*, 342.

33 [Thornton], 354.

name but overshadowed it by characterizing Jones as a "red Indian chief" of the "long forgotten tribes of the north back-woods of America." A long article in *The Ladies' Own Journal and Miscellany* prominently drew attention to "Kahkewaquonaby, the Red Indian Chief and Missionary" but did not once mention Jones's anglicized name.

By 1845 Jones's public persona depended more and more on his increasingly generalized Indian identity and less on the missionary projects he sought to support through speaking tours and publications. With its insatiable appetite for North American Indians, the British public eagerly consumed all things Kahkewaquonaby and cared little for the particulars of Jones's message or Ojibwe heritage. Kahkewaquonaby circulated as a generic and hybridized construction – one that ignored cultural specificity and, to an extent, Jones's deeply felt Methodism. An 1845 broadside, for example, advertised a "Programme of Soiree in Behalf of the North American Indians" (Figure 1). It boldly announced: "KAHKEWAQUONABY, THE INDIAN CHIEF, On the Customs Manners, Religion, and Superstitions of the RED INDIANS." While it accurately publicized Jones as an Indian Chief – he was elected one of three chiefs of the Credit Mississaugas on 12 January 1829 – the broadside did not allude to Jones's Methodism or missionary work. It also did not provide information such as "Peter Jones" or "Chippewa Indian" that would have helped differentiate Jones from any other "Red Indian." A nonspecific Indian spectacle was announced. Typical of the circulars that advertised Jones's appearances throughout Great Britain, the Scottish broadside collapsed cultural difference and homogenized all "North American Indians" and their "Heathen Lands."³⁴ It advertised a generic Indian, because a generic "Red Indian" was overwhelmingly marketable. It was a mesmerizing curiosity that, in Jones's words, "created no little excitement." It was a guaranteed attraction and money-maker.

Held at Trades' Hall in Glasgow, the "soiree" raised funds for the establishment of "Manual Labour Schools for the benefit of the Indian Population."³⁵ On the evening of October 30, a full house waited in anticipation to hear the "The Indian Chief" speak. The

34 Smith also discusses circulars from the 1845 speaking tour. See *Sacred Feathers*, 203.

35 "Soirée – North American Indians." *Glasgow Herald* 3 November 1845. 19th Century British Library Newspapers. British Library, 2009, <http://newspapers.bl.uk/blcs/>.

PROGRAMME OF SOIREE
IN BEHALF OF THE
NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS,
IN THE TRADES' HALL,
On Thursday Evening, 30th Oct. 1845.

REV. DR. SMYTH IN THE CHAIR.

TEA.

CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS.

JOHN DUNLOP, ESQ.
TO INTRODUCE THE INDIAN CHIEF.

KAHKEWAQUONABY, THE INDIAN CHIEF,
On the Customs, Manners, Religion, and Superstitions of the RED INDIANS.

REV. DR. KING,
On the Claims of the NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS on our Sympathy
and Support.

SERVICE OF FRUIT.

REV. DR. BUCHANAN,
On Native Agency.

REV. DR. JOHN M'FARLANE,
On the utility of Mechanical Arts, as a handmaid to Christianity, in the
Advancement of Civilization.

REV. ANDREW KING,
On the Present Condition of Canada.

REV. DR. EADIE,
On Education, and its special importance with reference to the youth of
Heathen Lands.

D. MACDONALD, PRINTER.

Figure 1: D. Macdonald. Broadside, 1845. Peter Jones Collection, E.J. Pratt Library. Courtesy of the Victoria University Library (Toronto).

Reverend Dr. John Smyth, minister of Free St. George's Church, chaired the evening. He was joined by a number of other ministers and "respectable" men from Glasgow and surrounding communities.³⁶ The *Glasgow Herald* reported that the audience politely listened to Rev. Smyth and the other speakers talk about missionary projects in Canada, but it was the appearance of Kahkewaquonaby, "who wore the native dress of his tribe," that "excited considerable attention." Interestingly, Jones was the only Indian advertised on the broadside and yet, as a missionary and a minister, he was removed from the fellowship of his Christian brethren. The broadside avoided "Rev. Peter Jones," perhaps because the anglicized name would diminish his exotic aura and attract smaller crowds. In discussing the evening, the *Glasgow Herald* did, however, parenthetically reference "Rev. Peter Jones." This was not an uncommon scenario during the 1845 speaking tour – where "Peter Jones" was absent from the promotion of an event but incidentally acknowledged in the reporting of it.

