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BECOMING CHRISTIAN, REMAINING OJIBEW: THE EMERGENCE OF NATIVE AMERICAN PROTESTANT CHRISTIANITY IN THE GREAT LAKES, 1829-1900

presented by

Chad M. Waucaush

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Ph.D. degree in History

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Major Professor's Signature

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Date

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BECOMING CHRISTIAN, REMAINING OJIBWE: THE EMERGENCE OF NATIVE AMERICAN PROTESTANT CHRISTIANITY IN THE GREAT LAKES, 1820-1900

By

Chad M. Waucaush

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
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in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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ABSTRACT

BECOMING CHRISTIAN, REMAINING OJIBWE: THE EMERGENCE OF NATIVE AMERICAN PROTESTANT CHRISTIANITY IN THE GREAT LAKES, 1820-1900

By

Chad M. Waucaush

During the mid-nineteenth century there developed a trans-regional, multi-ethnic alliance of Native ministers and clergy throughout the Great Lakes. Their evangelistic work reached from Mississauga, Ontario to the White Earth reservation in Minnesota. Many of these Native ministers and missionaries delivered their sermons in the Algonquin language to a kaleidoscopic assembly of Ojibwe, Ottawa, Potawatomi, Canadian, American, French and Métis adherents. Some of the Indian preachers attained international acclaim as speakers, writers, and governmental diplomats. Their ministerial endeavors which included hymn writing and missionary work were vital in establishing a unique indigenous Protestant Christianity amongst Indian communities throughout the Great Lakes. As a result of their labor, by the mid-to-late nineteenth century there emerged several Ojibwe missions and churches comprised of various denominations throughout the Great Lakes region. It is the aim of this work to chart the emergence of the Ojibwe missions in this area and the remarkable ministerial network of indigenous clergy and missionaries which emerged from original missions and established additional mission sites. Given that many of the Christian Ojibwe in Upper Canada and western Great Lakes were Methodists, the work of Methodist Ojibwe missionaries and the development of Methodist Indian missions will be emphasized.

Ojibwe ministers and missionaries employed a variety of cultural techniques to Christianize their communities in the Great Lakes. Christian Indian leaders were uniquely situated to address the oppositional arguments which were contextualized within indigenous cultural, societal, and religious frameworks. In doing so, they offered a gospel that was culturally

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palatable for nineteenth century Ojibwe communities. Christianity was used by the Christian Ojibwe to address the manifold social changes thrust upon their communities due to colonialism and eventually, western industrial expansion. Native missionaries utilized Christianity as a rehabilitative tool to counter the social breakdown which was hastened by contact with non-Indian neighbors. Indigenous Christian leaders proposed theological as well as practical guidance to members of their tribal community as they struggled to maintain their tribal autonomy. However, this guidance increasingly revolved around adopting cultural constructs from white society. This acculturation process sometimes contributed to the social breakdown which Native missionaries were trying to address. Yet, many Christian Ojibwe adapted Christian expression to indigenous cultural practices, thus producing a unique brand of Protestant Christianity which offered a sense of stability, structure, and hope in the face of overwhelming odds. Hopefully this paper will shed some light on that process.

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Part One: Review of the Literature

During the nineteenth century, Ojibwe communities throughout the Great Lakes experienced profound and dramatic transformations. Traditional homelands were ceded away to federal and provincial governments; traditional subsistence patterns were replaced with sedentary, farm based agriculture and by wage labor in lumber camps; while, chronic poverty and alcoholism dramatically transformed daily life and material culture. In addition, religious practices changed as evangelical Protestant missionaries from the Northeast penetrated deep into Indian country. These revivalists, whose hearts were set ablaze by the religious fervor of mid-nineteenth century tent meetings, attempted to spread the message of salvation, redemption, and grace beyond New England's staid congregations.[1] Despite all of the social and economic dislocations, the religious landscape of the Great Lakes proved far less fertile than what the missionaries had been accustomed to in the Northeast. White missionaries struggled to Christianize the Ojibwe of the upper Great Lakes and this dissertation contends that the Ojibwe were effectively brought to Christianity not by the first white Protestant missionaries that entered the region but rather by Native preachers, by Obijwe converts that became missionaries and used the message of Christianity to also revitalize embattled tribal communities in the western Great

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[1] For a description of the fervor at these revival meetings see Whitney Cross, The Burned-over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850 (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1950); John Corrigan, Business of the Heart: Religion and Emotion in the Nineteenth Century (Berkley: University of California Press 2002); Melvin Easterday Dieter, The Holiness Revival of the Nineteenth Century (New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, 1980); James Fraser, Pedagogue for God's Kingdom: Lyman Beecher and the Second Great Awakening (Lanham: University Press of America, 1985); Charles Hambrick-Stowe, Charles G. Finney and the Spirit of American Evangelicalism (Grand Rapids, MI: W. B. Eerdman's Publishing Co., 1996); Keith Hardman, Charles Grandison Finney, 1792 -1875: Revivalist and Reformer (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1987); Marianne Percciante, Calling Down Fire From Heaven: Charles Grandison Finney and Revivalism in Jefferson County, New York, 1800-1840 (Albany: State University Press, 2003). For revivals in the Midwest see Darrel Robertson, The Chicago Revival, 1876: Society and Revivalism in a Nineteenth Century City (New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, 1989). Hymnody was heavily utilized by revivalist and missionaries who visited the Ojibwe. For a description on the role of hymns in revivals and evangelical settings see Tamar Frankiel, Gospel Hymns and Social Religion: The Rhetoric of Nineteenth Century Revivalism (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1978).

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Lakes. Many of these Obijwe missionaries of Lake Superior were not converted by evangelical white preachers but rather, they became Christian at the hands of their Mississauga-Ojibwe relatives from the east, especially from the region around Southern Ontario.[2]

Many of the western Great Lakes missionaries came from the Ojibwe tribes of Southern Ontario, who began their conversion to Christianity in the 1820s when they also began to replace hunting with sedentary agriculture. This transformation primarily occurred under the leadership of Peter Jones, a mixed ancestry Mississauga-Ojibwe who converted to Methodism in 1823. Jones persuaded his Credit River community, near Toronto, to convert to Methodism by 1826 and shortly thereafter, he began to establish Methodist Indian missions throughout Southern Ontario. By the 1830s, Peter Jones, along with several converted Mississauga-Ojibwe travelled to Lake Superior country to evangelize their tribal counterparts.[3]

By the mid-nineteenth century, the evangelical work of these Christian Ojibwe missionaries and ministers, resulted in the growth of a trans-regional, multi-tribal alliance of Native ministers and clergy throughout the Great Lakes. Their ministerial network reached from Mississauga, Ontario to the White Earth reservation in Minnesota. Many of these Native ministers and missionaries delivered their sermons in the Algonquin language to kaleidoscopic assemblies of Ojibwe, Ottawa, Potawatomi, Canadian, American, French, and métis adherents.

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[2] See Peter Schmalz, The Ojibwa of Southern Ontario (Toronto and London: University of Toronto Press, 1991).

[3] For a biography of Peter Jones' life and the Mississauga of Southern Ontario see Donald Smith's Sacred Feathers: The Reverend Peter Jones (Kahkewaquonaby) and the Mississauga Indians (Toronto and London, 1987). For additional history on the role of Protestantism in Southern Ontario see chapter four entitled "Christianity and Civilization" of John Webster Grant's, Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter since 1534 (University of Toronto Press: Toronto and London). Detailed conversions of nineteenth century individual Mississauga can be found in George Copway's Life, Life Letters and Speeches of Kagegagahbowh or George Copway, (Chief of the Ojibwe Nation) (New York: S.W. Benedict, 1850); Peter Jones, History of the Ojebway Indians with Especial Reference to the Conversion to Christianity (London: Houlston and Write, 1867); Elizabeth Graham, From Medicine Man to Missionary: Missionaries as Agents of Change Among the Indians of Southern Ontario (Toronto: Peter Martins Associates, 1975).

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Some of these Indian preachers attained international acclaim as speakers, writers, and governmental diplomats. Their ministerial efforts included traditional endeavors, such as the preaching of sermons and the administration of the sacraments and also extended to hymn writing, the establishment of both Sunday and day schools, and other missionary work that were vital in the establishment of a unique indigenous Protestant Christianity amongst Great Lakes Indian communities. Due to their labors, there emerged several Ojibwe missions of various denominations. It is the intent of this research to examine the emergence of the Ojibwe missions in this area and to demonstrate that it was the exceptional ministerial network of the Indigenous clergy and missionaries which emerged from these early missions and who, through their missionary work, sought to spread Christianity to the West.

Although several Protestant denominations, such as the Baptists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists, were active in the Lake Superior region in the mid-nineteenth century, the Methodists and the Anglicans were the most successful Protestant denominations in converting the Anishinabeg (the term used by the Ojibwe to describe themselves, meaning "original man" or "spontaneous human being") of the Great Lakes.[4] Practically all of the Ojibwe communities in Southern Ontario were influenced by Methodist Indian missionaries. The Episcopal Church also

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[4] See Leroy Johnson, Enmegabowh, A Chippewa Missionary (North Dakota: S.I., 1908); For additional descriptions of Anglican missions among the Ojibwe see Theodore Holcombe, An Apostle in the Wilderness, James Lloyd Breck, D.D. His Missions and His Schools (New York: T. Whitakker, 1903); Melissa Meyer, The White Earth Tragedy: Ethnicity and Dispossession at a Minnesota Anishnaabe Reservation (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994); J.B. Wicks, Domestic Missions, Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America: The Church Work Among the Indians: Letters from the Rev. J. B. White and Others (New York: 188?). For Methodist Indian missions see George Playter, A History of Methodism in Canada: With an Account of the Rise and Progress of God among the Canadian Indian Tribes, and Occassional Notices of the Civil Affairs of the Provinces (Toronto: A. Green, 1867). Walter Schoenfuhs, "The Chippewa Indians in Michigan and the Missions of the Methodists, Presbyterians, and Lutheran Churches, 1840-1855, Thesis. (Washington University, 1963). For an extensive history of the interdenominational American Board of Commisioners for Foreign Missions, see William Boutwell, Diary kept by William Thurston Boutwell, Missionary to the Ojibwa Indians (Minnesota: Minnesota Historical Society, 1925); Stanley Edwards Lanthrop, A Historical Sketch of the "Old Mission" and its Missionaries to the Ojibway Indians, on Madeline Islands, Lake Superior, Wisconsin (Wisconsin: The Author, 1905).

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established a foothold among the Ojibwe of northern Minnesota, largely due to the efforts of the first ordained Native Episcopal priest, John Johnson, following the Sioux uprising or Dakota Wars of 1862. Anglicans became so influential in Minnesota, that several Native Episcopal priests, deacons, and missionaries were ordained and commissioned at White Earth reservation, the Episcopal Church's base for Indian missions in the 1880s. As a result of their effective work in Ojibwe communities, and because so many Indian missionaries, ministers, and priests were Methodists and Anglicans, these two ecclesiastical bodies will be the focus of this work.[5]

The Roman Catholic Church and a number of its missions were intermittently scattered throughout Indian communities in the Great Lakes from the seventeenth-century to the present. Consequently, there is over-three-hundred years of history associated with Catholicism and Indian people. Recently, Catholicism received substantial in-depth analysis from several U.S. and Canadian historians.[6] During the mid-nineteenth century, the Catholic Indian missions in

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5 For additional history of Presbyterian missions among Native Americans see Michael Coleman, Presbyterian Missionary Attitudes toward American Indians, 1837-1893 (Jackson: Jackson University Press, 1985); Ashbel Green, Presbyterian Missions (New York: A.D.F. Randolph and Co., 1893). Presbyterian Historical Society, Guide to the American Indian Correspondence: The Presbyterian Historical Society Collection of Missionary Letters, 1833-1839 (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1978). For Baptist missionary history among the Ojibwe and other Native people see, Abel Bingham and Bingham Family Papers Collection, 1817-1910; Isaac McCoy, History of Baptist Indian Missions: Embracing Remarks on the Former and Present Condition of Aboriginal Tribe: Their Settlement within Indian Territory, and Their Future Prospects (Utica: Bennet Backus and Hawley, 1840). Periodical Account of Baptist Indian Missions within Indian Territory, for the Year Ending Dec. 31st, 1836 (publisher unknown: Wesport, Missouri, 1837) For an extensive history of Lutheran missionary activity among the Ojibwe see, E. R. Baierlein, In the Wilderness with the Red Indians: German Missionary of the Michigan Indians, 1847-1853 (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1996); Charles Luckhand, Faith in the Forest: A True Pioneer of Lutheran Missionaries, Laboring Among the Chippewa Indians in Michigan, 1833-1836 (publisher unknown: Sebewaing, Michigan, 1952). Homer Greenholt, "A Study of William Loehe, His Colonies, and the Lutheran Indian Missions in the Saginaw Valley of Michigan." Diss. (University of Chicago, 1937); William Polack, Bringing Christ to the Ojibways in Michigan: A Story of the Mission Work of G.R. Baierlein (1848-1953) (New York: Ernst Kaufmann, 1927).

6 See Susan Sleeper-Smith, Indian Women and French Men (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001); Allan Greer, Mohawk Saint : Catherine Tekakwitha and the Jesuits (New York : Oxford University Press, 2005); The Jesuit Relations: Natives and Missionaries in Seventeenth-Century North America, ed.

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northern Michigan experienced a revival of sorts under the exhaustive efforts of Bishop Baraga, the "Apostle to the Indians." While there is some similarity between Methodist missionaries and the work of Bishop Baraga, my work is far less concerned with the more formal hierarchical structures that are associated with Roman Catholicism . A detailed analysis between Catholic and Protestant Native Christianity during the mid-nineteenth-century would require a separate work of research, one that is comprehensive and more judicious in its treatment of Catholic Christianity in the Great Lakes.[7]

My research focuses on the role of Indigenous Christian evangelical practices, of how initiates in Christianity tended to follow more emotion-laden means of conversion, especially those practices that resonated with Indigenous religious practices. Unfortunately, the role of Protestant missionaries and churches was long disparaged and associated with governmental collusion, the destruction of tribal societies, and cultural loss. Consequently, much of the older historiography about religious practices often portrayed Christian Indians in a one dimensional role and presented an oversimplification of the complex religious landscape of tribal

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Allan Greer(Boston : Bedford/St. Martin's c2000); Carol Devens, Countering Colonization: Native American Women and Great Lakes Missions, 1630-1900 (Berkeley, Calif. : University of California Press, 1992).

7 No primary source document is more revelatory for the work of the missionaries under the French regime than the 71 volumes of The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents [electronic resource]; (Cleveland: Burrows Bros. Co., 1896-1901). There are also extensive volumes written about the Jesuits, which was the order that primarily served in the Great Lakes, such as John O'Malley, The First Jesuits (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993). More recently, Jean Lacouture, Jesuits: A Multibiography (Washington, D.C.: Counterpoint, 1995). For an extensive history of Catholicism in Michigan, see George Paré, The Catholic Church in Detroit, 1701-1888 (Detroit, Gabriel Richard Press, 1951); Leslie Tentler Woodcock, Seasons of Grace : A History of the Catholic Archdiocese of Detroit (Detroit : Wayne State University Press, c1990). For a more concise biography of the life and missionary work of Frederick Baraga see Catherine Mary Ovnick, The Missionary Activities of Bishop Baraga among the Chippewa and Ottawa Indians (publisher unknown: Cleveland, Ohio, 1949). For Catholic missionary work at the turn of the twentieth century see Father Fred Alban, A Century of Missionary Work among the Red Lake Chippewa Indians, 1858-1958 (Red Lake, Minnesota: St, Mary's Mission, 1958); Anshinabe Enamiad, Zephyrin Engelhardt ed. (Harbor Springs, Michigan: Holy Childhood Indian School, 1912).

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communities. This view depicted Native Christian believers as bit players in the contest between European superpowers or as culturally disingenuous and alienated from their tribal communities. Several seminal works have contributed to this perspective, invariably reducing Indian converts down to unwitting victims of colonization at the hands of overly aggressive missionaries when analyzing religious conversion. In Native and Newcomers, a 2001 publication of a compilation of essays largely written in the 1990s, James Axtell largely attributed conversion of tribal peoples to economic and political factors. According to Axtell, opportunities for material gain at the hands of discerning missionaries or political posturing on behalf of prospective Indian converts in order to garner the favor of the colonial government motivated Indigenous peoples' decisions to convert to Christianity. Such a view neglected the role of Native spirituality in conversion. For Axtell, Native converts such as Sampson Occum, were whitewashed Indians who shed their cultural identities to become white men. According to Axtell, these converts remained in some type of fixed nether world in which they were neither Indian nor white. Contrary to Axtell's assertions, many Native converts remained Indian in their worldviews, social interactions, and spiritual expressions.

George Tinker's Missionary Conquest also perpetuated this view that Native people converted to Christianity at the behest of white missionaries, converts who were viewed as one cog in a colonial wheel which ultimately crushed Indian cultural identity. Tinker believed that Indian people were vulnerable to conversion once they experienced severe cultural and societal disruption, usually the result of colonization and disease. Although it is true that the arrival of missionaries also signified the arrival of governmental and military authorities, Native people still made autonomous decisions to follow Christianity; decisions which were undergirded by substantive spiritual experiences. The conversion experiences of Christian Indians and the

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visions, dreams, and other tribal expression which accompanied conversion receives little if any attention by Tinker.[8]

Ironically, it was James Axtell's earlier work, The Invasion Within, published in 1985 that first signaled a new perspective for understanding the conversion process among Native people. In The Invasion Within Axtell analyzed how the Iroquois and the Algonquin understood Christian teaching and then, raised the issue of what led to successful conversions. Subsequently, several works began to examine more carefully the conversion process. The most impressive scholarship to follow this new direction came with Bruce Trigger's Natives and Newcomers, whose book title was the same as that later published by James Axtell. In his work, Trigger examined Huron religious change but eventually concluded that it was traditional practices that helped the Huron survive both epidemics and first contact. Trigger's work also influenced Daniel Richter when he published his "Iroquois versus Iroquois: Jesuit Missions and Christianity in Village Politics" research. Richter followed some of Trigger's concerns and despite more extensively analyzing the conversion process he continued to argue that conversion stemmed from exterior processes, in this instance, compromised sovereignty.

The more significant shift in the literature about Native Christianity came with John Grant's Moon of Wintertime in which he traced how new orientations toward Christianity arose from conscious breaks with traditional religious practices. Grant made a conscious attempt to show how conversions were voluntary. Grant's work made an especially important contribution to understanding the conversion process in the Great Lakes because he argued that Christianity was a compartmentalized adjunct to Indigenous practice. Most importantly, he examined the contradictions between nativistic and Christian orientations. This emphasis became increasingly

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8 James Axtell, Natives and Newcomers: The Cultural Origins of North America (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001); George E. Tinker, Missionary Conquest: The Gospel and Native American Cultural Genocide (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993).

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important in the Great Lakes, where the prophet's role in pan-Indian rebellion was overshadowed by the military expertise of his brother, Tecumseh, and where the role of nativism would prove central to understanding pan-Indian movements as forerunners of Christianity.[9]

The increased emphasis on the Native conversion process found its first scholarly following among colonial scholars of New England, an area believed to have had Indians disappear soon after contact and one where there was certainly no religious history of Indians. It was William and Cheryl Simmons in Old Light on Separate Ways: The Narragansett Diary of Joseph Fish that first examined a Narragansett praying town from the daily prespective of its missionary leader, Joseph Fish. Two books soon followed that examined missionary practices among other communities, William Simmons's Spirit of the New England Tribes and Neal Salisbury's Manitou and Providence. Simmons examined the Wampanoag, Mashpee, Gay Head, Mohegan, and Narragansett tribes while Salisbury looked at both Algonquian and Iroquian religious change over a more defined early colonial period. Salisbury's book was the more far-reaching and effective because he examined the sociopolitical meanings attached to conversion. Salisbury's work then greatly influenced Jean O'Brien in her discussion of how Native people interpreted Christian beliefs and how they were simultaneously motivated to retain possession of their homelands. O'Brien attached importance to religious conversion and to how such conversion was often influenced by Native preaching.

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9 James Axtell, The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); Bruce G. Trigger, Natives and Newcomers: Canada's "Heroic Age" Reconsidered (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985); John Webster Grant, Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter since 1534 (Toronto; Buffalo : University of Toronto Press, 1984). For an extensive history of religiously inspired navistic movements see, Gregory Dowd, A Spirited Resistance (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992) and Dowd's essay entitled"Thinking and Believing: Nativism and Unity in the Age of Pontiac and Tecumseh," American Indian Quarterly (1992): 309-35.

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Her book, Dispossession By Degree, was published in 1997 and much of what she elaborated on in explaining conversion processes was then incorporated by Dan Richter into his Facing East From Indian Country which examines the conversion narratives of Indian converts at the Native "praying town" of Natick in 1652. He depicts seventeenth-century-eastern-woodland-Indians reciting rehearsed testimonies to Puritanical church authorities in order to convince them that they are worthy of admittance into the Puritan fold. Though Richter does a commendable job of exploring religious expression among Puritan communities, he portrays Native converts as merely spouting Puritanical dogma while they attempt to format their conversion experience to Puritanical standards of acceptability. While intriguing, this analysis offers little insight into the personal experience of the actual converts. The end result reveals very little about the spirituality of the Native believers, other that their adeptness at structuring their testimonies to fit Puritanical guidelines for admission into the church. It is against such publications that this work is undertaken.[10]

Each of these approaches has merit and all of these authors have made invaluable contributions to changing the field of Native religion, however, I hope to bring a more nuanced and detailed analysis in regard to conversion and Christian Indian religious expression in this work. By looking at how Ojibwe leaders embraced Christianity as a rehabilitative tool in order to increase community morale, fight the destructive influences of alcoholism, and to combat

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10 Joseph Fish, Old light on Separate Ways: The Narragansett Diary of Joseph Fish, 1765-1776, William S. Simmons and Cheryl L. Simmons, eds. (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1982); Simmons, William Scranton, Spirit of the New England tribes : Indian history and folklore, 1620-1984 (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1986); Alden Vaughan, New England Frontier: Puritans and Indians, 1620-1675 (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995); Neal Salisbury, Manitou and Providence: Indians, Europeans, and the Making of New England, 1500-1643 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982); Jean M. O'Brien, Dispossession By Degrees: Indian Land and Identity in Natick, Massachusetts, 1650-1790 (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Daniel K. Richter, Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001).

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fraudulent dealings by the government, I hope to unveil a more dynamic and palpable interpretation of how Christianity took root among 19th-century Great Lakes Indian tribes. Also, lacking in some of the aforementioned texts, is a systematic chronology of the development of evangelical religion within a particular region. I hope to demonstrate how Christianity took root in the western Great Lakes and evolved over time through the influence of Ojibwe missionaries and ministers. By covering the following periods I intend to chart the evolution of Protestant affiliation and how Indian ministers were at the forefront of Protestant missionary activity by examining the following time periods: the 1820s and the difficulties of the first Protestant missionaries in Lake Superior country; the 1830s which marks the arrival and emergence of a Native clergy in that region; the 1850s when bands of Lake Superior Ojibwe sought out their own communities in which to live and religious affiliation began to fall upon ethnic lines; and finally in the 1880s and 1890s when the Minnesota-Ojibwe began to ordain Ojibwe priests and deacons as the Episcopal Church took root in Ojibwe communities in northern Minnesota and religious divisions representing Protestant, Catholic, and traditional loyalties became a permanent fixture in tribal communities. As Christianity became established in these communities, the evolution of Christian Indian practice in its myriad forms were underway. I intend to highlight some of these practices and demonstrate how Christian Ojibwe embraced evangelical Christianity and placed their own indigenous brand on it.

The conversion experience of Native believers takes center stage in this paper. A detailed analysis of the religious expressions and worldviews of Native converts before, during, and after conversion will reveal how indigenous peoples forsook, retained, and adapted elements of their culture and tribal outlook to their Christian identity. Focusing on the personal religious experiences of Ojibwe believers will reveal the intense struggles of conscience and conviction that many endured. The examination of the conversion experiences of Christian Ojibwe leaders also unveils the deeply mystical and spiritual aspects of tribal conversion and demonstrates how

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these experiences thrust many on a journey to personal and communal redemption; a fight that often put them at odds with government officials, and at times, their fellow tribal leaders.

There are several ground breaking works which chronicle the emergence of religious movements within embattled Native communities, which provide this more fruitful scholarly approach to understanding the process in the Great Lakes. Most of the recent scholarship on New England, as well as my own, relies on Anthony F. C. Wallace's 1969 publication, The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca. It is this monograph that marks a signature shift in the way historians examined the conversion experience in Native communities. Wallace's psychoanalytical study of the Seneca and the emergence of the religion of Handsome Lake among the Iroquois in the early-nineteenth century illustrates how Iroquoian peoples responded to endemic poverty, alcoholism, and the loss of land. The religion of Handsome Lake, with its condemnation of witchcraft, alcohol, abortion medicine, and materialism provided a spiritual salve to the devastating cultural fragmentation that had occurred in Seneca society. Interestingly, Handsome Lake's religion incorporated aspects of Christian expression such as repentance, confession, preaching, and personal testimony. Handsome Lake even relies on the testimony of Jesus whom he encounters during a vision or "sky journey" and tells Handsome Lake that the Seneca people will "become lost if they follow the ways of the white man."[11] Although Wallace's text deals with a non-Christian religion, it reveals the spiritual innovation at work within Indian communities when encountering times of cultural and economic flux. Like the Seneca of New York, many Ojibwe in the western Great Lakes attached themselves to a similar form of religious experience through evangelical Christianity, because it provided stability, inspiration, and understanding during similar instances of tremendous social change.

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11 Anthony F.C. Wallace, The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca (New York: Random House Inc., 1969), 244.

Anthony Wallace built his rebirth of the Seneca around a visionary leader and in the Great Lakes, this same type of leadership is crucial to understanding the conversion experience. Wallace published The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca in 1969 and it was over fifteen years before historians began to hear his plea to stop seeing tribal communities as remaining static and unresponsive to the decline occurring in their communities. R. David Edmunds was one of the first historians to follow Wallace's historiographical direction and in 1985, he published The Shawnee Prophet. Edmunds examines the Shawnee people and suggests that disease, destabilizing social change, and the loss of lands led to cultural disintegration, especially the rise of alcoholism and the fear of witches. Like Handsome Lake, Tenskwatawa responded to these events with visions that linked nativist teachings. He not only prohibited interaction with whites but urged the acceptance of a variety of European ideas: monogamy, temperance, and the renunciation of shamanism.

Like Handsome Lake, the Shawnee prophet, Tenskwatawa, received apocalyptical messages while in a state of personal degradation. After experiencing a supernatural vision, Teskwatawa began to espouse a message of tribal nativism which promoted abstinence from alcohol, a disuse of material items obtained from white traders, and prohibition of intermarriage between Indians and whites. In Tecumseh and the Quest for Indian Leadership, R. David Edmunds also depicts how the tribes of the Ohio River valley dealt with a multitude of issues including white encroachment on tribal land, shifting Indian frameworks of identity, and the new religious movements which incorporated both aspects of Christianity and traditional tribal spirituality. Though Tecumseh utilized Tenskwatawa's religious message to promote a pan-Indian movement, the central "doctrine" of the Shawnee prophet's message illustrates how Indian

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peoples utilized new belief systems to help navigate amidst rapidly changing environmental circumstances.[12]

William McLoughlin's compilation of essays entitled The Cherokees and Christianity, 1794-1870 was the first significant work about religion that followed in the direction suggested by Wallace and Edmunds. Published in 1994, a decade after Edmunds work on the Shawnee, again examines the conversion experience from an Indigenous perspective. Of central importance in Cherokees and Christianity is the way in which the Cherokees utilized Christianity as means to empower their communities against white domination. The Cherokees drew inspiration from biblical stories of creation and deliverance to help them adapt to relocation and acculturation. They applied biblical stories such as the exodus of the Jews from Egypt to their own circumstances in order to make sense of the physical dislocation and cultural loss experienced by them at the hands of whites.

According to Cherokee interpretation of Christian dogma, the Creator made the first "Adam" an Indian, and bestowed character traits such as humility, love, respect, and ability to endure privation on the first "Red man." The white man was less moral, however, and was given by the Creator the knowledge of the "arts" and the ability to create things. This mechanical knowledge was contained in the Bible which the Creator gave to the white man. The Cherokees used the gospel as a tool of community empowerment and interpreted biblical stories in a way that situates them as morally superior to whites. Like the Cherokees, nineteenth century Great Lakes Ojibwe also saw much of themselves in Protestant Christian teachings, but strained to see the precepts of the Bible being practiced by their white neighbors. Many Ojibwe who were open

12 R. David Edmunds, The Shawnee Prophet (Lincoln, Neb. : University of Nebraska Press, 1985); R. David Edmunds, Tecumseh and the Quest for Indian Leadership (Boston: Little, Brown, 1984).

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to Christianity wondered why the whites, given the biblical knowledge which they possessed, hadn't made more advancement in morality and religion.[13]

The 1990s was the most fruitful period of research for historians working on religious leadership among Native communities in the Great Lakes. Much of the recent literature has focused on extending Edmund's scholarship on Tenskwatawa to an understanding of how similar circumstances gave rise to other Indian leaders that also blended nativism and Christianity. Melburn Thurman in "The Shawnee Prophet's Movement and the Origins of the Prophet Dance" contends that there was a continuity between the teachings of Tenskwatawa and religious change in the American-Canadian Plateau region. Thurman analyzes an 1813 movement among the Subartic Athapaskan or Chipeway to show how the Shawnee Prophet's teachings were introduced into those communities by an immigrant Ojibwe. In "Kenekuk the Kickapoo Prophet" Joseph Herring examines another religious leader and attempts to show how this man acted as a prophet through combining Christian doctrine with a selective retention of Indigenous concepts. Kenekuk advocated social accommodation to the majority society, welcomed missionaries but then resisted them after their arrival.[14]

Another invaluable approach to understanding the conversion process in the tribal community, as part of a newly evolving leadership process, is Janet Chute's The Legacy of Shingwaukonse: A Century of Native Leadership. This important monograph, published in 1998, has received minimal scholarly attention, and examines the life of Little Pine of Shingwakounse,

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13 William G. McLoughlin, The Cherokees and Christianity, 1794-1870: Essays on Acculturation and Cultural Persistence, ed., Walter H. Conser, Jr. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994). Also see, William Gerald McLoughlin, Cherokees and Christianity, 1794-1870 : Essays on Acculturation and Cultural Persistence (Athens : University of Georgia Press, 1994); William Gerald McLoughlin, Cherokees and Missionaries, 1789-1839 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984).

14 Melburn Thurman, "The Shawnee Prophet's Movement and the Origins of the Prophet," Current Anthropology (1984), 25(4), 530-31; Joseph B. Herring, "Kenekuk, the Kickapoo Prophet: Acculturation Without Assimilation," American Indian Quarterly (1985), 8(1): 37-39.

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an Ojibwe chief of the Garden River Ojibwe, near Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario during the mid-nineteenth century. Chute demonstrates how Shinwaukounse utilized white missionary teachings to help his people and simultaneously, battled with those missionaries for control of his tribal community and triumphed. Of critical importance is Chute's examination of Ojibwe spiritual expressions as they occurred within the practice of Christianity in the reserve's Anglican Church. For a portion of the Garden River community traditional indigenous religion failed them as they struggled to maintain economic, political, and religious leverage in the face of rapid cultural change and this led them to Christianity.[15]

The last ten to twenty years has witnessed a growing body of literature which explores the uses that Great Lakes tribal communities made of Protestant Christianity and often focuses on issues of identity and on Christian Native practice. Michael McNally's work on hymnal translations in Ojibwe Singers provides invaluable insight into the use of hymns as a traditional model of religious expression among the Ojibwe of the White Earth reservation in Minnesota. His study of the translation of hymns and of the subsequent understanding of Native American singers of the elemental concepts of the Christian faith is critical in gaining insight into Indigenous comprehension and facility with Protestant theology. Ojibwe Singers has opened the door for further inquiry about the use of Christianity among Indians of the Great Lakes. Another author, James Treat, explores the formation of Christian Indian identity in North America and charts the long and complicated relationship between Christianity and Native Americans in his compilation of essays written by Indian authors entitled Native and Christian. [16]

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15 Janet E. Chute, The Legacy of Shingwaukonse: A Century of Native Leadership (Toronto, Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1998).

16 Michael D. McNally, Ojibwe Singers: Hymns, Grief, and A Native Culture in Motion (Oxford ; New York : Oxford University Press, 2000); James Treat. ed., Native and Christian: Indigenous Voices on Religious Identity in the United States and Canada (New York : Routledge, 1996); For more elaborate description of Native American Christian practice and its growing role in historical scholarship see Michael D. McNally, "The Practice of Native American Christianity." Vol. 69, No. 4, Church History (2000): 834-859.

More recently, Susan Elaine Gray examined the experiences of Ojibwa missionaries in I Will Fear No Evil: Ojibwa Missionary Encounters Along the Berens River, 1875-1940. Gray focuses on the Ojibwe of the Berens River, located in the Lake Winnipeg area of Manitoba, Canada. Her approach to Ojibwe-missionary interaction has implications for the relationships between missionaries and Anishinabeg throughout the Great Lakes. When considering recent scholarship about Native-missionary relationships, Gray asserts, "The best new writing recognizes that native perspectives are crucial to a full understanding of mission history." She goes on to argue that, "Many outside ideas, once thought to have been forced on unwitting native victims, were actually filtered and moulded to fit native cultures and native frameworks. An understanding of these processes comes only from studying individual native communities and missions with as open mind as possible." It is from this perspective that I hope to situate the present narrative. Native people were active participants in conversion, adherence, and adoption of Christianity. They negotiated theological frameworks on their own terms and adapted Christian modalities of worship to indigenous cultural expressions. Native people acted autonomously when responding to the message of missionaries, routinely rejecting, embracing, or incorporating Christianity into syncretic modes of belief and expression.[17]

Finally, the last part of my dissertation draws on the ways in which the missionary work done in the Great Lakes, expanded westward to incorporate areas in Minnesota and the Great Plains. What becomes apparent in much of this work is the limitation of missionization as an instrument of direct acculturation. Much of the recent work focuses on how tribal communities creatively redefined Christianity. Martin Zander in "Straight Tongue's Heathen Words: Bishop Whipple and the Episcopal Mission to the Chippewas" demonstrates the ways in which missionary work was limited and suggests how places like White Earth were able to creatively

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17 Susan E. Gray, I Will Fear No Evil: Ojibway-Missionary Encounters Along the Berens River, 1875-1940 (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2006), xvii.

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Such works demonstrate the innovation taking place in Native American communities under the influence of tribal leaders. Native Americans began borrowing different viewpoints which they learned from missionaries or from their white neighbors. Once they acquired these views, tribal leaders adopted them to traditional religious frameworks in order to help the Ojibwe understand why their communities were experiencing such misfortune. Yet this adoption process occurred within a uniquely tribal context. In times of combat, disease, and famine religious leaders would often fast and pray for spiritual solutions and favor. The Ojibwe took elements of Christian theology and began applying it to indigenous worldview. When Ojibwe Christian ministers emerged, many Ojibwe communities had already been in the process of adapting to various extents, information and misinformation, as they had acquired it through missionaries or Christianized relatives.

Although the Ojibwe acquired notions of evangelic theology, mass conversions and coherent doctrines did not evolve in Ojibwe communities until the emergence of a Native clergy who were able to dispel misnomers about Christianity and address tribal religious practices which were not congruent with Christian theology. These Christian Ojibwe ministers were also able to interpret tribal practices which some white church leaders considered against the grain of

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18 Martin Zander, "Straight Tongue's Heathen Words: Bishop Whipple and Episcopal Mission to the Chippewas," In Churchmen and the Western Indians, 1820-1920, ed. C. Milner and F. O'Neil (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press), 177-214; Vine Deloria, Jr., Singing for A Spirit : A Portrait of the Dakota Sioux (Santa Fe, N.M.: Clear Light Publishers, 1999); Rebecca Kugel, To be the Main Leaders of Our People : A History of Minnesota Ojibwe Politics, 1825-1898 (East Lansing, Mich.: Michigan State University Press, 1998).

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accepted Christian expression or even pagan in nature. The above texts illustrate how Christian ministers and priests replaced the roles of traditional religious leaders in tribal communities. They also demonstrate how Ojibwe ministers drew upon a pattern of religious adaptation to help them spread the message of salvation in tribal communities. Finally, these works depict tribal leaders spreading the message of Christianity and Native people practicing their faith with minimal intrusion from white ministers.

Part Two: Christian Conversion

Ojibwe reactions to Christianity were many and varied. My research will demonstrate that along the northern rim of Great Lakes lands, and especially along the Lake Superior and Ontario shorelines, Indian people converted the most enthusiastically to Methodism. Its missionaries would prove the most effective and while negative and favorable responses to Christianity were also influenced by personal convictions, it was the historical context in which these missionary encounters took place and the sympathetic parallels to traditional religious practices that proved the most decisive factors in the conversion process. Yet, despite the success of Methodist preaching, conversion was far from uniform. Some Native people experienced heartfelt conversions which led to an abandonment of traditional religious views. Others saw membership in the church or adherence to Christianity as the best way to procure support from the government and ensure their collective survival in a rapidly changing society. Many who adhered to traditional religious frameworks and cultural identity equated Christianity as a means employed by the government to strip them of their Indian identity and transform them into white people. Native people also experienced all three responses; they periodically rejected, embraced,

or nominally adhered to Christianity throughout their lives. This research does not relegate Native people into fixed boundaries and patterns of behavior by attributing their motivations for conversions to strictly economic or political means. There were tangible benefits to becoming Christian which embraced both a collective spirituality and individual Ojibwe identity that cannot be overlooked.

The traditional Anishinabeg worldview was governed by a spiritual world where spirits inhabited all of creation. By following traditional religious practices individuals could influence how these spirits responded through such intercessionary devices as intense acts of praying, singing, and fasting. Each person had the ability to directly invoke experiences with the supernatural and thus could influence the outcome. This spiritual orientation must be considered when we examine nineteenth-century reactions to Protestant Christianity. Susan Elaine Gray asserts that, "The careful tracing of individual native perspectives and responses over generations can help place indigenous perspectives at center stage among the other voices that have too long dominated these conversations."[19] By examining Native-to-Native interactions in regard to Christianity we gain insight into the way in which Indian people thought, conveyed, processed, and interpreted western concepts in purely indigenous frameworks.

It is the journals and writings of Native missionaries that reflect the more obvious motivations for becoming Christian and elucidates a wide array of responses that are uniquely indigenous. These types of responses are not generally described in most white missionary accounts. The majority of interactions among Native missionaries and the Ojibwe people occured at Native encampments, at sugar camps, annuity payment sites, and even, in Ojibwe homes. It was in these settings that spiritual ideas and convictions were exchanged and processed. Ojibwe missionaries also shared their message of faith at tribal assemblies where the community respectfully listed and articulated their reasons of why the Indian missionary's message should be

[19] Grey, xvii.

either accepted or repudiated. Whether the Ojibwe were Catholic, Protestant, or of a traditional orientation, they embraced one another as Anishinabeg first, and then listened to the respective views that each brought to the interaction.

By examining the records left by Native missionaries who visited the Ojibwe in their homes, encampments, and tribal councils we give agency to both parties as participants who actively shaped the destinies of their communities. This approach amplifies the tribal voice which often played a secondary role in the reports of white missionaries. Accounts left by Native ministers and missionaries provide insight into the tremendous array of problems which besieged nineteenth-century Ojibwe communities. Fighting to stay in tribal homelands; resisting relocation; adapting to reservation life; surviving in a new market economy; transitioning to sedentary agriculture; making sense of a capitalist and property oriented society; keeping government officials accountable; resisting the dubious intentions of whiskey peddlers, entrepreneurs, and land speculators looking to exploit tribes, were all part of the terrain that Native clergy and missionaries had to negotiate while teaching and ministering in tribal communities.

Christianity was used as a means for individual spiritual fulfillment and as a restorative tool for community revitalization. A close investigation of the early texts written by nineteenth-century white missionaries about the lives and work of Indian missionaries demonstrates how missions to Indian communities were bolstered by the addition of Indian missionaries. Primary sources include journals and logs left by Ojibwe missionaries. Peter Jones' missionary log or diary spans thirty-three years and describes several important historical processes including his own conversion experience, establishing and maintaining Indian missions throughout Southern Ontario, cultural bias from whites, and religious and cultural arguments employed by Ojibwe resistant to Christianity. A similar journal written by another Mississauga missionary Peter Jacobs (a convert of Jones) chronicles his experience as a missionary to the Ojibwe of Manitoba,

Canada. Jacobs identifies cultural obstacles which he and hundreds of other Ojibwe faced when presented with the gospel of Christ. He mentions how he was under the false impression that God did not hear his prayers because they were not spoken in English, and several other notions of racial inferiority which he acquired from the white community and subsequently internalized.

Also letters such as those exchanged between white and Ojibwe missionaries reveals the obstacles and difficulties which non-Native missionaries faced when attempting to establish missions in the Great Lakes. In these letters missionaries frequently cited language and cultural barriers along with a general unfamiliarity with Ojibwe worldview as hampering their efforts. Missionaries also identified a lack of trust demonstrated toward them on behalf of the Ojibwe which impeded their ability to persuade them to adopt evangelical Christianity. These letters are intriguing because they represent first- hand accounts of the techniques, methodologies, and approaches employed by both Indian and white missionaries. Such writings demonstrate just how critical the presence of a Native clergy was to Ojibwe communities who were reluctant to embrace white missionaries or where the cultural distances separating the two groups proved to be too large of an obstacle for effective evangelization.