Three photographs suggest how Jones appeared at Trades' Hall and other public events as Kahkewaquonaby. On 4 August 1845, David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson took the world's first photographs of a Native North American at their Rock House studio in Edinburgh, Scotland.³⁷ The calotypes they produced that day initiated a new mode of representing and constructing Indians – a type of subjective representation later epitomized by the voluminous portfolio of Edward Sheriff Curtis. Hill and Adamson's photographs depict Kahkewaquonaby – an unmistakable, yet unspecific, Indian type.

In three different poses, Jones appears in the "costume" he often wore to public engagements and fundraisers. Two silver medals hang around his neck – gifts from King William IV and Queen Victoria – and a sash is wrapped around his waist. He is clad in a buckskin coat and leggings – possibly the outfit "Oneida Joseph, the famous Oneida Chief" made for him in 1828.³⁸ On his right, he wears a shot bag decorated with a porcupine-quill eagle totem. Though reminiscent of his Ojibwe namesake, the eagle totem also alludes to what Jones described as "heathen worship." Its presence in the calotypes is ambiguous. In complicated ways it represents both who

36 "Soirée – North American Indians."

37 For more on photography and Native North Americans, including the Jones calotypes of Peter Jones, see Alfred L. Bush *The Photograph and the American Indian* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

38 Jones, *Life and Journals*, 292.

he was and who he was no longer – what he stood for and what he stood against. The pictures do not depict Peter Jones; they show a highly stylized Kahkewaquonaby. The Kahkewaquonaby we see is not the young Mississauga from the shores of Lake Ontario. Nor do we see what the *Glasgow Herald* characterized as the “native dress” of the Ojibwe Nation. Rather, it is the constructed, public persona that captivated white audiences. In one of the calotypes, entitled *The Waving Plume*, Jones wears a headdress (Figure 2). We do not see the feathers Jones was given at his naming ceremony, however. We see the headdress of an unidentified chief who, upon conversion, gave it to Jones.³⁹ The headdress did not serve as a cultural marker of Mississauga heritage. Instead, Jones kept it as a “trophy of spiritual strife and of conquest over the dark powers of paganism.”⁴⁰ Like the eagle totem, it was a reminder of heathenism – it was a religious scalp the Christian missionary could exhibit before the British public. Nor did the tomahawk pipe signify the Ojibwe Nation. In reality, it commemorated the patronage of Sir Augustus d’Este, an active member of the Aboriginies Protection Society and Queen Victoria’s cousin. The pipe’s silver blade was inscribed “From Augustus d’Este to Ka-Kiwe-guun-ebi, 1838.”⁴¹ These three photographs portray a potpourri of values, cultures, and expectations. Jones appears the way the British public assumed – and demanded – a Red Indian would look.

In fact, cultural expectations often determined how Jones was presented – whether on the page or in person. His audience with Queen Victoria on 14 September 1838, for example, was just one instance where the expectations and demands of others affected how Jones appeared. The day before the reception at Windsor Castle, Lord Glenelg, the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, sent Jones a letter in which he said, “I think you should come in your *english* [sic] dress, but bring your Indian dress with you and I shall then tell you whether to wear it.”⁴² The following day, Glenelg asked Jones if his Indian dress “was like the Highland Scotch dress.” Jones “informed his Lordship that it was not like the Highland dress, but that it was a perfect covering, and that [he] had appeared in it at large promiscuous

39 See caption to fig. 32, Smith, *Sacred Feathers*, n.p. See also Donald B. Smith, “The Historic Peace-Pipe,” *The Beaver* (Summer 1984).

40 W.J. McGee, “Ojibwa Feather Symbolism,” *American Anthropologist* 11.6 (1898): 179.

41 Smith, “Historic Peace-Pipe,” 5.

42 Glenelg to Jones, 13 September 1838, Peter Jones Collection, Box 3, File 9.

Figure 2: David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson. *The Waving Plume*. 1845.
National Portrait Gallery, London.

assemblies.”⁴³ Glenelg left Jones and proceeded to meet with Viscount Melbourne, Victoria’s Prime Minister. Together, Glenelg and Melbourne determined how Jones would appear when meeting the young queen. Their expectations, interpretations of propriety, and diplomatic protocol – rather than Jones’s personal agency – shaped the way Victoria received and perceived him. Though he spoke on behalf of Christian Mississauga land claims, Jones ultimately appeared at Windsor Castle as Kahkewaquonaby – the exotic North American Indian. He did not appear as Peter Jones, the anglicized Methodist missionary and Mississauga chief. Indeed, Jones preferred to appear quite differently than he did that day in 1838.

Hill and Adamson photographed Jones in a fourth pose in 1845 (Figure 3). While he still wears a sash, there are few similarities between this calotype and the three others. Instead of buckskin, he wears European dress – a marker, like his anglicized name, of conversion and salvation. Unlike the other poses, where he stands or sits cross-legged on the floor, Jones assumes a more dignified position in a chair. Rather than the Kahkewaquonaby figure known to the British public and royalty, we see Peter Jones the Mississauga missionary. Jones understood that the Kahkewaquonaby persona attracted audiences, demanded attention, and sold publications; he knew it ultimately helped raise funds for missionary projects in Upper Canada. But he detested “begging” for money and respect in his “odious Indian costume.”⁴⁴ He was a private person and disliked the type of attention he attracted as an exoticized curiosity. On 11 February 1846, the *Manchester Examiner* observed that without his costume Jones could have easily blended into British society: “Dressed in a blue surtout, his waist encircled with a military sash, his appearance is not unlike that of an infantry officer in undress uniform. His general appearance betrays a more Welsh than Indian extraction, and his features are marked by intelligence, firmness, and shrewdness.” Hill and Adamson’s fourth photograph depicts an unassuming, less-than-noticeable Jones. It powerfully demonstrates the differences between Peter Jones, the individual, and Kahkewaquonaby, the public pastiche.

Just as Jones dressed in anglicized clothing might have gone unnoticed, so too might have publications attributed simply to Peter Jones. Kahkewaquonaby – as a name and as a costume – attracted

43 For Jones’s complete account of his audience with Queen Victoria, see *Life and Journals*, 405–8.

44 Peter Jones Letterbook.

Figure 3: David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson. *Rev. Peter Jones*.
Courtesy of George Eastman House, International Museum
of Photography and Film.

attention Peter Jones alone could not. Publications intended to make money, rather than simply circulate among Ojibwe readers in Upper Canada, began using Kahkewaquonaby on title pages in 1831 – just as the British public was beginning to learn Jones’s Ojibwe name. In addition to *The Gospel According to St. John*, which the British and Foreign Bible Society funded, at least three other Jones publications appeared that year in Britain. John Beach of Stockton-on-Tees printed *Report of a Speech Delivered by Kahkewaquonaby, the Indian Chief*; H. Spink of Leeds printed *The Sermon and Speeches of the Rev. Peter Jones, Alias Kah-Ke-Wa-Quon-A-By, the Converted Chief*; and J.V. Hall of Maidstone printed *The Substance of a Sermon, Preached at Ebenezer Chapel, Chatham [...] In Aid of the Home Missionary Society, By Kahkewaquonaby, Chief of the Eagle Tribe of the Chippewa Indians, Upper Canada, known in England as the Rev. Peter Jones*. These three publications differed dramatically from *The Gospel According to St. John*. Unlike the Bible Society’s publication, which did not seek to profit from the Ojibwe translation, the three other titles were sold to raise funds for missionary societies. As fundraisers, these publications needed to appeal as widely as possible to the British market. Whereas some of Jones’s translations do not even mention his name on title pages, these pamphlets unequivocally call attention to the Kahkewaquonaby figure then recently introduced to the British public. The title pages attempted to take advantage of the novelty that surrounded him; missionary societies sought to attract readers and to raise funds through the prominent display of the curious name.