Examining early missionary writing brings to the surface some of the latent prejudice which affected relationships and handicapped the work of white missionaries among Indian people. These writings provide insight into the cultural and political differences between the Anishinabeg and white missionaries which often led to the abandonment of missionary outposts. Finally, examining the letters, journals and published texts of Native missionaries who lived among and served Ojibwe communities reveals how Indian clergy and missionaries reacted to the dilemmas faced by their respective peoples. These writings also show Christian Indian leaders in the role of cultural intermediaries and international diplomats that represented their tribe's interests at home and abroad. Such documents demonstrate the crucial role that Native leaders played in securing land and political rights on behalf of their community.

Conversion narratives are also closely scrutinized in this research. A close examination of conversion narratives reveals the powerful and heartfelt change that many Native converts experienced and describes in astonishing detail the profound emotional experiences of these converts, offering the scholar insight into the psychological and spiritual make up of nineteenth-century Ojibwe believers. The depiction of visions, dreams, fastings, prayers, and the intensely personal nature of nineteenth-century evangelical Christianity illustrates the parallels between religious frameworks of traditional Ojibwe ideology and Christian practice. Equally insightful are the journal accounts of such Indian missionaries as Peter Jones, George Copway, Peter Marksman, Peter Jacobs, and John Johnson. These journals and early publications provide excellent primary material for analyzing missionary trips, tent meetings, personal revelations, episodic confrontations, evangelistic efforts, and offer an in-depth look into the suffering and impoverishment of many Ojibwe communities caught between traditional subsistence living and dependency on white material culture.

These sources demonstrate the interconnectedness of Great Lakes Indian communities and are suggestive of a network of Ojibwe missionaries that worked within a circuit of common mission sites. Such records also reveal how Indian missionaries frequently worked independent of ecclesiastical authority or denominational affiliation; they labored in remote areas of the Great Lakes where white missionaries seldom traveled. Journal accounts describe Ojibwe missionaries preaching in Algonquin to mostly Indian congregations who gathered in traditionally constructed lodges. What becomes evident in this research is the cultural compatability of Ojibwe missionaries and the Christian gospel.

Certain Ojibwe preachers such as George Copway and Peter Jones attained international prominence, Jones as a governmental diplomat and minister, and Copway as a circuit lecturer. A study of their published works, journals, and writings reveals the composite issues that concerned

nineteenth-century Ojibwe. These writers formed an Indian intelligencia that was politically active and sought to make their voices heard in white society. Their correspondence to missionary societies and "church fathers" also suggests the racism and the less than favorable treatment that Indian preachers experienced while working with non-Native missionary boards and sponsors. By identifying these types of issues I hope to provide an explanation for the positive reception that many of these leaders from their tribal communities.

Of all the missionary societies which backed Christian Indian missions, no other religious group had a greater impact than the Methodists. Peter Jones relied on Methodist teachings to literally transform his own as well as other Ojibwe communities in Southern Ontario into sedentary Christian settlements. It is perhaps an ironic twist of missionary fate that John Wesley came to Georgia in the mid 1730s as a missionary to Georgia's Native peoples, the Cherokee and the Creek. While in Georgia, Wesley developed several "Methodist" practices which would eventually form some of the central beliefs and structures of Methodism. The first Methodist hymn book was published in Georgia in 1737 and Methodist expressions such as spontaneous prayer and preaching, along with the utilization of lay believers for ministry, occurred first in Georgia. According to Frank Bakker, author of From Wesley to Ashbury: Studies in Early American Methodism, John Wesley, while in Georgia, formed separate societies, in addition to church worship, that centered on prayer, singing, and fellowship.[20] While Wesley had little impact on local Native communities, it is evident that many of these religious practices that were to form the backbone of Methodism in London, had their beginnings on the American frontier. Because such worshipful expressions already existed in Native culture, Methodist missionaries became some of the most influential missionaries to Native peoples in the Great Lakes.

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[20] Frank Bakker, From Wesley to Ashbury: Studies in Early American Methodism (Durham: Duke University Press, 1976), 10.

Prospective Ojibwe converts would have found many aspects of frontier Methodism appealing. Methodist services were informal affairs which centered on hymn singing and the preached word. Classes were conducted and "love feasts" or testimony services allowed participants to share spiritual experiences and discuss personal revelations from their spiritual lives with other believers. The egalitarianism of Methodism would have been immensely attractive to the Ojibwe. Outdoor camp meetings which welcomed all races and ethnicities were often the scene of expressive worship. Believers routinely shouted praise, danced, ran, and even fell to the ground in states of suspended spiritual bliss.

These activities were familiar to those Ojibwe that attended the tent revival meetings. Prospective Ojibwe converts saw parallel manifestations of spirituality in their own ceremonial activities. Laymen could become Methodist exhorters through faithfulness, spiritual growth, and facility with Protestant theology. Educational requirements for preachers were minimal. Typically a sound conversion experience, a pattern of good works, a gift to preach, understanding of the Bible, and familiarity with the sermons of John Wesley were all that was needed to obtain a license to preach. There were no seminary degrees, fluency in foreign languages, or lengthy ordination process to become a leader in the Methodist Church, as often existed in other denominations. These informal criteria encouraged Native people to assume leadership positions in the Methodist Church. Methodism became the religion of the American frontier because of its informality, egalitarianism, and leadership opportunities and because of its minimal education requirements. The same traits made it equally appealing to Native people. There were three main Methodist bodies which raised funds for and supervised the work of missionaries in the Great Lakes. The Illinois and Detroit Conference oversaw missionary work in the American Great Lakes and the Canadian Conference of Methodists managed the Methodist missions of Upper Canada or Southern Ontario.

Both Native and non-Native Methodist missionaries experienced mistreatment at the hands of Canadian provincial officials, most of whom, were members of the Church of England and harbored suspicious feelings toward Methodism. Although Canadian Conference of Methodists separated from its American counterpart in 1794, authorities in Canada looked at the activities of the Indian and white Methodists in Upper Canada with mistrust. To these officials, Methodism came from the United States and its strains of republicanism stood in contrast to the hierarchical nature of the Church of England.

While John Wesley, the father of modern Methodism, initially endeavored to bring reform to the Church of England or the Anglican Church it was the highly expressive nature of Methodist meetings that became an affront to the ceremonial and solemn religious assemblies of the British Empire. Anglican clergymen who opposed Wesley forced him out of the Church of England and Wesley resorted to preaching in barns, houses, fields, and in the country side. As a result of its populist originations, Methodist services evolved into informal affairs that appealed to the poor and working classes. The spontaneous and expressive nature of church worship combined with a strict adherence to good works practiced outside of the church would have appealed to Ojibwe society.

In multiple ways, this "spontaneous and expressive" nature of Methodism bore similarity to Ojibwe religious practices. For the Ojibwe, religious expression revolved around a universal relationship with all of creation. The Creator, "Kitchi Manitou," was a distant spirit who did not get personally involved with the affairs of man. Instead, spirits which animated the natural world were to be appeased, communed with, and sought after for protection and healing. During pre-adolescence, Ojibwe youths were encouraged to fast and pray in order to make contact with the spirit world in order to receive a vision which would reveal their gifts and chart their destinies. The information revealed during such fasts was then relied on for the duration of the individual's

life. Any time he/she or the community was in jeopardy, one's "medicine" could be utilized or relied on to bring help or understanding.

Though ceremonial behavior conformed to a communal set of standards, the prayers, visions, or dreams of participants were highly individualized and fit within the life circumstances of the individual. If one was seeking purification, they would pray during a sweatlodge ceremony for themselves while in the midst of other supplicants. Sin, in the biblical sense, was not something to be cleansed of or avoided. Maintaining a balance with the natural world and seeking a relationship with the spirits which animated the natural universe governed Ojibwe worldview. In Ojibwe culture, the secular and the spiritual blurred and held no distinction as in European culture. Though there were individuals who had reputations for medical knowledge and spiritual power, all Ojibwe were expected to maintain balance with the supernatural world and live in accordance with their visions revealed to them during fasts. Regardless of one's respective calling, Ojibwe worldview dictated strict obedience to instructions from the spirit world when revealed in visions or dreams. Spirit helpers were numerous and could be absorbed into a continuously evolving framework of human-spirit relationships.[21]

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[21] For further descriptions of Ojibwe and other eastern woodland peoples' spirituality see Elisabeth Tooker ed., Native American Spirituality of the Eastern Woodlands: Sacred Myths, Dreams, Visions, Speeches, Healing, Formulas, Rituals and Ceremonies (New York: Paulist Press, 1979); John Grim, The Shaman: Patterns of Siberian Ojibway Healing (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983); Michael Angel, Preserving the Sacred: Historical Perspectives on the Ojibwa Midewiwin (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2002);Christopher Vecsey, Traditional Ojibwa Religion and Its Historical Changes (Philadelphia: American Philosophy Society, 1983); Christopher Vescey, Belief and Worship in Native North America (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1981); Ruth Landes, Ojibwa Religion and Midewiwin (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968); Basil Johnston, Honour the Earth Mother (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004); Basil Johnston,The Manitous: The Spiritual World of the Ojibway (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1995); Basil Johnston, Ojibway Ceremonies (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982); M. Inez Hilger, Chippewa Child Life and Its Cultural Background (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press [1951], 1992); Frances Densmore, Chippewa Customs (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, [1929] 1979).

The notion of a heavenly afterlife where believers would spend eternity with God as outlined in the Christian tradition did not exist in Ojibwe culture in the same way as it did in Anglo culture. For the Native people of the Great Lakes there existed a vague notion of an afterlife. Most elders told of a place in the west where all Indians would go after their death; in this place they could hunt, fish, dance and replicate much of the same behavior of their former life. There were no criteria for being admitted into this "hunting ground" and how one came to live in such a state was not known. Rather than prepare for an afterlife, the Ojibwe emphasized spiritual fulfillment in daily life. Procuring favor from good spirits and appeasing evil spirits to ensure health, abundant game, successful harvests, victory in war, and overall well being formed Ojibwe "theology" and worldview. Sacrifices of tobacco, cloth, or any other item of value was made to certain spirits to gain their favor. Ceremonies were conducted to restore balance to one's life and make contact with the spirit world to gain insight about future events and causes of natural disasters and personal crisis. Witchcraft or "bad medicine" was practiced and many diseases and individual and collective misfortunes were attributed to the action of witches. However, the same belief in witches occurred in European culture and in the American colonies; although witches were not usually punished or killed in Ojibwe society.

If one was suspected that they had been "bewitched" or had bad medicine worked on them, they either retaliated by working their own medicine or if unable, visited someone who was known for holding spiritual power in order to stop the bewitching. Maintaining balance with the natural universe, appeasing and procuring favor from spirits, obtaining spiritual power, and avoiding being bewitched comprised the "theology" of Ojibwe spirituality and to a great extent molded Ojibwe worldview. An individual Ojibwe continually looked for spiritual experiences or sought to gain different types of medicine to give them greater success in natural endeavors. If one's medicine was not strong enough to accomplish a certain task, than a higher and more powerful spirit which ensured success, was sought.

The highly fluid nature of Ojibwe spirituality partially accounted for the process through which many Anishinabeg adapted and incorporated Christ and Christian precepts into preexisting religious frameworks, without changing the nature of Indigenous spirituality. Early Jesuits were sometimes mystified at how quickly Christ became a central figure in indigenous worship. Jesuits noticed with alarm, that although many Ojibwe inducted Christ into their pantheon of religious worship, their acknowledgement or obedience to other spirits continued. In other words, many Ojibwe simply absorbed Christ and Mary and other saints within Catholicism into their persisting framework of spirit helpers. Many Jesuit missionaries expected to see an abandonment of previous beliefs systems, yet for Indigenous believers, such incorporation of spirit helpers fit perfectly within their religious worldview. Eventually, manyJesuits realized what happened and they pushed for a conversion of their proselytes that included an abandonment of non-Christian based spirit worship.

Catholic approaches toward conversion were much more formulaic. Unlike many Protestant missionaries Jesuits were wise enough not to challenge the societal constructs of Ojibwe culture and were content with altering Anishinabe spirituality. Through diplomacy, cultural sensitivity, and tolerance the Jesuits soon achieved a degree of credibility which nineteenth century evangelical missionaries rarely attained. Catholic priests created ingenious methods of conveying Christian theology and doctrine to tribal peoples. They carved images of the crucifixion on pieces of wood which could be pieced together and placed in a frame. The use of bells, incense, chanting, and statues of patron saints paralleled tribal ceremonies and resonated with Native people. The Jesuits also studied Ojibwe culture to capitalize on similarities between Catholicism and traditional Ojibwe religious practice. Eventually, they would win several Ojibwe to the Catholic faith due to the parallels that many Anishinabeg saw between Catholic ritual and their own indigenous ceremonial expressions.

The Jesuits left a lengthy record of their interactions with the Anishinabeg during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The first interaction between the French and the Ojibwe probably occurred during the early seventeenth century. Typically Jesuit missionaries followed the exploration of French voyageurs and trappers to Indian villages where they established Catholic missions. The French trader, Etienne Brule, an employee of Samuel de Champlain, arrived in Sault Ste. Marie as early as 1622. Jesuits visited the area in the 1640s and a Catholic mission was established at Sault Ste. Marie permanently in 1668. As the French and the Ojibwe became reliable trading (and eventually marriage) partners, their exposure to Jesuit Catholicism increased. At first the Anishinabeg viewed Jesuits or "Blackrobes" with suspicion due to their celibacy and religious ways. However as the Jesuits remained in Ojibwe communities their exoticism wore off and their message was received more readily by Ojibwe inhabitants.

As the relationship between the two groups matured, the influence of Jesuits missionaries increased. During the seventeenth century Catholic missions were established in several areas throughout Michigan including Sault Ste. Marie in 1668, on Mackinac Island in 1670, and St. Ignace in 1671. A mission was also established at L'abre Croche, near Little Traverse Bay, in northwest Lower Michigan in the eighteenth century. Jesuit missionaries such as Father DuJaunay, Father Jacques Marquette, Father Claude Deblon, Father Isaac Jogues, and Father Claude Allouez promoted Catholicism and established Catholic missions throughout the Great Lakes. They were often charged with the task of mapping lakes, shore lines, and water routes for the French crown. In many instances they were the first government officials to visit tribal communities and map out new sections of North America. The Jesuits normally followed the French fur traders and established missions where Native people frequently trafficked. Many Ojibwe visited these missions while trading pelts with local French traders. Less frequently, Catholic priests would visit Native settlements and proselytize there. The Jesuit missionary presence declined in the eighteenth century as their order was dissolved. Though some Catholic

missions remained extant and were led by lay Catholic Indians. Most Catholic efforts of conversion among Native people in the Great Lakes almost disappeared entirely until the mid-nineteenth century.

In the nineteenth century, the "snow shoe" priest, Bishop Frederick Baraga, became well known for travelling long distances on snowshoe to win converts in Anishinabe villages in northern Michigan. Baraga revived many defunct missionary stations at places such as L'Anse, L'Abre Croche or "*Wawgawnawkezee*" and Beaver Island.[22] Baraga was a student of the Ojibwe language and he produced a dictionary entitled A Dictionary of the Otchipwe Language for other Catholic missionaries and the general public in the 1850s.[23] Though many Anishinabeg had gone without seeing a Catholic priest for a number of years, many remembered attending a Catholic service or praying with a Catholic priest at least once in their life time. Many Native Catholics went several years without the benefit of priestly visits and, as a result, Indigenous ceremonies were practiced alongside Catholic rituals and a "folk" Catholicism developed throughout many Ojibwe communities in the Great Lakes. By the time Protestant missionaries arrived in the western Great Lakes in the 1820s, the Ojibwe were familiar with Christianity, albeit Catholic Christianity.

Ernst Cloeter, a Lutheran missionary who labored in northern Minnesota in the 1850s commented on Ojibwe familiarity with Christianity and observed, "In reference to Christianity, the local Indians can in no way be called virgin soil...but for centuries they have been acquainted

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[22] James M. McClurken, Gah-Baeh-Jhagwah-Buk: The Way It Happened: A Visual Culture of the History of the Little Traverse Bay Bands of Odawa (E. Lansing: Michigan State University Museum), 19.

[23] Frederick Baraga, A Dictionary of the Otchipwe Language (Cincinnati: Hermann, 1853). For additional biographical information on Baraga and his interaction with the Chippewa see Maksimilijan Jezernik's Frederick Baraga: A portrait of the first Bishop of Marquette based on the archives of the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide (New York and Washington, 1967); Joseph Gregorich's Bishop Baraga Collection (New York, 1954).

with Christian ideas, and have, in part, woven them into the fabric of their heathen concepts."[24] The Jesuits' emphasis on religious practices with less focus on cultural assimilation encouraged the persistence of Catholic Indians. Baraga encountered a nominal adherence to Catholicism on behalf of some Anishinabeg who blended aspects of Catholicism with Ojibwe religious practice.

Protestant missionaries, on the other hand, viewed the conversion to Christianity as part of a civilization process that emphasized cultural assimilation.[25] Consequently, many Protestant missionaries had difficulty finding converts among the Ojibwe. Earlier Jesuit missionaries, though sometimes harsh in their assessment of Ojibwe religion, were much more culturally tolerant of Indigenous behaviors. Protestant missionaries looked at Catholicism in much the same way as they looked upon Ojibwe religion, as paganism. When they heard of the large number of Ojibwe who were being baptized by Catholic priests, Protestant missionaries accused the priests of admitting Ojibwe into their Catholic Church who had not truly been converted. For evangelicals, Catholicism merely replaced a set of spirits and tribal ceremonial rituals with their own system of saints and ritualistic masses. However, Catholic missionaries were astute cultural brokers.

In the seventeenth century many Jesuits offered goods and food to tribal communities in exchange for geographic and religious information. These diplomatic practices would be continued during the mid nineteenth century by Catholic priests such as Baraga. Evangelical missionaries were offended at Indian requests for food and supplies from the missionaries and viewed such accommodations as cheapening the message of the gospel. For Protestant

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[24] Leland Stevens, "Mission to the Chippewa, 1857-1868," Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly vol. 58, no. 3 (1985), 124.

[25] See Robert Berkhofer, Salvation and the Savage: An Analysis of Protestant Missions and American Indian Responses, 1787-1862 (Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 1965); C. L .Higham, Noble, Wretched, and Redeemable: Protestant Missionaries to the Indians in Canada and the United States, 1820-1900 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000).

missionaries, such concessions as feeding a community or giving their personal belongings away violated their role as spiritual mentors. They, unlike the Jesuits, did not realize that such behavior endeared them to tribal communities and validated their claims of leadership.

Initially the Ojibwe did not trust white Protestant missionaries, and cultural misunderstandings and misinterpretations frustrated both parties. Many Native people saw evangelical missionaries as one component of an all-encompassing colonialism that demanded dramatic lifestyles changes, and whose arrival signified the coming of traders who sold alcohol, and American negotiators who dispossessed them of their lands. The scene was ripe for the emergence of a new leadership; leaders whose religious orientation emphasized powerful spiritual solutions within an operable Indigenous framework. To see the Anishinabeg through these times required a culturally ambidextrous leadership which would inspire the community and skillfully negotiate with a powerful governmental structure that was systematically intent on disposing them of their land.

Part Three: Geographic Location

The unique geography of the Great Lakes linked the middle section of the country to the east coast and the Great Lakes served as the highway along which people moved from the East to the West. Great Lakes travel was crucial in establishing the context for religious conversion among the Anishnabeg. This research often refers to Lake Superior, northern Lake Huron and Lake Michigan and the surrounding land base in northern Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota as the western Great Lakes. The white missionaries who came to the Lake Superior country in the 1820s came from western New York State, which bordered the shores of Lake Ontario.

Ojibwe missionaries of the 1830s came from Mississauga-Ojibwe communities, from Indian lands and reserves along Lake Ontario and Lake Erie. This missionary activity had an "east-to-west" flow to it as they travelled to the Lake Superior country to evangelize their tribal relatives.

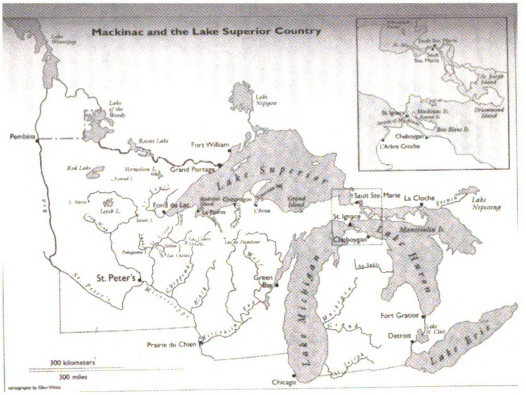

Figure 1: Western Great Lakes. (Widder, *Battle for the Soul,* 1999).

The flow of missionary activity in the nineteenth century is remarkably similar to the oral history of the Ojibwe, which describes a migration from the eastern seaboard of North America to the Great Lakes area of Lakes Ontario and Superior. Over a period that lasted several generations, the Ojibwe migrated west from the St. Lawrence River basin and settled at various

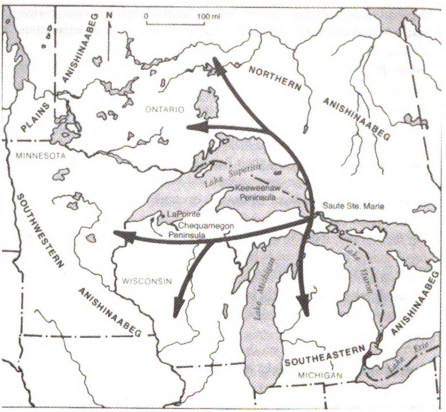

Figure 2: Ojibwe migration from the east after 900 A.D. (Meyer, *White Earth Tragedy*, 1999)

places in Ontario, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. According to the Ojibwe account of their migration, a small sea shell called the *miigis* appeared on the surface of the "Great Salt Water in the east" and reappeared at certain locations along the way to signify the direction in which the people were to travel. During the migration, the Ojibwe settled at various places such as Montreal, Sault Ste. Marie, Mackinaw Island, and La Point. The Madeline Islands in northern Wisconsin was the last place where the sacred *miigis* shell appeared and from there, the Ojibwe tribe "spread it branches in every direction."[26] Some scholars assert that the migration occurred sometime after A.D. 900 which lends credence to Ojibwe oral accounts of their movement from the east.[27] By the time the Jesuits encountered the Ojibwe in the early-to-mid seventeenth century, they were fully settled in the Great Lakes. Today Ojibwe communities are located in Ontario, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, North Dakota, Manitoba, and as far west as the Rocky Mountains. The nineteenth century Mississauga-Ojibwe author George Copway conjectured that in the 1840s there were about 5,000 Ojibwe in Canada and 25,000 in the United States.[28]

The Ojibwe refer to themselves as *Anishinabe* or *Anishinabeg* (the *g* connoting the plural) which roughly translated means "original man" or "spontaneous human being." This designation

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[26] William Warren, History of the Ojibway People (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1984 [1885]), 80.

[27] George L. Cornell, James M. McClurken, and James A. Clifton, People Of The Three Fires: The Ottawa, Potawatomi, and Ojibway of Michigan (Grand Rapids: Grand Rapids Inter-Tribal Council, 1986), 76. For an oral account of the Ojibwe migration see Edward Benton-Banai, The Mishomis Book: The Voice of the Ojibway (St. Paul: Red School House, 1988); For additional accounts of the Ojibwe migration see Andrew Blackbird, History of the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan. (Ypsilanti: Ypsilanti Job Printing House, 1887); Theresa Smith, The Island of the Anishinabeg: Thunderers and Water Monsters in the Traditional Ojibwe Life-World (Idaho: University of Idaho Press, 1995); Gahbaehjhagwahbuk, The Way It Happened: A Visual Cultural History of the Little Traverse Bay Band of Odawa (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 1991).

[28] George Copway, Recollections Of A Forest Life of the Life And Travels of KAH-GE-GA-GAH-BOWH or George Copway, Chief Of The Ojibway Nation (London: C. Gilpin, 1851), 166.

applies to most Algonquin speaking people in the Great Lakes including the Cree, Potawatomi, Ottawa or Odawa.

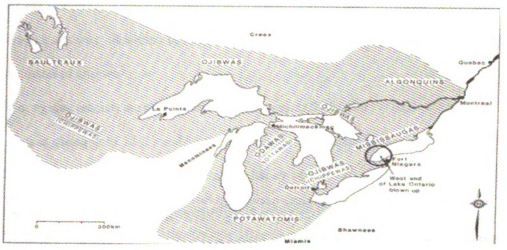

Figure 3: Geographic range of the Anishinabeg at the beginning of the nineteenth century. (Donald Smith, *Sacred Feathers*, 1987).

The name Ojibwe derives from the Algonquin word *ojib* which means "puckered up," indicating the style of moccasin worn by the Ojibwe; a moccasin which was "puckered up" at the seam.[29]

The Ojibwe have also been called the Ojibwa, Ojibway, Ojebway, Odjibwa, Ochipwe, Chippewa, and Chippeway. There are some assertions that the common American designation of Chippewa and Chippeway are actually French corruptions of the tribal name Ojibwe.[30] This dissertation alternates between Ojibwe and the more tribally appropriate, Anishinabeg, when discussing the Ojibwe. The "Anishinabeg" designation, the umbrella term for the Ojibwe,

[29] Theresa Smith, The Island of the Anishinaabeg: Thunderes and Water Monsters in the Traditional Ojibwe Life-World (Moscow: University of Idaho Press, 1995), 3. See also Gerald Vizenor, The People Named the Chippewa: Narrative Histories (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984).

[30] George L. Cornell, James M. McClurken, and James A. Clifton, People Of The Three Fires: The Ottawa, Potawatomi, and Ojibway of Michigan (Grand Rapids: Grand Rapids Inter-Tribal Council, 1986), 88.

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Potawatomi, and Odawa will be employed when discussing issues which impacted all three groups, not just the Ojibwe. The Mississauga or the Mississauga – Ojibwe are a subgroup of the Ojibwe which traditionally resided in Southern Ontario. According to Anishinabe oral history, the Mississauga settled in one of the first resting places during the tribe's western migration from the St. Lawrence sea way. Residing in southern and eastern Ontario they were and still are the most eastern band of Ojibwe.

Two regions receive the most attention in this research: Southern Ontario or (Upper Canada as it was called until 1841) and Michigan's Upper Peninsula, located on the southern shore of Lake Superior. Most of the Ojibwe missionaries who travelled to the Lake Superior country and beyond in the 1830s, were converted in Southern Ontario during the 1820s. It was the conversion of Peter Jones that had a major impact on the adoption of Christianity by Ojibwe communities in Southern Ontario during the 1820s. Converted in 1823, Jones had persuaded most of the inhabitants of his own community at Credit River, 50 miles south of Toronto, to convert to Methodism and take up sedentary agriculture by 1826. He also was instrumental in establishing the Grape Island Indian Mission located in the Bay of Quinte in 1827. Jones had made such an impact on the religious beliefs and adoption of sedentary farming in the Ojibwe communities of Southern Ontario, that the Canadian governmental modeled their new "reserve" system after his success in the 1830s. By the 1840 Jones was instrumental in establishing or ministering at over 12 different Ojibwe communities in Southern Ontario. Ojibwe missionaries, several of them converted by Peter Jones, left Southern Ontario for Lake Superior in the 1830s to duplicate their success of converting other Native people to Christianity by acting as interpreters, missionaries, teachers, and preachers.[31]

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[31] See Peter Jones, History of the Ojebway Indians with Especial Reference to Their Conversion to Christianity (London: Houlston and Write, 1867); A complete history of Jones' missionary work and life are in his diary, see Peter Jones, Life and Journals of KahKewaquonaby (Toronto: Wesleyan Printing Establishment,1860). For an autobiographical account of Peter Jones and the Mississauga-Ojibwe see,

Canadian Ojibwe bands relinquished most of their lands following the American Revolution. As early as 1783 the Mississauga-Ojibwe surrendered their homelands around Lake Ontario to make room for Loyalist and pro-British Iroquois groups, who were displaced from the United States after the war. The Canada Act of 1791 divided Canada into two halves, Upper Canada (present day Southern Ontario) and Lower Canada (present day Quebec); most Ojibwe inhabited Upper Canada.[32] Ojibwe bands residing along the southern coast of Lake Erie in Southern Ontario ceded vast tracks of land during the 1790s.[33] The reserve period in Canada began in the 1830s and resembled the assimilation policies of the United States. A partial motivation for the new government's reserve policy was to check the progress of acculturation made by Methodists and Ojibwe Methodist leaders, such as Peter Jones. Canadian officials feared that Jones and Methodism from the United States was instilling anti-monarchial notions among the Ojibwe of Upper Canada and moved to place the civilization of Indian bands safely under the parameters of royal authority.[34] To facilitate assimilation, the Canadian government usually included farming implements, teachers, houses, etc. in their treaties with Canadian Indians.

Canada experimented with their own removal policies by setting aside Manitoulin Island in northern Lake Huron as a national reserve for Ojibwe bands throughout Ontario in 1862.[35] Though the Island was a popular refuge for Ojibwe and Odawa who were fleeing American

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Donald Smith, Sacred Feathers: The Reverend Peter Jones (Kahkewaquonaby) and the Mississauga Indians (Toronto and London: University of Toronto Press, 1987).

[32] Carl Waldman, ed. Atlas of the North American Indian (New York: Checkmark Books, 2000 [1985]), 213.

[33] Helen Hornbeck Tanner, ed. Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 155.

[34] Tanner, Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History, 162.

[35] Tanner, Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History, 160.

removal efforts in the 30s, relocation to Manitoulin was met with heavy resistance from many Canadian Ojibwe; as result, only a few hundred Canadian Indians ultimately moved to the island. In 1850, the Canadian government acquired mineral rich Ojibwe lands, from the north shore of Lake Huron to the tip of Lake Superior, in two treaties known as the Robinson treaties. From 1854-57, Canadian Ojibwe surrendered valuable land for mining on the Bruce Peninsula in Ontario. In 1864 Odawa and Ojibwe bands who sought refuge from American removal efforts on Manitoulin Island surrendered the island to the Canadian government with an area on the island known as *Wikwemikong* set aside as a reserve.

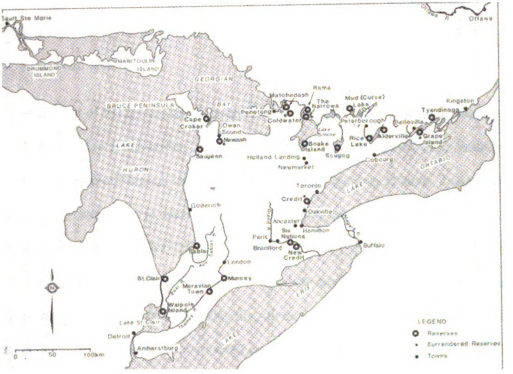

Figure 4: A map of the Indian communities of Upper Canada around 1830. Jones' Credit River community was originally located within 20 miles of Toronto. Peter Jones is credited with establishing the first Methodist Indian mission at Grape Island in 1827, located opposite the town of Belleville, in the upper right portion of the picture. Methodist Indian missions were also located at Muncey, Saugeen, New Credit, Scugog, Rice Lake, Mud Lake, Rama, and Snake Island. (Donald Smith, *Sacred Feathers*, 1987).

By the 1870s, most Ojibwe bands in Canada were settled on reserves and slowly adopted a sedentary agricultural lifestyle.[36]

The Ojibwe of Upper Canada relinquished their homelands in a series of "surrenders" which took place within a hundred year period between the 1780s and 1880s. In The Ojibwa of Southern Ontario Peter Schmalz argues that these surrenders occurred in three different periods of time. Valuable waterfront lands along the St. Lawrence River, Lake Ontario, the Niagara River, the Detroit River, Lake St. Clair, and St. Clair River were surrendered to the British between 1781 and 1803. From 1815-1825, the British government purchased several large tracts of lands to accommodate the arrival of thousands of immigrants in the region. After 1830, Ojibwe groups agreed to move to reserves on the Bruce Peninsula, Manitoulin Island, and the north Shores of Lake Huron and Lake Superior.[37]

After the war of 1812, immigrants flooded into Southern Ontario which was the home to forty one different Indian communities, 25 of which were Ojibwe settlements. The remaining villages were comprised of Munsee, Delaware, Odawa, and Potawatomi Indians. There were also 2,000 Iroquois (who were loyal to the British during the American Revolution and came to Upper Canada after the war), living in five different communities along the Grand River near the border of Upper Canada and New York.[38] Thousands of Loyalists migrated to Upper Canada, present-day southern Ontario, in the decades following the American Revolution. Between 1783 and 1785 approximately 10,000 British soldiers and Loyalists from the United States inhabited Upper Canada. By 1791 the population of whites in the region had grown to about 20,000 and by the

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[36] Tanner, Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History, 160.

[37] Peter S. Schmalz, The Ojibwa of Southern Ontario (Toronto and London: University of Toronto Press, 1991Schmalz, 120.

[38] Tanner, Atlas of Great Lakes Indians, Pgs. 126-127.

end of the war of 1812 there were about 70,000 whites who lived in Upper Canada. The influx of white settlers corresponded with a precipitous drop in the number of Mississauga who resided on the north shore of Lake Ontario. In 1788, there were approximately 500 Mississauga in Upper Canada. By 1827 the number of Mississauga who lived along Lake Ontario had declined to 191.[39] Diseases such as cholera and small pox contributed substantially to this decline. About 9,000 Indians living in 41 different communities inhabited Southern Ontario during this time. As a result of the arrival of thousands of immigrants into the area, the influence of Christianity on Ojibwe communities in Upper Canada was more pronounced compared to their tribal counterparts in the western Great Lakes. Many of the immigrants who came to Upper Canada from the British Isles were Methodists. There were so many Methodists living in the frontier town of Ancaster, located outside of Hamilton, many of the locals referred to it as "Methodist Mountain."[40]

The Upper Peninsula of Michigan along Lake Superior's southern shoreline bore remarkable similarity to the Ontario area, both regions had Protestant Indian missions established during the 1820s and 1830s. When Protestant missionaries first arrived in the region in the 1820s, most of the Ojibwe who resided in both regions of the Great Lakes were more aligned with the British than the Americans. But in a very dramatically different way, the Lake Superior region had a longer engagement with outsiders than did their more eastern Ojibwe neighbors.

By the 1830s, several missionary societies sent missionaries into the "rapids" of St. Mary's, to convert the tribes of the region to Protestantism. Baptists, Presbyterians, Anglicans, Catholics, and Methodists established Indian missions around the rapids area during the 1830s. Mississauga-Ojibwe missionaries from Southern Ontario visited these mission stations from the

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[39] Schmalz, 105.

[40] Donald Smith, Sacred Feathers (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 58.

1820s-1850s. Although the more northern Ojibwe communities were somewhat isolated from outside contact, the Ojibwe of the rapids lived at the crossroads of the fur trade. As a result of the high volume of human and cargo traffic that annually moved through the rapid, this region was a popular location for Protestant missions.

Sault Ste. Marie and its rapids which connected Lake Superior and Lake Huron had always been a traditional gathering place for the Anishinabeg and increased in importance during the fur trade of the late eighteenth century. Whereas Southern Ontario had been settled by farmers, many who were Methodists, the rapids attracted mainly fur traders and military officials who were deployed at the fort at Sault Ste. Marie. Unlike what was happening in Upper Canada in the 1820, there were no large tent revivals to visit or Methodist neighbors in which to interact at the "Sault." Alcoholism was rampant as the whiskey traders and distillers exploited the local Indian community by trading alcohol for furs and goods. The land around Lake Superior was frontier country which was inaccessible for at least four months out of the year as the waters connecting Lake Superior and Lake Huron lay frozen. The Lake Superior region would not resemble the sedentary farming communities of Southern Ontario until the 1870s. Even then, a cold northern climate diminished any hopes of living soley from farming. Most Lake Superior Ojibwe supplemented any crops they planted with fishing, hunting, selling maple syrup, crafts, and other goods to whites, and acting as river and wilderness guides to tourists.

Through the efforts of Native missionaries, cohesive Christian Indian communities began to emerge along the south shore of Lake Superior in the 1850s. Enough so, that by 1853, over 200 Christian Ojibwe were able to assemble at a week-long outdoor revival meeting at Whitefish Point, thirty miles west of Sault Ste. Marie. Most of the Ojibwe believers at the meeting had been influenced or personally converted by other Ojibwe missionaries. By the 1870s, there existed Christian Indian communities at several spots throughout Michigan's Upper Peninsula. Sault Ste.

Marie, White Fish Point, Bay Mills, Munising, L'Anse, and Hannahville all had growing Christian Ojibwe communities representing various denominations.

Between 1819 and 1855, the Ojibwe ceded the majority of their lands in the western Great Lakes, in exchange for land reserves and cash annuities. Annuities were paid on an annual basis in the villages that had the largest populations and took a variety of forms: cash, trade goods, agricultural supplies, as well as salaries that were paid to teachers, blacksmiths, missionaries, and farmers, who were to teach Indians to plow their lands.[41] As Indian land holdings became more tenuous, the importance and influence of Indian ministers grew. Ojibwe missionaries were in frequent contact with white missionaries who were connected to important leaders such as politicians, Indian agents, and military commanders. They utilized these networks of communication as best they could to advocate for tribal political and land rights and to make sure that supplies allocated in treaties reached their intended destination. Yet, despite their best efforts, the Ojibwe land base was eventually reduced to a fraction of its original size and the Ojibwe found themselves at the bottom of a capitalist society for which they were ill equipped.

[41] Cornell, 56.

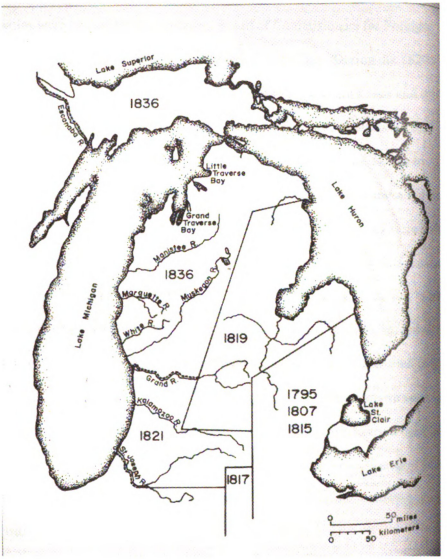

Figure 5: Nineteenth-century treaties between Anishinabeg and the government of the United States. (Cornell, et. al., *People of the Three Fires*, 1986)

Part Four: Chapter Summary

Chapter One entitled, "Anglo American Missionaries in the Lake Superior Region, 1822-1833," chronicles the arrival of the first Protestant missionaries to the upper Great Lakes. Many of these missionaries were backed by the American Board of Commisioners for Foreign Missions, an interdenominational missionary society based in the east. During the 1820s, the ABCFM society established several missions throughout the western Great Lakes and withdrew after a few years, due to limited success. These missionaries faced several obstacles that included language, cultural misunderstanding, inadequate transportation, and a general failure to understand the nature and role of spirituality in Ojibwe society. As a result of these barriers, most of these missionaries had minimal impact on Ojibwe communities. Conversions were infrequent.

Chapter Two, "Mississauga Christianity in Southern Ontario, 1820-1833" focuses on the Christianization and conversion of the Mississauga of Southern Ontario in the 1820s. The conversion of Mississauga mixed blood Peter Jones is of central importance in this narrative. He was instrumental in converting many Mississauga-Ojibwe and subsequnetly travelled to the western Great Lakes to evangelize the Ojibwe of Lake Superior. Ojibwe preachers such as Peter Jones, John Sunday, George Copway, and John Johnson were cultural insiders and thus, able to convey the message of Christianity in a manner which led to the conversion of several Ojibwe villages. The Mississauga-Ojibwe facilitated conversions by following previous means employed in Southern Ontario.

Chapter Three, "Evangelical Christianity in the Lake Superior Region," examines Indian missions based in the Lake Superior region, primarily along the lake's southern shore in Michigan's eastern Upper Peninsula. The chapter illustrates the influence that Ojibwe Methodist ministers had in the Christianization of Ojibwe communities in the Old Northwest. The preponderance of missionary activity in the Lake Superior country in the 1830s and the

involvement of a growing body of Christian Ojibwe had a decisive impact on the religious identity of the entire region.

Chapter Four looks at the evangelical work of three Ojibwe missionaries: George Copway, Peter Marksman, and John Johnson. George Copway, probably the most eloquent and gifted of this trio, rose through the Methodist ranks rather quickly, and later in 1845, he was accused and imprisoned for embezzlement. Eventually, Copway left the Methodist Church and for a brief time, enjoyed a career as a famous author and lecturer in the United States. Although Copway fell into reproach later in his missionary career, he signified the opportunity available to young Ojibwe men who opted for a life of missionary work. During the 1820s, the Mississaugau-Ojibwe were rapidly transforming from a migratory/hunter-gatherer life style to sedentary agricultural. Opportunities which traditionally distinguished young Indian men such as hunting, trapping, or warfare were no longer available. Becoming a missionary presented the prospect of receiving an education, developing an occupation as a minister, seeing different parts of the country, and attaining a level of prominence which may not have been otherwise achievable.

Copway had first-hand experience with Methodist tent revivals and saw his own father powerfully converted at such as meeting in 1827. He underwent his own conversion in 1830 and volunteered for missionary service in 1834. Among the Lake Superior Ojibwe he sought to replicate the hymn singing, the personal evangelism, and the preaching that he learned from Peter Jones and saw being practiced by the Mississauga-Ojibwe at his home community at Rice Lake, Ontario. During his missionary work in the early 1830s at the Indian mission at L'Anse, Michigan, Copway saw several spontaneous conversions of many who were opposed to his message of Christianity. He also contributed to the conversion of many first-generation Christian Ojibwe in these Lake Superior communities.

John Johnson Enmegabowh hailed from the same Rice Lake community as Copway. Though they served for a time together as missionaries, Johnson found his calling further west, in

Minnesota. After serving together in the 1830s, Johnson eventually joined up with Episcopal missionaries in the 1840s. He was ordained in 1867, becoming the first Native American Episcopal priest. Johnson emerged as the most important Christian Indian leader at White Earth reservation in Minnesota if not in the entire state, during the 1870s and 1880s. He became instrumental in bringing the Christian message into Minnesota and establishing the Episcopal Church at White Earth, mentoring several emerging Anglican Ojibwe priests and deacons.

Peter Marksman who remained a Methodists throughout his life, worked tirelessly as an evangelist for over fifty years. Marksman converted in the 1830s and was particularly active during the 1840s and 1850s. During the mid-nineteenth century Ojibwe groups were beginning to fragment into different camps based on religious and cultural adherences. "Traditionalists" or those Ojibwe who still wore their hair long, dressed in traditional garb, existed off of the seasonal cycle, and belonged to the Mediwiwin Society represented one faction of the community. Christian Ojibwe who had been converted, met regularly for church, abandoned traditional dress, and had began to take up sedentary agriculture (at least to some extent) represented another. And the Catholic Ojibwe and those who had combined both traditional and Christian practice (which may have been the majority) formed yet another.

Marksman ministered at time when these communal differences were becoming more pronounced. He worked with the Bay Mills Indian community during the 1870s and was instrumental in helping select land parcels during the allotment process. By 1880 religious divisions which began to occur in the mid-nineteenth century had become complete. Communities were, to some degree, divided along religious lines. At L'Anse, Michigan and the Keweenaw Bay area there were about 300 Catholics, just as many Protestants, and 300 traditionalists. At places such as White Earth reservation in northern Minnesota, where the Episcopal Church had considerable influence, the divisions were even more evident. White Earth, which boasted a population of 1,427 residents by 1876, had broken down into religious

affiliations which largely reflected ethnic differences. By the early 1890s there were about 300 Protestants (mostly members of the Episcopal Church), around 1200 Catholics, and a declining number of traditionalists at White Earth.[42]

John Johnson Enmegabowh served as an ordained priest at this time and had personally attracted at least one hundred converts to the faith at White Earth. He typified the new leadership which was emerging among the White Earth Ojibwe and became the catalyst for a growing body of Ojibwe deacons and priests which were ordained at White Earth. During this period Johnson saw the White Earth Ojibwe adapt hymn singing to traditional singing and prayer groups which lasted throughout the night. Ninety- percent of Episcopal clergy during this time were White Earth Ojibwe. Episcopal services were conducting in the Ojibwe language and hymns were sung in the native language.[43] Although a small segment continued to practice the traditional Midewiwiw religion, traditionalists increasingly formed the minority in many Ojibwe communities. By the turn of the twentieth century, the majority of populations in Ojibwe communities were nominally Protestant or Catholic. This is not to say that many Ojibwe did not blend aspects of Christianity and traditional practice, however, by the early twentieth century traditional beliefs were in the decline. Traditional practices fell into disuse and when they did occur, it was normally done out of sight of other community members and church authorities.

During his life John Johnson witnessed this evolution of religious practice at White Earth; an evolution which he contributed too in immeasurable ways. The generational links which drew these men together, yet separated the Christian Ojibwe during the three time periods (1820-30s, 1840s-50s, 1870s & 80s) serves as the focus of this chapter. I conclude by briefly

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[42] Melissa Meyer, The White Earth Tragedy: Ethnicity and Dispossession at a Minnesota Anishinaabe Reservation (University of Nebraska Press: Lincoln and London, 1994), 110.

[43] Meyer, 110.

analyzing the legacy of the Ojibwe missionaries and ministers in the Great Lakes and the impact they made on Ojibwe religious frameworks as they spread Protestant beliefs into the West.

The Ojibwe of the Great Lakes adopted Protestant Christian theological frameworks and reinvigorated indigenous modes of religious worship. In the process, a unique form of Native American Christian practice emerged in the western Great Lakes. The emergence of a Native clergy that was instrumental in Ojibwe conversions demonstrates why the mission stations failed in the 1820s and shows how the chasms of language, culture, and worldview were bridged by Native preachers. Chapter Two sets up Chapter Three by examining the conversion experiences of the Mississauga-Ojibwe missionaries in Southern Ontario and the work of Peter Jones. Chapter Three illustrates the impact of this Ojibwe missionary clergy on Indian communities in the Great Lakes and shows how their presence facilitated conversion rates. Finally, in the last chapter, I describe the evangelical work of these Ojibwe missionaries and show how their activities shaped Ojibwe Christianity over a period of three generations.

Figure 6: Michigan's Eastern Upper Peninsula: Sault Rapids, Mackinaw Island and Whitefish Bay. (Cleland, *Place of the Pike*, 2001).

Chapter 1 - Anglo American Missionaries in the Lake Superior Region: 1822-1833

As the cool breeze from the straits of Mackinaw wafted through his large two story dwelling at Mackinaw Island, William Ferry sat discouraged and perplexed at his makeshift desk. Soon, a representative from the Episcopal Church would be visiting him to discuss their proposed plan to establish a missionary school among the Indians at Green Bay. Though Ferry worked for a separate denominational missionary board, he did not oppose the work the Episcopal Church had planned at Green Bay. Yet, his own mission among the Anishnabeg of the straits areas was failing. Looking at the expense reports, attendance sheets, and letters from the missionary society, Ferry reflected on where he had gone wrong. He had travelled hundreds of miles from New York to establish the first Protestant mission on the frontier of the upper Great Lakes. He had developed an advanced academic curriculum which would rival any school out East while designing a very useful vocational program which included blacksmithing, shoemaking, gardening, cooking, and farming. By utilizing his contacts within Mackinaw's fur trading society and evolving Métis community he had hoped to attract a number of young Indian scholars from all over the Great Lakes to his school at Mackinaw Island or *Mishinemackinong*, as it was called by the Ojibwe.

For all intents and purposes, in the eyes of William Ferry, the plan to Christianize and educate Indian children at a residential mission school should have worked. With a populace of over 1,200 merchants, traders, American soldiers, and mixed blooded Indian families, Mackinaw Island and the adjacent white community of St. Ignace comprised the second largest population center in Michigan in 1830. Only Detroit exceeded Mackinaw for the number of people in its vicinity. During the summer months, Mackinaw's ranks would swell to more that 6,000 as hundreds of Anishinabeg came to the island to trade, collect governmental annuities, and fish from the straits which separated the island from Michigan's Upper and Lower Peninsulas.[44] At

[44] Tanner, Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History, 131.

peak trading times the sands of the island's 8 mile long shore line almost disappeared as numerous Ojibwe families erected their temporary lodges on the beach along the island's outer perimeter. As the center of the fur trade in the western Great Lakes and home to the American Fur Company (which remained on island until 1834), the region attracted hundreds of merchants, traders, and Ojibwe visitors on a yearly basis. The Indian agency on the island served some 3,000 Ojibwe and Odawa from Au Sable, Point aux Chenes, L'Arbe Crouch, Grand Traverse, the Grand River, Cheboygan, St. Martin's Islands, and Beaver Island. Indian agent James Boyd came to the island in 1819 and used the agency to fix the Indians' firearms, provide medical treatment to Native children, and implore the Anishinabeg not to aid the British and to stay on the American side of the border.[45] The Ferrys had hoped that local fur traders and mixed blooded families would convince the Ojibwe to send their children to the island to receive an education from the mission school and be exposed to Protestant Christianity.

Though Ferry's mission school was fairly expensive to run, thousands of dollars in funding had been provided by the U.S. federal government and the American Board of Commisioners for Foreign Missions. While the Presbyterian church which he founded for the white residents of the island was steadily growing with a congregation of at least 200, Ferry could not help feeling somewhat dejected. His sole purpose in coming to this remote outpost on the American frontier was to win Indians to the Christian faith. Yet, of the couple of hundred students who attended the school at the Mackinaw mission, only a few were full blooded Indian children, the majority being children of fur traders. Resignedly, Ferry faced the fact that the school would likely cease to exist in the near future. General Albert Ellis, the Episcopal representative who visited Ferry that day, later reported of Ferry and his mission:

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[45] Keith Widder, Battle for the Soul: Métis Children Encounter Evangelical Protestants at Mackinaw Mission, 1822-1837, (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1999), 59.

> ...that his school, which had been put into operation at great expense, had failed of the object sought, and that he had already received instructions to reduce it in numbers as fast as it could be done, and eventually discontinue it entirely; that which all their endeavors, they had been able to secure the entrance into it of comparatively few Indian children; that the great proportion of their nearly two hundred attendants were children of Indian [Metis] traders, who were reaping all the benefits of education from which the Indian children were being almost wholly excluded.[46]

Soon after the meeting with Ellis, Ferry left Mackinaw Island and the mission closed three years later. He and his wife eventually moved to Grand Haven, a small community in southwest Michigan where Ferry became an influential businessman in the lumber industry and established the First Presbyterian Church. He never worked with Native people again.

The mission at Mackinaw Island faced several obstacles which contributed to Ferry's ultimate problem of not being able to secure a high enough Native enrollment to justify its existence. The Ferrys basic misunderstanding of Great Lakes Anishinabe culture, society, and commerce led to a multitude of problems. Their misconceptions about the ethnographic demography of the "straits" area in particular, facilitated a host of complications which ultimately led to the failure of the mission on the island. A detrimental misconception on behalf of the Ferrys was not adequately discerning the difference between Anishinabe society and the children of fur traders.[47] They initially lumped the first in with the second without realizing the political and ethnic undercurrents which made each group unique. Although the island was a center of Ojibwe trading activity, the Ojibwe who ventured to the island were there only to trade and enjoy a brief respite while on journeys to places such as DeTour (where their annuities were paid) and Sault Ste. Marie. Many Native families had travelled from as far as Wisconsin, Montreal, or

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[46] Janet White, "William Montague Ferry and the Protestant Mission on Mackinac Island," Michigan History Magazine, (December 1948), 348.

[47] Widder, xx.

Detroit, and had no intention of leaving their children at this trading outpost. Most of the relations with Americans were still at an early stage for many Ojibwe of the western Great Lakes. As recently as 1815, most of the area's inhabitants resisted the presence of American troops at various places in the Great Lakes, and supported the British in Canada. Outside of a military role, the Ojibwe of the region had limited interaction with Americans and American forms of government, education, and religion.

The main factor which contributed most to the mission's failing was relying on local fur traders to attract interest from full blooded Indian families. Unfortunately, these points of contact never translated to a substantial Native American enrollment at the mission. By all purposes, it appears as if fur trade families utilized the school at Mackinaw Island for their own benefit. Unlike their Métis relatives, the area's Ojibwe and Odawa people saw little incentive to leave their children behind at the island. The cultural moorings of the Anishinabeg remained strong enough in the 1820s to lead many Ojibwe to conclude that the school offered no real benefit for their children. Traditional practices of hunting, fishing, and networking with French fur traders provided them with the material items necessary to survive in the Great Lakes. Though immensely popular with the community that worked in the fur trade, their Indian relatives remained unconvinced of the usefulness of the school. The low attendance of Indian students at the school suggests that William Ferry and the eastern reformers who backed the mission were drastically out of touch with the lives of Great Lakes Anishinabeg.

In the 1820s, Indian families saw almost no utility whatsoever of turning their children over to learn the history, geography, and philosophy of a country to which they had such limited exposure. The vocational training of blacksmithing and shoe making had little appeal to families who made comfortable moccasins from deer hide and obtained metal goods by simply visiting traders. Also, the domestic and agricultural training had little usefulness for families who

speared fish, smoked meat, and harvested wild rice. Ojibwe families were migratory and though the island was in the middle of Anishinabe territory, many Indian people passing through were temporary visitors. Anishinabe children learned how to work sugar camps in the spring, set fishing nets in the summer, and build temporary shelters; these skills were necessary for survival. Regardless of the intentions or dreams of the individuals who ran the mission, a

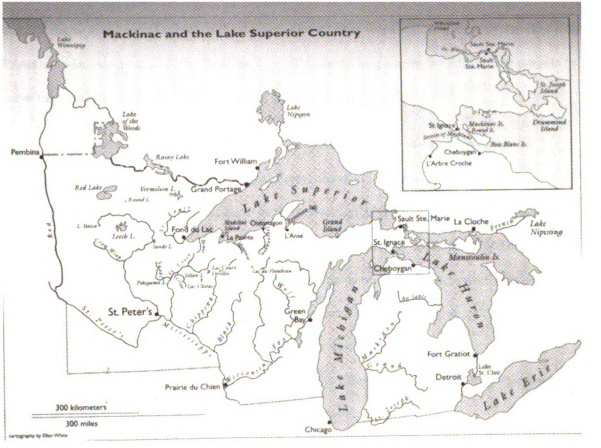

Figure 7: Mackinaw Island is located off the northeast corner of Michigan's Lower Peninsula, in the "Straits of Mackinaw." It remained the trade capital of the Great Lakes until the American Fur Company left the island in the 1830s.

residential manual labor school which taught classical studies was of minor importance to local Ojibwe and Odawa bands.

In addition to the lifestyle incompatibilities, there was little evidence that the school's instructors demonstrated any appreciation or understanding of Ojibwe culture. The majority of the staff was non-Indian and many did not speak Ojibwe. Unless the student was already familiar with the English language or had planned on spending years living at the school, the language discrepancy was too large to be overcome in any short time. In addition to the political and cultural disparities, many Ojibwe of the western Great Lakes were still only vaguely familiar with Protestant ideology in the 1820s. So there was little compelling reason for Anishinabe parents to leave their children at the Mackinaw mission school for any extended time.

As a result of the failure at Mackinaw, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) which employed Ferry, changed its method of evangelization. Instead of establishing a central mission to attract the region's Native inhabitants, missionaries would be sent far into the "interior" to reach out to Indians, closer to their remote locations. Learning the Ojibwe language would become an essential element to the future success of the missionary stations. After 1830, the American Board established missions at La Point, Yellow Lake, Sandy Lake, and Leech Lake.[48] While the American Board continued to reshape its missionary vision by establishing more posts elsewhere, other denominations labored around the historical Ojibwe fishing grounds at the rapids of St. Mary.

In 1828, the Baptist minister Abel Bingham opened up a mission at Sault Ste. Marie which also included a school to educate Indian converts. He had been met there by Alvin Coe, a Congregationalist missionary who was leaving the field and turned over his missionary operations

[48] White, 349.

at the Sault to Bingham. The Congregationalist missionary Alvin Coe was later mentioned by Andrew Blackbird in History of the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan and is credited by Blackbird as being the missionary that originally invited him to Ohio to attend school. In the 1826 Treaty of Fond duc Lac, the Ojibwe granted the United States mineral and mining rights within their territory north of the Prairie du Chien. Included within the treaty was a $2,000 annuity to be paid at Sault Ste. Marie and the government pledged another $1000 to be delegated through congress for the establishment a mission school for Ojibwe children at the Sault. Congress awarded the task for establishing the school to the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions who in turn selected Abel Bingham, who was currently working as a missionary among the Seneca at Tonawanda in New York. [49] The Baptist mission at the Sault contained a 40 x 28 ft. house which was 1 ½ stories high. The ground floor of the house included two large rooms and five bedrooms. The upstairs housed a classroom which was 24 x 28 ft in size and was used to board children who stayed at the school.[50]

Though his church services were only nominally attended by some Ojibwe and local whites, the mission's school enjoyed a great deal more success. The school was both a residential school for students from the interior and day school for local Ojibwe. According to Bingham's journal entries, during the first week of the school's operation, 57 Ojibwe children had been enrolled and were studying the alphabet.[51] Though Bingham's energies were focused on the school he was charged with preaching to the village's white and Ojibwe residents which he did so on Sundays. Bingham's mission did enjoy slightly more success than the early missionary efforts of other groups. James Cameron, a mixed blood Anglican from the Canadian side of the river

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[49] John Cumming, "A Puritan Among the Chippewas," Michigan History Magazine LI 3 (1967): 213.

[50] Cumming, 218.

[51] Cumming, 216.

joined Bingham's mission and ultimately became a Baptist preacher. Cameron routinely travelled to Ojibwe encampments which were remotely located in the interior. He eventually married another Ojibwe woman and lived with the Ojibwe while they were at their sugar bush camps and winter encampments. Also an Anishinabe convert and minor chief by the name of "Shegud" became a deacon in the Baptist church at the mission. [52] Shegud was one of the original signatories of the 1826 Fond du Lac Treaty; his name is listed on the treaty which states that he is from the "St. Mary's band" of Ojibwe.[53]

Using an interpreter, Bingham regularly visited Ojibwe families in their homes to talk about Christianity. Many Indians at the Sault, like future Methodist preacher Peter Marksman's family, first heard the gospel from the Baptist minister. Although Bingham's mission at the Sault consisted of a small group of Ojibwe converts, his efforts in the temperance movement brought him a great deal more success. Incredibly, he was able to gain the confidence of military officials at Ft. Brady, influential traders, and important tribal leaders and convinced them to commit to the struggle against the prevalent use of distilled spirits. As a result of Bingham's efforts, the consumption of alcoholic beverages in the Sault fell from 15,000 gallons a year to virtually none. [54] This was a monumental achievement given that the intake of whiskey and rum by the soldiers at the fort was reaching endemic proportions. When Bingham first arrived in the Sault in 1828, officials at Ft. Brady supplied a gill of whiskey to each soldier on a daily basis. In addition to their daily ration of whiskey from the fort, soldiers were allowed to purchase another gill each day at the army's mercantile store in town. Traders also dealt large amounts of whiskey to the

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[52] Cleland, The Place of the Pike, 31.

[53] The Institute for the Development of Indian Law, Treaties and Agreement of the Chippewa Indians, (Washington D.C.: GPO, 1973), 42.

[54] Lynne A. Deur, "Lost—Without Shadows: The Rise and Fall of Protestant Missions in the Western Great Lakes Region, 1800-1854" (Ph.D. diss., Michigan State University, 1991), 40.

local Indian community.[55] The overwhelming prevalence of alcohol was enough to make other missionaries abandon their post and catch the next sailing vessel out of town.

The Presbyterian missionary Rev. Robert McMurtie Lard, backed by the Home Mission Society in Maryland arrived in the Sault in the late fall of 1823. The missionary became so disheartened by the level of drunkenness that gripped the region that he left on the first boat departing from the rapids in the spring of 1824.[56] Over the course of the Bingham's 27 year tenure at the Sault, he and his family were embraced by the Anishinabeg who attended his mission. His children, who were raised alongside the Indian children at the mission, were especially influenced by Anishinabe culture. Although there is little evidence that Bingham learned the Ojibwe language, the Anishinabeg at the Sault named his daughter, *Ahnishinaboyquay* or Ojibwe Woman due to her fluency in the Ojibwe language. [57]

During the 1830s, the western Great Lakes became an epicenter of missionary activity. Eastern missionaries, motivated by the revival meetings of the Second Great Awakening, began targeting the tribes of the Old Northwest. The interdenominational American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions established missionary stations throughout Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. The Methodists, perhaps the most successful of all missionary bodies in the western Great Lakes, established Indian missions along the southern shore of Lake Superior at Sault Ste. Marie, "Kewawenon (near L'anse), Iroquois Point (present day Bay Mills), and Whitefish Bay. There was an Episcopal mission established on the north side of the rapids at the Sault and also at Green Bay. Jeremiah Porter, a graduate from Princeton arrived to the Sault in 1832. The young missionary organized the first Presbyterian Church in Sault Ste. Marie and

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[55] Cumming, 218.

[56] E.J. Sundstrom, "Sault Church To Celebrate Its Anniversary," Sault Evening News, 18 May 1979, pg. 1.

[57] "Child of the Sau[l]t" The Soo Evening News, April 1905.

enjoyed amicable relations with Abel Bingham and Henry Rowe Schoolcraft. Porter's congregants originally met in an old warehouse, however, *Ozhawgusdaywaquay*, the wife of local trader and community leader John Johnston, orchestrated the construction of an edifice to house Porter and his Presbyterian congregation.[58]

The Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions took advantage of the funds set forth in the 1836 Treaty of Washington and sent Peter Dougherty to establish a mission in Michigan.[59] In 1838, while visiting Mackinaw Island, the Ojibwe convert Peter Greensky who had been educated at the Little Rapids Methodist Mission in the Sault, was informed by Henry Schoolcraft of the possibility of a Presbyterian mission being established near Grand Traverse Bay. After meeting Peter Daugherty, the missionary assigned to the post, Greensky volunteered to assist as an interpreter for the mission.[60] Based on a suggestion from William Ferry, Dougherty established his mission near the mouth of the Elk River near Grand Traverse Bay in the northwest area of Michigan's Lower Peninsula.[61] Shortly after, he moved the mission to the north shore of the Grand Traverse Bay peninsula. By 1847, the mission complex included a house, a school, and twenty log cabins, and 200 hundred acres under cultivation[62].

Though one of the more successful missions, Dougherty experienced chronic under-enrollment in his school and the Indians who attended the mission were in constant fear of removal. Although the Ojibwe and Odawa Indians of Grand Traverse and Little Traverse Bay

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[58] Stanley Newton, The Story of Sault Ste. Marie and Chippewa County, (Sault Ste. Marie: The Sault News Printing Co., 1923), 137.

[59] Virgil Vogul, "The Missionary as Acculturation Agent," Michigan History, LI (1967): 187.

[60] Dorothy Reuter, Methodist Indian Ministries in Michigan, 1830-1990. (USA: Michigan Area United Methodists Historical Society), 149.

[61] Vogul, 193.

[62] Deur, "Lost Without Shadows," 48.

were never forced to relocate west, they did lose their land on the Grand Traverse Peninsula which housed Dougherty's mission. Dougherty, though establishing a nominally successful mission, harbored some biased views toward the Indian people in his area. Reflecting back on his career, Dougherty summarized his work:

> I will briefly state some facts that show the work of the Board among these ignorant and degraded people has not been without the many good fruits. Instead of heathen bands ignorant, indolent, intemperate, clothed with a filthy blanket and living in smoky wigwams we now see civilized families in comfortable houses, with farms and teams, industrious and exercising all rights and duties as citizens, reading the testament, family prayer, social meetings of prayer, regular attendance on the house of God, and many giving pleasing evidence of hearty piety.[63]

Dougherty's report is tinged with a condescending tone characteristic of many missionary accounts during the nineteenth century. Though Dougherty speaks of glowing success, there is evidence that not all Indians at his mission were content. Peter Greensky, who translated hymns and lesson for the mission, parted ways with Dougherty because he continued to adhere to Methodism. Greensky continued to assist local white Methodist ministers run open air revivals during the summer months. He eventually attracted a number of Odawa followers, called "Greensky Indians" who frequently held prayer meetings outside the presence of the Methodist elder whom he helped assist. Eventually he and his followers parted ways with the missionary after being accused of eccentric and excessively loud worship.[64] Peter Greensky ultimately ended up in Charlevoix where he ministered at the Pine River Methodist Mission, a church which still in use today amongst the Odawa of northern Michigan. Eventually Dougherty's mission was moved to Omena, Michigan in 1852 where a residential boarding school for Indian children was

[63] Duer, "Lost Without Shadows," 50.

[64] Reuter, 150.

opened. The mission closed in 1871 and Dougherty spent the remainder of his life in Wisconsin.[65] There is no evidence to suggest that the missionary ever again worked with Indians.

Language proved to be a consistent barrier for white missionaries during the early years on the frontier of the Great Lakes. The experience of one missionary, David Meeker Chandler, illustrates how challenging the language barrier could be for young inexperienced missionaries. After being asked to consider the prospect of travelling to the Lake Superior country for missionary work by his minister, Chandler consented to go. The young missionary arrived in Sault Ste. Marie in 1834. In addition to his missionary work among the local Ojibwe, he soon carved out an interdenominational ministry among soldiers at Ft. Brady and influential members of the town such as Abel Bingham and John Johnston. Though possessed with a peculiar spirit for solidarity and sincerity of heart in regard to Indian missions, Chandler found it frustrating not being able to speak to Ojibwe converts directly and having to preach through an interpreter. He reported in his journal, "I found it somewhat difficult to preach by an interpreter, as it was a slow process conveying my thoughts." He later recorded, "I am determined to learn the Chippeway language the first thing, as I can now do little in comparison to what I might, could I speak the language." [66] Not being able to communicate directly to Native people proved to be only one of many obstacles faced by white missionaries.

After 1830 the American Board would open up mission stations at La Point, Yellow Lake, Sandy Lake, and Leech Lake. In 1831, Frederick Ayer of the ABCFM travelled to Sandy Lake and Leech Lake in Minnesota in hopes of establishing missions at these sites. He eventually established a mission at Yellow Lake in Wisconsin. However the Ojibwe of Yellow Lake were

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[65] Deur, "Lost Without Shadows," 49

[66] D.M. Chandler, Memoir of the Rev. David Meeker Chandler ed. Rev. Cyrus Prindle (Middlebury: Ephraim Maxham, 1842), 16-17

apprehensive about a permanent missionary station in their country and ultimately told Ayers to depart. Undoubtedly, the Ojibwe at Yellow Lake heard of the removal efforts of the U.S. government and were troubled by the idea of an American missionary in their country. Although he was eventually allowed to stay and build a school, the situation remained tenuous. Ayers finally took a few of his converts and left for Pokegama in 1836.[67]

Another ABCFM missionary, William T. Boutwell struggled with his mission at Leech Lake. He had originally come to Sault Ste. Marie to learn Ojibwe and before his deployment he labored briefly as a missionary among the Ojibwe of Sault Ste. Marie and Mackinac Island.[68] However the time at Leech Lake proved difficult for this missionary. The Leech Lake Ojibwe did not take kindly to the presence of Boutwell and his wife, though she was of mixed Indian and white blood. The Indians at Leech Lake routinely killed their cattle and robbed their garden. In one violent episode, an American Fur Company agent was killed near their mission. Tensions ran high and eventually the Boutwells abandoned the mission and retreated to the Sandy Lake Mission where relations between Indians and missionaries were slightly better. The Boutwells would eventually relocate again in 1838, moving to Pokegama Lake.[69]

D.M. Chandler was sent to the Kewawenon Mission (near L'Anse, in the Keweenaw Bay), by Methodist superintendant John Clark in September of 1834. In November, with the help of a couple of Christian Indians, Chandler erected a small cabin at the mission. On December 24th the missionary received an unannounced visit by a group of Ojibwe men. The men demanded that Chandler pay them in flour, corn, and tobacco for allowing him to build a cabin in their country. According to Chandler, he "went directly to the Trader and engaged the flour,

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[67] Deur, "Lost Without Shadows," 71.

[68] Newton, 137.

[69] Deur, "Lost Without Shadows," 71-72

corn, and tobacco," and "before the wicked crew broke up" his Native exhorter "gave them an exhortation to flee the wrath to come."[70] There is no evidence that the group responded to the warning issues by Chandler's Ojibwe interpreter, however this interaction does illustrate how Native people reacted to the increasing presence of white missionaries. Indians thought it needful to check white encroachment into their country and used the means of "rent" to extract what they thought was appropriate for such an allowance.

The mission may have been built on their hunting grounds, and it was not uncommon for hunters to apprehend and sometimes take the possessions of hunters of opposing bands who hunted on their grounds. The hunting territory of certain families was defined by boundaries and was usually avoided by hunters of other families. In this case, because Chandler was a non-Indian, and typically Indian people treated white visitors differently from opposing tribes or bands, they paid a rent in food stuffs and this was probably a happy medium for the Indian party.

In Wisconsin, missionary work was conducting among the Stockbridge, Oneida, and Brotherton Indians who had immigrated from the east to settle in Wisconsin. Many of these band members were nominally Christian and moved to Wisconsin to establish independent communities free of disturbance from white neighbors. Both Methodists and Episcopal missionaries had been active among the Oneida before their move to Wisconsin and the tribe brought two Methodists teachers and an Episcopal priest to help them in their move.[71] Eventually, through the efforts of individuals such as Bishop Henry Whipple, Rev. Joseph Gilfillan, and Rev. James Lloyd Breck, Episcopal missions would be established throughout northern Minnesota. The White Earth reservation became their main base of Indian missions in

[70] Chandler, 38-39.

[71] Deur, "Lost Without Shadows," 63.

1868. Methodists also opened up missions at the Lac Court Orielles, Fond du Lac, and Sandy Lake in the 1830s.

Although the ABCFM revised their missionary policy by emphasizing language training and outreach to specific Indian settlements, their mission stations were not without problems. Troubled missionary William T. Boutwell described the cool reception he originally received amongst the Leech Lake Ojibwe:

> Few are desirous to learn anything of the religion of the Bible. Most seem to have the impression that the white man's religion is not made for them. . . They say they are a distinct race, and the great spirit designed they should be different. . . .With this character and these views, they do not regard the object for which we reside among them, as anything very desirable, and in their estimation they derive little advantage from us.[72]

As mentioned, William Boutwell and his wife had much difficulty at their Leech Lake post. Eventually they transferred to the Sandy Lake mission where their message was better tolerated. Some missionary families were faithful to their posts and stayed for years in a single location. Sherman Hall and his wife Elizabeth who were stationed at La Point, WI operated their mission and a school for Indian children for over twenty years.[73] Hall, one of the more progressive ABCFM missionaries, learned the Ojibwe language and with the help of a Native assistant took on the arduous task of translating the Old Testament into Ojibwe. Yet, some Ojibwe harbored certain misgivings toward even this culturally adaptive missionary. An elderly Indian couple remarked of Hall and his wife, "The two of them, seemed to be lost without shadows...sometimes we whispered it was the missionaries who needed to be saved. Some of our friends think it

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[72] White, 350.

[73] Deur, "Lost Without Shadows," 68.

strange to find pale, weak, and shadowless, individual church heroes, in the middle of old woodland families." [74]

Many Ojibwe "thought it strange" that whites from the east would travel to their tribal communities and attempt to enforce upon them sustainable agricultural practices which were in many cases entirely unfeasible. The above comment by the elderly Indian couple reveals a cultural fissure between those who lived and worked in the woods (Indian and non-Indian) and those who were unaccustomed to life in the northern wilderness. It also appears that the missionaries would have benefited by adhering to Ojibwe modes of living in such an environment. Yet there is little evidence to show that the missionaries valued anything of worth among the Ojibwe, they even spurred many Indigenous techniques needed to survive in the woods and on the lakes. Additionally, the above response from the Indian elders alludes to a deeper perplexity on behalf of Native peoples over the lack of personality or emotional transparency demonstrated by some missionaries. It is apparent that many Ojibwe were reticent about sharing their true spiritual beliefs, world views, and personal experiences to such people they thought so imperceptive. Surprisingly, few missionary accounts reveal anything of substance in regard to Ojibwe culture or worldview.

Native people were much more forthcoming to individuals who approached them with sincerity and a genuine willingness to learn their ways. Both William Warren's History of the Ojibway People and Johann George Kohl's Life Among the Lake Superior Ojibway demonstrate the effectiveness of such an open handed approach. Although both authors harbored Christian views, they were able to obtain in-depth cultural and historical knowledge from their Native informants. Kohl, through his interviews, and Warren, through his sharing of stories, were able to

[74] Gerald Vizenor, The People Nalled the Chippewa: Narrative Histories (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1984) 46.

obtain invaluable oral and written histories of entire tribes and of the spiritual experiences of individual Ojibwe. Of his visits with tribal elders, Warren states how he listened to, "lodge stories and legends of my Indian grandfathers, around whose lodge-fires I have passed many a winter evening, listening with parted lips and open ears to their interesting and most forcibly told tales."[75] Warren, when older, would share stories of the Bible with these "Indian grandfathers" in exchange for their "tales." His attentiveness, respectful demeanor, and blood ties to the community undoubtedly casted him in a favorable light in the sight of the Ojibwe elders. Warren's Bible stories were well received because he operated within an Indigenous framework of sharing stories to impart knowledge.

Robert Bieder, who wrote the introduction to the latest reprint of Johann Kohl's Kitchi Gami, asserts that Kohl's approach to studying Indians was based on an "empathy for Indian culture" that Americans such as Henry Schoolcraft lacked. Beider further argues that Kohl, unlike most Americans, was able to be empathic in his approach because he was not "hampered" with American preoccupations of "removal" and "acculturation" of Native people.[76] Such culturally insightful and open handed approaches exercised by Warren and Kohl elicited equally insightful and open responses on behalf of the Indian people they interacted with. Such rich anthropological information obtained by the two men could have helped missionaries of the western Great Lakes immensely. Yet, while individuals like Kohl and Warren were able to connect with their Indian informants, many missionaries lacked these intercultural skills.

The direct approach of most missionaries exaggerated cultural misunderstandings between the two groups. Much of the frustration of the missionaries revolved around indigenous

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[75] Warren, 13.

[76] Johann Kohl, Kitchi Gami: Life Among The Lake Superior Ojibway 2nd ed. (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1985), xxxi-xxxii.

concepts of work, reciprocity, and giving. Missionaries expected Native peoples to tend gardens, farm a small plot of land, or do manual labor in return for food or other material items bestowed by the missionary. Natives frequently accused missionaries of being selfish and not sharing vital provisions with them when the tribal group needed their help. Contrastingly, missionaries frequently thought of Indians as being lazy or slothful after the Ojibwe made repeated requests for food and supplies. In Anishinabe society, sharing vital provisions such as fish or venison ensured the survival of the entire group. A hunter willing shared his bounty with his band, knowing full well that it could be his family who may need help next time. Spiritual and religious community leaders were expected to embody these notions of generosity. An individual leader's stature in the community was frequently determined by their willingness to give and share with others. In short, generosity authenticated leaders in the eyes of the tribal community. In most instances, missionaries who set themselves up as moral and civic leaders did not understand the expectations of generosity placed on them by the surrounding tribal community.

Though missionaries frequently commented on the hospitality and generosity they experienced at the hands of Indians, they regularly accused Indians as being beggarly or lazy when they asked missionaries to share their supplies and possessions. Some missionaries, however, wisely reciprocated tribal acts of generosity and quickly earned the trust of Indian friends. Commenting on this notion of reciprocity, a missionary named Wright, stationed in Minnesota, wrote:

> Sometimes they had fish or duck, or it might be a few muskrats: but whatever the fare, they always invited me to share it with them. And thus it was, when I had the food they boarded with me; and when they were provided for, I boarded with them. The good old grandmother especially, ever after regarded me as her friend.[77]

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[77] Rev. James Peery Schell, In the Ojibway Country: A Story of Early Missions on the Minnesota Frontier (North Dakota: Chas. H. Lee Publisher, 1911), 56.

Wright spoke of the sagacity of sharing food in the hopes that it made Indian people more receptive to the Christian message. He quickly began to operate on a cultural system of exchange. Speaking of this practice he insightfully commented, "Perhaps, the little kindness I've shown them in giving them a small piece of my corn bread when they were hungry, may have had something to do with their reception of the gospel, and the bread of everlasting life afterward."[78]

Unfortunately, most missionaries misinterpreted Indian notions of sharing and generosity and grew resentful following repeated requests for food. William T. Boutwell, who had so much difficulty with the Indians at Leech Lake, reached his breaking point when it came to sharing the food he farmed:

> Seven winters that I have been in the country I have fed the hungry, and they are none the wiser, none the more provident. It's enough! I will feed you no longer. If you chose to smoke and sleep all summer, you may beg in the winter and get nothing. I have planted, hoed, and dug potatoes with my own hands till I am tired, and if you will not raise them for yourselves you shan't eat them hereafter.[79]

Not surprisingly, Boutwell transferred to another agency soon after this. Frustrations over expectations of generosity appear throughout missionary accounts and are frequent sources of tension between white missionaries and Indians.

Another ABCFM missionary, Rev. Edmund Ely had similar difficulties at the Fond du Lac mission. In her article "Of Missionaries And Their Cattle: Ojibwa Perceptions Of A Missionary As Evil Shaman," Rebecca Kugel portrays the missionary as upsetting the cultural normative system of the Ojibwe community at Fond du Lac by his demonstrated intolerance of Ojibwe culture, moral demands, confrontational demeanor, and unwillingness to help procure food for the band. With a line of credit extended by the ABCFM with the American Fur

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[78] Schell, 56.

[79] Deur, "Lost Without Shadows," 68.

Company, Ely was looked upon by the Ojibwe as being a wealthy man. Yet his personal values conflicted with the community expectations of a leader. He reluctantly shared food and clothing with other Ojibwe and when he did so he "haggled" over the amounts given.[80]

A surprising number of missionaries ceased to work with Indians once their missionary tours were over. The Doughertys, Boutwells, and Ferrys all left Indian missions never to work with Native people again. The attrition rate for non-Indian missionaries can be attributed to several factors. The task of transforming an entire culture's normative system and societal constructs in a few years proved to be a much larger mission than eastern missionaries anticipated. Missionaries failed to realize that indigenous subsistence patterns had emerged over hundreds of years and allowed Native people the maximum sustainability within their ecosystem and natural environment. Cultural, societal, and religious practices had also evolved to ensure collective survival, group safety, and to make sense of the universe based on a specific worldview. As a result, certain misdeeds were controlled through social normative processes which ostracized the individual from the group. Certain wrongs such as theft or selfishness were virtually unheard of in Ojibwe society because they violated the social norms of the community and threatened the survival of the entire group.

According to William Warren, before their interaction with whites, Ojibwe society exuded a great deal of morality in these areas. In History of the Ojibway People, Warren affirmed, "There was a consequently less theft and lying, more devotion to the Great Spirit, more obedience to their parents, and more chastity in men and women, than exist at the present day, since their baneful intercourse with the white race." Warren reflected on how much change had

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[80] Rebecca Kugel: Of Missionaries and Their Cattle: Ojibwa Perceptions of A Missionary as Evil Shaman" in American Encounters: Natives and Newcomers from European Contact to Indian Removal, 1500-1850. Eds. Peter Mancall and James Merrell (New York: Routledge, 2000), 163-164.

taken place in Ojibwe society just over a 20 year period and that "in former times there was certainly more good will, charity, and hospitality."[81]

Ojibwe values inspired little admiration in many white missionaries. Most sought to transform tribal societies into mirror images of their own. Missionaries, however, severely underestimated the complexity, utility, and pervasiveness of Anishinabe spirituality and worldview. It is doubtful that many missionaries were accustomed to seeing pre-adolescents enduring four day fasts without food or water, or understood why the Ojibwe placed such preeminence on their visions or dreams. Missionaries misjudged the pervasiveness of Ojibwe spirituality and the extent in which it was interwoven into daily actions, thoughts, and deeds. Yet, other travelers who visited the Ojibwe were awestruck at the spiritual discipline exhibited by Anishinabe youth. In his ethnographic work Kitchi-Gami: Life Among the Lake Superior Ojibway, Johann Koln was amazed by the dedication required for such acts:

> When was it ever known among us Europeans, that boys or girls were able, at the tenderest age, to fast for days on behalf of a higher motive, retire to the remotest forest, defy all the claims of nature, and fix their minds exclusively on celestial matters, that they fell into convulsions, and attained an increased power of perception, which they did not possess in ordinary life? What courage! What self control! What power of enduring privations does this presuppose![82]

Such feats of accomplishment must have been known to missionaries, yet they were rarely recorded in missionary logs or journals. When such acts did occasionally surface in missionary writing they were hardly portrayed with the admiration or wonder displayed by Johann Kohl. This German writer's account of his time among the Ojibwe is filled with

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[81] Warren, 101.

[82] Kohl, 228.

appreciation of Ojibwe culture and society. He described the Ojibwe method of studying cloud formation as almost "scientific" and told how the Ojibwe divided dreams into an ordered hierarchy of psychological and spiritual meaning. Kohl's approach provided him with several opportunities to share precepts of Christianity, opportunities which apparently remained closed to most missionaries. Western culture and missionaries also devalued Native culture and tribal histories because religious and historical information was oral and not written. Yet, even this summation of Native culture is somewhat misleading. As is evidenced in Kohl's work, many Ojibwe recorded their personal experiences by etching important events in pictorial form on the backside of birch bark. Writing on birch bark was a common practice among Indians in the western Great Lakes, but was seldom highlighted in missionary journals descriptions of Native people. This omission of such a crucial practice may indicate just how little information most Ojibwe actually shared with missionaries. As stated, the rich narratives of personal spiritual experiences are outlined in depth in Kolh's work. Yet, the lack of any mention of such writings by missionaries in the western Great Lakes in the 19th century suggest that most missionaries did not even come close to capturing this intimate of an audience with many Ojibwe.