In Upper Canada, the Methodist printing business struggled financially throughout much of the 1830s and 1840s. It operated at a loss and, by 1851, was £4000 in debt.⁴⁵ By 1854, however, the business had grown in scope and ambition, and it had begun to turn a profit. Dana Garrick, whose 2005 dissertation explores the commercial growth of the Printing House, characterized the change between 1851 and 1854: “[Profits] drive business; and in order to stay in business, on a day to day basis, the book committee made the pragmatic decisions that were necessary to promote the interests of [the Methodist printing

45 For a comprehensive history of the Methodist Book and Printing House, see Dana Garrick, “The Impact of Institutional Change on the Methodist Book and Publishing House, 1829-1919,” diss., University of Toronto, 2005. For more on Methodism and Canada’s First Nations, see John Webster Grant, *Moontime of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter since 1534* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984).

business] in a society increasingly ruled by harsh economic realities."⁴⁶ The title page of the Wesleyan Printing Establishment's 1860 Jones publication reflects these economic realities.

Published posthumously in 1860, *The Life and Journals of Kah-ke-wa-quo-na-by: (Rev. Peter Jones,) Wesleyan Missionary* was intended for a much wider market than Jones's translations. The Wesleyan Book Room in Toronto sold *Life and Journals* and advertised it in *A General Catalogue of Books* throughout the 1860s and 1870s. Instead of a distinctly Ojibwe market, *Life and Journals* was a book directed to non-Native readers (Figure 4). The 424-page book represents a more sizeable investment than previous Jones publications. Its title page uses Jones's Ojibwe name in similar ways to the 1831 pamphlets. It boldly emphasizes "KAH-KE-WA-QUO-NA-BY" while it parenthetically references "REV. PETER JONES." Ironically, Jones's anglicized name and role as a missionary, which signified his salvation and attested to the success of Methodist missionaries in Upper Canada, are deemphasized. The title page suggests the influence of the market, with the goal of making money shifting the weight to the Kahkewaquaonaby persona. The book's preface also sentimentalizes Jones's death while capitalizing on his Indian persona: "[There] are few who will peruse the simply-beautiful narrative depicting the closing hours of KAHKEWAQUONABY's devoted, exemplary, and useful life, without a moistened eye, and the inwardly-expressed utterance, 'Let *me* die the death of the righteous, and let *my* last end be like his!'"⁴⁷ Neither the title page nor the preface describe Jones as an Mississauga Ojibwe, instead they depend on the appeal of a more generalized Indian type. Like the photographs of Hill and Adamson, the book's title page presents a hybridized Kahkewaquaonaby. The Printing Establishment evoked a socially constructed persona – which Jones himself openly despised in the text – to sell editions. Here and elsewhere, Jones's authorial identity was shaped by a complex set of social, religious, and economic realities rather than his own personal conception of self.

In 1861, Jones's *History of the Ojebway Indians with Especial Reference to their Conversion to Christianity* appeared in London. Like *Life and Journals*, *History of the Ojebway Indians* includes both "Peter Jones" and "Kahkewaquaonaby" on its title page. Unlike the 1860 publication, however, the title page of *History of the Ojebway Indians* actually downplays "Kahkewaquaonaby" by parenthetically including

⁴⁶ Garrick, 211.

⁴⁷ Preface, *Life and Journals of Kah-ke-wa-quo-na-by: (Rev. Peter Jones,) Wesleyan Missionary*, by Peter Jones (Toronto, 1861), n.p.