Much of the missionary work amongst the Ojibwe of the western Great Lakes coincided with U.S. removal policies of the 1830s. The possible relocation of Lake Superior bands to western lands made Anishinabe communities distrusting of American missionaries. Many bands moved further inland, or like the Odawa bands near the Grand Traverse region of Michigan, migrated to Canada to avoid the threat of removal. Treaties such as the 1837 Treaty of Washington seized millions of acres of Ojibwe land and made the Anishinabeg of the western Great Lakes especially sensitive to white encroachment. Tribal leaders did invite missionaries to their encampments, but this was the exception and not the rule.

Relations between white missionaries and Indians were further complicated by the missionaries' reliance on interpreters who did not always convey the style or substance intended by the original speaker. Misinterpretation and confusion of key ideologies and fundamental theology plagued these interactions. Missionaries, whether intentionally or not, conveyed attitudes of cultural and racial superiority which was not lost on indigenous listeners. These complexes of superiority displayed by missionaries created a great deal of resentment on behalf of Native people and furthered their disdain for the missionaries and their desires for acculturation and civilization. The continual emphasis by missionaries on assimilation of Indians into American society and the abandonment of traditional tribal ways only hampered missionary efforts, regardless of their intentions.

The Christianization of Anishinabe communities by non-Indian missionaries in the western Great Lakes was largely a failure during the 1820s. Not until the next decade would there be substantial progress made in converting Indians to Christianity. A group of missionaries were needed which could address these divisive issues and overcome colossal differences of nationalism, racism, and cultural disparity. The stage was set for the emergence of a Native clergy, a clergy which would emerge to lead the Anishinabeg through some very tumultuous times while fundamentally altering the religious identity of their community.

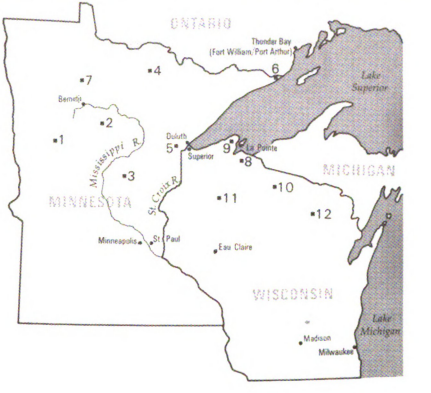

Figure 8: Nineteenth century Ojibwe communities in Wisconsin and Minnesota. 1) White Earth 2) Leech Lake 3) Mille Lacs 4) Nett Lake 5) Fond du Lac 6)Grand Portage 7) Red Lake 8) Bad River 9) Red Cliff 10) Lac du Flambeau 11) Lac Courte Oreille 12) Mole Lake. Long lasting missionary work was difficult in this region because of the incessant fighting between the Ojibwe and the Sioux along the Mississippi River which bordered the two nations. During the 1830s Methodist missions were established at Lac Court Orielle, Fond du Lac, Yellow Lake(located just west of Lac Court Oreille but not on map) and L'Anse (not featured). During the 1820s and 30s, ABCFM sites were located at Red Lake, Bad River, Lac Court Oreille, Leech Lake, Cass Lake (attached to Leech Lake) and Fond du Lac and Yellow Lake Many of the missions were abandoned during the 1862 Sioux War. By the last quarter of the nineteenth century Episcopal Missions occupied White Earth, Leech Lake, Cass Lake, Red Lake, Gull Lake (located between White Earth and Leech Lake) and Fond du Lac. (Vizenor, *The People Named The Chippewa*, 1984).

Chapter 2 - Mississauga Christianity in Southern Ontario, 1820-1833

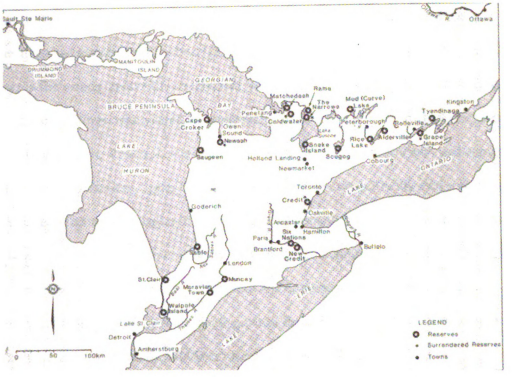

Figure 9: A map of the Indian communities of Upper Canada around 1830. Jones' Credit River community was originally located within 50 miles of Toronto. Peter Jones is credited with establishing the first Methodist Indian mission at Grape Island in 1827, located opposite the town of Belleville, in the upper right portion of the picture. Methodist Indian missions were also located at Muncey, Saugeen, New Credit, Scugog, Rice Lake, Mud Lake, Rama, and Snake Island. (Donald Smith, *Sacred Feathers*, 1987).

The Methodist Episcopal Church was hugely popular with frontier communities in the United State in the years after the American Revolution and spread quickly throughout the Northeastern United States. The Methodist Episcopal Church separated from the Church of England in 1784. [83] The prevalence of Methodism in Upper Canada and Methodist outdoor revival meetings had a profound effect on Ojibwe communities. Curious to see these Christians meeting out in the woods, many Ojibwe attended Methodist camp meetings for the first time in the 1820s. Several Ojibwe who visited these meetings were profoundly affected and experienced conversions of their own. Peter Jones, a mixed blooded Mississauga-Ojibwe who was converted at a camp meeting in Ancaster, Upper Canada in 1823 began to evangelize his own community at Credit River, near Toronto, soon after his conversion. He established the first Methodist mission at Grape Island, in the Bay of Quinte in 1827. Protestant Christianity began to spread throughout Ojibwe communities in the region in the mid 1820s and converted Native people actively evangelized other Indians. This was the single greatest factor in the spread of Christianity among Indians of Upper Canada or what would later be called Canada-West.

Unfortunately, the influence of nearby white farms and developing settlements had a decidedly detrimental effect on Ojibwe communities in Upper Canada. Of the 220,000 white settlers in Upper Canada, only 200 of them lived in the capital city of York or present day Toronto. Most settled on rural farms and forged remote frontier towns near indigenous communities. The influence of white neighbors was often injurious to the well being of the Ojibwe. Many frontier whites sold alcohol to neighboring Indians, squatted on Indian land, and stole and swindled many Ojibwe out of their possessions and even their property. Overhunting of game caused a depletion of important animals that the Ojibwe relied on to survive. Also fisheries, rich in salmon, which sustained Indian communities such as Jones' Credit River band

[83] Smith, Sacred Feathers, 56

were overrun by white fishermen. In areas that were not overfished, pollution of rivers and streams was so bad that fish became scarce. In 1806, as conditions for the Ojibwe became desperate, an Ojibwe chief at the Credit River named *Kineunebae* lamented that the river was becoming so contaminated "by washing with soap and other dirt, that the fish refuse coming into the River as usual, by which our families are in great distress for want of food."[84] In a petition to the government which suggested they be moved to a more isolated part of Upper Canada the Ojibwe argued, "white men seize on our furs, and take them by force, they abuse our women and violently beat our people. We are poor in lands and have few places for hunting and much of our hunting ground is covered by white settlements." T.G. Anderson of Canada's Indian Department confessed in 1834 that the Ojibwe were "obligated frequently to submit to irritating and extremely unjust Treatment on the Part of the Neighbouring White Settlers."[85] Many Ojibwe, especially a growing number of Christian Ojibwe actually sought to be removed to more isolated locations away from the corrupting influence of whites.

During the 1840s, the more than 2 million acres of land at the Saugeen reserve, near the Bruce Peninsula, was targeted by the Christian Ojibwe. However, Canadian officials planned to use Manitoulin Island as a place where Ojibwe could be removed. Removal to Manitoulin Island proved to be intensely unpopular with most Ojibwe throughout Southern Ontario. Indians who had visited the island complained that the soil was too rocky for any type of planting or agriculture. Eventually only a few hundred Ojibwe from Upper Canada removed to Manitoulin Island. Most moved to other Indian communities or tried to survive as best they could amidst increasing white encroachment. The Ojibwe of Southern Ontario were in a precarious situation. Their traditional hunting lands and fishing grounds were being overrun with white immigrants.

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[84] Schmalz, The Ojibwa of Southern Ontario, 106.

[85] Schmalz, 161.

An uneven judicial system which often condemned Indians and exonerated whites offered little help when laws designed to protect the Ojibwe were systematically violated. Treaties which set up vague boundaries between tribal land and state land created much confusion and led to repeated misunderstanding between the two groups. Hundreds of Iroquois, historical enemies of the Ojibwe, had moved into Southern Ontario at the end of the American Revolution and established a handful of communities along the Grand River. The Iroquois who were loyal to the Crown during the American Revolution received large tracts of land along the Grand River when the war was over. Rumors of a joint British-Iroquois attack were a perpetual source of agitation for the Ojibwe of Upper Canada. Ojibwe communities located on the north shore of Lake Erie were hedged in by the Americans to the west. Politically, there were few alternatives to negotiating a compromise with Crown authorities. The Ojibwe who were being starved out of their traditional hunting and fishing grounds had little recourse but to adapt to their surroundings. Peter Jones and the Methodist Indians knew Ojibwe communities were facing a crisis and that adapting to white society was the only way in which their communities would survive. In the mind of Peter Jones, Christianity served as the catalyst to this survival.

During the spring of 1826, the Christian Ojibwe at Davisville, a small community on the Six Nations reserve followed Peter and John Jones back the Credit River Ojibwe community. By fall of the same year the Credit River Ojibwe lived in twenty log homes provided by the federal government who provided funds for the Christianized Indians. Some Ojibwe families replicated their living experience of living in larger wigwams together by sharing log homes. A wooden divider separated families who shared a cabin.[86] Under the leadership of Peter Jones, the Credit River Ojibwe learned how to plow fields, plant seeds, harvest crops, and maintain their new log homes. Peter Jones or *Kahkewaquonaby* also emerged as community leader among the Credit

[86] Smith, Sacred Feathers, 78.

River Ojibwe. Being able to speak English and understand white culture enabled *Kahkewaquonaby* to act as a cultural intermediary between the government and his tribal community. He personally oversaw the distribution of annuities paid to the Credit River Ojibwe by Crown officials. The young Mississauga also fought to have the Canadian government protect the tribe's fisheries, which it consented to do in 1829.[87] Jones emerged as the most prominent Mississauga leader of the nineteenth century. He was the driving force behind the progressive movement which led the Ojibwe to adopt sedentary agriculture, log homes, and commercial industry. The Canadian government, once it got over its misgivings of American Methodism, modeled their reserve system after the Christian communities Jones helped establish in Southern Ontario. He remained a staunch advocate for the Ojibwe of Upper Canada for the remainder of his life. Though he served in various capacities for both his tribe and the Canadian government he never lost sight of his original purpose, to Christianize the Ojibwe of the Great Lakes. As long as his health permitted, he continued to be an active evangelist and minister for the remainder of his life. The Mississauga preacher continued to make regular visits to Ojibwe communities throughout Southern Ontario. *Kahkewaquonaby* served his people as a missionary, teacher, evangelist, minister, and political intercessor. He translated scripture into the Ojibwe language and his Ojibwe hymns were circulated in Anishinabeg communities throughout the Great Lakes and enjoyed widespread use for years to come.

Several Ojibwe converts considered *Kahkewaquonaby* no less than a spiritual father. One Christian Ojibwe even adopted the name Peter Jones in honor of the Mississauga minister. He enjoyed international fame as well. In 1838, the Indian preacher met the Queen of England at Buckingham Palace to ask that deeds to secure Mississauga land claims be given them.[88] He

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[87] Smith, Sacred Feather, 79.

[88] Smith, Sacred Feathers, xii.

visited England a total of three times to raise money for Indian missions in Upper Canada and to meet with the Queen. Hundreds of British subjects packed out churches and auditoriums in order to hear the Indian preacher speak. Jones often dressed in traditional Ojibwe regalia when he spoke to the crowd. Although he did become disillusioned when he realized that the crowd was more interested in seeing an exotic native of the forest instead of listening to what he actually had to say. His dignity, sincerity, and deeply inspired religious life however, made him as popular with the English Methodists as he was among his own people.

Ultimately, Upper Canada would produce a class of Indian ministers and missionaries who would propagate the gospel throughout the entire Great Lakes region. Individuals such as Peter Jones or *Kahkewaquonaby* (Sacred Waving Feathers), George Copway or *Kahgegagahbowh* (Stands Firm), John Sunday or *Shawundais* (Sultry Heat), John Johnson or *Enmegahbowh* (He Who Stands Before His People), John Kabeege, and John Taunchey were all Mississauga-Ojibwe who were converted in the late 1820s and early 30s and traveled to the western Great Lakes as preachers, teachers, interpreters, and missionaries. Their conversions set the stage for the cultural, religious, and spiritual transformation of many Great Lakes Indian communities.

The outdoor camp meetings which characterized the Second Great Awakening swept through the countryside in Upper Canada during the first half the nineteenth century. These camp meetings became an instrumental tool of the evangelization of Indians. The interdenominational character and openness of the meetings attracted Native people who may have normally avoided such gatherings. The highly expressive nature of the outdoor camp meetings may have actually appealed to Indian visitors at these gatherings (which often criticized by the conservative Christian community of the day). Citing Charles Johnson's Frontier Camp Meeting, Frank Everett Johnson, in his published dissertation entitled Constructing the Church Triumphant:

Methodism and the Emergence of the Midwest, 1800-1856, asserts that Johnson characterized the Christianity of early nineteenth century "forest revivals" or outdoor camp meetings as an "acrobatic" and "muscular," which included spontaneous behavior such as "falling, jerking, rolling, dancing, running, singing, etc."[89] Surprisingly, many of the Indian visitors to such outdoor meetings in the 1820s were accustomed to similar activity in ceremonial and social gatherings in Anishinabe culture. Singing as a form of spiritual expression was routinely relied upon while fasting or praying. Participants of the Grand Medicine Lodge or the Midewiwin Society (as were many first- generation Ojibwe converts) were accustomed to seeing individuals occasionally running, falling, fainting, and dancing while acting out ceremonies in the long cedar bark covered lodges used for such occasions.[90]

The rural settings in which camp meetings took place seemed less threatening than the towns and cities which housed large churches and great cathedrals. The socializing which characterized outdoor revivals made interactions with whites less daunting for Native people. The tenuous social footing among whites was a reality that was continually negotiated by every Indian in the established church setting. The racial tensions of the frontier were often exploited by individuals such as whiskey traders who stood to lose profits when their Indian clientele became Christians. George Copway, a Mississauga-Ojibwe of Rice Lake, recalled how, in 1827, his father was told by the tribe's white trader that his people had been invited to the local camp meeting, "for the purpose of killing all the Indians."[91] Upon arriving at his first camp meeting with his father and other band members, George was given strict orders to remain behind in case

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[89] Frank Everett Johnson, "Constructing the Church Triumphant: Methodism And The Emergence Of The Midwest, 1800-1856" (Ph.D. diss., Michigan State University, 1996), 4.

[90] M. Inez Hilger, Chippewa Child Life and Its Cultural Background, 2nd edition (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1992), 67, 69.

[91] George Copway, The Life, Letters, and Speeches of KAH-GE-GA-GAH-BOWH or, G. Copway, Chief, Ojibway Nation (New York, S.W. Benedict, 1856), 55.

the whites at the meeting went on the attack. However, George's father was soon converted at the camp meeting and when he encountered his father who was "lying partly on the seats," he beckoned to him and said, "Come here, my son, I am not sick, but I am happy in my heart...I told you you must keep away from the ground, that your life may be spared; but I find that these are good, and not bad people." [92] As the tales of treachery proved to be unfounded, more and more Indians were drawn to the meetings.

Native people, however, had good reason to fear and avoid interactions with whites during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Land swindlers, whiskey peddlers, Indian agents, traders, and merchants preyed on Great Lakes Anishinabe communities. For Indians who committed crimes against whites, the retribution was quick and severe. Yet, crimes perpetrated against Indians often went uninvestigated, and if the perpetrator was found guilty, the punishment hardly matched the offense. In his late-nineteenth century publication, History of the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians, Andrew Blackbird or *Macketebenessi* recounted an incident in which a Chippewa from Sault Ste. Marie named *Waubaunemkee* or White Thunder was sentenced to be hanged on Mackinaw Island for killing a white man. According to Blackbird, the accused said he was "very happy to die" and thought what he had done "justifiable in the sight of the Great Spirit" because he acted in self defense. The man claimed that, "this white man came to the Indian's wigwam in the dead of night, and dragged the mother of his children from his very bosom for licentious purpose." According to the condemned man, a crowd of onlookers encircled the wigwam encouraging the perpetrator and was ready to "fall upon him" if the Chippewa man resisted, so he stabbed the white man in defense of his wife.[93]

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[92] Copway, Life, Letters, and Speeches, 56.

[93] Andrew Blackbird, History of the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan (Ypsilanti: The Ypsilanti Job Printing House, 1887), 16-17.

During the early-nineteenth century, Indians in the Great Lakes were afforded very little legal protection or representation when it came to crime and punishment. The clear double standard when it came to punishing Indians caused them to tread cautiously when in the midst of white gatherings. However, the fraternal spirit that welcomed Indians to camp meetings raised the curiosity of several Ojibwe. The marginal existence experienced by Indians in white society seemed to dissipate at these religious revivals and as more Indian spectators attended, they underwent powerful conversions of their own. The conversion experience of individuals such as Peter Jones set the precedent for the conversion experiences of Indian in the Great Lakes who would be evangelized by the preachers from Upper Canada.

Peter Jones, born *Kahkewaquonaby*, or "Sacred Waving Feathers" was the son of a full blooded Mississauga-Ojibwa mother named *Tuhbenahneequay* and a Welsh-American father by the name of Augustus Jones. He spent the first sixteen years of his life with his mother's people at Rice Lake in Upper Canada before he and his older brother left to live with their father. He attended his first camp meeting on June 1st, 1823 in Ancaster in present-day Ontario. Although Jones had been persuaded by his father to be baptized a few years previously in an Anglican church among the Mohawks, he considered himself unconverted. According to Jones, the behavior of white neighbors proved a stumbling block which kept him from embracing Christianity whole heartedly:

> Previous to this I had been halting between to opinions. Sometimes whilst reading the Word of God, or hearing it preached, I would be almost persuaded to become a Christian; but when I looked at the conduct of the whites who were called Christians, and saw them drunk, quarrelling, and fighting, cheating the poor Indians, and acting as if there was no God, I was led to think there could be no truth in the white man's religion, and felt

> inclined to fall back again to my old superstitions. My being baptized had no effect on my life. [94]

Though Peter Jones considered himself unconverted, he still maintained an interest in Christianity. Curious to see how the white man "worshipped the Great Spirit in the wilderness," Jones attended his first camp meeting in the summer of 1823 with his sister Mary and a Wesleyan Methodist Irish woman by the name of Mrs. Thomas.[95] The young Mississauga's spiritual transformation began as soon as he entered the camp grounds. "On arriving at the encampment I was immediately struck with the solemnity of the people, several of whom were engaged in singing and prayer. Some strange feeling came over my mind, and I was led to believe that the Supreme Being was in the midst of his people who were now engaged in worshipping him." Jones goes on to describe how he was moved upon hearing the message of salvation, "In spite of my old Indian heart, tears flowed down, at the remembrance of my sins. I saw many white people powerfully awakened and heard them cry out for mercy whilst others stood and gazed, and some mocked and laughed."[96]

Almost all Anishinabeg who were converted during the early-to-mid-nineteenth century were first generation believers. Their only experience with Christianity may have involved adherence to folk Catholicism or perhaps some sporadic missionary efforts by the Moravian or Episcopal missionaries. Given that Jones' father lived near a Mohawk settlement which had been under the guidance of the Episcopal Church for some time, he did possess some prior experience with Christianity and even heard church services conducted in the Mohawk language, yet he

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[94] Peter Jones (Kahkewaquonaby). Life and Journals of Kah-ke-wa-quo-na-by (Rev. Peter Jones), Wesleyan Missionary (Toronto: Anson Green and the Wesleyan Printing Establishment, 1860), 7.

[95] Jones, Life, 9.

[96] Jones, Life, 10.

remained uncommitted. Jones' Indian identity conditioned his spiritual experience. Of his conversion he writes that in spite of "his old Indian heart" the "tears flowed" as he "remembered his sins." Cultural inhibitions kept Indian men from openly weeping and Indigenous theological frameworks converged on Jones and led him to lament his "old Indian heart." Despite the Indigenous religious processes, the young-Mississauga responded to the message of Christianity with fervor. An intense personal struggle, followed by the conversion of Jones' own sister provided the catalyst for his own conversion:

> I saw my sister apparently as happy as she could be. She came to me, and began to weep over me, and exhorted me to give my heart to God, and told me how she had found the Lord. Her words came with power to my sinking heart, and I fell upon my knees, and called upon God for mercy. My sister and others prayed for me..... At the dawning of the day I was enabled to cast myself wholly on the Lord, and to claim an interest in the atoning blood of my savior Jesus Christ....The Love of God now being shed abroad in my heart, I loved him intensely, and praised him in the midst of the people. Every thing now appeared to me in a new light, and all the works of God seemed to unite with me in uttering the praises of the Lord.[97]

Soon after his conversion, when the new converts were asked to stand, the Superintendent of Indian Missions in Canada, William Case, commented on Peter Jones conversion, "Glory to God, there stands a son of Augustus Jones, of the Grand River, amongst the converts; now is the door opened for the work of conversion of his own nation!"[98]

Kahkewaquanaby soon emerged as a leader among the Ojibwe communities of Southern Ontario. He returned to the Credit River Indian community and began to evangelize among his people. His mother, *Tubenahneequay*, was the first to be converted. She was baptized Sarah Henry when she returned with her son to Davisville, the small mixed blood community on the Six Nations reserve located on the east end of Lake Ontario. Soon *Kahkewaquanaby's* younger

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[97] Peter Jones, History Of The Ojebway Indians With Especial Reference To Their Conversion To Christianity ed. G. Osborn (London: A.W. Bennett, 1861), 9.

[98] Jones, Life, 14.

cousin David Sawyer, along with his parents, was converted as well. Peter also made an impact on his brother John Jones. Though John had previously ridiculed Peter for his conversion and affiliation with the Methodists, it wasn't long before, he and his wife Christiana Brant, granddaughter of Chief Joseph Brant, both joined the Methodist church.[99] Over the next three years Jones opened up a day school in his father's house at Davisville, taught the Mississauga how to plow fields and plant seed, and became an "exhorter" in the Methodist church.

Ojibwe converts to Methodism usually received a Christian name upon being baptized. The conversion and subsequent baptisms of the first Ojibwe converts typically occurred around white Methodists. Many Ojibwe in Southern Ontario were converted at Methodist camp meetings which were organized and attended mainly by white Methodists. Peter Jones, the leader of the Christian movement among the Mississauga took an English name when he and his older brother John went to live with his father at Davisville on the Six Nations reserve in 1816. At the age of fourteen, *Kahkewaquanabe* became known as Peter and his older brother *Tyenteneged*, age 18, went by the name John. The Mississauga brothers entered into the most culturally transformative time of their lives. Though his stepmother was a Mohawk woman, she dressed and managed the family's domestic life after the manner of the whites. Peter and John cut their hair and did away with their leather leggings, breech-clout, and blanket and adopted the attire of their father's society. They also learned how to farm while living with their father at Davisville. [100] Peter slowly grew accustomed to sedentary agriculture and the stability of the surrounding Mohawk community which was comprised of log homes, farms, a mercantile, and a Mohawk church made a lasting impression on him. It provided the blueprint from which Jones would base his vision of Christian Ojibwe communities that he would one day help establish

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[99] Smith, Sacred Feathers, 62.

[100] Smith, Sacred Feathers, 43.

throughout Upper Canada; a vision which would come to fruition after his own personal conversion in 1823.

Many Mississauga-Ojibwe converts emulated the cultural adaptations of Jones and the small but growing Mississauga-Ojibwe Christian leaders. Converts adopted English names upon being baptized. As happened throughout North America, Native names were altered to accommodate white society. Some Ojibwe names, which were long and too difficult to pronounce for governmental officials, were shortened. Singular tribal names were made surnames while the individual received an English first name. Indigenous names were changed to suit the needs of a growing governmental bureaucracy which required a list of names for treaty signings, annuity payments and record keeping purposes. Most Ojibwe converts, however, voluntarily adopted a Christian name to make interaction with other white Christians more tenable. Though many non-Christian Ojibwe in the Great Lakes would assume English names or alter their indigenous names, they saw the adoption of English names by converted Ojibwe as a clear step towards assimilation into white society.

Influenced by the his father, white residents at Davisville, and Anglican Mohawks at the Six Nations reserve, *Kahkewequonaby* became convinced that adopting the agricultural and industrial practices of the whites was the only way to insure the survival of Mississauga-Ojibwe communities throughout Southern Ontario. He encouraged his people to adopt farming habits and to send their children to Methodist missionary schools which were being established in their communities with the help of local Methodist churches. By 1830, the impact of Jones and other Ojibwe missionaries such as John Sunday, (who was converted while listening one of Jones's sermons) was known throughout Upper Canada. Peter's own tribe at the Credit River had begun to adopt sedentary agriculture, build log cabin homes, and attend church. By the 1840s, the Credit River Ojibwe even purchases two ships in which to transport tribally produced goods to

Canadian ports. Though tremendous change had occurred under the influence of the guidance of Mississauga Christian leaders, the Crown was hesitant to fully embrace the work of the Methodist Indians.

In the late 1820s, Canadian officials remained suspicious of the strong republican flavor of Methodism that had come from the United States to Upper Canada. The Methodist church in Upper Canada was indeed begun by the American Methodist Episcopal Church; however, the Canadian conference had become a separate conference in 1824.[101] There was too much American sentiment within Methodism for the likes of Anglican governmental officials. At times, government officials hinged funding of Indian missions on the Christian Indians' support of the Anglican Church. To receive financial assistance for missions (and sometimes tribal affairs), Peter Jones and the Methodist Indians of Upper Canada would have to turn from Methodism and embrace the Church of England. In January of 1828 *Kahkewaquonaby* and *Tyenteneged* travelled to York, to meet with the governor general about governmental support for the Credit River Indian community. The Anglican clergyman who was present at the meeting told the Mississauga leaders that the governor "did not feel disposed to assist the Indians as long as they remained under the instruction of their present teachers, who were not responsible to the Government for any of their proceedings and instructions." After several instances in which Peter and John were told that affiliation with the Church of England was necessary to receive funds from the government, an exasperated Peter Jones wrote in his diary, " [Didn't man have] a right to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscious?...to worship God as they felt it their duty...if a man thought it right to retire to the woods and pray, who had a right to prevent him?" [102]

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[101] Smith, Sacred Feathers, 101.

[102] Smith, Sacred Feathers, 103.

As more Indians attended outdoor camp meetings and experienced conversion, they began to actively evangelize other Indians. The increased presence of indigenous believers and their evangelization efforts among other Native people did more to spread the gospel than any tactic or ploy utilized by non-Indian missionaries. Another young Mississauga named *Kahgegagahbowh* or George Copway was also converted at a camp meeting in 1830. During a camp meeting held in Cobourg, Upper Canada in 1827, a group of Mississauga-Ojibwe who attended the meeting set out to proselytize their fellow Mississauga at nearby Rice Lake. While the delegation of Christian Indians was in route to preach to the Rice Lake Mississauga, George Copway and his father had just returned from visiting a trader, where they secured a large keg of rum. The band had just begun to drink when the Indian missionaries appeared on the bluff, descending toward the group of Rice Lake Ojibwe.

According to Copway, the revelers mistook the oncoming Indians for "blackcoats" or white missionaries. Copway's father instructed the group to cover the keg of rum and invited the missionaries to join them. However, to the surprise of the entire group these were not white missionaries but were as Copway described them "Indians saved by grace." The Indian missionaries immediately told the group of thirty-to-forty people what had occurred at Cobourg and preached to them *Keshamenedoo Ogweson* or the "Benevolent Spirit's son." The Indian missionaries had all the Rice Lake Indians kneel down, pray, and sing hymns. According to Copway, Peter Wason, who was part of the Indian delegation of missionaries, encouraged by what he saw, cried out," O Great Spirit! Here are some of my own relatives; open their eyes and save them!"[103]

George Copway's father, moved from what he had just witnessed, dumped the rum into the lake and accompanied the Mississauga Christians to the camp meeting that evening. Almost

[103] Copway, Life, Letters, and Speeches, 54.

thirty Mississauga-Ojibwe "ran at once to their paddles and canoes" and Copway later described the scene this way, "The missionaries had a skiff, in which they went from the island to the opposite side. They sang again and their very oars seemed to keep time on the still water. O how charming! The scenery of the water; the canoes moving in files, crossing the lake to visit their first camp meeting."[104] This scene provides insight into the way that ideas of race and religion were inextricably linked during the first part of the nineteenth century. Initially Copway's father's band identified the oncoming Christian Indians as "blackcoats" or white missionaries. Evidently, the Mississauga Christians who returned from the Methodist camp meeting had been previously converted and were dressed after the manner of whites.

During the summer of 1830 *Kahgegagahbowh* underwent his own dramatic conversion. Moved by the conversion of his father and late mother, the younger Copway continued to demonstrate interest in Christianity. Following his mother's death in 1829, he attended another summer camp meeting near Cobourg. While on the thirty mile walk under "a hot sun" *Kahgegagahbowh's* father frequently took his son's hand and prayed with him. Upon arriving to the meeting, there were "multitudes of Indians" and a "large concourse of whites from many various places" on the grounds.[105] Copway described listening to a message from a white preacher given through an Indian interpreter. When an invitation for prayer was given, he immediately made his way to the mourner's bench at the front of the assembly. The young Mississauga later described his feelings during the message and his experience at conversion:

> I was like a wounded bird, fluttering for its life. Presently and suddenly, I saw in my mind, something approaching; it was like a small but brilliant torch; it appeared to pass through the leaves of the trees. My poor body became so enfeebled that I fell; my heart trembled. The small brilliant light came near to me, and fell upon my head, and then ran all over through me, just as if water had been copiously poured out upon me. I knew not

[104] Copway, Life, Letters, and Speeches, 59.

[105] Copway, Life, Letter, and Speeches, 61.

> how long I had lain after my fall; but when I recovered, my head was in a puddle of water in a small ditch. I arose; and O! how happy I was! I felt light as a feather. I clapped my hands and exclaimed in English 'Glory to Jesus.'...I felt as strong as a lion, yet as humble as a poor Indian boy saved by grace, by grace alone....As I looked at the trees, the hills, and the vallies, O how beautiful they all appeared! I looked upon them, as it were with new eyes and new thoughts.[106]

It is clear that race and religion intersected for Native believers in unique ways during conversion. Many Great Lakes Ojibwe saw Protestant Christianity inextricably linked with white culture. Non-Christian Indians continually rebuffed Christian conversion by suggesting that they could not become white men after being raised as Indians. They viewed it as impossible for them to dress, work, and live like whites. Non-Christian Ojibwe undoubtedly saw the cultural and racial implications of conversion to Christianity and alluded to these factors when asked by Indian missionaries to consider Christianity.

Religious beliefs, derived from the time of Neolin and Pontiac and before, espoused that whites and Indians were created separately and that the Great Spirit gave whites and Indians two disparate forms of religious expression and lifestyles. By the nineteenth century this "separate creations" viewpoint was so widespread in Great Lakes Indian communities that it galvanized resistance among traditionalist Anishinabeg against the message of universal salvation brought by Protestant missionaries. Although individuals such as Jones and Copway were of mixed dissent, both spent their childhoods in Native society and were likely taught Ojibwe spirituality and cosmology; including the "separate creations" belief system. According to Jones, the belief that the Creator had given Indians and whites two different forms of religion prevented him from accepting Christianity before his conversion:

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[106] Copway, Life, Letters, and Speeches, 61.

> There was a time when I thought that the white man's God was never intended to be our God; that that the white man's religion was never intended to be the red man's religion; that the Great Spirit gave us our way of worship, and that it would be wrong to put away that mode of worship and take to the white man's mode of worship. But I and my people have found that there is but one true religion...the religion of the Bible.[107]

It is evident from the conversion narratives that initially issues of ethnic and religious identity were conflicting for potential converts. Their interactions with white society seemed to reinforce traditional tribal perspectives that the Great Spirit designed separate religions for the different races. During Peter Jones' personal struggle to receive salvation, he almost abandoned the effort. He said, "I tried to look up, but the heavens seemed like brass. I then began to say to myself there is no mercy for poor Indians..." When it appeared that the young Mississauga had been rejected by God, he fell back on "separatist" notions received from both white and tribal society, that Christianity was not intended for Indians.

Without doubt many Ojibwe converts saw racial connotations interwoven within the reception of Christianity. The choice of language when praying reflected the extent to which notions of racial separation, superiority, or inferiority were internalized for first-generation Ojibwe believers. Although George Copway appeared to be surrounded by Indian relatives at the time of his conversion, he felt compelled to use English in his praise and initial prayer. Copway makes it a point to say that he yelled out in English, "Praise be to Jesus." The mere act of saying a Christian prayer in one's Native language was wrought with apprehension and trepidation.

Peter Jacobs or *Pahtahsega*, (One Who Makes The World Brighter), who was eventually converted by Jones and became a missionary, wrestled with the idea of speaking to God in his Native language. Jacobs later wrote, "I was very sorry that God could not understand my

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[107] Jones, History of the Ojebway Indians, 9.

Ojibway. I thought God could only understand English....I then met with Peter Jones, who was converted a few months before me. I now saw that God could understand me in Ojibway, and therefore went far into the woods, and prayed, in the Ojibway tongue to God."[108] The young convert also experienced a great deal of resistance from other Indians after his conversion. According to Jacobs, after he told others of his experience and his desire to evangelize other Native people, they responded, "No, that I was wrong; that I had been to the white man's God, and not the savior of the Indians."[109] As Christianity became more prevalent in Indian communities and as the Ojibwe language became the primary means in which the gospel was spread (for both Indians and white missionaries alike) the separate creation theory began to lose traction. Definitions of religious and racial identities would become more encompassing as Indian converts matured into ministers, priests, deacons, and missionaries.

As the Missississaga-Ojibwe converts became rooted in their faith, they began to look west to the Lake Superior Country or the *Kitchi Gummi Aki* and sought to bring the gospel to their Anishinabe relatives. These prayers became reality when Peter Jones and John Sunday embarked on a missionary tour to Lake Superior in the late 1820s and early 30s. As they brought back news of their success, other Mississauga Christians travelled west as missionaries, teacher, and interpreters. The Mississauga missionaries were able to go where whites could not and reach those who actively fought the message of Christianity brought by non-Indian missionaries.

Evangelical conversion was an unfamiliar concept to most Ojibwe in the 1820s. Although Ojibwe religion was highly individualistic and allowed for individual adherents to act out personal visions received from the spirit world, these personal expressions were kept within a

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[108] Peter Jacobs, Journal of the Reverend Peter Jacobs, Indian Wesleyan Missionary, From Rice Lake To The Hudson's Bay Territory and Returning. (New York: Published for the author, 1857), 4.

[109] Jacobs, 5.

ceremonial framework common to many Great Lakes communities. Anishinabe religion was highly adaptive and accommodated a wide range of individual viewpoints: an Ojibwe could have a dream or a vision in which he was directed to perform a specific act, dress a certain way, paint his face in a distinct fashion, or offer tobacco sacrifices in a certain manner. He was accountable to the spirit world and his tribal community for obeying his visions and dreams. Though reflecting his individual communications with the spirit world, his worshipful expressions did not change his cosmological role in maintaining balance in creation or in the universe. Neither did these acts change the way in which he viewed power. The Great Spirit was a distant force who did not in intervene in the affairs of man, however, the multitude of good and evil spirits which inhabited the natural and supernatural environment could be sought and manipulated. An individual Ojibwe's adaptation of religious expression did not change the worldview or the religious framework of Anishinabe society. Evangelical conversion however hastened several changes which were in stark contrast to customary Ojibwe behaviors.

The spiritual reorientation that an Ojibwe convert experienced was immediate and precise. Access to the Great Spirit or spiritual power through the person of Jesus Christ challenged the Ojibwe precept that spiritual power could be obtained through a variety of different mediums; nor did sin as a concept of divine offence fit into the traditional Ojibwe worldview and therefore, challenged Ojibwe notions of maintaining balance in the universe through sacrifice and individual acts of appeasement. The Ojibwe convert saw his sin as offensive to a divine and holy God; sin which could be reconciled only through the person of Jesus Christ. Just as striking as this new message was for Ojibwe listeners, was the subsequent actions of Ojibwe converts to Christianity. New converts to the faith denounced traditional forms of ceremonial practice and ritual observance and they spoke out against the practice of obtaining favor by seeking a number of spiritual beings in the form of *manidoos.* This oppositional stance to Ojibwe traditional practice made Christian conversion stand out as a markedly different form

of religious expression and encompassed new notions of identity. Also, Native converts' adopted Anglo forms of culture, dress, and language and conveyed notions of ethnic and not simply religious transformation. Many Indians believed that Christian conversion transformed Indians into whites and thus, reinforced tribal teaching on the importance of staying separate from whites.

Yet many Native converts also adapted religious expression and their conversion experience to cultural frameworks with which they were already familiar. Linguistically, converts continued to use titles and names which were familiar to them. They continued to refer to God as the "Great Spirit" and although the name of Jesus was being invoked more and more by new Native converts, it became common to refer to Christ as *Kechemanidoo Ogwison* or the Benevolent Spirit's/Great Spirit's son. Dreams and visions which occurred before, during, or after conversion were important to Ojibwe believers and validated new forms of spirituality. In Anishinabe culture, dreams and visions were a means by which an individual was allowed insight into the spirit world. Records left by Indian missionaries demonstrate that following conversion this process continued within a Christian context. Dreams continued to be a vital component of the spiritual lives of converted Indians.

During the winter of 1832 and a year before he was baptized by Peter Jones in Sault Ste. Marie, a young Ojibwe named Peter Marksman dreamed a "great and a mighty dream." According to Marksman, he saw the world divided into "two great companies" and a "great ladder reaching to heaven, the other end downward, and the people going up, and the other company going down into horrible darkness." At the conclusion of the dream he says, "I saw the heaven on fire."[110] George Copway had a profound dream while travelling from Toronto to Rice Lake to visit his cousin Thomas Kezhig who was confined to bed-rest due to illness. As he slept

[110] John Pitezel, The Life of Rev. Peter Marksman, An Ojibwa Missionary: Illustrating the Triumphs of the Gospel Among the Ojibwa Indians (Cincinnati: Western Methodist Book Concern, 1903), 42.

on a sofa aboard a steamship Copway dreamed of a "large granite rock" pyramid in which "a great multitude" who "all had wings" sat upon and above them there was a throne in which, "One sat upon...who shone like the sun." Suddenly he encountered his cousin Thomas Kezhik (also a Christian) whose body was transformed before his eyes and flew to join the multitude on the pyramid. Copway said that upon awaking he was "still shaking and weeping." As soon as the steamship landed and he came ashore, his step-brother met him and delivered the unfortunate news that "Our cousin is no more." [111] He had died just a few hours earlier that afternoon.

Another Ojibwe man by the name of Yellowhead, a chief of the Lake Simcoe band (who would eventually travel to the western Great Lakes to evangelize among the Lake Superior Ojibwe) had an open vision soon after his conversion. Peter Jones recorded that Yellowhead, after a prayer meeting, had left the fellowship and was walking home. While on the way to his house, the Mississauga chief saw that "the path appeared like a blaze of fire, and his house was all light, and everything was glorious and heavenly."[112] Sometimes visions occurred for Ojibwe believers at the exact moment of conversion. When George Copway was converted at the camp meeting he attended with his father in 1830, he saw in his mind a "small but brilliant torch" passing through the trees. Copway says of his conversion, "The small but brilliant light came near to me, and fell upon my head, and then ran all over and through me just as water had been copiously poured out upon me." He then fell to the ground where he laid for two hours, and upon awaking claimed he had been converted. Although Copway's vision occurred during his conversion, some visions preceded conversion.

The well known Chief *Shingwaukonse* or Little Pine of the Garden River Ojibwe, who later became a member of the Episcopal Church, experienced a powerful vision as a youth which

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[111] Copway, Life, Letters, and Speeches, 121.

[112] Jones, Life, 256.

would chart the rest of his life. In her stellar work, The Legacy of Shingwaukonse, Janet Chute cited the German explorer Johann Kohl who recorded the contents of Little Pine's dream during a visit to Garden River:

> But he perceived a path hovering in the air, which gleamed in the darkness, and which, commencing at his bed, ran upward through the doorway of his cabin...He went upon it and it kept on rising higher and higher into heaven. There he found a house, from which a man came out to meet him, wrapped from head to foot in white garments, like a priest. The path, too, was decorated on either side with fluttering pennants, through which he [Little Pine] triumphantly marched. The flags in the glistening path extended down to his hut, he started and woke up, and lo! All had suddenly disappeared.[113]

Though this dream happened in a strictly tribal setting it demonstrates how the legacy of dreams and visions and how they impacted Native converts. The vitality of dreams to Ojibwe converts took on even more significance as they were an accepted mode of spiritual manifestation in both Ojibwe culture and among nineteenth-century evangelical expression. Themes of illumination, lighted beings, and conversations with the spirit world were all familiar to Anishinabeg, and these elemental themes reoccurred within a Christian context.

Many Ojibwe converts to evangelical Christianity did something that astonished non-Christian Anishinabeg. They destroyed all of their previous "medicines," religious symbols, ceremonial implements, and sacred objects used to summon their spirit guides and access sources of spiritual power. Peter Marksman described how after he was converted at Sault Ste. Marie, he "went home rejoicing and praising God on the way" and he stated, "I took my images and my gods of my fathers and did burn them and destroyed them."[114] On another occasion, after hearing

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[113] Janet E. Chute, The Legacy of Shingwaukonse: A Century of Native Leadership (Toronto and London: University of Toronto Press, 1998), pgs. 22-23.

[114] Pitezel, Life of Rev. Peter Marksman, 54.

John Sunday preach to a large tribal assembly at Penetanguishene near Lake Huron, an older chief named *Moozoomoonee*, who had been among the number of those "who danced" the previous night had a change of heart. He turned over his medicine bag, and "two balls of wood" (which signified how many warriors he had killed) to a Christian Indian. He told the person, "Go, Brother, and take it to the ministers, that they may see that I have done with these things. Tell them I mean now to become a Christian and worship their God." [115] *Moozoomoonee* who was from the western Great Lakes and came to Penetanguishene to receive his annuities, implored Jones and the others to send Indian missionaries to his home country where there were Indians who he believed would "soon become Christians." Peter Jones told the delegation of Indian missionaries who were leaving Penetanguishene for Sault Ste. Marie, to make sure they visited "the country of Moozoomoonee" and "preach the gospel to his people."[116]

As is evidenced by the reactions of several Indian converts, conversion of the Mississauga-Ojibwe of Upper Canada had major implications for the way in which they viewed their previous religious practices. Many converts renounced their former practices, discarded medicine bags, and destroyed ceremonial items. This was no small feat, given that many of the Christian Ojibwe (as were the Indian missionaries themselves) were former practitioners of the Midewiwin religion, a religious movement that was very popular among the Ojibwe during the nineteenth century. Their medicine bags would have contained sacred objects that were used in personal ceremonial worship and held items representing spirit and animal helpers as revealed in visions and dreams. Under no conditions would a medicine person or Midewiwin practitioner discard such implements without fear of retribution from their "spirit" guardians or helpers.

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[115] Jones, Life, 351.

[116] Jones, Life, 354.

Some even went to the Mediwiwin lodge to announce to the other participants that they were preparing to forsake the lodge and take up Christianity.

Ojibwe missionaries used these experiences in Upper Canada to provide a system of parameters which defined accepted practice when it came to Ojibwe cultural practices not clearly set forth in scripture. As Indigenous Protestant Christian theology took root among the Mississauga converts from Upper Canada, the Indian missionaries were at the forefront of the movement. They provided insightful direction to new Ojibwe converts when it came to grappling with former religious practice. However, as chapter two reveals, when it came to cultural conformity and assimilation into white society, Ojibwe missionaries allowed each convert the autonomy to adopt white cultural constructs or to retain tribal modalities as they saw fit.

Chapter 3- Evangelical Christianity in the Lake Superior Region

On June 16th 1833, the log cabin which housed the Little Rapids Mission, located just off the shore of the St. Mary's River in Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan reverberated with the harmonious sounds of the old Methodist hymn "Jesus to all my heaven is gone." Candidates for baptism lined up throughout the small mission. Others, moved by the minister's message of spiritual salvation and redemption, went forward to the mourner's bench placed at the front of the small church and said prayers asking forgiveness and salvation. They soon joined the others in hopes of partaking in the holy ordinance of baptism. One by one, the minister pronounced the baptismal blessing, "I now baptize you in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost" and in according to nineteenth century Methodist church custom, the candidates had water sprinkled on their foreheads. Tears streamed down the cheeks of many, some overcome with joy shouted "Halleljuah!," while others quickly retreated to their pew and knelt down in holy reverence. The Reverend John Clark, the Methodist Superintendent of Missions for the Lake Superior region, could not remember a more moving baptismal service where the atmosphere itself seemed charged with a divine presence or a service where the congregants where so reverential, so devout, so sincere. Making the event even more remarkable was that service was attended by mostly Ojibwe Indians and orchestrated entirely by Native ministers; Superintendent Clark and few other soldiers from the local fort being the only non-Indians present.

During the meeting the Reverend Peter Jones, or *Kahkewaquonaby* (Sacred Waving Feathers), a Mississauga-Ojibwe from the Credit River reserve in Upper Canada delivered the sermon and baptized believers. John Kabeege and John Taunchey, two Mississauga Indians from the same Canadian reserve as George Copway, gave personal testimonials of their missionary endeavors along Lake Superior. A few days later John Sunday *Shawundais* (Sultry Heat) a Mississaga-Ojibwe from Canada who had been converted under Jones, arrived from his mission further up the Lake Superior coast at the "Kewawenon" Mission and joined in the week-long

meeting.[117] Many of the believers in attendance at the revival had been converted by Sunday during a missionary trip to the Sault two years earlier in 1831. The week-long revival which brought Native missionaries from Michigan and Canada, was conducted to encourage a handful of Native clergy and the growing congregation of Indian believers at *Bahweting* or Sault Ste. Marie; the meeting had its intended effect.

Peter Greensky or *Shagasokicki*, who was at the meeting would become a licensed Methodist minister and would eventually go on to lead his own congregation in the Little Traverse Bay area in the 1840s. Another young Indian in attendance, Peter Marksman or *Gahgodahahquah* of Fond du Lac, Wisconsin was in town with his brother Peter Wahsahquahum, to visit relatives and sell whitefish. The young Ojibwe was baptized at the meeting by Peter Jones, whom he regarded as his spiritual father for the remainder of his life. In time, Marksman would become a prolific Methodist preacher himself. Later in his life, while he and his close friend and Methodist missionary John H. Pitezel walked along the shore of the St. Mary's River, he pointed to the dilapidated old cabin which used to house the Little Rapids Mission and told his friend, "There in the door of that school house I was converted."[118]

Though Marksman had been exposed to Baptist minister Abel Bingham's Indian mission in Sault Ste. Marie as early as 1830, he was not moved to conversion until he witnessed other Anishinabeg preaching the gospel. The presence of a Native clergy preaching in their Ojibwe language intrigued Marksman and he was soon compelled to attend the meeting at the Little Rapids Mission. "I was very anxious, after I had heard of those men, to see and hear them preach the Word of life. I never had an idea that any of our own people could preach Jesus

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[117] Pitezel, Life of Peter Marksman, 50.

[118] Pitezel, Life of Peter Marksman, 52.

Christ, the resurrection and the life."[119] The scene must have been truly surreal for the young Ojibwe. Though Marksman had been exposed to Abel Bingham's Baptist mission at the Sault he was not moved to fully embrace Christianity until he saw a collected body of Anishinabe ministers and missionaries preaching the gospel.

Abel Bingham's mission and school for converts attracted a small following of Anishinabe believers in the Sault, and it was through the Baptist missionary that Marksman heard the gospel for the first time. But after hearing the message of salvation being preached from Ojibwe ministers he took his "images, the gods of my fathers" who he served with "fasting and prayer" and "burned" them. Just as the Mississauga -Ojibwe of Upper Canada, these new converts to the faith, under the preaching of Mississauga missionaries, destroyed their ceremonial items and tokens of spiritual power as part of their conversion experience. Yet, Marksman's reaction is indicative of many Ojibwe adherents who listened to the preaching of Sunday or Jones. It is evident that Anishinabeg in the Lake Superior region were undergoing some very powerful and authentic conversion experiences. Drastic enough to inspire a marked change in the way they viewed their traditional medicine or belief patterns. The profound conversions and the intensity of the subsequent devotional practices of these Christian Indians left many white missionaries in wonderment.

The sight of Indians experiencing drastic conversions and making such fervent stances toward their former spiritual ideologies was enough to enthrall American missionaries. Native notions of sacrifice, experiential worship, and reverence of spiritual power translated directly over to their Christian devotions. So much so, that missionary David Meeker Chandler, who was assigned to the military fort at Sault Ste Marie in 1831, remarked in a Dec 25th journal entry: "When an Indian is truly brought to God, and inspired with the power of gospel grace, he

[119] Pitezel, Life of Peter Marksman, 45.

becomes ardent and devoted to the simple duties of salvation, almost unequalled." Two days later he wrote, "I never saw so powerful a set of beings as the Indians are, after their conversion to God. In prayer they are the most humble, and exercise the most faith; so that I feel like living and dying with these humble and loving ones."[120]

Evidently, Chandler observed something profoundly different than what he had been accustomed to seeing in the religious life of the soldiers at the fort and the community at large. He seemed to be overwhelmed at the spiritual lives and the devotions exhibited by these news converts to the faith. The missionary appeared to comprehend the magnitude of the moment, as if he knew something momentous and unprecedented was occurring and he was there to witness it unfold. Although more missionaries gathered at the area of the rapids, the region still lacked a large Protestant Christian community. Some missionaries such as Chandler made inroads into the Native community, however major language and cultural barriers made progress difficult.

Methodist Superintendent of Missions, John Clark, was acutely aware of the need for Anishinabe missionaries in the western Great Lakes. Though mission posts were being established throughout the region by a range of denominations, there was surprisingly little progress in converting actual Indians. At many outposts such as Sault Ste Marie and Mackinaw Island, white missionaries who came to convert Indians served a growing population of white residents. Many ministers would divide their ministerial duties amongst both Indians and white believers, ministering to Indians at one time of the day and to white congregants at another. Although the growth of white congregations seemed to be progressing, for missionaries such as John Clark, the process of converting Indians was occurring at an excruciatingly slow pace. He was familiar with the success that Methodists missions had amongst the Mississauga-Ojibwe of

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[120]Cyrus Prindle, Memoir of Daniel Meeker Chandler: For Several Years Missionary Among The Indians, At Ke-Wa-We-Non, and Sault De St. Marie, Lake Superior (Middlebury: Ephraim Maxham, 1842), 39.

Upper Canada and how some of those converts were now actively evangelizing their own people with astonishing results. He also witnessed first-hand that when Native missionaries, such as John Sunday or Peter Jones visited the region, the results were explosive.

John Clark began to send letters to ministerial friends in Canada requesting that native converts be sent to the Indian mission field in the western Great Lakes. In June of 1834, Daniel McMullen, the missionary at the Indian community of Rice Lake received a letter from Revered William Case, Superintendent of Missions in Canada. The letter from Case indicated that he had just received correspondence from John Clark of the Lake Superior country requesting that Native preachers and teachers be sent to Sault Ste. Marie to help in the missionary effort there. Upon receiving the letter from William Case, Rice Lake missionary Daniel McMullen acted with haste. Of the Rice Lake Mississauga, he selected individuals who had a clear conversion experience, had some level of education, were bilingual, and demonstrated potential as a missionary. *Kahgegagahbow* or George Copway, John *Enmegahbowh* or John Johnson, John Taunchey, and John Kabeege (also known as John Cabauge) were selected to be sent to the mission field in the west. John Taunchey was an uncle to Copway, and Johnson and Copway were cousins.[121] John Taunchey and John Kabeege may have accompanied Peter Jones to the June 1833 meeting at the Little Rapids Mission in the Sault, for they are mentioned by Marksman as giving an "account of their labors" at the meeting. They may have been already teaching and evangelizing among their community at Rice Lake during this time. At any rate they were selected along with George Copway and John Johnson to travel to the Lake Superior country as missionaries.

By 1834, when the missionary at Rice Lake received the letter alerting him of the need for Indian missions in the west, John Sunday and a group of Mississauga Indians had left Rice

[121] Copway, Life, Letters, and Speeches, 64.

Lake for another tour of the Lake Superior country. Sunday had been making period visits of varying length since1831 and was successful in converting many Ojibwe along the south shore of Lake Superior to Christianity. During his first tour, Sunday was instrumental in establishing missions at Sault Ste. Marie (Little Rapids Mission) and Keweenaw Bay (Kewawenon Mission). The mission at the Sault was originally established on Sugar Island as part of a plan in which other Mississauga Christians from Grape Island, in the Bay of Quinte, Upper Canada (Sunday's homeland) could eventually relocate to establish an agricultural Christian community. However, resistance from traditional and Catholic Indians, along with a cholera outbreak, forced the mission to be reestablished opposite the south shore of Sugar Island in Sault Ste. Marie in 1833.[122] At some point Sunday returned to Upper Canada and had some surprising news for the Rice Lake band. According to Copway, upon his arrival the Indian preacher announced that the Lake Superior Ojibwe were "eager to hear the word" and "that many had been converted." His report made such an impression on Copway that while in secret the young Mississauga prayed that God would send him west to "instruct the children in the truths of religion." [123] Soon this opportunity would become a reality for Copway.

The young Mississauga originally balked at the idea of serving as a missionary in the western Great Lakes. However after a two week hunting trip, which he intentionally planned in order to be absent during the departure of his uncle John Taunchey, the young Mississauga had a change of heart. According to Copway he was "dissatisfied" during his hunting trip and something seemed to continually whisper, "George, go home, and go to Lake Superior with your uncle John Taunchey." After returning to the village and spending an anxious night of weeping

[122] Chute, The Legacy of Shingwaukonse, 46.

[123] Copway, The Life, Letters, and Speeches, 64.

and praying, the young Copway awoke and told his father, "I have concluded to go, prepare me for the journey."[124]

John Johnson or *Emegahbowh*, an Odawa cousin of Copway's who had also attended the school at Rice Lake along with George, left with John Kabeege two weeks earlier. Yet his decision to leave his home at Rice Lake proved as traumatic as Copway's if not more so. When the Methodist minister of Rice Lake, the Reverend James Evans, originally approached Johnson and his family to explore the prospect of recruiting Enmegahbowh as a missionary to the Indians of Lake Superior, John's father was resistant to the idea of sending his son away. Enmegahbowh recalled the interaction years later:

> Mr. Evans, came to my father and asked him to let me go. My father said, 'No, this is our only son, you must not ask for him.' Mr. Evans continued to ask, saying: 'He may himself become a missionary among his heathen race. You know the heathen of your own race, far away toward the setting sun, are dying out without God. You should pity your people and send your son to them.'[125]

According to Johnson, the conversation between Rev. Evans and his father was enough "to turn" both of his parents to the point of considering the idea. John's mother and father gave the minister three weeks to find someone else, which he never did. At which time, Enmegahbowh's mother asked the missionary, "Mr. Evans, will you promise in writing that my son comes to me again in one year?" To which, according to Enmegahbowh, the reverend responded by promising to fulfill his mother's request. Upon leaving his family, his mother wept so expressively, that it was enough to almost make the young missionary turn back. It would be the last time that John Johnson Enmegahbowh would ever see his parents. According to Johnson, "Tears blinded his

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[124] Copway, Life, Letters, and Speeches, 65.

[125] Leroy Jackson, Enmegahbowh—A Chippewa Missionary, North Dakota State Historical Society, Vol. II (North Dakota: S.I., 1908), 4.

eyes" as he "went forth to an unknown heathen country."[126] Without a doubt, Enmegahbowh carried this traumatic scene with him for the rest of his life. Copway and Johnson would eventually be reunited at the Little Rapids Mission in Sault Ste. Marie.

By surviving on "fishing and shooting gulls" Copway and the others reached *Baweting* (Place of the Rapids) or Sault Ste. Marie on August 24th, 1834. He met up with the Superintendant of Methodist Missions John Clark, John Kabeege, and his cousin John Johnson Enmegahbowh at the Little Rapids Mission, about two miles down-river from the main rapids at the Sault. According to Copway, they held services in the homes of Indians at the rapids who were "comfortable in their new houses."[127] The new homes mentioned by Copway are undoubtedly in reference to the houses erected at the Little Rapids Mission. Originally begun with the missionary efforts of John Sunday who evangelized Ojibwe bands in the Sault area as early as 1831, the emerging Christian Indian community at the rapids became a focal point for Methodist missions.

Methodist Missionary John Clark, who had left New York to begin a mission at Green Bay had heard of the success of John Sunday's efforts at the Sault and immediately wrote the Ojibe missionary to inquire about establishing a mission school at the rapids.[128] With the support of New York Board of Missions, Clark along with his wife, two children, and two women assistants arrived at the mission. By 1834, with the assistance of the Christian Ojibwe, he built 13 log cabins, a log school house (which served as the church), and a missionary home.[129] The

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[126] Jackson, 4.

[127] Copway, Life, Letters, and Speeches, 67.

[128] Reuter, 32.

[129] Charles Nairn, et. al. One hundred years of Methodism in Sault Ste. Marie, 1833-1933, (Sault Ste. Marie: Central United Methodist Church, 1983), 4.

mission, named the Little Rapids Mission, after the rapids which flowed off its banks, served around 34 Christian Ojibwe. The satellite Methodist mission at Ft. Brady consisted of about 12 Ojibwe believers. By the time John Pitezel arrived at the site in 1843, the number of Ojibwe converts at the Little Rapids Mission had grown to fifty five.[130] Describing the mission, Methodist missionary John Pitezel wrote:

> Lining the shore were about a dozen Indian houses, several wigwams, and the school house, an old log building, which served for the chapel and schools. ...Forty or fifty acres were then cultivated by the Indians, under the direction of the superintendent, aided by other missionaries. A fine crop of vegetables, were in the ground when we landed, to take care of which were the first of our duties. [131]

Pitezel, who was stationed at the Little Rapids Mission in 1843 went on to describe the church services and prayer meetings which took place at the mission:

> When in their meetings, even a stranger to their language could readily perceive that religion is the same among untutored Indians as it is among the whites. Their fervent prayers—their devoted hymns of praise—their subdued and often tearful attention to the preached word—their consistent religious experience, as they relate in the class or love feast, and the correctness of their general deportment, may be favorably compared to their more knowing white brothers."[132]

The Ojibwe converts made an indelible impression on the local white community. Many frontier whites thought it improbable that Indians could become Christians. In some regions such as Illinois and Minnesota where relations between whites and Indians were more tenuous, some

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[130] Nairn, 5.

[131] John H. Pitezel, Lights and Shades of Missionary Life: Containing Travels, Sketches, Incidents, and Missionary Efforts, During Nine Years Spent In The Region of Lake Superior (Cincinnati: Western Book Concern, 1861), 38.

[132] Pitezel, Lights and Shades of Missionary Life, 38.

thought that Indians would receive an education and then return and attack white settlements.[133] The Christian Ojibwe of the Sault not only shattered misconceived notions held by neighboring whites but they may have inspired a religious awakening of sorts among the soldiers of Ft. Brady, the military fort located two miles upriver from the Little Rapids Mission. In the morning of June, 1833, an influential officer happened upon a group of Christian Ojibwe who were worshipping in the nearby woods:

> Rosy fingers seemed to unbar the gates of light. My ears were greeted with the soft of sound music. They had risen with the day to worship God. They sang in three parts-bass, treble, and tenor-and with time so true, and voices so true, as to add harmony even to nature itself. As I listened to their praises and prayer, I felt humbled and ashamed of my country, in view of the wrongs it had afflicted, and continues to inflict, upon these desolate and destitute children of the forest."[134]

Sault Ste. Marie or *Baweting* as it was called by the Anishnabeg, had always been a gathering place for Great Lakes Ojibwe. There was a total of about 1200 mainly Ojibwe who lived in 14 different villages in Upper Canada to the north and west of the rapids. Ojibwe from the communities at Michipiticon, Garden River, Manitoulin Island, and along the north shore of Lake Huron visited the rapids at least once a year. Another 1500 Ojibwe lived in 25 communities throughout the Easter Upper Peninsula, along the south shore of Lake Superior, and on the north shore of Lake Michigan.[135] The most prominent Indian villages being located at Sault Ste. Marie, Mackinaw Island, Drummond Island, Grand Island, Escanaba, and L'Anse. There were probably about 20,000 Indians living in all of Michigan and northern Wisconsin in the late 1830s. The majority of Ashininabeg in Michigan (12,000-15,000) lived in the southern half of the Lower

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[133] George Copway, Life, Letters, and Speeches, eds. Donald Smith and A. LaVonne Brown Ruoff, (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 28.

[134] Reuter, 34.

[135] Tanner, Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History, 131.

Peninsula where agricultural pursuits and production of food was more feasible. The remaining 5,000- 8,000 lived in the northern half of the Lower Peninsula and throughout the Upper Peninsula. Some scholars assert that when the Potawatomi are included, the total Indian populations of Michigan amounted to 30,000 in the nineteenth century. Most Anishinabeg villages averaged between 50 and 150 inhabitants. Considering that most families averaged about 5 members per family, larger villages would have contained about 30 families.[136]

According to Ojibwe oral history, *Baweting* was one of the last resting points where the Ojibwe settled during their migration from the east. Each summer hundreds of Ojibwe came to the rapids to fish and trade. The town was officially founded in 1668 when Father Marquette established a Catholic mission on the banks of the St. Mary's river. French explorers named the place, *Sault de Ste. Marie*, or the Rapids of St. Mary. By the early 1830s the village was home to a diverse community of 950 American, French-Canadian, Indian, and Métis residents. During the summer months the population swelled to over 3,000 as waves of Natives from throughout the Great Lakes came to the rapids to fish and trade.[137] Many Ojibwe flocked to the rapids where an assortment of fish including whitefish and trout could be found in great quantity. Daily life for the village's white residents revolved around the military fort (established in 1822) and the growing business districted located on Water Street which ran parallel to the St. Mary's River. An assortment of buildings lined the banks of the St. Mary's including warehouses, hotels, storehouses, retail stores, saloons, grocery stores, a bake house, a tailor shop, and a blacksmith shop. A smaller but growing Canadian settlement was situated across from the American village on the north shore of the river.

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[136] Charles E. Cleland, Rites of Conquest: The History and Culture of Michigan's Native Americans, (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1992), 194.

[137] Tanner, 130.

The largest Indian settlement along the Canadian shore was 17 miles east of the rapids at Garden River, where two groups of Ojibwe, led by *Shingwaukonse* or Little Pine were located.[138] As part of the 1820 Treaty of Sault Ste. Marie, the Ojibwe at the rapids reserved for themselves a parcel of land that lay adjacent to the American military fort. This reservation became a popular encampment for Ojibwe who came to the rapids to fish, trade, and visit relatives. Most white visitors who came to the Sault or passed through on their way to the western end of Lake Superior, resided at the fort, one of the many hotels and boarding houses, or at the home of John Johnston. An immigrant from Ireland, John Johnston came to Canada in 1792. After marrying *Ozhawguscodaywaquay,* daughter of a prominent tribal leader by the name of *Waubojig,* Johnston and his bride moved to the Sault from La Point, WI where he was engaged in the fur trade.

Sault Ste. Marie had been a center of fur trading activity since the mid-eighteenth century. By 1800, roughly 1 million dollars worth of beaver pelts belonging to the North West Company flowed through the small village at the rapids. At its height the North West Company employed around thirty five guides, fifty clerks, seventy five interpreters, and eleven hundred voyageurs.[139] John Jacob Astor's American Fur Company, founded in 1808 made Sault Ste. Marie its central trading post for Lake Superior. About 50 miles south, the fur trader purchased the fur trading company, Mackinaw Fur, from its English owners in 1811 and made Mackinaw Island the base for operation for the entire Great Lakes region.[140] Counting the smaller X Y fur trading company and the numerous independent fur traders, the number of furs that were harvested around the rapids and shipped through the St. Mary's River must have been enormous. Thousands of beaver, martin, muskrat, fox, bear, deer, lynx, and wolf hides taken from the

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[138] Tanner, 130.

[139] Newton, 99.

[140] Newton, 106.

western head of Lake Superior and beyond, came through the rapids every year bound for eastern markets in Montreal, Detroit, and New York State.[141]

By the 1820s, however, widespread depletion of valuable fur bearing animals such as the beaver, otter, and marten, forced Ojibwe hunters to focus on less valuable muskrat pelts and deer hides. Though Ojibwe men continued to trap and trade, by the mid 1830s the industry had changed dramatically. With supply at an all time low, and commercial markets replacing fur with other materials such as felt, the Ojibwe of Lake Superior were left in a desperate situation.[142] The abandonment of the North West Fur Company and the American Fur Company had a particularly harsh impact on Ojibwe communities, whose families were sustained with the cash received from pelts and furs. For the Sault Ojibwe, the commercialization of the fisheries at the rapids in the 1830s and the construction of the first lock in 1855 not only displaced an Ojibwe band living near it but also destroyed a portion of an important environmental resource and had devastating consequences for the Ojibwe at the Sault.

As the fur trade diminished, Ojibwe villages throughout the Great Lakes had to rely on hunting, fishing, and tapping maple trees for sugar like never before. Some were employed by commercial fisheries making nets and catching, packaging, and transporting fish to far away markets. Overall, however, the decline of the fur trade threw Ojibwe communities such as the one at Sault Ste. Marie into a state of flux. By the 1840s, the need for receiving an education in order to survive in an increasingly white dominated capitalist system became more pronounced for the Lake Superior Ojibwe. The Christian missions and schools such as the Little Rapids Mission grew more appealing as many Ojibwe grappled with providing a sustainable future for their children. Sault Ste. Marie was also home to the newly established Indian department with

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[141] Newton, 99

[142] Cleland, Rites of Conquest, 180.

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft as its Indian agent. Henry Schoolcraft married Jane Johnston, the daughter of John Johnston and *Ozhawguscodaywaquay* and developed a scholarly career studying Ojibwe culture. He used the Indian agency at the Sault as a base for his linguistic and anthropological studies of indigenous culture. His wife undoubtedly aided his understanding of Ojibwe society.

George Copway spent about two weeks at the Little Rapids mission before departing to the Kewawenon Mission at Keweenaw Bay. The Rev. Daniel Meeker Chandler, George Copway, Copway's uncle John Taunchey, and group of traders arrived at Kewawenon Indian Mission in the fall of 1834.[143] The Methodist mission was situated on the east side of the bay near the town of L'Anse, MI; across the bay, near the town of Baraga, stood the Catholic mission. The majority of the 600 Ojibwe inhabitants who lived year around at Keweenaw Bay were Roman Catholics and traditionalists. Like the Ojibwe at the Sault they relied heavily on fishing and making sugar to survive. The decline of the fur trade had also impacted Keweenaw Bay Indian communities. During the summer they survived by consuming white fish, trout, and herring which they obtained by spearing and setting gill nets. In addition to hunting and fishing, during the summer months the Ojibwe harvested cranberries, blueberries, whortleberries, and raspberries in great numbers. Whortleberries and blueberries were so plentiful around Keweenaw Bay that they made "the country look literally black." Though the climate at Keweenaw Bay was too cold for any long term agriculture, the Ojibwe sold an assortment of vegetables to miners employed in the burgeoning mining industry of the western Upper Peninsula in the 1840s [144]

[143] Goerge Copway, Life Letters, and Speeches, 69.

[144] Reuter, 45.

Hunting was difficult during the winter months because the number of large game such as bear and deer had been severely reduced.[145]

By the 1860s, these communities would merge into three factions; Christian (mostly Methodists), Roman Catholic, and traditional (those who adhered to the Midewiwin religion and lived from the season cycle). Each group consisted of about 300 people each. There was an additional 600-800 Ojibwe who comprised about four to six bands living seasonally at Keweenaw Bay, along the Ontonogan River, and at Lac Vieux Desert, near the American town of Watersmeet. They came to Keweenaw during the summer months to visit their Christian relations and occasionally receive treaty annuities[146]

In the early 1830s however, the Protestant Ojibwe Christian community near L'Anse was just being established. The Protestant community of Ojibwe consisted of about 30 Indians who had been evangelized two years previously by John Sunday. The Mississauga missionary had originally been invited to establish a mission at Keweenaw Bay by a white trader whom he met while ministering at Sault Ste. Marie in 1832. Sunday began the mission by establishing a school for local Ojibwe children. After he acquired a class of about 15 scholars, adults began to demonstrate interest in his teachings. At least three adults were converted after the children including as staunch traditionalist. In two years time the mission had grown from 15 students and a few adult converts to roughly 30 members.[147] According to D. M. Chandler, the missionary who had adored the worship services of the Sault Ojibwe, but struggled to communicate with them due to language deficiencies, now had more than enough help. George Copway (mission

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[145] Edmund Danziger Jr., The Chippewas of Lake Superior. (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press), 71.

[146] Cleland, Rites of Conquest, 241-242..

[147] Reuter, 27.

teacher) and John Taunchey (the mission interpreter) were both bilingual. John Taunchey and Copway were likely with Chandler when they were visited by the group of Ojibwe men who demanded restitution for building on their land. The Ojibwe missionaries probably played a key part in advising Chandler to provide the appropriate supplies in return for the use of their hunting grounds. Although Copway's official title was that of teacher, he soon joined Taunchey and Chandler in actively evangelizing the unconverted Ojibwe and ministering to the Christian Indians.

The three missionaries would routinely visit the Ojibwe in their lodges, sharing the gospel and leading prayer meetings. They sang hymns translated by Peter Jones, learned the Lord's Prayer, the Apostle's Creed, and the Ten Commandments in the Ojibwe language. According to Copway, "Singing and Praying were their constant employment, and some of them seemed to know nothing else but the enjoyment of the truth of the gospel, and that God can and does 'forgive sin.' They became the happiest of beings; their very souls were like an escaped bird, whose glad wings had saved it from danger and death." [148]

The Kewawenon Mission experienced a great deal of success. Speaking to converts directly without an interpreter hastened conversions. Relations between the Catholic missions remained somewhat amicable. In 1845, Bishop Baraga, who was in charge of the Catholic mission, donated a bell to the Kewawenon Indian Mission which replaced the large conch shell that was blown to summon Ojibwe converts to church service.[149] The fruit of the labor of these missionaries was evident during a week-long revival meeting held in June of 1835. During the testimony service or "love feasts" several Christian Ojibwe shared their testimonies of how they

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[148] Copway, Life, Letters, and Speeches, 69.

[149] Reuter, 45.

were converted. Those who testified included Chief Yellowhead from Lake Simcoe, Chief Big Shilling, Emma Rahmsega, William Snake, and Big Jacob (John Sunday's brother).

The preponderance of chiefs at these meetings reflected the Indian missionary efforts to convert tribal leaders. Community leaders held considerable sway with the rest of the members (as was the case with Goerge Copway's father and the Rice Lake Ojibwe) and were therefore immediately targeted by Indian missionaries. The presence of Chief Yellowhead who came to the meeting from Lake Simcoe, Upper Canada also signifies that many Christian Indians travelled to Indian communities and missions to spread the message of Christianity, encourage other Native believers, or to simply participate in Christian meetings with other Indians. Most Ojibwe communities were tied into a regional network of migratory Ojibwe groups and families. Each year, migrating families brought news, information, trade items, and stories of what was occurring outside of the local communities.

A few years earlier in 1832 during a meeting near Lake Simcoe in Upper Canada, the powerful leader of the Ojibwe at *Ketegaunsebe* or Garden River, *Shingwaukonse* or Little Pine was evidently invited along with six other chiefs from the western Great Lakes. During this all-Indian meeting, *Shingwaukonse* described how he had originally heard the message of Christianity from John Sunday during one of the missionary trips to Lake Superior in 1831. He told the tribal council of his initial reaction, "I began to think, 'What shall I do without God?' I remembered John Sunday speaking about a great God; and I thought that I would come to this country, to see who knew about John Sunday's God. I have heard of many stars shining above my head' [meaning the different denominations of Christians]."[150]

[150] Chute, 48.

Hearing of *Shinghwaukonse's* interest in Christianity, Peter Jones also sought out the influential chief on his tour to Sault Ste. Marie in 1833. He travelled to the Canadian side of the rapids in order to talk to Litte Pine and to "hold a meeting among his people." During the course of the meeting Little Pine told Jones and his delegation, "that he was glad we had come to see them; that he had signified his desire to John Sunday for us to come and establish a mission among them; and that he and the other men would then take the subject into consideration."[151] Jones asked several of the Methodist Indians on the American side if they had indeed labored on the Canadian side which they responded in the affirmative. Most of the residents of the rapids, both Indian and non-Indian spoke of the effectiveness of the Ojibwe Christians is Sault Ste. Marie and how they influenced many Anishinabeg in the region to embrace Christianity. According to Jones, "All impartial persons in this place also testify that all of the religious impressions made on the minds of the Indians on both sides of the river, have been produced through the labors of our native speakers." [152] However *Shinwaukonse* eventually became an Anglican and sought to have an Anglican mission established among his people on the British side of the rapids in 1830.

During the summer of 1830 the Reverend George Archbold had travelled through the Lake Huron district to select sights for an Anglican mission. He viewed several areas and ultimately focused his sights on Sault Ste. Marie and LaCloche. In the fall of 1830 James Cameron, a mixed Ojibwe man was sent to both locations to establish Anglican missions. Although the LaCloche mission showed little interest in Christianity, Cameron received a warm response from Little Pine at Sault Ste. Marie where a mission was established. Cameron,

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[151] Jones, Life, 363.

[152] Jones, Life, 363.

however, eventually joined Abel Bingham's Baptist mission on the American side of the shore and became a Baptist preacher.[153]

In 1832, William McMurray, an Episcopal priest had settled on the north side of the rapids and was also well received by Little Pine. McMurray or *Nazhekawasung* (The Lone Lightening) as he was called by Little Pine's band had not yet been admitted to the Holy Orders and therefore his ministerial duties among the Ojibwe were restricted. However given the favorable welcome that he received from Little Pine's band and realizing the potential for a long-term mission at the rapids, he hurriedly set out in June of 1833 to for an emergency meeting with the Bishop of the Anglican Church in Canada, Bishop Stewart, who was based in Quebec. After travelling 3 months and 1500 miles he obtained an audience with the Bishop and was admitted into the Order of Deacons although he was still a few months shy of the age required for ordination.[154] McMurray who took an Ojibwe wife, labored at the Anglican mission on the north shore of the rapids from 1832-1836.

Peter Jones may have sensed the predilection of Little Pine for the Anglican Church and questioned the Methodist Indians at the Little Rapids Mission to see if they had done everything within their power to win Little Pine to Methodism. Denominational rivalry among white missionaries could be quite intense as more missionaries came to the region to convert local Anishinabeg to Christianity. In the late 1820s Abel Bingham's Baptist mission enjoyed almost total influence in the missionary field in the area. However by the mid 1830s the situation had changed drastically. This was especially true of the region around the rapids where community leaders vied for control and influence over both Indian and non-Indian residents. Baptist minister

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[153] Chute, 51.

[154] Mildred Harris Armstrong, A History of the First One Hundred Years of St. James Episcopal Church, Sault Ste. Marie, MI, 1880-1981 (Sault Ste. Marie: St. James Episcopal Church, 1982), 7.

Abel Bingham and Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, head of the Indian agency at the Sault, found themselves embroiled in a heated clash over an annuity set forth by the 1826 Treaty of Fond du Lac, which provided $1000 to fund a mission school at the rapids. Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, the leading political voice at the Sault felt that his authority had been undermined by Abel Bingham and attempted to use his leverage as Indian agent to gain control of the finances of the mission school. Bingham however would eventually win out in the struggle for control of the annuity and financial management of the mission school.[155]

Although Rev. Bingham won the battle of fiscal control on the mission school, he now faced stiff competition from other missions which seemed to be multiplying in the area by the year. By the mid 1830s, competition from Methodists, Presbyterians, and Episcopal missionaries, all vied for influence with the Indians. Political battles with Schoolcraft had made Bingham vulnerable and slightly suspicious. Jeremiah Porter, the young missionary from Princeton Theological Seminary, had only been to the rapids for little over a month when Bingham revealed to him possible plots by the Johnston family (Schoolcraft's Presbyterian in-laws) and Mississauga missionary John Sunday to undermine his influence. In his journal Porter states that Bingham had arrived on the morning of Dec. 12th to discuss the recent interest of the subject of religion on behalf of the local Ojibwe. According to Porter, Bingham argued that the Johnston family was being subversive in their dealings with him. "Mr. B[ingham] fears Sund[a]y wished to supplant him here & that Mrs. J[ohnston]'s family are holding meetings to keep up his interests." Porter then claims he responded, "I endeavored to convince him that in the last opinion he was wrong and promised to do what is in my power to prevent Sunday's locating here."[156]

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[155] John T. Fierst, "Return to 'Civilization': John Tanner's Troubled Years at Sault Ste. Marie" Minnesota History Spring, (1986): 26.

[156] Jeremiah Porter, "A Missionary in Early Sault Ste. Marie: Journal of Jeremiah Porter" ed. Lewis Beeson, Michigan History Magazine 38 (1954): 338.

The battle only solidified the growing feeling among Indian converts that Indian leadership was needed to determine the allocation of missionary funds set forth in the various treaties. This event only provided further traction for the message of solidarity which many Ojibwe saw demonstrated by the many Anishinabe ministers and missionaries who came from all over the Great Lakes to the Little Rapids Methodist Indian Mission. Native converts in particular, held minimal allegiances to denominational bodies during the early 1830s. For Indian converts, being able to fellowship with other Christian Ojibwe was important and tribal identity normally won out over denominational affiliation. Seeing a collected body of Indian ministers and missionaries was also important to Indian converts. Peter Marksman, who was baptized at the Little Rapids Methodist Mission by Peter Jones had originally belonged to Abel Bingham's Baptist Mission. Yet, because he desired to see Indian ministers preaching the gospel he was compelled to visit the Methodist Indian mission at Little Rapids. By 1834, the Methodists became so influential with the local Ojibwe that the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions thought about abandoning the mission and considered selling it to the Methodists. During this time Bingham confessed, "I think at present they exert more influence among the Indians they we do."[157]

Although Bingham recognized that the Methodists were attracting more interest from the Ojibwe than he was, he likely miscalculated the historical processes converging upon the Anishinabeg at the rapids which moved them towards Methodism. The appeal to Methodism was not just denominationalism, although the way Methodists formatted their services did parallel traditional tribal gatherings. Bingham may have underestimated the magnetism of Anishinabe ministers and missionaries who came in force to the mission at Little Rapids. A collected body of Anishinabe clergy were able to not only convey complex Christian dogma using Ojibway

[157] Cumming, 221-222.

language, but the large number of Methodist Ojibwe leaders also provided cohesive instruction on sensitive cultural issues. They defined the boundaries of acceptability when it came to retaining or embracing cultural practices which were not specifically addressed in Christian teachings. A number of Methodist Indian missionaries had practiced traditional spirituality before their conversions and were able to provide clear guidance to prospective converts about the propriety of participating or not participating in cultural acts such as feasts, dances, sacrifices, vision quests, purifications ceremonies, etc.

However, given these factors, Jones still must have been a little discouraged that the Methodists did not win the infamous chief *Shingwaukonse* over to their side. Though Little Pine was respectful and entertained the prospect of the Methodist mission proposed by Jones, Little Pine saw the fate of his band intertwined with the Anglican Church. There were several reasons for this, one being that the Canadian government was more inclined to provide material aid to tribes who affiliated with Church of England or the Anglican Church, the official church of Upper Canada.

The efforts of Jones and other Methodists Indian leaders were often resisted by Canadian authorities due to their Methodist affiliation and principled stance against the doctrine and affairs of the Church of England. Canadian officials felt threatened by the ties of the Methodist church to the United States and were reluctant to support them wholeheartedly. Notwithstanding these assorted loyalties, the Christian Ojibwe of various denomination affiliations throughout the Great Lakes still interacted with one another on a regular basis. Despite S*hingwaukonse's* allegiance to the Anglican Church, he was often courted by the Methodist convert Chief Yellowhead of Simcoe Lake, to circulate messages in support of Christianity via wampum belt to various Lake Superior Ojibwe bands.

Ojibwe missionaries employed a variety of culturally relevant evangelistic techniques which enhanced the reception of their message among other Anishinabeg. Indian missionaries visited wigwams, circulated wampum belts, visited Ojibwe sugar camps, constructed cedar bark lodges (in which church services were held), and gave of their own belongings to those in need. Chief Yellowhead or *Mesquahkeense* of Simcoe Lake, Upper Canada frequently carried with him a wampum belt which was made up almost entirely of white beads and shells with a single string of red beads sown down the middle of the belt. The white beads of the belt signified peace, prosperity, good will and purity of heart; while the single line of red beads signified the shed blood of Christ. When speaking to an Indian audience Yellowhead frequently used the color coded belt to convey Christian ideas of purity, redemption, and holiness. During a council meeting held at Penetanguishene (in the Georgian Bay of Lake Huron), several hundred Ojibwe, Ottawa, and Menomonee from Upper Canada and northern Michigan came to receive their annuities. Christian Ojibwe from Upper Canada utilized the meeting to share the message of Christ and discuss several proposals to construct schools in their communities.

According to Peter Jones, "Chief Yellowhead rose up with a white string of wampum in his hand, and went and shook hands with the Chippeway and Menoominee Chiefs, and then addressed them...Brother Sunday also addressed them and gave a short account of his conversion."[158] Wampum belts were usually circulated among Indian communities to pass along urgent information. The belts contained encoded messages comprised of images and sequences of colored beads which bespoke of war, treaties, and other important events. Yellowhead not only carried the belt when speaking, but also sent it to tribal leaders like *Shingwaukonse* whom he asked to circulate it through all the Indian villages of Lake Superior. Little Pine who was weary of receiving black and red colored wampum belts which signified war must have been relieved

[158] Jones, Life, 350.

when he saw Yellowhead's belt of peace. He dutifully delivered it to key villages such as Sault Ste. Marie and to the Ojibwe bands at Keweenaw Bay.