Figure 4: Peter Jones. Title Page. *Life and Journals of Kah-ke-wa-quo-na-by: (Rev. Peter Jones,) Wesleyan Missionary.* Toronto, 1860.

it in smaller type than "Peter Jones." While the title page of *Life and Journals* calls prominent attention to "Kahkewaquonaby," it was sold with a lettered binding that does not. The spine reads, "JOURNAL OF REV. PETER JONES." And though *History of the Ojebway Indians* – published by Alfred W. Bennet who published a number of titles about the Americas, European adventurers, and natural history – did downplay "Kahkewaquonaby" on its title page, the book's spine nevertheless calls attention, however subtly, to the exotic: "PETER JONES AND THE OJEBWAY INDIANS."⁴⁸ Both of these publications include frontispiece images of Jones opposite the title pages. In each, Jones appears as he did in Hill and Adamson's fourth calotype – he wears anglicized dress rather than his "odious" costume. With inconsistent peritextual presentations of Jones, the posthumous publications highlight the complex, tenuous, and inconsistent relationship between Peter Jones and Kahkewaquonaby in nineteenth-century print culture. The inclusion of "Kahkewaquonaby" drew attention while the use of "Peter Jones" respected Jones's agency, religious convictions, and personal preferences.

My goal here is not to provide a neat explanation of why some printers and publishers used Peter Jones and others used Kahkewaquonaby. Nor is my goal to explain why some printers and publishers used both names at the same time or on adjacent title pages. Instead my goal is to draw attention to the fact that they did.

To his friends, colleagues, and family, Jones identified as Peter Jones. After his conversion in 1823, Kahkewaquonaby functioned in a complicated way. Title pages, which are the only peritext that survive for *all* of Jones's publications, demonstrate these complexities. Perhaps on title pages intended for Ojibwe readers, "Kahkewaquonaby" symbolically legitimized Jones's translations. At the same time, however, inconsistent spellings raise questions about Jones's personal involvement in those decisions. On title pages intended for a wider audience, "Kahkewaquonaby" could function as an object of thrilling curiosity that reflected nineteenth-century fascinations with Indians and, in turn, attract buyers. That novelty could then be undercut by frontispiece selections.

Recognizing these complexities and understanding how Peter Jones identified himself impact the ways in which we, among other things, approach, discuss, teach, interpret, and catalogue his works.

48 Advertisement of Alfred William Bennett's catalogue, *History of the Ojebway Indians with Especial Reference to their Conversion to Christianity*, by Peter Jones (London, 1861), n.p.

We should not discuss “Peter Jones” because it is likely easier to pronounce and easier to spell for many of us. But we should discuss “Peter Jones” because it shows respect for Jones’s self-representation and for Native self-determination more generally. For other Native writers, the situation might just as likely be reversed. Aware that “Kahkewaquonaby” circulated with many of Jones’s publications, we should still remember it was Peter Jones who translated Scripture, wrote sermons, and kept a journal. What paratextual evidence can highlight is the complexity of Native authorship – especially in the nineteenth century when growing newspaper readerships, photograph circulation, and public appearances could profoundly and problematically shape the public persona and reception of Native writers.

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SOMMAIRE

Le Révérend Peter Jones (de la nation des Ojibwés) fut un pasteur missionnaire méthodiste œuvrant chez les Mississaugas dans le Haut-Canada. Né le premier janvier 1802 près de l’actuelle ville de Hamilton, Ontario, Jones fut éduqué dans la communauté des Mississaugas, celle-là même qui a vu naître sa mère, et baptisé selon le rite méthodiste en 1823. Il devint le premier écrivain autochtone au Canada à tenir un journal et à réaliser les premières traductions en langue sauteuse de l’Écriture sainte. Il voyagea en Angleterre à trois reprises – en 1831, 1838 et 1845 – pour étayer les revendications territoriales alors en cours des Mississaugas, lever des fonds pour les projets missionnaires méthodistes et promouvoir l’établissement de pensionnats dans le Haut-Canada. Il parvint à se faire connaître de plus en plus par le public qui considéra Kahkewaquonaby (le nom ojibwé de Jones) comme une figure de proue dans le monde culturel du dix-neuvième siècle. Cet article veut démontrer les diverses utilisations de Kahkewaquonaby, le nom ojibwé de Peter Jones adopté par Peter Jones. Il appert de façon évidente que les péri-textes, telles que les pages de titre, photographies, etc., peuvent compliquer la façon d’aborder Jones en tant qu’auteur et traducteur de même que ses ouvrages publiés.