Yellowhead also prepared a letter detailing his personal experience with Christianity to be included with the wampum belt which he circulated among the Ojibwe of Lake Superior. *Shingwaukonse* or Little Pine, was asked by Yellowhead to distribute the evangelical package to the Lake Superior tribes during the 1830s, which he faithfully did despite denominational differences.[159] Yellowhead addressed the Ojibwe of the western Great Lakes in writing as follows:

> To ALL THE CHIPPEWA IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,-O my nation! My eldest brother! Hear ye what I have to say to you. We have received a great blessing from the Great Spirit. It is the word of the Great Spirit which teaches us his holy religion, and which our forefather's never had. This is a good religion for us. I am now old and gray headed, but I find this to be a very good religion.
>
> Once I was blind, but the Great Spirit made me see when his light shined upon me through the thick midst that covered me up. When in this evil state of darkness, we had no comfort at all, but were in a most wretched condition. We were lying about taverns and in the streets, or before the doors in the mud, where the white people threw out their dirty slops; while our wives and children, living in huts made of boughs and trees, were naked, cold, and starving. This the work of the evil spirit, in giving us the fire-water to drink, and this is the way he serves his children and gives them no happiness. We then thought we were living; but we were all dead in sin; and when we think of what we have been it makes us feel miserable. Therefore we speak to you, and tell you to take the religion of the Great Spirit.
>
> When we embraced this religion it made us happy in our hearts, and we were no longer lying drunk in the streets, but lived in houses like the white men, and our women and children were comfortable and happy. We drank no more fire water, which makes men act like fools—like the hogs that live in the mud. Hear, this my nation, and take the true religion of the Bible; which will make you happy, and drink no more fire water, and let me hear from you then, and tell me how you like my words. Now we shake hands with you in all our heart; also with your women and children. We love you all much in our hearts. This is all I have to say.[160]

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[159] Chute, 48.

[160] Pitezel, Life of Peter Marksman, 200.

ME SHUKEENCE

(Yellowhead)

With vivid illustrations and striking candor, Yellowhead described the woeful affects of alcoholism and the poverty which gripped his tribal community and attributed Christianity as being the catalyst which inspired a reformation at the Lake Simcoe community and within himself. It is also clear in Yellowhead's letter that many of the Christian Indians had begun emulating aspects of white society. Chief Penashe of the Ojibwe community near Keweenaw Bay responded to the message sent by Yellowhead:

> I feel truly thankful to hear from our brothern at the east, and that they have found the true religion, and received a blessing from the Great Spirit. I have taken the wampum in which they sent us in my hand, and looked at it. It is all white. But the string is red, which tells us that the Son of God came into the world and spilled his blood. Now we must all listen to the words of the Great Spirit. I have now given my answer. We shake hands with you all in our hearts. This is all I have to say.[161]
>
> Penashe Quemezhan Shis Shaanwabetoo

It is not known whether Penashe was involved at the local Kewawenon Mission, however he demonstrated enough facility with Christian theology to correctly interpret the message encoded in the belt. In typical Indian fashion, Penashe's response expressed thanks that his tribal relatives to the east have found, "the true religion" and that "Now we must all listen to the words" of the Great Spirit. Based on the chief's succinct reply, however, it is difficult to determine the extent in which he adhered to Yellowhead's message. Given that most of his reply entails describing the message of the wampum belt, it is fair to assert that the wampum left an impression on Penashe. Christian Indians like Yellowhead used wampum belts to convey complex Christian ideology in a culturally palatable context. Many Christian Indians probably

[161] Pitezel, Life of Peter Marksman, 200.

used wampum belts when discussing Christian precepts with the Indian families they visited in their homes.

Upon arriving to an Anishinabe settlement the method of evangelization employed by Indian missionaries was to first visit Ojibwe families in their wigwams. As at Kewawenon, Native missionaries would normally begin to visit Indians in their homes to share the message of salvation, discuss spiritual subjects, and lead the occupants in prayer and singing if they were willing. Usually the mission lacked a log cabin or church building so a large cedar bark lodge was constructed in which to hold services. In the spring of 1833 Peter Marksman accompanied Indian missionary John Kabeege on a brief missionary trip from Sault Ste. Marie to Mackinaw Island. Though only there for a few days, they immediately began to visit the Anishinabe families in their cedar bark homes. According to Marksman, "Our rule was, not only to preach to them when they met together, but visit them from wigwam to wigwam, telling them of Jesus."[162] Unlike Upper Canada, where so many white Methodists lived, the small number of Protestant believers of any denomination in the upper Great Lakes limited the opportunity for northern Ojibwe to attend large camp meetings as the Mississauga did to the east.

Although more missionaries were choosing to come to the upper Great Lakes in the 1830s, actual full-fledged congregations of Christians were concentrated in only a few areas such as Sault Ste. Marie and Mackinaw Island. These communities contained small groupings of Christians, and paled in comparison to the denominational assemblies back east. These small groups of Protestant believers attended church services conducted by white missionaries who held services for both Indians and whites at alternating times of the day. The limited number of Protestant believers on the Great Lakes frontier made camp meetings or any large assemblies

[162] Pitezel, Life of Peter Marksman, 49.

unfeasible. As a result most Ojibwe had very limited interaction with Protestant Christians unless they lived at or near the location of an actual mission.

Ojibway missionaries actively sought out native encampments and did not wait on Indians to visit a mission or specific location. Although Indian missions were established where Native populations were the heaviest, high migratory patterns diminished the number of Anishinabeg in these regions at any one time. Dependency on the seasonal cycle of fishing in the summer, hunting deer in the fall, and setting up sugar bush camps (or camps to extract and process maple sugar by tapping trees) in the spring, led bands of Ojibwe to continually travel throughout a particular region of the Great Lakes. Indian missionaries had grown up in these conditions and sometimes relied on the seasonal cycle of harvest themselves. As a result they made adequate preparations and followed Ojibwe bands as they made encampments at remote locations. Ojibwe missionaries at these encampments would construct their own lodges, employ the same subsistence patters as the rest of the group, share their venison and fish with the rest of the band, and hold prayer meetings, church services, and teach children throughout the week in a large cedar bark lodge. Marksman was reported as following the Ojibwe, most likely the Indians from the mission, "to their fishing near Whitefish Point. Living in a wigwam, he taught the school under temporary shelter."[163]

Although many missionary accounts of the time speak disparagingly about the Ojibwe mode of living in wigwams, Indian missionaries were completely at home. Many of them had grown up in the exact same accommodations and knew the social etiquette expected of visitors to a family's wigwam. Absent from writings of Indian missionaries when describing Anishinabe culture and traditional ways of life is the condescending tone which frequents other non-Indian missionary writings when describing the culture, society, and domestic lives of the Anishinabeg.

[163] Pitezel, Life of Peter Marksman, 131.

Peter Jones appeared to make every effort to describe the ingeniously erected wigwams in uplifting and complementary terms when applicable. In addition to describing wigwams as well kept and neat, he allocated a sacred space to them when used for divine services and religious assemblies.

In 1829, while among the *Matchjedash* Indians in Upper Canada, Jones described the reception the Indian missionaries received and the accommodations prepared for them, "We were then conducted to a neat bark wigwam, which had been prepared for our reception, in which we took up our abode and felt quite at home." While near Scoogog, in Upper Canada he visited an encampment of 150 Ojibwe which lived in nine large "bark wigwams" and within every lodge, "Each person occupies his or her place in the wigwam without the intrusion of other members of the lodge." And after the conversion of the Scoogog Indians, Jones asserted, "but now the love of God being shed abroad in their hearts, their smoky bark wigwams become palaces to them because Jesus dwells there."[164] Although the Scoogog Indians were in the process of erecting a log school house and Jones who advocated Euro-American notions of agriculture encouraged them in the effort; he did not criticize the use of wigwams among the Scoogog, nor did he deride the shelters as being inferior to the permanent dwellings among the whites. In a subtle irony he heartedly approved when he encountered some white missionaries at Spooke Island, Upper Canada who were forced to build and live in a wigwam of their own:

> Since I last visited this Mission the family has moved their establishment from the main land to an island called Spooke Island, where I found them living in bark wigwams, like their Indian brethren, happy and contended. Why not? They are engaged in a glorious work, and the blessings of God rests upon these devoted missionaries. The school was also kept in a bark building, where they children are taught to read the Word of God.[165]

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[164] Jones, Life, 198.

[165] Jones, Life, 176.

There was an overwhelming sentiment among Americans and Canadians during the nineteenth century that Christianization and the "civilizing mission" was inextricably linked. Civilization was the natural outgrowth of Christianization, and where there was no Christianity, civilizing Indians would eventually pave the way to the gospel. Observing the fifty acres of land under cultivation by the Christian Indians at the Sault, Methodist missionary John Pitezel, summarized the view of the entire evangelical Christian community, "The Christianization of the Heathen is fundamental—civilization is the legitimate fruit."[166] Though many Indian missionaries shared similar sentiments such as receiving an education and slowly learning sedentary agriculture practices, they resented the ethnocentric demeanor exhibited by this missionary attitude.

Ojibwe ministers such as Jones also viewed assimilation as necessary for the Ojibwe to survive and remain competitive with whites in a rapidly changing world. However, he viewed "civilization" as an offshoot of Christianity and in slightly different terms than his fellow white missionaries. Jones disagreed with the predominant assumption that civilization should be the primary objective of missionary endeavors among the Indians. He also resisted the posture of cultural superiority exhibited by many missionaries. Speaking of a certain Bro. Beatty, a white missionary who actively assisted the Ojibwe in planting and harvesting crops, Jones says:

> But alas, too many of those who have gone amongst the Indians have rather manifested a domineering spirit, which has proved his want of success. The Indian is a *free man [italics placed by Jones],* and will not be driven. Gain his confidence and esteem, and then you can do anything with him. Some white people have imagined in order to Christianize the heathen, you must first teach them the arts and sciences as a necessary promotion of the Gospel; but I say, "No." First teach him the Christian religion, and when he has embraced this he will be prepared for the pursuits of civilized life[167]

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[166] Pitezel, Lights and Shades of a Missionary Life, 38.

[167] Jones, Life, 228.

For Ojibwe missionaries, emphasizing conversion to Christianity rather than civilization and assimilation made all the difference. One can almost hear Ojibwe missionaries tell one another, if white missionaries would just appeal to the spiritual predilection and religious tendency of Indian people without the continual demands to adopt Anglo culture, then more progress in converting Indian might be had among white missionaries. Indian missionaries focused on conversion and allowed Indian converts to conform to white society under their own volition. They believed that if they focused on the spiritual sustenance of Christianity, then all other adaptations to white society could be made in due time under the preference of the individual Indian believer.

Though most Indian missionaries subscribed to living in houses, dressing like whites, and wearing short hair, they believed that these were individual choices and not necessarily synonymous with Christianization. When Peter Marksman saw Indian missionaries preaching at Sault Ste. Marie in the "cedar bark church next to the rapids," he commented on how they were dressed, "They appeared good, their [Indian preachers] dress was like that of the white man's, clean and neat." Near the end of the summer in which the Indian preachers made their visit to Sault Ste. Marie, Marksman changed his outward appearance as well, "About the month of August...I changed my dress and wore my hair differently."[168] Marksman was baptized the following summer of 1833 by Peter Jones during a revival meeting at the Little Rapids Mission. In 1835 he states he was "happily converted" at the Little Rapids Mission and in a letter to Bishop T.A. Morris some years later, he says of himself after his conversion, "I write to you a few lines to tell you of the salvation of God towards me, since I cast my blanket away from my body, and my images, or gods, before my eyes whom I worshipped many days, and served with much prayer and darkness."[169] For Marksman, his spiritual transformation hastened a cultural change in

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[168] Pitezel, Life of the Peter Marksman, 46.

[169] Pitezel, Life of Peter Marksman, 53-54.

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which he eventually shortened his hair, dressed after the fashion of whites, and began to be identified with the English translation of his last name which meant *He-that-shoots-at-the-mark* or Marksman.

However, other Indian preachers such as Peter Greensky (the Ojibwe convert which was asked to leave the Methodist mission for excessively loud worship) continued to wear his hair long and dress in a traditional manner. While ministering to local Odawa in Michigan in the 1850s he was described in this way:

> Greensky had long black hair and from his ears hung bone earrings. With his blanket wrapped around him, he preached in the little earthen floored Wog-nee-gon. Many Indians gathered to hear him and many desired to be converted. He gave them instructions before they could be baptized. The baptismal ceremony was held in the waters of Pine Lake, and the little bay known as Oyster Bay.[170]

Personal presentation and dress was a matter of personal conviction. However, most Anishinabe converts usually adopted European styled clothing and shortened their hair. Though it appears that many Ojibwe Christians shortened their hair and adopted white dress for several different reasons, one thing is certain, that clothing and length of hair did signify a certain cultural persuasion among Anishinabe converts. These choices were made on an individual basis and each person retained native cultural traits, expressions, and clothing or conformed to Anglo society, as they saw fit. Most Indian missionaries saw the need to begin to adapt white ways of agriculture and education in order to compete with whites and to survive in a quickly changing world, however, this process also occurred within the tribal context of respect, humility, and autonomy for those involved.

Although the addition of Indian missionaries and ministers into the missionary field had a tremendous impact in spreading the message of Christianity among Great Lakes communities, not

[170] Reuter, 152.

all was well. Resistance on behalf of the traditionalists became particularly pronounced in some areas. Many traditionalists actively worked against Indian missionaries. In 1831, John Sunday was unable to sustain a mission at Sugar Island near the future sight of the Little Rapids Mission at Sault Ste. Marie. Opposition from Roman Catholics and traditionalists forced him to abandon the mission at the island and remove to the Little Rapids Mission sight. Persecution of Indian missionaries in some communities had catastrophic results.

The tragic death of Peter Beaver, an Indian missionary among the Chippewa of the Thames River in Southern Ontario during the late 1820s, illustrates the immense struggle occurring within many Ojibwe missionaries who found themselves caught between two cultures. Laboring among a predominantly traditionalist community, the young Ojibwe missionary faced virulent opposition. On one occasion he was almost tomahawked to death by a woman who attacked him while he was praying. The continual abuse and opposition took its toll on this young Ojibwe missionary, he committed suicide in 1831[171] The mission field could prove extremely dangerous for these first generation Christian Ojibwe.

The Kewawenon Mission near L'Anse also experienced similar resistance by traditionalists who were hostile to the message of Christianity. In 1834, *Kahbewahbekokay* or Spear Maker, threatened to "tomahawk" Copway and Chandler if they visited his home with the "white man's religion." Indian missionaries were also accused of witchcraft and practicing "bad medicine" by traditionalists. An elderly Indian man at the Kewawenon Mission threatened to kill the missionaries when his daughter became sick after the missionaries "prayed and sang over her."[172] Fortunately, the man's daughter recovered and he was eventually converted.

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[171] Smith, Sacred Feathers, 110.

[172] Copway, Life, Letters, and Speeches, 78.

Many non-Indian missionaries experienced a great deal of difficulty over Ojibwe notions of propriety in challenging or openly disagreeing with someone. Ashininabe culture valued consensus and conformity in formulating opinions and presenting ideas that had implications for the entire community. Specifically when speaking about spiritual and religious topics, openness and receptivity of ideas was the guiding edict. White missionaries, operating from a cultural construct that valued individualism, confrontation, articulating differences, and openly airing grievances, misinterpreted Ojibwe acquiescence for approval of their message. Indian missionaries also encountered this diplomatic tactic, however, they were accustomed to such rules of engagement. Many Anishinabeg throughout the Great Lakes frequently cited creation theology and the immoral behavior of whites to explain their opposition to Christianity when listening to Indian preachers.

After hearing Peter Jones and other Christian Ojibwe preach, a gathering of "Munceys and Chippewas" (most likely at "Munceytown" near the Thames River in Upper Canada), called a council in which to address the Indian missionaries. According to Jones, Captain Snake, a "Muncey Speaker" addressed the assembly, "Brothers, I am happy to see you worship in the way that you do. We will hold fast the blessing the Great Spirit has given the Indians. It makes my heart glad. I worship God too. We will worship *Pahtahmahwahsing* (our Creator). We will worship your way and our way." Seeing that the Indian missionaries could elicit no other response from the council, Jones records that they informed the tribes, that they "had nothing to do with their lands, nor their presents and payments, only to give them good advice..." The Indian missionaries soon had a "word of exhortation and prayer" and left for the Grand River.[173]

While on a missionary trip to Walpole Island, Peter Jones and other Mississauga missionaries sought to persuade a local chief by the name of *Pezhekezhikquasgum* of the efficacy

[173] Jones, Life, 252.

of Christianity. Walpole Island, a bastion for traditional religion, illustrates the diversity of opposition encountered by the Indian missionaries. Upon speaking to the thirty or so Indians who had assembled to hear their message, Peter Jones, according to tribal convention, appointed Bro. Thomas Smith, the "oldest man in the company" to address the assembly first. Jones followed the elder's speech by giving the tribal assembly an account of the conversion of Mississauga-Ojibwe communities and the basic tenants of Christianity. *Pezhekezhikquasgum* responded to the Indian missionaries:

> When the Great Spirit made the white man he gave him his worship, written in a book, and prepared a place for his soul in heaven. He gave him his mode of preparing and administering medicine to the sick different for that of the Indians. Brothers and friends, when the Great Spirit made the Indians he gave him his mode of worship, and the manner of administering and using medicine for the sick. I will tell you what happened to some of our forefathers that once became Christians. When they had thrown away the religion of their fathers, sickness came among them, and most everyone of them died, and but a few escaped death. Now, brothers and friends, if I should follow the example of those that once worshipped like the white man I should expect to incur the wrath of the Great Spirit and share the same fate as those that perished. I will therefore remain as I am and sit down alone and worship in that way that the Munedoo Spirit appointed our forefathers to worship.[174]

The Walpole leader then moved from a theological framework of resistance to describe his personal justification for his opposition to Christianity:

> Brothers and friends how can I, who have grown old in sins and in drunkenness, break off from those these things, when the white people are as bad and as wicked as the Indians! Yesterday two white men, Christians, got drunk, quarreled and fought with one another. And one of them is now on the island with a black eye. Brothers and friends, what you have said concerning the evil effects of fire water are very true. Strong drink has made us poor and destroyed our lives. Brothers and friends, I am poor and hardly able to buy enough cloth for a pair of leggings, and wherewith would I be able to buy cloth enough for a pair of pantaloons to dress me like a white man, if I should become a Christian or live like a white man? Brothers and friends, I am glad to see you as native brethren, but will not become a Christian.[175]

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[174] Jones, Life, 248.

[175] Jones, Life, 248-249.

Chief *Pazhekezhikguashkum's* response typified the type of reasoning employed by Indian people who were resistant to Christianization efforts. His answer embodies a great deal of the rational of why many Indians resisted Christianization attempts, even by other Indian missionaries. He first alludes to the separate creation theory by suggesting that when the "Great Spirit made the white man, he gave him his worship...different...from that of the Indians." He verifies his belief that whites and Indians were created by God to worship differently by relating an account of his Indians ancestors who perished by divine retribution when they accepted the message of Christianity. The Walpole chief may be referring to a much earlier time (before the great migration westward) when many of the tribes on the east coast were wiped out by smallpox epidemics during the seventeenth century. Or the chief may be eluding to a more recent time period, such as during the French and Indian war, when the British attempted to spread smallpox among Algonquin tribes in the Great Lakes, many of who sided with the French. He also indicts the immoral behavior of white Christians and asserts that if Christianity is not strong enough to regulate morality among the whites for whom it was intended then it certainly would not work for Indians for whom it was not intended.

Pazhekezhikquashkum viewed Christian conversion as tantamount to transferring ethnic affiliation to that of a white man. He asked rhetorically, "...wherewith would I be able to buy cloth enough for a pair of pantaloons if I should become a Christian or live like a white man?" His question illustrates just how closely many Great Lakes Indians associated religion and ethnic identity. If anything, the chief's assessment indicates that many Anishinabeg associated traditional spirituality with a distinct "Indian identity" and suggests that Christian Ojibwe were viewed by non-Christian Anishinabeg as adopting an Anglo identity. So for many Indian people, Christianity meant a denunciation of an entire way of life and cultural identity; a move many

were unwilling to make. The singular point in which the chief agrees, is the detrimental effect of the use of whiskey or "firewater." The Walpole Island chief recognized that his community needed to be rid of certain elements such as "firewater," however, he did not see Christianity as the instrument by which his community could be purged. He also acknowledged his own struggle with alcohol but viewed himself as too old to reverse his course. However, the Walpole leader did not see Christianity as a viable solution for himself or his community. *Pazhekezhikquashkum* remained unconverted.

Pazhekezhikquashkum's response cited the separate creation story and the misdeeds of white Christians as the reason many Indian leaders refused to consider the message of Protestant Christianity. Indian missionaries faced a continual stream of responses which seemed to inevitably lead back to the actions of whites or the Ojibwe accounts of creation. However, Ojibwe preachers considered themselves uniquely situated to answer such rebuttals. Upon visiting a small Ojibwe settlement north of the Thames River in Upper Canada, Jones called together the members of the band to hear him preach. After hearing Jones speak, the Thames River leader *Kanootong,* responded in much the same way as the Walpole chief *Pazhekezhikquashkum* did:

> Brothers—I am glad to see you and hear from you, but with respect to Indians becoming Christians, I cannot think it right; for when the Great Spirit made the white man and the Indian he did not make them of one colour, and therefore did not design them to worship the same way; for he placed the white man across the great waters, and there gave him his religion in a book; he also made the white man to cultivate the earth, and raise cattle, &c.; but when the Great Spirit made the Indian, he placed them in this country, and gave him his way on worship written in his heart, which has been handed down from one generation to another...and, more than this, I do not see the white men who are Christians are any better than the red men, for they make fire-waters, get drunk, quarrel, fight, murder, steal, lie, and cheat.[176]

[176] Jones, Life, 124.

"In answer to these arguments" Jones told the chief, that "the good book said there was only one way to worship God, and the Great Spirit required all nations to believe and accept the offer of salvation." He also stated that Christian Indians themselves had the "same prejudices to overcome" but since they had begun to pray to the "Great Spirit," they "found him to be the Indian's as well as the white man's God." And in regard to the behavior of "bad white men" Jones explained "that all white people were not true Christians, &c., because they did not obey the words of the Great Spirit...but that good Christians...did not deal in fire-waters, nor drank them."[177]

This extraordinary exchange between *Kanootong* and Jones reveals much about the methodology employed on behalf of Indian ministers. The interaction is revealing because it is taking place before a large Indian assembly. Rarely do missionary accounts of the time offer such culturally insightful interactions. Both parties were operating in a cultural context which afforded them tremendous liberty to discuss seeming contradictions (and continuities) between the white man and his religion. Jones utilized his own position as a Mississauga-Ojibwe to identify with the chief's objections, asserting that he too formerly shared the same opinion as the chief in regard to the Great Spirit. Yet he drew upon his personal experience with Christianity to demonstrate to the chief that the Great Spirit is the "Indian's as well as the white man's God." In regard to the behavior of whites, he pointed out that "not all whites are true Christians." Typically Indian ministers would reference the biblical story of creation to try to convince tribal opponents that "out one blood, God created all nations;" that the Great Spirit required all people and all nations to salvation through Jesus Christ. Being raised with traditional Ojibwe teachings gave Indian preachers a tremendous advantage over non-Indian missionaries.

[177] Jones, Life, 125.

During the 1820s and 1830s there was still many misnomers regarding Protestant Christianity and due to lack of exposure or not being able to read English texts, misinformation abounded in Indian communities. Most Christian Ojibwe did not speak English. So for an individual who not only had read the Bible several times but had also translated scripture and hymns into Ojibwe, Jones' arguments were forceful. He had read the book they often referred to and could relate to them the Christian message of salvation while allaying many of their fears about what they may or may not have heard about the scriptures and evangelical Christianity. Yet many tribal leaders still equated Christianity as a religion not designated for Indians. However, as Ojibwe communities experienced the ravages of alcohol, the missionaries built on the temperance movement which was inspired by Christianity to appeal to Native communities.

Tribal leaders and Indian missionaries witnessed the disastrous effects of alcohol on their communities. Annuity payment locations were targeted by whiskey peddlers who strategically set up their stands at or near payment sites. The level of drunkenness in certain areas shocked early missionaries and they reported that Indian men, women, and children were regularly found incapacitated at payment sights due to alcohol consumption. The number of accidents caused by drunkenness also occurred at alarming rates in Great Lakes Indian communities. Most Indian missionaries themselves were former alcoholics or were raised in households which were touched by the tragic influence of whiskey. As a child, Peter Jones experiences the "woeful effects of fire water, (alcohol)."[178] According to tribal convention, Jones had been adopted out to a local chief, whose own son had died. While Peter's new family went on a "drunken frolic" he had been exposed to the cold and was unable to walk for three months.[179] John Sunday, a veteran of the War of 1812 and well known warrior, who with face painted, wore a medal arm plate, and carried

[178] Jones, Life, 4.

[179] Jones, Life, 4.

a gun, drank heavily before his conversion. Both of Peter Jacob's parents, his two brothers, sister, and brother-in-law all died from drinking; alcoholism often decimated Ojibwe communities and fractured Ojibwe families.

Most tribal leaders, whether they agreed with the message of Christianity or not, knew that something had to be done to counter the effects of ardent spirits. During the same time period, the Iroquois had been able to check widespread alcoholism among the confederacy by following the teachings of Handsome Lake, who banned the use of whiskey. Indian missionaries and tribal chiefs often described how Christianity provided Indians with the spiritual framework necessary to resists the use of ardent spirits. They frequently explained to tribal councils and assemblies how Christianity had been the catalyst to the reformation of several Indian communities in Upper Canada. In a portion of the letter which he circulated with the wampum belt among non Christian Indians, Chief Yellowhead described the band's condition and specifically singled out Christianity as the means by which his community at Lake Simcoe had been transformed:

> We were lying about taverns and in the streets, or before the doors in the mud, where the white people threw out their dirty slops; while our wives and children, living in huts made of boughs and trees, were naked, cold, and starving. This the work of the evil spirit, in giving us the fire-water to drink, and this is the way he serves his children and gives them no happiness. We then thought we were living; but we were all dead in sin; and when we think of what we have been it makes us feel miserable. Therefore we speak to you, and tell you to take the religion of the Great Spirit.
>
> When we embraced this religion it made us happy in our hearts, and we were no longer lying drunk in the streets, but lived in houses like the white men, and our women and children were comfortable and happy. We drank no more fire water, which makes men act like fools—like the hogs that live in the mud. Hear, this my nation, and take the true religion of the Bible; which will make you happy, and drink no more fire water, and let me hear from you then, and tell me how you like my words.[180]

[180] Reuter, 24.

By spiritualizing the struggle against alcohol, Christian Ojibwe such as Yellowhead or *Mesquahkeense* situated Christianity within a tribal context in which evil spirits could be induced to leave by a higher spiritual power. Many Ojibwe converts relied on imagery from the Bible in which God and angels were engaged in epic struggles with Satan and demons for the welfare of mankind and drew on what Indians already knew of the spirit world in an effort to convert them. As the Iroquois followers of Handsome Lake, Indian missionaries made sobriety a central tenant in the message of Christianity. Regardless of the consumption patterns of white believers, most Indian converts of various denominations equated abstinence as a core practice of Christian faith. They saw in the message of Christianity, the spiritual apparatus needed to restructure their communities around sobriety and piety.

While evangelizing among Indian settlements, Ojibwe ministers were able to extract astonishing admissions about both the personal and communal wrestle with alcohol; confessions which were rarely told to non-Indian missionaries in such a candid fashion. When encountering leaders who appeared to be growing despondent with the use of alcohol among their band members, Indian missionaries highlighted the transformation occurring among other tribes. While visiting at Bear Creek (just north of the Thames River in Canada West), Jones' message gained traction with one chief by the name of Yellowbird. Although a staunch opponent of Christianity, Yellowbird reexamined his stance after hearing the stories of reformation told to him by Jones. After Yellowbird and another chief agreed to allow Jones to present the Christian doctrine to the "general council of all the chiefs" he confided to the Ojibwe missionary, "We are so... given to intemperance...it would be impossible for them to become good." Jones then shared with the old chief the effect Christianity was having on his own Mississauga band at the Credit River and since "they began to pray to the Great Spirit, they had been able to forsake their drunkenness" and that *Kezhamanidoo* [God] was reconciled to them through the merits of his son

Jesus Christ." According to Jones, Yellowbird "appeared amazed at this, and said it was wonderful news."[181]

Other Indian preachers such as Peter Marksman combated the effects of alcohol by inducing converts to make temperance pledges. Marksman testified how Christianity led to Indian believers making pledges of sobriety:

> I immediately commenced preaching and visiting from lodge to lodge. The Lord blessed the poor Indians, who once lay along the streets of white men...And now the Indians are praising God in the streets and roads of white men. Now poor whiskey, or fire water, traders are ashamed, for now the Indians have joined the temperance society, and keep their pledges.[182]

Utilizing conversion experiences and religious gatherings such as tent meetings to secure temperance pledges among Indian converts became a popular practice in evangelical circles. Although Marksman facilitates a temperance movement, most Indian converts during the nineteenth century abstained from alcohol as part and parcel of their religious devotion. Many temperance meetings among Christians Ojibwe were began under the influence of white missionaries. However, these temperance meetings quickly took on the character of Ojibwe culture.

A camp meeting held on July 12th, 1852 at Whitefish Point in Michigan's Upper Peninsula which attracted over 200 Christian Indians and a handful of white missionaries, concluded its weeklong gathering with a temperance meeting. In the evening the temperance meeting was held among the camp meeting participants, which netted over 100 signatures from Native believers pledging to abstain from the use of whiskey. In Lights and Shades of Missionary Life, John Pitezel included a description of Peter Jones' account of the meeting which

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[181] Jones, Life, 126.

[182] Pitezel, Life of Peter Marksman, 83.

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[183] Pitezel, Lig

was published in the evangelical newsletter entitled Christian Guardian of Toronto. Of the camp meeting held at Whitefish Point, Jones relates:

> Chief Waubojeig Washkee was called to the chair, after which.... Chief Ogestaih was then requested to proclaim the number who had given their names to the cause of temperance, which he did in a masterly manner, causing his powerful voice to resound through the wood and along the shore of the Lake to a great distance. He rose up and said, 'Hear me, Hear me, Ogestaih has been chosen to proclaim the result of this meeting; the number of Indians who now say that they will never again drink the fire-water, is one hundred and five. The one hundred and five Indians now say, that there shall be no more deaths by drowning in the water—no more burning to death—no more quarreling fighting—no more bruised eyes—no more dragging the wife by the hair of her head—no more murders—and you who are husbands now say you will be no more jealous of your wives, and you wives say you will be no more jealous of your husbands—and last of all, Ogestaih says, that he also will no more be jealous of his wife. This is all I have to say.[183]

Temperance meetings became an incredibly powerful tool in the cause for sobriety. These meetings provided opportunities for Indian leaders to link authority to skilled oral rhetoric, which induced their communities to adhere to their pledges. Such pledges complemented their Christian devotion. Though Indian converts normally taught one another to avoid ardent spirits as part of their religious devotion, the influence of white missionaries and Christians among Indian believers often manifested in temperance pledges among Christian Indians. As it turns out, these pledges proved to be an extremely effective method of solidifying ones commitment to refrain from intoxicating drink. The chief from Garden River, *Ogeistaih*, (who would eventually become active at the Episcopal mission there) waxed particularly passionate as he departed from the pledge script and began to include practices and behaviors which he hoped would be eradicated from his own community. In vivid detail, Christian Ojibwe such as *Ogeistaih* and *Yellowhead* described how Christianity would provide the spiritual framework necessary to restructure their community and restore orderliness by curbing the issues of domestic violence, poverty, neglect,

[183] Pitezel, Lights and Shades of a Missionary Life, 361.

strained marital relations, homelessness, and accidental deaths brought on by use of alcohol. The writings of Jones and Marksman suggest that Indians who did sign temperance pledges normally upheld their commitment. These weeklong meetings were also times of cultural exchange between Christian Ojibwe and their white brethren.

Ironically enough it was also the Ojibwe who bestowed Indian names on white missionaries during the mid-nineteenth century. During the later stages of a weeklong meeting, such as the revival at Whitefish Point, Christian Ojibwe would hold a naming ceremony for the white missionaries present. These naming events always stirred a great deal of interests among the non-Indian missionaries and demonstrated that Christian Indians in the Great Lakes retained a great deal of their culture while adopting Christianity. It also demonstrated that there was emerging a steady leadership of Indian ministers and the formation of a cross-regional Protestant Christian Indian community that was quite devout; a community which left their mark on white missionaries. Non-Indian missionaries often looked forward to these occasions and delighted in the names bestowed on them. During the naming ceremony performed at the Whitefish Point meeting in 1852, white missionary leaders were given Ojibwe names by the Christian Ojibwe. *Ogestaih*, the chief from Garden River, opened the naming ceremony with a speech in which he alluded to, "the benefits the Indians have received from the labors of the ministers, and that they wished to remember them, but they had names that it was difficult for them to speak."[184] He then announced the name of the honorees to the tribal assembly. Reverend Warner was given the name *Shingwauk* or the "Pine Tree," a name of high esteem among the Lake Superior Ojibwe and was the name of *Ogestiah's* own father; John Pitezel received the named *Wazahwahwadoong*" or "Yellow Beard," which was the name of a extremely devout Christian Ojibwe who belonged to the *Te-quah-men-nah* band and had recently passed; Rev. Steele was called *Iahbewadic* or "Male

[184] Pitezel, Lights and Shades of a Missionary Life, 358.

Elk." After the naming ceremony the white missionaries were embraced by the Anishinabe believers and non-believers alike as each was now considered, "a brother now adopted by the Indians."[185]

In 1835 Methodist superintendant John Clark assigned John Johnson or Enmegabowh, George Copway, and Peter Marksman to Ottawa Lake or Lake Court Oreilles in Wisconsin where they established a "promising" mission. Two years later, the three Indian missionaries and two white youths were sent to Ebenezer Manuel Labor School in Jacksonville, Illinois.[186] The school, founded by the missionary Rev. Peter Akers of the ABCFM was based in his home and was designed to help prepare young men for the mission field by offering them an academic as well as a vocational trade.[187]

In 1837 while on their way to Prairie du Chein to assist Elder Brunson and the Sioux Methodist mission at Kaposia on the west side of the Mississippi River, the three Ojibwe men had to pass through the dangerous middle ground which separated the Sioux and the Ojibwe territories. During the journey to Prairie du Chein, the three Ojibwe missionaries were apprehended and held hostage at a Sioux encampment for three days.[188] According to George Copway as soon they neared the village, a "war whoop" was given and warning shots soared over the heads of the three Ojibwe missionaries. Copway recalled that the bullets "either splashed in front of our canoe or whizzed over our heads." They were kept "as prisoners" for three days.

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[185] Pitezel, Lights and Shades of a Missionary Life, 359.

[186] Reuter, 62.

[187] Jackson, Enmegahbowh—A Chippewa Missionary, 6-7.

[188] Jackson, 6.

Yet, when the Sioux found out through an interpreter that the three Ojibwe men were missionaries they were released and treated well by their captors.[189]

Not much is known of the experience of the Mississauga youth at this school, except that all three finished the curriculum by 1839. Recalling his time at the school, Enmegahbowh said "I completed the branches taught in the school. I was considered one of the best grammarians, and was ready to be sent to college to study dead languages."[190] Enmegahbowh had often resisted learning Greek or Hebrew or the "dead languages" as he called them because, as he frequently retorted, he was sent to work among the living, not the dead.[191]

Having completed their vocational education, the young scholars received their official charge for missionary work at the annual Methodist Conference in Bloomington, Illinois in 1839. Peter Marksman was assigned to work at the Kewawenon Mission in L'Anse; Copway was sent to the Elk River Mission which was recently established on the Mississippi (just above the Sioux mission of Kaposia); and Enmegahbowh, along with the non-Indian missionary Samuel Spates were charged with establishing the Sandy Lake mission around the upper Mississippi. Copway returned to Upper Canada in the summer of 1840 where he married Elizabeth Howell in Toronto. After returning to the Elk River mission, Copway and his wife were stationed at the Rabbit River mission and then were assigned to Fond du Lac in 1841. However laboring in the upper Mississippi region which divided Sioux and Ojibwe territory and was the scene of much tribal warfare took its toll on the Copways. The Mississauga missionary frequently butted heads with the American missionaries and was often viewed by the Lakota as being more French than Indian

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[189] Copway, Life, Letters, and Speeches, 86.

[190] Jackson, 7.

[191] Episcopal Diocese of Minnesota, "The Rev. John Johnson Enmegabow, 1820-1902." Soundings 24, no. 3 (2002): 12.

because of his Anglo styled clothing. At the behest of Peter Jones, the Copway's gladly returned to George's home at Rice Lake in 1842 where he raised funds for the Methodists and represented his tribe in political affairs.[192]

[192] Smith, Life, Letters, and Speeches, 30-31.

Chapter 4: Indian Missionaries: George Copway *(Kahgegagahbowh)*, Peter Marksman *(Gahgodahahquah)*, and John Johnson *(Enmegahbowh)*

George Copway, Removal, and Career

George Copway was born *Kahgegagahbowh* (Stands Firm) at the mouth of the Trent River just outside of Trent, Ontario in 1818. George's parents were full-blooded Ojibwe and were members of the Rice Lake band of Mississauga-Ojibwe who lived on Lake Ontario's north shore near Cobourg, Ontario. Both were converted when Peter Jones and a delegation of Indian missionaries visited his band at Rice Lake during the mid 1820s. A summer after his mother's death in 1829, Copway was converted to Christianity at a Methodist camp meeting that he attended with his father near Cobourg. He attended the Methodist school at Rice Lake for about two years along with about 40-50 other students from the Rice Lake area, including his cousin Enmegahbowh or John Johnson.[193]

In 1820, most Ojibwe from Southern Ontario were traditionalists. During Copway's boyhood, he would see a remarkable transformation occur among the Mississauga-Ojibwe. Within a period of twenty years, Methodism became firmly entrenched in some thirteen Ojibwe communities in Southern Ontario.[194] Many abandoned the hunter-gatherer lifestyle and adopted sedentary farming; Methodism provided the impetus for such a movement. In 1820, most Ojibwe in Upper Canada or present day Southern Ontario practiced the spirit-worship of their fathers and belonged to the Midewiwin Society. As discussed in chapter 2, the conversion of Peter Jones began what one scholar has termed the Mississauga "cultural revolution."[195] Jones not only persuaded those who lived in his home community at the Credit River to become Christian but he also played a major role in establishing or maintaining Indian missions at Grape Island,

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[193] Smith, Life, Letters, and Speeches of Copway, 25.

[194] George Copway, Life, Letters, and Speeches of Kahgegagahbowh or George Copway (New York: S.W. Benedict, 1856).

[195] See Donald Smith, Sacred Feathers: The Reverend Peter Jones (Kahkewaquonaby) and the Mississauga Indians (Toronto and London: University of Toronto Press, 1987).

Munceytown, Mud Lake, Rice Lake, Lake Simcoe, and Saugeen, along with several other Indian communities in Upper Canada. Like Jones, George Copway was also raised practicing traditional Ojibwe spirituality, his father being the chief of the band at Rice Lake and one of the community's main spiritual leaders. However, the Rice Lake band turned toward Methodism in 1827, after the conversion of Peter's father. Soon many Rice Lake Ojibwe began to attend Methodist tent meetings and abandoned the Mediwiwin Society altogether.

Copway witnessed firsthand his people's transformation from a migratory hunting lifestyle to one that was centered on sedentary agriculture with the church as the hub of religious life of the community. Copway's father was a spiritual leader of the community and taught his son early-on the necessity of seeking a relationship with the "manitous" or spirits. Copway says of himself, "I was out early and late in the quest of the favors of the Mon-e-doos (spirits), who it was said were numerous—who filled the air!" He goes on to describe his early conception of the spirit world,

> Early as I can recollect, I was taught that it was the gift of the many spirits to be a good hunter and warrior; and much of my time I devoted in search for their favors. On the mountaintop, or along the valley, or on the water brook, I searched for some kind of intimation from the spirits who made their residence in the noise of the water fall.....I looked with anxiety to catch a glimpse of the wings of the Great Spirit....Yet he was a kind spirit. My Father taught me to call that spirit Ke-sha-mon-e-doo—Benevolent Spirit—for his ancestors taught him no other name to give to that spirit who made the earth, with all its variety and smiling beauty.[196]

Following Copway's conversion, in 1834, he volunteered to travel west as a missionary at the behest of his tribe's Indian agent. When the Indian agent at Rice Lake received a letter from the Superintendent of Indian missions in Canada requesting missionaries be sent to the Lake Superior

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[196] George Copway, Life History and Travels, of Kahgegahbowh (George Copway), A Young Indian Chief of the Ojebwa Nation, A Convert to the Christian Faith, and a Missionary to His People for Twelve Years (Albany: Weed and Parsons, 1847), 8.

region, George, who was sixteen, went west with thirty-year old John Kabeege and his thirty-five year old uncle, John Taunchey. George's cousin John Johnson, then in his mid-twenties, also went west with them.[197] Copway attended the Methodist school at Rice Lake for two years, along with 40-50 other Native students. Here, he learned to read and write and was taught Methodist theology. Copway knew of the drastic change in Mississauga population levels, the community numbered 500 in the late-eighteenth century and by 1825, there were only 100 to 200 people. Disease, alcoholism, land loss, and poverty had hastened decline. This loss motivated Copway, who witnessed the same forces at work among the Lake Superior Ojibwe.

When Copway arrived at Sault Ste. Marie on August 24th, 1834, there were Catholic, Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian missions at the rapids of St. Mary, the Protestant missions being fairly recent. Several weeks after their arrival at the Sault, Copway, along with Reverend David Meeker Chandler and his uncle, John Taunchey, were dispatched to the L'Anse or Kewawenon Indian Mission at Keweenaw Bay, farther to the west in the Upper Peninsula. Copway contributed to the L'Anse mission and subsequent missionary trips in immeasurable ways. He was sent to L'Anse as a teacher, however, it was not long before the ambitious Copway began preaching and actively evangelizing the Ojibwe who lived at and around the Protestant mission.

Each day, Copway and his uncle visited Ojibwe lodges where they sang, read scripture, and prayed for the inhabitants; techniques they learned from Methodist missionaries in Southern Ontario. Most of the converts at the mission were first-generation Christians who blended both Christianity and traditional religion. As with the Jesuits, many Ojibwe incorporated evangelical theology into a multidimensional spiritual framework that included several other spirit helpers. Peter Marksman, an Ojibwe missionary who labored with Copway, explained this syncretic

[197] Smith, Life, Letters,and Speeches of Copway, 26.

blending among his own family as a process in which they "leave off...the observation of the rites of the Grand Medicine society, still our idols and our medicine bags which we regarded as so sacred were in our possession." They were converted by the Baptist minister, Able Bingham.

George Copway, brought up with this same religious orientation, cautioned these new Christians from mixing theologies. During the 1830s, many traditional Ojibwe interpreted or rather misinterpreted the actions of Indian missionaries; misperceptions which frequently put the lives of Copway and his fellow missionaries in danger. Copway described one Ojibwe man who thought that the missionaries had practiced witchcraft and had threatened to kill the missionaries if his sickly daughter died, the missionaries had recently prayed over her. Spear Maker, an Ojibwe man at the L'Anse mission threatened to tomahawk Copway and the other missionaries if they visited his lodge with "the white man's religion." Spear Maker justified the threat because he reasoned that, "... some of my family were very sick and crazy."[198]

During the 1830s, Ojibwe communities expressed both curiosity and fear about the evangelical Methodist message. As with Catholicism, many Ojibwe began mixed theologies to create a syncretic practice of the two religions. Misinformation about evangelical Christianity spread like wildfire. At the beginning of the 1830s the Lake Superior Ojibwe responded in one of two ways: they rejected the message of Christianity, cited their belief in a separate creation theology that prohibited them from praying like whites and often believed that missionaries were witches who sang and prayed over people, that later died. There were also those that embraced the message of the missionaries in order to bolster their preexisting spiritual power or "medicine." Copway continually combated these types of misperceptions.

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[198] George Copway, The Life, Letters, and Speeches of Kahgegagahbowh or George Copway (New York: S.W. Benedict, 1856), 70.

Following Copway's work at the L'Anse mission, George and his cousin John Johnson Enmegahbowh were assigned to the new Methodist mission at La Point, WI. While at La Point, Copway lived with the Rev. Sherman Hall, a missionary for the American Board of Foreign Missions, where he helped translate the Book of Luke and Acts of the Apostles into the Ojibwe language.[199] The La Point location had tremendous significance for Ojibwe people. According to Ojibwe oral history, this region, nestled within the Apostle Islands, became the terminus for the Ojibwe's long migration from the "great salt water" in the east. It was from this central location that the Ojibwe would populate the western Great Lakes.

According William Warren, nineteenth-century author of the History of the Ojibway People, La Point or *Moningwunakauning* (place of the golden breasted woodpecker) was "the spot on which the Ojibwe tribe first grew, and like a tree it has spread its branches in every direction, in the bands that now occupy the vast extent of the Ojibwe earth; and also 'it is the root from which all the far scattered villages of tribe have sprung.'"[200] Copway was probably overwhelmed by his first glimpse of La Point. During the mid-nineteenth century hundreds of Ojibwe came to La Point from all over the western Great Lakes to trade, fish, dance, and receive governmental annuities. Years later, Copway lamented his departure from La Point, "O what a field of labor in all these regions! Indians from every direction congregate hear every summer, those, too who have never heard of a savior!"[201]

Like most Ojibwe communities along Lake Superior's shore, La Point was a fur trading and fishing center. Its deep harbor and central location annually attracted hundreds of traders and Ojibwe. It was to La Point that Henry Rowe Schoolcraft sent subagent George Johnston in order

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[199] Smith, Life, Letters, and Speeches of Copway, 26.

[200] Warren, 80.

[201] Copway, Life, Letters, and Speeches, 79.

to establish a relationship between the American government and the Indian community. The subagency established at La Point in 1836 became a full agency in 1851.[202] By 1830, it was surpassed Mackinaw as the center of commercial trade in the Great Lakes. Around 2,000-5,000 Ojibwe resided in the vicinity of this historical gathering place.[203] Indian agents and government officials dispersed governmental annuities and supplies when the Anishinabeg gathered here during the summer months, scattered among the ninety shacks and wigwams that housed La Point's diverse population. At the time of Copway's arrival, the community's main landmarks included a store and warehouse owned by the American Fur Company, a large fish house used to process and package fish, and buildings that housed the Protestant and Catholic missions.[204]

The Protestant mission was founded in 1831 by Frederick Ayers, an employee of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, who left his position as a teacher at the Mackinaw mission to come to La Point to begin the mission. The ABCFM sent several missionaries to La Point to help with the conversion efforts. Missionaries from the northeast such as William Boutwell, Edmund Ely, Sherman Hall, Granville Sproat, and Leonard Wheeler all served as missionaries at La Point.[205] During this time Copway lived with Reverend Hall, who worked for the Presbyterian missionary society while Copway worked for the Methodists. He willingly helped Hall translate the scriptures into Ojibwe because interdenominational cooperation was frequent among frontier missionaries, especially during the 1820s and 30s. Copway felt passionate about avoiding "sectism" and thought they ought "...to know one another

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[202] Danziger, 83.

[203] Stanley Lathrop, A Historical Sketch of the Old Mission, and its Missionaries to the Ojibway Indians, on Madeline Island (Ashland, Wisconsin: S.E. Edwards, 1905), 1.

[204] Danziger, 70.

[205] Danzinger, 83.

as Presbyterians, Methodists, or Baptists, but only as missionaries of the cross. We should labor with and for each other; and do all the good we can."[206]

In 1836 Copway, Enmegahbowh, and Peter Marksman served as missionaries in the newly founded Methodist mission at Ottawa Lake or Lac Court Orielle. The mission, situated midway between Lake Superior and the head waters of the Mississippi River, was within the borderland region separating Ojibwe and the Lakota territories, a scene of prior warfare between the two tribal nations. John Clark, the Superintendent of Methodist Indian missions, promised the Indian missionaries that if they remained faithful to their missionary post, they would have a chance to attend Ebenezer Seminary in Jacksonville, Illinois. Subsequently, in the fall of 1837, Copway, Enmegahbowh, and Marksman were admitted into Ebenezer Seminary just north of Jacksonville, Illinois. Copway appeared to have enjoyed his time at the seminary. He and the other students had the opportunity to visit local congregations and deliver sermons.

They were the only three Indians at the school but this did not affect Copway, who formed several friendships with non-Indian students that endured for his ministerial career. Copway's experience at Ebenezer Seminar was positive, "At this institution I enjoyed some of the happiest seasons of my life. The remembrance of many delightful acquaintances formed, the appointments filled, the interesting meetings I attended in different parts, about Jacksonville, at Lynville, Manchester, Rushville, and Versailles, will always hold a seat in my heart." [207] Copway, who spoke English tolerably well seemed to have been well received by the local white

[206] Copway, Life, Letters, and Speeches, 82.

[207] Copway, Life, Letters, and Speeches, 87.

congregations. His delivery "though broken," explained one congregant, was "sensible and forcible."[208]

After completing his studies Copway returned home to visit his family at Rice Lake. He enthusiastically described his journey through booming Great Lakes cities such as Chicago, Detroit, Buffalo and also New York City, Albany, Syracuse, and Boston. These American industrial cities impacted the twenty-one-year-old Mississauga missionary, who described travelling "like a streak of lightening" on a Syracuse railroad car. However he was also critical, "Boston was much overrated, having a few pretty spots" and the rest being "crooked and narrow." At one point while, enjoying a picturesque view of the city from Bunker's Hill, Copway was deeply moved and tears filled his eyes as he thought about the "noble race of red men" who once "roamed in all the land, and upon the waters."[209]

While in Rice Lake, Copway met and married Elizabeth Howell, the daughter of a Canadian military captain whose family lived near Toronto. Racial views in Upper Canada during the mid-nineteenth century did not look approvingly on intermarriage. Native people were at the bottom of Canada's racial hierarchy. Even though Copway was a convert and missionary, this marriage was looked down on. Undoubtedly the highly publicized marriage of Mississauga-Ojibwe and Methodist minister Peter Jones and his English wife Eliza was an inspiration to Copway. Peter and Eliza Jones spoke at length to George and Elizabeth about race relations in Upper Canada and the negative way in which their marriage would be viewed. In June of 1840, the two were united in matrimony, Peter Jones officiated at the ceremony. Following their

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[208] Smith, Life, Letters, and Speeches of Copway, 28

[209] Copway, Life, Letters, and Speeches, 95.

marriage local Canadian papers railed against the union as "improper and revolting" and a "disgrace" to Elizabeth's family.[210]

Following their marriage, the Copways returned to the western Great Lakes. From 1840-1842, George and Elizabeth labored at missions located in the embattled region of the upper Mississippi, where hostilities between the Lakota and Ojibwe still raged. Faced with Lakota threats, the missionary families, like the Spates, Copways, and Enmegahbowhs (who labored with them at the Rabbit River Mission), had to periodically abandon their missions and flee east to safer Ojibwe territory. Though the Lakota usually honored the role of white missionaries, the footing for Ojibwe missionaries remained tenuous at best. Speaking of the volatility of the missions in these areas, Copway asserted, "This country is, indeed, a dangerous place for the Ojibwe missionaries; but not so for the white, for they never pretend to interfere with them, in any way." Following his abduction by the Lakota, Copway describes the Sioux behavior as "intimidating" him then they "pointed their weapons" at his chest and "flourishing their war clubs" at his head. On one occasion they brandished their weapons and told the Ojibwe missionary, "I wish you had longer hair, so that I could take good hold of it and scalp you." [211] The Sioux disliked these Ojibwe, who dressed like white men. While helping to construct buildings at the Sioux Mission at Kaposia, the Lakota refused to believe that they were Anishinabeg, they did not believe that the Chippewas worked in this way and accused them of looking more like Frenchmen than Indians.[212]

Not surprisingly, Peter and Elizabeth accepted Peter Jones' invitation to return home in 1842. The Copways then began work among the Saugeen Indian band of Lake Huron. Over the

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[210] Smith, Life,Letters, and Speeches of Copway, 29.

[211] Copway, Life, Letters, and Speeches, 120.

[212] Smith, Life, Letters, and Speeches, 31.

course of the next three year George acted as missionary for the Saugeen band while travelling throughout Canada raising funds for Indian missions and transacting business for the various tribes. Copway became very involved with the political affairs of the Ojibwe tribes in Canada-West (Upper Canada became known as Canada-West in 1841). He was the youngest of a delegation, which included Peter Jones, who visited Montreal in 1844 to meet with Governor General Sir Charles Metcalf over the establishment of a manual boarding school for the tribe.[213] In the mid 1840s, there was a growing consensus among the Christianized Indians of Canada-West that a reserve was needed that allowed them to separate from and be unmolested by their white neighbors. Unceded tribal territory near the Saugeen Indian community at Owen Sound was targeted by the Christian Ojibwe as an area where Christian Indians could remove and build a religious community free of white interference. Copway participated in this removal movement among the Christians Ojibwe of Canada-West and served as the vice president of the removal committee.

There was a growing belief among Christian Ojibwe throughout the Great Lakes that Native converts could grow in their faith if they were undisturbed by whiskey peddlers, land grabbers, and traditionalist factions (who often bitterly opposed them) and could remove to their own communities. Here they could focus on their faith and adopt sedentary agriculture, at their own pace. The Little Rapids mission was originally established on a tract of land on Sugar Island, where John Sunday hoped to form a Christian community for the converts from his home in Upper Canada and the Christian Indians at the Sault. They were opposed by both Ojibwe traditionalists and Roman Catholics. A cholera outbreak forced Sunday to relocate to the American mainland.[214] However, most Methodist Indians in Canada-West continued to advocate

[213] Smith, Sacred Feathers, 197

[214] Chute, 46.

for a tract of land that could be set aside at the Saugeen reserve, near Owen Sound, off the shore of Lake Huron.

During the summer of 1845 Mississauga Christians such as George Copway (Council Vice President), John Sunday, John Jones (Peter's brother), and Joseph Sawyer (Council President) worked exhaustingly with the provincial government to establish a reserve. Meanwhile, Peter Jones was in England on a fundraising tour to raise money for the proposed manual labor school which the Christian Ojibwe hoped to build at Saugeen. The "Grand Council of Methodist Ojibwe of Canada West" consisted of eighty-four Ojibwe chiefs from the Great Lakes, and forty-three from Canada -West.[215] The purpose of the council was to discuss the feasibility of establishing a home for Christian Ojibwe at the Saugeen reserve; to establish a manual boarding school on the new reserve; and to procure the Governor General's approval of a reliable timetable for the distribution of presents and annuities.[216]

White encroachment continued to disrupt Ojibwe society and both Christian and non-Christian Ojibwe foresaw disastrous results for their communities if they remained adjacent to their white neighbors. Copway believed the move to Saugeen on the east coast of Lake Huron would counter the following conditions:

> 1)The introduction of ... alcohol...; 2) The introduction of new diseases....; 3) Their inability to pursue that course of living, after they have abandoned their wigwams, which tended toward health and old age; 4) Their... race... becoming homeless, friendless, moneyless, and trodden down by the whites; 4) Their future prospects... gloomy and cheerless—enough to break down the noblest spirits.[217]

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[215] Copway, Life, Letters, and Speeches, 132.

[216] Copway, Life, Letters, and Speeches, 134.

[217] Copway, Life, Letters, and Speeches 139.

In addition, the Christian Ojibwe assembly affirmed:

> As we [the Christian part of our nation] have abandoned our former customs and ceremonies, ought we not to make our own laws, in order to give character and stability to our chiefs, as well as to empower them to treat with the Government under which we live, that they may, from time to time, present all our grievances and other matters to the General Government.[218]

Copway further asserted the final draft of the document entitled "The Petition of the Ojibwa Chiefs, in General Council respecting the unceded lands north of Saugeen and Owen's Sound, June 5th 1845" was presented by the council president Chief Joseph Sawyer to Governor General of Canada-West and was "received with a simple nod." Copway described this reception as both "discouraging and chilling" and lamentably asked "is this forever to be our destiny?"[219] Their petition was never addressed and the Christian Indians living on established reserves, near white settlements, formulated a community model that paralleled the Saugeen plan. Copway, however, would not work on further relocation efforts. In 1845, George Copway was accused of embezzling funds by the Saugeen band and after similar allegations were made by Chief George Pudash and Copway's own uncle John Taunchey, that he had embezzled funds from his home band at Rice Lake, he was convicted and imprisoned for one year at Toronto. The missionary was also dispelled from the Canada Conference of Wesleyan Methodists. Copway did have a propensity to operate outside the counsel of his older more experienced peers. He was characterized as being stubborn and bullheaded by both Indian and non-Indian ministers. Some years before being appointed a preacher, Presbyterian missionary Sherman Hall described Copway, as a young missionary who thought "his judgment in missionary matters among his own

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[218] Copway, Life, Letters, and Speeches 134.

[219] Copway, Life, Letters, and Speeches, 141.

nation, was at least worth as much as that of his superiors," and "Copway would not be happy if he felt that his movements were to be directed by others."[220]

Peter Jones who served as a spiritual father for the young Mississauga missionary noted in 1845 that Copway was "too hasty" and "neglects to seek the advice of those who have older and wiser heads then his own."[221] Copway's recklessness finally culminated in his imprisonment and defrocking from the Canada Conference of Methodists. Although Copway never mentioned his imprisonment in his published writings, he did allude to the trouble he had while working among the Christian tribes to establish reserve land at Saugeen:

> I give these for the benefit and instruction of those, who have been so kind as to insinuate, or assert, that I was not an authorized agent to forward the interests of my poor people. Those who have been the loudest and most active in this slander, have done the least, in rendering the Indians any essential service. Let them go on, with their gossipings, while I go on my way rejoicing in doing all I can for my poor people, independently of the Canada Conference. Neither have I the disposition to court the favor of this conference. Indeed my heart sickens at the divisions and sub- divisions of the Canada Methodists.[222]

He barely censured his fellow Mississauga, whose charges led to his imprisonment. He appeared to direct his frustrations at the Canada Conference. Copway does offer some justifications for his actions, describing how difficult it was to survive on a missionary's meager income:

> I entered upon my Christian duties among the Christian Indians. I met with difficulties, for I could obtain nothing without money; and even when a request was made, it was not met by the Society. I could not be convinced it was my duty to starve, and therefore concluded I must leave. My Indian brethren then stepped forward at this time, and petitioned the Governor Metcalf, to afford me a living from the Government. Their request was granted and I was paid by Government $400 per year, for three years. I

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[220] Smith, Life,Letters and Speeeches of Copway, 27.

[221] Smith, Life,Letters and Speeches of Copway, 33.

[222] Copway, Life,Letters, and Speeches, 129.

should have continued here but my services were demanded among my relatives at Rice Lake.[223]

After his release from jail, Copway went on to become a rather celebrated author and lecturer in the United States. He capitalized on his transformational story of a benighted savage of the forest to a product of enlightened western civilization. Copway adeptly played to his audience's yearning for authentic native culture and casted himself as a "Chief" of the Ojibwe and a "missionary among his people" though he was never a "Chief" of his people and had been dispelled from the Methodists.[224] Yet his story captivated the imagination of the American people and he published a series of works: The Life, History, and Travels of Kah-ge-ga-gah bowh (1847); Recollections of a Forest Life of the Life and Travels of Kah-ge-ga-gah-bowh (1851); Traditional History and Characteristic Sketches of the Ojibway Nation (1850); Running Sketches of Men and Places (1851); a weekly newspaper called Copway's American Indian; and the poem Ojibway Conquest (1850), (allegedly an altered version of a poem originally written by an Indian agent who allowed Copway to publish the work to raise funds for Indian missions). Copway even traveled to Germany in 1850 to attend the World Peace Conference.[225] He eventually moved to New York City and enjoyed the company of such well-known writers as Washington Irving, James Fenimore Cooper, and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (whose "Song of

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[223] Copway, Life,Letters, and Speeches, 129.

[224] For a further analysis of George Copway's career descent and bicultural difficulties see, Bernd C. Peyer, The Tutor'd Mind: Indian Missionary Writers in Antebellum America (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997); for a fresh perspective on Copway, one which illustrates how Copway attempted to challenge nineteenth century notions of race see, Cathy Rex, "Survivance and Fluidity: George Copway's The Life History, and Travels of Kahgegagahbowh," Studies in American Indian Literature (Summer 2006) Vol. 18, Iss 2: pg. 1.; for a new synthesis on the roles of whites in Copway's writings see Mary Ruff, "Tracking Whiteness: Portrayal of Whites in American Indian Literature" diss. The University of Texas Arlington, 2008.

[225] Smith, Life, Letters, and Speeches of Copway, 41-42.

Hiawatha" was supposed to have been inspired by Copway). However, his appeal as an American Indian author faded and when he fell on hard times, his continual requests for money alienated him from the elite social circles which had once embraced him.

Historical information on Copway is scant after 1851. He worked with his brother David in recruiting Indians to fight in the American Civil War in 1864. An article in the Detroit Free Press in 1867 advertised the medical skills of an Indian doctor by the name of Copway. In 1869, he resurfaced at the Lake of Two Mountains Reserve, west of Montreal, without his wife and daughter. He allegedly proclaimed himself a pagan and was baptized into the Catholic Church as Joseph Antione. He died soon after his baptism, right before he was scheduled to take his first communion.[226] Even Copway's legacy with his home community at Rice Lake became dubious.[227]

Of the three Ojibwe missionaries, Copway, Johnson, and Marksman; it is Copway who most admired white society. Although all three were educated at Ebenezer Seminary, it was Copway that spoke glowingly of his time at the school, his tour of American cities, and the "prosperity of the white man." Both Marksman and Johnson rarely referred to their time at Ebenezer Seminary and when they visited large cities, such as Detroit and Chicago, they rarely mentioned the experience. Both Johnson and Marksman married Indian wives who grew up in the woods of the Great Lakes. Copway, however, married a white woman from genteel society in Upper Canada. Not surprisingly, it was Copway that viewed Native Americans as a noble but inevitably doomed race. He capitalized on notions of Anglo superiority and projected himself a benighted red man of the forest who saw the light of a white society and embraced it.

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[226] Smith, Life, Letters, and Speeches of Copway, 48.

[227] Smith, Sacred Feathers, 197.

Copway became the poster child for what assimilation and civilization programs were able to accomplish. Unlike Peter Jones, who became saddened when he realized that people in England were attending his lectures and sermons to see an exotic native from North America and that they were not interested in him as an intellectual. Copway seemed to promote his Indian identity in order to bolster his reputation and for profit. Whether it was his idea to establish an Indian state named after himself, or his promotion of himself as "Chief of the Ojibwe," this was a platform that suggested self-aggrandizement and financial gain for himself. Even his elite literary friends became quite weary of his continual requests for funds and his meteoric rise to international fame was equaled by how quickly he was dropped by the New York literary establishment, once he fell upon hard times.

Though the wives of Peter Jones and George Copway remained lifelong friends, the relationship between the two men was strained following Copway's expulsion from the Canadian Conference. Although other Mississauga-Ojibwe ministers such as John Sunday appeared in Copway's later publications, Peter Jones, arguably the most prominent Ojibwe Methodist minister, was rarely mentioned. Copway exhibited a propensity to overly exploit individuals and circumstances to promote his commercial and social objectives. Copway's own wife, who considered leaving him on more than one occasion and whose writing ability he relied upon to bolster his own works, became frustrated with Copway's exploitative behavior. In a letter Elizabeth wrote to her sister on July 24th, 1856 she lamented, "It is very desirable to be loved but to be a slave to an unworthy object is revolting to our pride."[228] The two soon parted ways, however, Elizabeth sought to reestablish their relationship in 1858. It appears however, that the two permanently parted ways prior to George's death in1868.

[228] Smith, Life, Letters, and Speeches of Copway, 42.

Copway remained active long enough to see the Ojibwe of Southern Ontario establish a religious/political assembly that fought for land and political rights for the Ojibwe and to secure land for a separate Christian community. Although there were several capable Indian missionaries in the Lake Superior country, it would be years before this same type of religiously backed political organization was formed. When Copway made his break with the Methodists (and with missionary life altogether), other Indian missionaries, especially Peter Marksman, began their rise to prominence among the Lake Superior Ojibwe communities.

Peter Marksman, the Evangelist

Born in 1815 to a full blooded father and a mixed blood mother in northern Minnesota, Peter Marksman was given the name *Madwagwunayaush* or Ringing Feather. He later acquired the name of *Gahgodahahquah* (Shooting-at-the-Mark) or Marksman from which his English sir name is derived. Though born in Minnesota, Marksman's grandfather and great-grandfather were tribal leaders at Mackinaw Island. His father, *Ahzhahwegwun* eventually left the straits area and moved to the western end of Lake Superior. While at Fond du Lac, he married a French Indian woman by the name of *Wametgoozhequa*. Peter Marksman was the youngest of seven children and was inducted into the Midewiwin Society when he was "but a child."[229] Any individual or family could pay to have themselves or their children inducted into the religious order where they learned medicinal uses of plants and fauna. "Mide" members also learned ceremonies to cure ailments brought on by spirits and learned how to use their spiritual power or medicine for the benefit of themselves and the community. Induction ceremonies were held in an elongated cedar bark lodge which was about 6 feet wide and 120 feet long and lasted up to five days. Marksman's ordination ceremony was comprised of singing, dancing, presentation of medicine

[229] John H. Pitezel, The Life of Rev. Peter Marksman, An Ojibwa Missionary: Illustrating the Triumphs of the Gospel Among the Ojibwa Indians. (Cincinnati: Western Methodist Book Concern, 1903), 26.

bags, and the explanation by elders of the history of the religion and how it was given to the Ojibwe by the Creator.

Peter Marksman's family, which belonged to the catfish clan, endured a personal heartbreak while he was a boy. *Nahwahquakezhig*, Peter's eldest brother was an exceptionally gifted runner and hunter. He was known to have never lost a foot race and hunted using only his bow and steel tipped arrows. *Nahwahquakezhig* or Middle Sky was struck with tuberculosis as a young man and tragically died from the disease and according to Marksman, his parents "almost wept to the grave" over the loss of their oldest son. Peter Marksman and his family probably left Fond du Lac following the death of *Nahwaquakezhig* and appeared at Sault Ste. Marie by 1830.[230]

A U.S. Indian department was established at "the Sault" in 1822, two years after Lewis Cass and a delegation of government officials and soldiers visited the area and asserted American control over the village and military fort located near the rapids. During his visit, Cass negotiated a treaty with local Ojibwe leaders and established a permanent reservation adjacent to the fort. Given the reservation's close proximity to the rapids, it became a popular destination for the region's Ojibwe inhabitants who turned the reservation into a fishing village during the summer month. It was at this fishing village that Marksman and his family most likely erected their lodge, around 1830. Most of the area's Ojibwe consisted of nominal Catholics, traditional religionists, a handful of Protestants (Baptists), and many who mixed all three theologies. Though a few Protestant missionaries visited the rapids in the early 1820s most returned east, after a few months. It was not until Abel Bingham's Baptist mission was built, just northwest of the fort in 1828, that a permanent Protestant station was established.

[230] Pitezel, Life of Peter Marksman, 19.

In the early 1830s, Bingham made it a practice to visit local Ojibwe lodges to share the gospel and pray with the occupants. He had a slight impact on the beliefs of a few Ojibwe families. Bingham convinced Marksman's parents to adopt Christianity, although they still appeared to be active Midewiwin practitioners. After repeated visits by Bingham to his family's lodge in the Sault, Marksman's family became Christians, although they still held on to their "idols and our medicine bags" which were "regarded as... sacred." The syncretism practiced by Marksman's family was representative of the religious outlook of many Lake Superior Ojibwe in the early 1830s and it became characteristic of indigenous Christian practice for much of the nineteenth century.

While at the Sault, Ojibwe missionaries John Kabeege and John Taunchey lived with Peter Marksman and his family. The two missionaries taught Marksman how to read and write and he listened to their sermons which they preached in the Ojibwe language. It was not long before Marksman began accompanying the two Ojibwe missionaries on local missionary trips and he was eventually converted in 1835, at the age of 20, at the Little Rapids Methodist Mission at Sault Ste. Marie.

In 1837, Superintendant John Clark was replaced by D.M. Chandler, who had labored with Copway and Taunchey at the Kewawenon Mission in 1834. Unfortunately, Chandler died soon after his appointment and William Brockway was then appointed superintendent in 1840.[231] From 1837-1839 Marksman, along with George Copway and John Johnson Enmegahbowh attended Ebenezer Seminary and lived in the home of Dr. Peter Akers, a missionary for the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Marksman's time at Ebenezer Seminary was the only formal education he received.[232] In 1839, Marksman was appointed to

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[231] Pitezel, Life of Peter Marksman, 73.

[232] Reuter, 58.

assist William Brockway at the Little Rapids Mission in Sault Ste. Marie. Though designated as an "assistant missionary" Marksman became an evangelist, in the truest sense of the word. As a youth, he made several trips from Wisconsin to Sault Ste. Marie to trade goods and fish. Marksman was familiar with all of the Ojibwe settlements along the southern shore of Lake Superior and the Eastern Upper Peninsula of Michigan. On several occasions he travelled through familiar villages of Michigan's Upper Peninsula to preach to Ojibwe bands and interpret for white ministers. Marksman described one missionary voyage this way,

> When I came down from Lake Superior, to my appointment this year, I took a small birch-bark canoe from Iron River to Kah-ke-wa-oo-na-un [Kewawenon] Mission, because I could not find any passage; but by the help of God, I determined to come down myself; and when I started coming down, I had little provision for my journey, and the chief at the place where I started gave me an old tomahawk and one paddle. [233]

In 1842, he served as a missionary at the Lakeville Indian Mission in Lower Michigan's Oakland County and was ordained a deacon during the first Michigan Annual Conference in Adrian, MI.[234] He was then assigned to the Kewawenon Indian Mission near L'Anse, again in Michigan's Upper Peninsula. This mainly traditional and Catholic Indian community of about 600 inhabitants had a small group of Protestant believers which attended the mission. It was at Kewawenon that Marksman briefly backslid from his Methodist beliefs and then married a French Indian woman named Hannah Morien, on August 20, 1844. She was educated at the Presbyterian mission at La Point in northern Wisconsin and dressed after the manner of the whites, she was described as stately and dignified in her appearance. Hannah helped him at the Kewawenon Mission and read and interpreted the Bible to Ojibwe women in their homes. By the fall of 1844, Marksman returned to his Methodist beliefs and accompanied Methodist missionary

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[233] Pitezel, Life of Peter Marksman, 77.

[234] Reuter, 62.

John Pitezel to Little Rapids Mission at the Sault where Marksmen was employed as Pitezel's interpreter. [235]

Travel was an arduous test of endurance and strength for both Indian and white missionaries. Most nineteenth-century Methodist missionaries rode on horseback and visited missionary posts located along a thirty-five mile circuit.[236] However, in the upper Great Lakes that circuit included distances of more than 200 miles. The brush on the trails was so thick that missionaries normally travelled by canoe, steamship, or on snowshoe during the winter months. During the winter, when the lakes were frozen over, missionaries averaged an incredible 25-30 miles a day. William Brockway or *Penabic* (Iron Man) as he was called by the Ojibwe, eventually became the Methodist superintendent of missions at Sault Ste. Marie. As a new missionary, Brockway's circuit consisted of 32 appointments every four weeks which were spaced out over a distance of 300 miles.[237] Missionary John Pitezel's circuit on the south shore of Lake Superior included missions at Kewawenon (near L'Anse), Grand Island (near Munising), and Sault Ste. Marie; a 464 mile round trip! In January of 1844, while travelling 120 miles from Kewawenon to Grand Island, missionary John Pitezel developed "mal du raquette" or snowshoe lameness, from straining his Achilles' tendon in his left foot. Pitezel was forced to tie a leather rope to the front of his left snow show and with each step he pulled the thong with his left hand and lifted the snowshoe as he walked. After travelling hours through the woods he came upon a solitary wigwam, near present day Marquette, which belonged to an Ojibwe by the name of *Marji-*

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[235] Reuter, 64.

[236] Ronald Brunger, "Methodist Circuit Riders," Michigan History Magazine LI (1967): 257.

[237] Mary Brockway Dickie, "Reminiscences of William Hadley Brockway" Michigan History Magazine 1 (1917): 48.

Geshick. The Ojibwe main alleviated the pain by applying an Ojibwe remedy which enabled Pitezel to complete the remaining 40 miles to Grand Island.[238]

Most Indian communities were located adjacent to waterways and along the shorelines of various lakes. Michigan's Upper Peninsula was comprised of large forests of white pines. These coniferous forests did not have the underbrush where large animals grazed, such as deer, moose, and elk. It was the diversity in plant life near the coastal regions that tended to attract the larger game. Also, because pelts and trade goods were transported by along rivers or the coastal waters of a major lake, Anishinabeg communities were usually located near these waterways.[239] Most transportation in the Great Lakes occurred during the summer months. There was a system of Indians trails that linked one Indian community to another and it was these land routes that were used during the winter months. Most trails were located on elevated dry ground close to watersheds and streams. Roadways were not developed until the twentieth century in the Upper Peninsula and the long established systems of trails remained short distance and minimal.[240]

On several occasions, missionaries who found themselves many miles away from their destination were forced to bed down in the woods. This could be especially taxing in the dead of winter. Yet, Ojibwe missionaries were adept at surviving out-of-doors. Peter Marksman recalled an instance in the winter when he was several miles from home, "When the snow was deep in the winter-time, when I walked so many days that my feet bled, I was tired, hungry and cold. Sometimes I was thinking of the brother's house. If I could stay tonight how comfortable I should be. But I must dig the snow, and make my nest in a cold place to lodge in during the

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[238] Larry Massey, "La Bibliotheque," Michigan History Magazine May/June (1999): 22.

[239] Cornell, 89.

[240] Robert Warner, et. al., Chippewa Indians V, ed. David Agee Horr (New York and London: Garland Publishing Co., 1974), 91.

night. Oh ye missionaries, be not discouraged, but rather rejoice."[241] In another instance, during a winter storm in 1848, Marksman was forced to make camp just twelve miles from Sault Ste. Marie. He slept with his feet near the fire and "dreaming that somebody was pinching and hurting his feet," upon awakening he discovered that his feet were too near the fire which singed and ruined his moccasins. Yet, the next morning he gave thanks for his breakfast which consisted of a single piece of bread, and "the presence of God," according to Marksman, so filled his heart that he "could not help weeping for joy." After his breakfast he described his journey to the Sault, "...as so filled with the presence of God that I did not suffer, though my feet were gashed and bleeding. I reached home in time for my appointment."[242]

Marksmen's heroic feat probably took place during March or what the Anishinabeg call *onaabenii-giizis* or "crust on the snow" month, when the snow in the most northerly areas of the Great Lakes becomes hardened enough to walk on without giving way. The ability to endure the cold made the Ojibwe legendary among Great Lakes peoples. In Lights and Shadows of a Long Episcopate, Bishop Henry Whipple described how that during the winter months many Ojibwe, after "the fire goes out, they roll themselves in their blankets, often with the thermometer thirty degrees below zero, with the wind coming through the cracks of the wigwam, and go to sleep." Whipple was amazed when he found that the Pembina band of Ojibwe, before setting out on a long winter's journey, put out their fires and sit in the cold weather in order to prepare their bodies for the trip ahead.[243]

The hunting and trapping skills of Indian missionaries often benefited the white ministers and missions with whom they labored. During the spring of 1847, Reverend Eri Day and Peter

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[241] Reuter, 62.

[242] Pitezel, Life of Peter Marksman, 114.

[243] Henry B. Whipple, Lights and Shades of a Long Episcopate (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1899), 42.

Marksman encountered a severe blizzard at Fond du Lac, Wisconsin. According to Day, the "air was filled with falling snow," the wind blew like "a hurricane," and the "cold was intense." At this time, Day endured "the most trying incident" of his life. Missionary Day's young son, while running and playing with Peter Marksman's son, had accidently knocked a kettle of boiling water on to himself as he ran past the kitchen stove. Day's son was severely burned. The two families tried the best they could to tend to the child, but despite their best efforts the boy's "skin clung to his garments."[244]

They were remotely located and had little food or supplies. Missionary Day fell into despair but Marksman recalled a series of snares that he had previously set to catch rabbits. The raging blizzard, however, made locating and retrieving the buried rabbits extremely difficult. Marksman eventually located one rabbit from the snares he set, just as Day began to blame himself, "Your boy will die and you cannot even get a piece of rabbit for him." Suddenly, Day felt a tap on the shoulder and there was Peter Marksman. He pointed to the frozen rabbit he recovered from the snare and placed it under the kitchen table and said, "See there! God has given us just one rabbit!" Day, overwhelmed, stated "I can give you no impression the sight of that rabbit and his words had upon me."[245] Remarkably, the boy recovered and with minimal scarring or disfigurement.

During the 1840s, the Indian population of the Sault area began to decline. The fur trade had all but disappeared and there was no other commercial activity. The military fort at the Sault was almost deserted and the United States Indian Agency, established in 1822, had been transferred to Mackinaw Island. Not until the construction of the locks in 1853 would the area

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[244] Pitezel, Life of Peter Marksman, 115.

[245] Pitezel, Life of Peter Marksman, 117.

begin to recover.[246] By the late 1840s, Marksman and the Christian Ojibwe at Little Rapids also moved from the Sault area. They wished to purchase land and dissolve the government ties to their mission, they relocated 35 miles west to Whitefish Bay and established Naomikong Mission. Peter Marksman and his wife Hannah were stationed at Naomikong from 1849-1852.

The fishing was quite good at Whitefish Bay during this time and the Christian Ojibwe not only had ample supplies of whitefish but they were able to find employment in the emerging fishing industry. They made money when they caught and sold fish, or when they manufactured rods, nets, and fishing boats to sell to white fishermen. John Pitezel often recorded Marksman's activities after they followed the Indians to their fishing grounds at Whitefish Point. While there Marksmen and his wife lived in a wigwam and taught school under a "temporary shelter," of a large cedar bark lodge that Marksmen erected. Fifty- two students attended Marksman's school in the cedar bark lodge.[247] Then in 1853, Marksman was sent to the Janesville Indian Mission in Saginaw County. Over the next seven years, the Ojibwe missionary served at several Methodist Indian missions throughout Lower Michigan. Although growing old, Marksman continued to labor with astonishing mobility.[248]

In 1856, when the Naomikong Mission was moved to Iroquois Point the Methodist Church purchased land where their Native converts built their homes. The missionary houses, buildings, churches, and Ojibwe settlement near the missionary property, was named Shawville or *Gzoozhekaaning* (Place of the Pike) by the Ojibwe. This land was later sold to the U.S. government and eventually formed the reservation of the Bay Mills Indian Community.[249] When

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[246] Nairn, 6.

[247] Pitezel, Life of Peter Marksman, 131.

[248] Reuter, 66.

[249] Cleland, Place of the Pike, 34.

he returned to Lake Superior country, Marksman attended a camp meeting at Iroquois Point and he was greeted with much fanfare by the Christian Indians. During the summer of 1856, he received the devastating news that his spiritual father, Peter Jones, had died. Twenty three years had passed since he had been baptized by Jones at the Little Rapids Mission in Sault Ste. Marie. It is likely that Marksman saw the Mississauga minister for the last time four years previously in 1852, during the Whitefish Point tent revival meeting.

In 1860, Marksman was assigned to work the "Indian circuit" which encompassed Iroquois Point, Sault Ste. Marie, and Sugar Island. After serving two years at the Ocean Mission, he was again appointed to Iroquois Point, where he labored for eight years.[250] During this time, he helped the Ojibwe at Iroquois Point select and record allotment plots, as designated by the Treaty of 1855.[251] During the 1870s Marksman served at various Methodist missions throughout the Upper Peninsula. He and his wife also labored at the missions located along Lake Superior's southern shore for the duration the 1870s: Kewawenon and Iroquois Point (Bay Mills), 1870; Iroquois Point, 1871; Kewawenon and Iroquois Point, 1872; Kewawenon, 1873; Cedar River, Grand Island (near Munising), and Kewawenon, 1874; Grand Island and Cedar River, 1875; Kewawenon 1876, 1877; Supernumeracy (due to ill health), 1878; Hannahville Indian Mission, 1879; Hannahville and Grand Island Indian Mission, 1880, 1881. Peter adored children and he and Hannah adopted a boy and a girl during the 1870s. Unfortunately, their adopted son, Peter William, died on July 19th, 1879 and was buried at the Kewawenon Indian Mission.[252]

In 1879, Peter and Hannah helped the Potawatomi move from their lands in Lower Michigan to their new home in the central Upper Peninsula, near Escanaba, MI. For helping

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[250] Reuter, 68.

[251] Cleland, Place of the Pike, 35.

[252] Pitezel, Life of Peter Marksman, 216.

them during their migration to the Upper Peninsula, the Potawatomi named their settlement "Hannahville" in honor of Peter's wife Hannah.[253] Marksman passed away at the Kewawenon Indian Mission on May 28th, 1892.

Peter Marksman was the least controversial figure of the Ojibwe missionaries. He never argued with church officials, although he withdrew from his missionary duties during a brief backsliding episode, but was restored within the same year. He was taught to speak and write English by John Taunchey, and because his only formal education was the Ebenezer Manual School he possessed the least education of the three missionaries. His spelling was problematic and he lacked the articulate and polished presentation of Copway, although he spoke quite eloquently in the Ojibwe language. Like many Anishinabeg in the western Great Lakes he was conversant in French. Described as being a "Christian gentleman" who had a "graceful and dignified" appearance, he did not, unlike Enmegahbowh, have a forceful nature. Marksman delivered most of his sermons in Ojibwe and yet, his artful speaking style captivated many white missionaries. Despite not being able to speak or understand Ojibwe, the Rev. Salmon Steele, who labored with Marksman at the Little Rapids Mission at the Sault, attended Marksman's sermons. He later wrote, "Although unable to understand, I was always an earnest listener at his services, and there was something so dignified that I loved to be present and mark the effect of his eloquence upon the people."[254]

Marksman was one of the most earnest Methodist missionaries in Lake Superior country during the mid-nineteenth century. Commissioned as a missionary in the mid 1830s and ordained as a Methodist deacon in 1842, Marksman served as missionary for over 50 years at different Indian missions, such as Sault Ste. Marie, L'Anse, Fond du Lac, Bay Mills, Whitefish Bay, Mt.

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[253] Reuter, 68.

[254] Pitezel, Life of Peter Marksman, 226.

Pleasant, Lac Court Oreilles, Grand Island, Hannahville, and Saginaw. Typically, Anishinabeg were not outspoken about personal achievements or accomplishments in public settings. Such sharing of information was reserved for elders and the more seasoned. This cultural trait was personified by Marksman. Though a man of distinction, he always deflected attention when others applauded his work. Rev. Steale, remembered the Indian minister as someone who, "... never boasted in his skill as a hunter or anything he did. He spoke in high terms of what his brothers could do....If he related any incident in his own life, he simply related the facts...as matters of common occurrence, losing sight of himself, when in others, what he accomplished would have been the deeds of heroes."[255]

Though Marksman embodied many facets of Ojibwe culture, he was not opposed to adopting the cultural ways of white society, such as his adoption of Euro-American dress when he converted to Christianity. After attending a church service near the Sault rapids, Marksman was quite impressed with the Indian missionaries (most likely Peter Jones, John Sunday, etc.) who preached at the meeting. He wrote "I was very much delighted when I saw those preachers. They appeared good. Their dress was like a white man's, clean and neat."[256] In August of 1832, while helping the missionary Thomas Shaw "make hay," Marksman says, "I changed my dress and wore my hair differently."[257]

By the mid-nineteenth century, Protestant missionaries, folk Catholicism, and persistent adherence to traditional Ojibwe religion produced some interesting changes. Oral stories emerged that clearly incorporated both Christian elements and traditional spirituality. While traveling along the south shore of Lake Superior during the 1850s, the German explorer Johann

[255] Pitezel, Life of Peter Marksman, 280.

[256] Pitezel, Life of Peter Marksman, 45.

[257] Pitezel, Life of Peter Marksman, 46.

Kohl recorded some very remarkable stories about "Kitchi Manitou" and the creation of humankind. According to one story shared by an older Ojibwe man by the name of *Kagagengs*, man emerged from a lake covered with scales. Soon Kitchi-Manitou made a woman by the name of "Mani" (Ojibwe pronunciation of "Mary") and placed both man and woman in a garden complete with a "tree of knowledge" which bore forbidden fruit. One day, Mani was enticed by a young Indian man who appeared near the tree to eat the fruit, which she did, and also persuaded the man to do the same. After the couple partook of the fruit which Kitchi Manitou warned them not to, scales fell from their bodies. They were soon discovered by Kitchi-Manitou who banished them from the garden and forced to make a living by hunting and eating wild animals. While hunting one day the man encountered a book under a tree, however it was too large to fit into his medicine bag and he buried it. Soon after, he stumbled upon another book, however, this book was made from birch bark and was very light-weight. It also contained information explaining how to gather herbs, hunt animals, and fetch fish out of the water. The man kept this book as it helped him in everyday life.[258]

Another popular folk tale embodied the same syncretic Christian and traditional elements and was widely circulated among the Ojibwe. An Ojibwe man died and approached the gates of heaven but was turned away because he was an Indian. When he got to the "hunting ground" in the West, where all the dead Indians went, he was also turned away because he had been a Christian. An Ojibwe chief shared this same perspective with a Catholic priest in 1838. He described the spirit of a person who had died and journeyed to the white man's heaven but discovered that, "baptized Indians weren't received into heaven."[259]

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[258] Johann Kohl, Kitchi-Gami: Wanderings Around Lake Superior Wanderings Round Lake Superior (London: Chapman and Hall, 1860), 195-202.

[259] Timothy Cochrane, Minong—The Good Place: Ojibwe and Isle Royal (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2009), 143.

Marksman and other Methodist Indian ministers worked to combat these hybridizations but by the mid-century, Christian/traditional folklore was entrenched among the Ojibwe. Like most Indian missionaries, Marksman attempted to establish a clearer division between non-Christian and Christian beliefs and he encouraged converts to destroy items used in traditional worship. Marksman himself, following his conversion took the "gods of his fathers" and "burned" them. Unlike Catholic and Anglican missionaries, the Methodists had little tolerance for traditional Ojibwe religious practice. While Indians connected with Anglican and Catholic missions normally met with little reprisal from missionaries when they engaged in traditional singing and dancing, both white and Ojibwe Methodist ministers strongly discouraged such cultural practices.

Peter Jones, John Sunday, and others often preached against participating in ceremonies or activities which appeared to conflict with their notion of Christian behavior. Marksman embraced "sanctified" theology and when he became a missionary he urged his Ojibwe converts to abandon many aspects of traditional Ojibwe religious activity. This became especially evident in 1841 when Marksman was assigned to the Nebeseeng Indian mission in Michigan's Genesee County. One morning, after Marksman preached a message from St. Luke 15: 18, the Indians of the mission presented Marksman their "images and bad medicines" (ceremonial items from their medicine bags) and the Indian missionary burned them.[260] By the end of the year he had managed to win more that 100 converts at the mission.[261] By destroying ceremonial items Marksman followed the practices of other Methodist Indian ministers, who made the abandonment of traditional practice the corner stone of their message.

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[260] Pitezel, Life of Peter Marksman, 85.

[261] Reuter, 63.

By the 1850s, Indian communities were permanently divided into traditional, Catholic, and numerous Protestant affiliations. Throughout several Lake Superior Indian communities there was usually one Catholic mission and various Protestant missions.[262] By the mid nineteenth century Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterian, Anglican, Moravian, and even Universalist missionaries had established missions in many Ojibwe communities. The interdenominationalism of the 1830s was then replaced twenty years later with well entrenched divisions. Protestant groups often established communities that were separate from their non-Christian relatives. Although Protestant missions were better funded and employed staffs of at least one teacher, missionary, assistant missionary, interpreter, and possibly a farmer or blacksmith; Catholic missions still held considerable influence in Indian communities. Many Ojibwe had either nominally Catholic or practicing Catholic relatives. Traditionalism also continued to resonate with many Ojibwe. By the mid 1850s, many Ojibwe living in places like Sault Ste. Marie and L'Anse dressed like whites, attended church on a regular basis, and were becoming fluent in English.

The death of Peter Jones in 1856 signified the passing of the first vanguard of Indian missionaries and marked the emergence of younger missionaries, most of whom were converted by or influenced by Jones. The Methodist missions that were established on the south shore of Lake Superior signaled the beginning of outdoor evangelical camp meetings that were so popular in Upper Canada in the 1820s and 1830s. As described in chapter three, over 200 Ojibwe assembled at Whitefish Bay in Michigan's eastern Upper Peninsula to hold a week long outdoor revival meeting. Christian Ojibwe (and some non-Christian relatives) came from as far as Lake

[262] For an in-depth description between the contrasting goals of Catholic and Protestant missions see, John Webster Grant, Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter since 1534 (Toronto and London: University of Toronto Press, 1984); for an examination of Catholic and Protestant missionary rivalries see Christopher Vecsey, The Path of Kateri's Kin (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press 1997).

Ontario to attend this revival meeting. For one week, Ojibwe preachers, community leaders, and lay men preached, prayed, sang, and worshipped in ways that were similar to the Mississauga Indians of twenty and thirty years earlier in Southern Ontario. Several preachers and missionaries such as Peter Jones, John Sunday, and Yellowhead were nearing the end of their lives while others such as Peter Marksman and Peter Greensky were just beginning or were at the peak of their missionary careers. An Ojibwe clergy was clearly established and a growing Christian Ojibwe identity permeated many Ojibwe communities. The future looked promising for Indigenous evangelical Christianity in the western Great Lakes, as it began to spread from Lake Superior to the west.

Enmegahbowh and the Indian Clergy at White Earth

By the 1880s and 90s, traditional religious practices were forced underground and most occurred out of the sight of missionaries, Indian agents, and Christian Indians. An influential Indian clergy as well as a cohesive and well rooted Indigenous Christian community had moved to the forefront in many Ojibwe towns. Week-long summer revivals, home church services, youth choirs, and religious festivals became the focus of spiritual life in many Ojibwe communities. Although traditional religious ways declined there remained a small fraction of the community who belonged to the Mediwiwin Society, practiced the "tent shaking" ceremony, held ghost suppers (dinners where the spirits of the dead were honored and fed), and practiced traditional healing. Christian practices, such as home prayer meeting and house services, preserved many elements of Ojibwe culture. Home services occurred outside of the supervision of church authorities and Ojibwe believers were free to interact and share tribal stories, histories, and spiritual perspective as they had for generations.

This next section demonstrates that house meetings became the locales where Christian Ojibwe prayed and sang over and sang for one another in ways that were considerably different than what white missionaries viewed as customary. Traditionalism continued in one form while there was simultaneously a growing stigmatization of these practices as church membership increased among the Ojibwe. Ojibwe clergy who preached against traditional religious practices contributed substantially to the decline of such activity. No person was more responsible for the emergence of a vibrant Indigenous clergy in northern Minnesota than John Johnson Enmegahbowh.

Like Copway, John Johnson or Enmegahbowh (One Who Stands Before The People) attended the Methodist mission school at Rice Lake, Ontario and he was probably converted at the same time as Copway. He was about 10 years older than Copway and he was not a Mississauga-Ojibwe. Enmegahbowh was from an Odawa tribe that lived north of the Mississauga territory, along the northern coast of Lake Huron. Though Odawa, his family lived among the Ojibwe at Rice Lake. Given that the Odawa, Ojibwe, and Potawatomi people considered themselves related and could linguistically communicate with one another, with slight dialectal variations, it was not uncommon for them to reside in each other's communities. John Johnson Enmegahbowh, like Peter Marksman, grew up a member of the Midewiwin Society and both were exposed to Christianity while young. Copway was converted by Peter Jones, (twenty years his senior) while Enmegahbowh's family was visited by Rev. Armour, an Episcopal clergyman. He periodically visited the family at their winter encampment just outside of Peterborough in Upper Canada. Enmegahbowh stayed with Rev. Armour for three months when he attended school. Johnson learned to dress like whites and he attended school with Rev.

Armour's sons. After a few months, Enmegahbowh suffering from homesickness, ran away and rejoined his father's band. [263]

Over the course of the next five years, Enmegahbowh attended the Methodist mission school at Rice Lake, along with his younger cousin George. At the behest of the Indian agent, who had received a letter from William Case, the Superintendant of Indian missions in Canada, Johnson agreed to travel to the western Great Lakes to work in the newly found Indian missions along the southern shore of Lake Superior. In 1834, Enmegahbowh was sent to the Grand Traverse Bay area in northwest Lower Michigan along with Peter Marksman and John Kabeege. In 1835, the Odawa missionary was assigned to the Kewawenon Mission near L'Anse, Michigan where he acted as an interpreter for the missionary William Herkmiker.[264] During the summer of 1836 Enmegahbowh, Copway, and Marksman were assigned to the newly established Methodist Indian mission at Ottawa Lake or Lac Court Oreille, where they labored until the following summer. With funds made available through the Illinois Conference, the three Indian missionaries attended the Ebenezer Manual Labor School or Ebenezer Seminary.

John Johnson's experience at the school was somewhat different from that of Copway. He seldom mentioned his time at Ebenezer Seminary and mentioned only that he was considered "one of the best grammarians" and was prepared to be sent "to college to learn dead languages." In reference to the classical languages, he always said that he was sent to minister among the living and not the dead, therefore, he had no desire to learn "dead languages."[265] As a result, he refused to learn Greek and Hebrew, a prerequisite for clerical ordination, the requirement was fortunately waived on his behalf by Bishop Whipple. According to Whipple, Enmegahbowh had

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[263] Jackson, 4

[264] Jackson, 5

[265] Whipple, 505.

"a good English education" and "was well-read in the scriptures."[266] The bishop was overjoyed when the gifted Odawa deacon passed his ordination examination in 1867.

After graduating from the school, Enmegahbowh was charged with opening up a mission with Methodist missionary Samuel Spates at Sandy Lake, located in the contentious Sioux/Ojibwe borderland region of the upper Mississippi River valley, about 50 miles from the western head of Lake Superior.[267] Enmegahbowh remained at the Little Elk River in 1840 and while at the Little Elk River mission, he served as an assistant missionary to Chief Hole-in-the Day's band. With the mission under siege from attacks by the Sioux, Enmegahbowh escaped north with Hole-in-the-Day and helped establish a mission at near the Rabbit River.[268] In 1841 he wed *Biwabikogishigoque* or Iron Sky Woman, a niece of Hole-in-the-Day. Iron Sky Woman was baptized as Charlotte just before her marriage to Enmegahbowh. According to Enmegahbowh she belonged to the "Grand Medicine Lodge" or the Midewiwin Society, however, she agreed to be baptized before they married. At the ceremony she knelt before the "Grand Medicine-men" who came to witness her baptism and sat in a large circle around her. Dr. Kavanaugh, a missionary who labored with Enmegahbowh, introduced the Odawa missionary to his new bride just days before he called *Biwabikogishigoque* to the center of the circle. After she "answered all the questions of this holy rite" Dr. Kavanaugh baptized her with a cup of water which he held in his hand. After the ceremony the two were married, following Christian ritual.[269] She undoubtedly was exposed to Christianity through the Methodist mission established among her father's band in 1839 and may have been converted directly by Enmegahbowh. At any rate, with

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[266] Whipple, 178.

[267] Jackson, 7.

[268] Soundings, 12.

[269] Whipple, 503.

the most powerful chief as an in-law, Enmegahbowh acquired a position of influence among the Ojibwe of upper Minnesota.

Three days after his marriage to *Biwabikogishigoque*, Hole-in-the-Day's band again came under attack and they relocated further up the Pine River. Once again Enmegahbowh established a mission among his father-in-law's band called the Whitefish Lake Mission, which he subsequently abandoned in 1841. From 1842-1845, Johnson served as assistant missionary at Sandy Lake, as well as assisting the missions at Red Lake, Leech Lake, and Cass Lake.[270]

The withdrawal of Methodist missionaries from Minnesota in the late 1840s left Enmegahbowh disinherited and disillusioned, and he decided to return to his community in Upper Canada. He had not been back to visit his family in almost ten years. Due to his limited education, he had always considered white missionaries, educated in eastern colleges and with doctorates of divinity, as more qualified to minister than himself but he also wondered, "if these men of learning have failed to teach these heathen, who can succeed? And what am I that I should attempt to train my people. If I remain in this country my days and years will become a failure and a sorrow."[271] He settled it in his heart that he would return to Canada with his wife.

This journey back home became a watershed moment in his life. Unlike Copway, Enmegahbowh felt duty bound to remain a missionary in the western Great Lakes. Although he attempted to leave for Canada, his religious convictions manifested themselves in a unique way. When he and his wife boarded the John Jacob Astor at La Point and were headed toward Sault Ste. Marie, a terrible storm ensued. Despite the best efforts of the crew, the ship was forced to turn back. According to Enmegahbowh, "the heavens were of ink blackness; there was a great

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[270] Soundings, 12.

[271] Whipple, 504.

roaring and booming, and the lightening seemed to rend the heavens." Enmegahbowh had a heartfelt conversation with his wife to whom he confessed that he believed the storm had been sent by God to keep him from leaving his missionary post. The Indian preacher likened his situation akin to that of the Prophet Jonah and reflected on his situation in this way:

> ...I know you. You are a fugitive. You have sinned and disobeyed God. Instead of going to the city of Nineveh, where God sent you to spread His word to the people, you started to go, and then turned aside. You are now on your way to the city of Tarshish, congenial to your cowardly soul....My friend...your position is precisely like mine. You have run away from your work...The Lord has dealt with you as He dealt with me. Have you faith to say as I did, 'Take me up and throw me into the sea?' If so, where is the big fish to swallow you? There is no whale in this lake, no fish big enough for your huge body. Hence, if they caste you in, it is the end of you....Only contrition will save you. Farewell! Farewell! May the Great Spirit pardon you, and bring you to dry land.[272]

After this visionary experience, Enmegahbowh decided to return to his wife's people at Gull Lake. After the incident Enmegahbowh asserted, "The more I thought of Jonah's advice, the more I thought of God's willingness to save the people from destruction, and that I might help in the work; although like Moses of old, I asked myself, 'Who am I that I should go unto the great heathen nation? I am not eloquent, neither heretofore, nor since thou has shown me thy love.'"[273] The decision to return to his wife's people must have impressed Hole-in-the-Day, for in 1846 he adopted Enmegahbowh as his son. However, their growing relationship was cut short by the Ojibwe leader's death a year later, in 1847.

Following the death of Hole-in-the-Day, an unfortunate incident forever altered Enmegahbowh's relationship with the Methodists. While laboring at the Fond du Lac mission in 1849, a white man hurled verbal insults at his wife and Johnson became upset and attacked the

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[272] Whipple, 509.

[273] Soundings, 11.

man. While he held the man down, his wife "administered a severe punishment."[274] As a result of this altercation, the couple was expelled from the Methodist Church. Meanwhile, *Kwiwisens* or "Hole in the Day, the younger" became the chief and he moved back to Gull Lake in 1849. At Gull Lake, the band utilized the government farm programs as provided under the Treaty of 1847. In 1850, a delegation of tribal leaders, including Enmegahbowh, left Gull Lake to visit Washington in hopes of securing funds for education and agriculture for their people.[275] A similar trip, following the resettlement at White Earth, found Enmegahbowh visiting at the White House, where he met the president. He also received $1,000 from the famous nineteenth-century singer, Jenny Lind.[276]

Following his expulsion, Enmegahbowh became disenchanted with the Methodist Church and he later resurfaced at Ft. Snelling, where annual annuities where being paid to his tribe. While there, he approached an Episcopal clergyman named E.G. Gear and spoke to him about the need for a mission among the Gull Lake Ojibwe. Sometime afterward the reverend recalled being approached by an Indian man who asked for a prayer book and inquired about the availability of an Episcopal missionary for the Ojibwe settlement at Gull Lake.[277] In 1851, Enmegahbowh met James Lloys Breck and convinced him of the necessity of establishing a mission at Gull Lake. In a letter to Dr. Breck, Enmegahbowh pleaded with the priest to send missionaries to his people:

> The Indians, particularly the chiefs and principal men, are very anxious to have teachers among them. The field is open for the missionaries to come in. The Indians have left me to select a teacher whom I think would likely benefit their nation, etc. The head chief is

[274] Jackson, 10.

[275] Soundings, 12.

[276] Whipple, 452.

[277] Jackson, 10.

> ready to receive and embrace religious instruction, now or at any time. I think I shall devout myself to teach him and his family what little I know. If the head chief first embrace the Christian religion, a great change will immediately take place, for he has great influence among his people. Everybody say, come to you. Come and teach. What more can we want? No strong invitation can be given by poor Indians. There might be some little translation of the liturgy, and some of the forms of prayer, etc. It would do a great deal of good at present.[278]

In the summer of 1852, Breck and Enmegahbowh established the mission of St. Columba on a piece of land provide to them at Gull Lake by Hole-in-the-Day, the younger. The St. Columba Mission would serve as base of missionary operations for the Episcopal Church until White Earth was established in 1868.[279] Hole-in-the-Day, the younger showed periodic but not sustained interest in Christianity. Although he rejected Roman Catholicism and its "system," he once invited Breck to come and meet with him, during an illness. He never followed through with the meeting and kept Breck guessing as to his true intentions.[280] In 1856, Breck left Rev. E. Steele Peake and Enmegahbowh in charge of the mission at Gull Lake and established a mission among the Ojibwe at Leech Lake, where after being forced out, he relocated to Faribault in 1857.[281] Conditions at St. Columba's started to decline rapidly in 1856. Settlers flooded into the

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[278] Jackson, 12-13

[279] For a history of Anglican Indian missions, see Owanah Anderson, 400 Years: Anglican/ Episcopal Mission Among American Indians. (Cincinnati: Forward Movement Publications, 1997); for a nineteenth century perspective on Anglican missionary work among the Ojibwe see, Rev. Edward F. Wilson, Missionary Work Among the the Ojebway Indians (London and New York: Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 1886); Little Pine's Journal: The Appeal of a Christian Chippeway Chief on Behalf of His People (Toronto: Copp, Clark, and Co. Printers, 1872); The Reverend E. O'Meara, Report of a Mission to the Ottahwahs and Ojibwas, on Lake Huron (London: The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1846); Reverend E. O'meara, Second Report of a Mission to the Ottawahs and Ojibwas on Lake Huron (London: The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1847).

[280] Theodore Holecombe, An Apostle in the Wilderness: James Lloyd Breck, D.D., His Missions and His Schools (New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1903), 92.

[281] E. L. Sheppard, Our Chippewa Missions (Minneapolis : Episcopal Diocese of Minnesota, 196-), 1.

surrounding region at Crow Ring and began to sell whiskey to the Ojibwe of the mission and the surrounding area. The presence of whiskey peddlers in Crow Wing had disastrous results for the Ojibwe at the St. Columba Mission. Soon, the mission was gripped in an atmosphere of violence as drunken brawls and rowdy behavior erupted throughout the mission and surrounding area. As the violence escalated, rumors of a war with the U.S government began to circulate. Rev. Peake was forced to abandon the St. Columba mission and took up residence at Crow Wing.[282] Enmegahbowh, who hoped to avert catastrophe and rid the band of the iniquitous influence of alcohol, remained at St. Columba.

The disorder at St. Columba was only exasperated by the mounting racial tension with the area's white settlers. As racial tension reached the boiling point and threatened to tear apart the mission, Enmegahbowh's role as intermediary emerged as increasingly important. In 1857, a white man was killed by three Ojibwe at Gull Lake. An old Ojibwe woman alerted Enmegahbowh of the murder and even showed him the spot where the murder took place. When he found a body at the scene, Enmegahbowh notified the local trader and the three Indians were apprehended. The three accused men were transported to Fort Riley for trial and meanwhile, a mob of white men seized three Ojibwe and lynched them from a nearby tree. When news of the hangings reached the Indians at Gull Lake Enmegahbowh was blamed for the deaths of the three Ojibwe. Tensions over the lynching became so tumultuous that Enmegahbowh was forced to flee to Ft. Ripley, where he remained for two months. He eventually returned to Gull Lake and was received peaceably by his people.[283] Yet, the situation demonstrated the precarious nature of his position.

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[282] Jackson, 12.

[283] Jackson, 13

In 1859, at the age of thirty-six, Enmegabowh was ordained a deacon in the Episcopal Church by Bishop Kemper in Faribault, Minnesota. His ordination made him the first ordained Indian deacon in the Episopal Church in the western Great Lakes.[284] By the fall of 1859, the Indian deacon's church consisted of a small but faithful flock of Ojibwe and enjoyed support among important tribal leaders, such as *Wabonaquod* (White Cloud) of Gull Lake, *Minogeshig* (Fine Day) and *Iahbay* (Buck) of Mille Lacs, *Mezhucegeshig* (Horizon) of Rabbit Lake, and *Nabunashkong* and *Manidowab*, both of Gull Lake. Many of these individuals found inspiration in Enmegahbowh's message but they were also attracted to the prospect of introducing agricultural programs among their people as a means of stabilizing their communities.[285]

During the Civil War, white traders enlisted young Ojibwe men from Gull Lake to fight for the Union. They typically got prospective inductees intoxicated and transported them to St. Paul where, they received an enlistment bonus of $50 to $100 for each Indian. The apprehension and enlistment of Ojibwe men into the Army angered many Gull Lake Indians and soon Enmegahbowh was besieged by the parents, who pleaded for his help. The Indian missionary walked to St. Paul, met with Army officials, and described the problem to them. They promised that the practice would be stopped and he was given documentation that officially condemned the practice and threatened the perpetrators with punishment. The Gull Lake Indians were pleased with how Enmegahbowh acted under such critical circumstances.[286]

In 1862, an armed intertribal resistance movement between the Sioux and Ojibwe threatened the United States and Enmegahbowh was forced to flee the St. Columba Mission.

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[284] Holecombe, 95.

[285] Melissa Meyer, The White Earth Tragedy: Ethnicity and dispossession at a Minnesota Anishinaabe Reservation (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1994), 41.

[286] Jackson, 13.

However before he left the mission, he met with Hole-in-the-Day and shared his thoughts about the planned Sioux/Ojibwe attack:

> I said to them, my friends, you all know me. For years I have stood before you and tried to save you from your present condition and your sin's doing. If you knew as much as I know of the greatness and power of the whites against whom you are expected to fight, you would not entertain the idea to thus strike against heavy rocks. You will kill a few in the beginning, but in the end you will all be swept away from the face of the earth and annihilated forever. I love you all. I see and know just exactly how the war will terminate. As a friend who loves, I would ask you all as wise men to think and well consider whether your present plan is to your salvation or death. Think ye well.[287]

Enmegahbowh left under cover of night and fled through the swamps, marshes, and lakes as he pulled his children in a canoe (two of which tragically died due to exposure). He successfully notified authorities at Chippewa Agency, Crow Wing, and Fort Ripley of the impending attacks of Little Crow and Hole-in-the-Day, the younger. The warning gave the troops and the residents enough time to build fortifications and thwart the planned attacks, which were not carried out by Hole-in-the-Day, the younger.[288] Enmegahbowh, was subsequently viewed as a traitor by the young chief who pledged to kill the Indian missionary. Despite the leader's threats, Enmegahbowh spent the next five years making periodic missionary trips to the Ojibwe settlements at Gull Lake, Mille Lac, and Rabbit Lake. The Ojibwe/Sioux unrest and ensuing violence forced all the missionary societies to abandon their work in Minnesota. The Methodists, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and the American Missionary Association were all forced to withdraw their missionaries from the field. Enmegahbowh remained the only Protestant missionary active during this time. Years of white encroachment, fraudulent dealings by neighboring whites, and abuse by the government came to a head.

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[287] Jackson, 17- 18.

[288] Jackson, 18.

Enmegahbowh seemed caught in the middle. He had personally witnessed the catastrophic results of agreements brokered between the Ojibwe and the U.S. federal government. In a letter to Bishop Whipple he described one of the treaty payments that he attended with his wife. Enmegahbowh described a hauntingly fateful prophecy circulating among the Ojibwe that foreshadowed the drastic changes that were to occur; a prophecy that appeared to become reality as the Minnesota Ojibwe signed more treaties that ceded their lands to the federal government for cash annuities and government rations. Enmegahbowh described the prophecy to Bishop Whipple: "Our Fathers have predicted that there would be a day when a great and beautiful bird would appear and sing a most captivating song to our people; that the songs could not be resisted. I think it was at this treaty that some of our people first saw silver and gold dollars." He also describes the vivid reaction of the Ojibwe leader Hole-in-the-Day, the elder, after the Ojibwe signed the treaty and attributes the prophecy to the chief's lament:

> After the treaty the great war chief, Hole-in-the-Day exclaimed:-
>
> A fateful treaty!
> Kuh quah ne sah gah nig!
> Kuh quah ne sah gah nig!
> Woe, woe be to my people!
> Woe, woe be to my people![289]

Enmegahbowh's letter also describes to Bishop Whipple the fateful day when the Mississippi, Mill Lacs, Gull Lake, Leech Lake, and Pokeguma bands of Ojibwe came to Sandy Lake to receive their rations that they were promised by the federal government in the previous treaty:

> The first day they received their beautiful well-colored flour hard with lumps, and pork heavily perfumed. The old chief brought me some of both and said, 'Is this fit to eat?' I

[289] Whipple, 252.

said, 'No, it is not fit to eat.' But the Indians were hungry and they ate it. About ten o'clock at night, the first gun was fired. You well know Bishop, that the Indians fire a gun when a death occurs. An hour after another gun was fired, and then another and another, until it seemed death was in every home. That night twenty children died, and the next day as many more, and so for five days and five nights the deaths went on. Oh, it was dreadful! Weeping and wailing everywhere. I and my companions were dumb. As the deaths increased, wigwams were deserted, and the inmates fled to the forest. They buried the dead in haste, often without clothing. The chief's prophecy was true: 'A fatal treaty! Woe, woe be to my people.'[290]

During the tragic episode Enmegahbowh asked a friend, Chief *Pakanuhwaush,* how many had died at the payment at Sandy Lake, to which the chief responded "Over three hundred."[291] Such horrendous tales of suffering destroyed whatever trust existed between the Ojibwe and the United States government as well as its missionary representatives. When considering such acts, Bishop Whipple had once remarked in reference to white missionaries stationed among the Ojibwe, that it was a wonder that the Natives even give audience to the words which come from the lips of American missionaries after beholding such atrocities.[292]

In 1867, Enmegahbowh was ordained by Bishop Whipple and became the Episcopal Church's first Native American priest. The year 1867 became a turning point, not only for Enmegahbowh but also for the Ojibwe bands of the upper Mississippi. That year, a treaty was negotiated that reserved thirty-six square miles for the Mississippi-Ojibwe in northern Minnesota. The new reservation was given the name of *Gahwahbahbigonikah* or White Earth, due to the

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[290] Whipple, 254

[291] Whipple, 254.

[292] For a recent work on Bishop Whipple's role in Indian affairs see, Andrew Brake, Man in the Middle: The Reform & Influence of Henry Benjamin Whipple, the First Episcopal Bishop of Minnesota (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2005); for comprehensive primary source information on Bishop Whipple's Native American missionary history see, Henry William Whipple, Bishop Henry B. Whipple Records 1859-1889 (Episcopal Church, Diocese of Minnesota)

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"white glacial loess" found just beneath the surface of the soil.[293] Hole-in-the-Day, the younger refused to allow any of his band members to relocate to the new White Earth reservation and he threatened to kill the first person who attempted the move. In 1868, *Nabunaskong* or Isaac Tuttle began the journey to White Earth, with most Gull Lake Indians accompanying him. Four of Hole-in-the-Day's men tried to stop him, however, they were afraid to attack the well-known warrior and they allowed *Nabunaskong* and the rest of the Gull Lakers to leave.[294] Sentiment among tribal factions against Hole-in-the-Day, the younger was building. His nefarious ties to Métis traders, thrusting his band into war with the U.S., and ruling with impunity did much to foment hostility against him.

On June 27th, 1868 Hole-in-the-Day, the younger was killed as he returned to his home at Gull Lake. His assassination enabled Enmegahbowh to join the rest of the band at White Earth. As the Episcopal priest and his small party of fifteen approached the Ojibwe encampment at White Earth, a group of Ojibwe warriors mistook Enmegahbowh's small group for a Sioux war party and rode out to confront them. Upon realizing it was their missionary, the party enthusiastically embraced their friend and leader. The Ojibwe then rode ahead to alert the rest of the camp of Enmegahbowh's coming to White Earth.[295] Enmegahbowh epitomized the characteristics the Ojibwe honored in a leader. He was incredibly selfless and gave away many of his personal belongings to those in greater need. He demonstrated humility, restraint, and genuine concern for other Anishinabeg. The Odawa priest conducted services in a large log cabin church during the winter and assembled the congregation outside under the trees, during the summer months. He often cooked for those who remained at the mission when they waited for

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[293] Meyer, 48.

[294] Jackson, 19.

[295] Jackson, 20.

the evening service. As a result, Enmegahbowh attracted a substantial following and enjoyed widespread support from the band's leadership, who converted to Christianity under Enmegahbowh's influence.

By 1894, the Episcopal Church emerged as the most successful of the Christianization efforts by missionary societies in Minnesota. Widespread abandonment of missionary activity during the Sioux/Ojibwe war gave the Episcopal Church total access to Minnesota's entire Indian population. Following the war, their only competition came from the Catholics. Yet this tremendous opportunity was made possible only because Enmegahbowh approached Rev. Geer that day at the fort and because he had not fled the Ojibwe missions, along with Breck and Peake when hostilities broke out. As a result, by the 1890s, Episcopal missionary work among the Ojibwe of Minnesota flourished. At White Earth alone, the Episcopal Church built four churches, three schools, and a hospital. In addition to the main mission at White Earth, the Church established churches at Pine Point and Wild Rice River. In the 1890s, about 300 Ojibwe were members of the Episcopal Church in the vicinity of White Earth, at least 100 of which were brought in by the singular efforts of Enmegahbowh.[296]

Following Enmegahbowh's lead, several young Ojibwe trained for the priesthood and were ordained deacons in the Episcopal Church. Missionary work among the Ojibwe of northern Minnesota was augmented considerably with the arrival of Father Joseph Gilfillan who worked in concert with the emerging Ojibwe clergy at White Earth. In 1857, the church at Leech Lake was rebuilt and an Ojibwe clergyman, Charles Wright became the minister.[297] Joseph Waukazoo, an Odawa from Michigan, was also sent to Leech Lake as a lay assistant to Wright.[298] The son of a

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[296] Meyer, 110.

[297] Sheppard, 3.

[298] Joseph Gifillan, Domestic Missions: The Indians Deacons at White Earth (Minnesota, S.I., 1880) 4.

head chief among the Mississippi-Chippewa, Wright was ordained a deacon by Bishop Whipple at White Earth in 1887, along with Enmegahbowh's son, George Johnson. The younger Johnson was placed at the Church of the Holy Spirit among the Pembina band of Ojibwe at Wild Rice River. Although he led a small congregation, he spent the majority of his energies fighting the influence of an Ojibwe man who proclaimed himself Christ and boasted supernatural powers.[299] In 1880, Gilfillan and three Ojibwe clergy and a recently converted Ojibwe medicine person travelled to the non-Christianized Ojibwe at Lake Winnibigoshish where they established a church called St. Phillip the Deacon. The Indian clergy were employed as teachers at the school which was held within the church.[300]

Though given to micromanagement and petty politics, Gilfillan was an educated and culturally astute Episcopal priest. He travelled with a group of Indian men to Red Lake in 1876, armed with gifts of food, to make a good impression on the Red Lake band. This initial meeting was designed to generate goodwill between the Red Lake Indians and the Episcopal missionaries and to create a point of contact in which to eventually launch a mission. The following winter, two Ojibwe ministers, Rev. Samuel Madison and Rev. Fred Smith, travelled with Gilfillan to Red Lake and successfully established a mission there.[301] Fred Smith, son of the famed Hole-in-the-Day was taken by Rev. Breck to Faribault where he received an education. He was ordained a deacon the same year by Bishop Whipple at the Church of St. Columba.[302] Following another

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[299] Gilfillan, Domestic Missions, 3.

[300] Sheppard, 3.

[301] Sheppard, 3.

[302] Gilfillan, Domestic Missions, 1.

trip by Gilfillan and the Indian clergy, a mission was established on the north-shore of Red Lake that soon boasted over 85 Christian converts.[303]

Their endeavors to establish an Episcopal mission at Cass Lake was initially met with ambivalence by many residents. The ABCFM mission had previously failed.[304] Efforts to establish an Episcopal mission would have met a similar fate had *Shaydayence*, a converted chief from White Earth, not accompanied the missionary delegation. The persuasive efforts of *Shaydayence*, and the arrival of an Anishinabe minister, Mark Hart in 1881, appointed to lead Prince of Peace Episcopal Church, made the mission a success. Hart was initially named *Obimweweiash* (Sailing Along With A Thundering Sound) and acquired his English name while attending the government school at White Earth. Students were often pressured to take English names to ease administrative matters, but also to promote assimilation. According to Gilfillan, *Obimweweiash* received the name Mark Hart after he read the name in a book. After falling gravely ill he pledged to serve God, if allowed to recover. Eventually he was trained and ordained at White Earth.[305]

The Otter Tail Pillager Band of Chippewa, long hostile to white encroachment, relocated to Pine Point to escape white influence and missionary efforts. Although they initially rejected Gilfillan's offer to establish a mission, they permitted a Christian Ojibwe named Louis Manypenny (a relative to many in the band), to establish a school among them in 1887.[306] Rev. George B. Morgan, son of a chief of the Mille Lac Band, was appointed to the Church of the

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[303] Sheppard, 3-4.

[304] For early Presbyterian missionary accounts among the Ojibwe, see Rev. James Peery Schell, In the Ojibway Country: A Story of Early Missions on the Minnesota Frontier (North Dakota: Chas H. Lee Publisher, 1911).

[305] Gilfillan, Domestic Missions, 4.

[306] Sheppard, 4.

Epiphany at nearby Wild Rice Lake and also taught at Manypenny's day school, while at the church.[307] Eventually the Odawa minister, Joseph Waukazoo, was placed in charge of an Episcopal Church founded among the Pillagers in 1892.[308] Naytauwaush or Twin Lake Mission was originally settled by Ojibwe families who migrated there from Mille Lacs in 1890. Gilfillan erected the Episcopal Church at Naytauwaush in honor of Samuel Mason, an Indian minister who had recently passed away.[309]

White Earth became the administrative center of the Episcopal Church's missionary work and Gilfillan selected and appointed Indian clergy to preside at Episcopal churches in Indian communities throughout Minnesota. Gilfillan's work among the Minnesota Ojibwe was later bolstered by the arrival of Edward Kahosed, a Christian Ojibwe who came to Red Lake from Ontario and was employed as an interpreter. He was ordained into the priesthood in 1899 and produced many Ojibwe prayer books and hymnals, which were popular among the Christian Indians of Minnesota. A training school for Indian clergy was eventually built at White Earth and named *Kahosed,* in honor of the Indian missionary from Canada.[310]

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[307] Gilfillan, Domestic Missions, 3.

[308] Sheppard, 4.

[309] Sheppard, 4.

[310] Sheppard, 4-5.

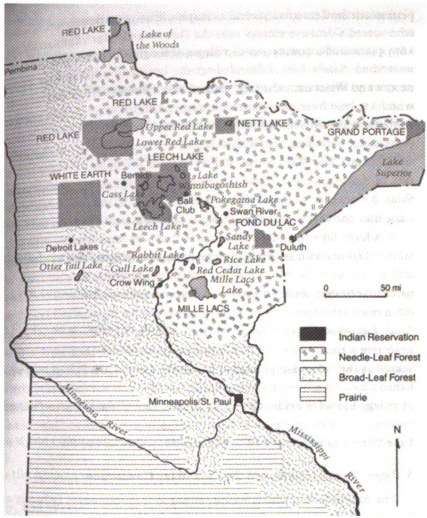

Figure 10: Nineteenth century Ojibwe communities in Minnesota. After its formation in 1868, the White Earth reservation became the base of missionary operations for the Episcopal Church in northern Minnesota.

Of all the Indian missionaries, Enmegahbowh most embodied those traits associated with traditional views of Ojibwe leadership. His behavior reflected Ojibwe notions of generosity, Enmegahbowh gave selflessly to those in need. During the winter of 1873, after a futile search for Buffalo on the plains, a group of forty Pembima were forced to take shelter at the home of Enmegahbowh. As was expected of Ojibwe spiritual leaders, Enmegahbowh accommodated the visitors, as best he could. He later recalled that he had "given all the clothing away that I could pick round my own house. I have given three pair of my old pants, three shirts of mine own two coats and my wife three of her own dresses and here are fourteen men sitting around me asking for food and clothing and here I have all my Christian Indians to come in with their old clothes." [311] Enmegahbowh also cooked and fed members of his congregation between Sunday meetings and he even conducted church services out of doors during the summer months. Although these acts often brought the censure of church officials, Enmegahbowh continued to fulfill the expectations of a community leader by giving to those in need.

Like most Ojibwe ministers, Enmegahbowh dressed in Euro-American clothing and wore short hair. His first exposure to white society was as a child, when he spent three months with Rev. Armour in a white community neat Toronto. Not only did he learn to read and write during his stay, while in the Episcopal clergyman's care, the young Enmegahbowh wore white styled clothes, short hair, and attended school with white children. Given that Methodist missionaries encouraged converts to adopt Euro-American culture, the Odawa youth probably continued to wear his hair short and wear Euro-American clothing when he attended the Methodist school at Rice Lake, during the 1820s. For Enmegahbowh, who was exposed to white culture at an early age, short hair and Euro-American clothing were not a drastic change. However, for many new converts, who increased daily at White Earth, the adoption of white culture was more jarring.

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[311] Michael McNally, Ojibwe Singers: Hymns, Grief, and Native Culture in Motion (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 98.

Enmegahbowh utilized Ojibwe conceptions of spiritual sacrifice and offering to compel some converts to cut their hair. In Ojibwe society, hair played a significant role in the lives of individual people. This was especially true during times of intense grief and spiritual consecration. When mourning the death of a loved one, an Ojibwe person often cut their hair. In some cases, a small bundle of hair mixed with pieces of clothing from the deceased was carried by the mourner until the time of grieving was over.[312] Enmegahbowh described the response of *Nebuneshkung* (who would emerge as a Christian leader at White Earth), who was moved by the persuasive tactics that Enmegahbowh employed in regard to spiritual sacrifice and offering:

> If the Great Spirit has so big love for poor Indian, surely Indian ought and must give back big love...Now dear brother...to be true to return my big love to the GREAT SPIRIT, I brought these scissors, to have you cut my hair locks which will be thrown away for ever.[313]

As Goerge Tinker so artfully asserts in Missionary Conquest, the new convert appeared to "have viewed" the cutting of his hair "as a spiritual act of self-sacrifice or offering so characteristic of many Native American cultures." [314] This act of sacrifice made perfect sense for the Ojibwe who routinely utilized material items such as expensive cloth, food, and even locks of hair as offerings to complement their prayers. Bishop Whipple asserted that Ojibwe warriors cut their hair when they decided to stop going out to war with raiding parties. Though short hair could symbolize several different things, it is clear that it was cut after deep reflection and was indicative of an inward commitment that had public implications.

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[312] Hilger, 86.

[313] George Tinker, Missionary Conquest: The Gospel and Native American Cultural Genocide (Fortress Press: Minneapolis, 1993), 101.

[314] Tinker, 101

Enmegahbowh stayed in constant communication with church officials about the needs and concerns of the Ojibwe at White Earth. His letters to Bishop Whipple, Dr. Breck, and Reverend Gifillan updated them about the conditions at the mission. He was honest and upright with both the non-Christian and Christian members of his community. During the Sioux war of 1862, when Hole-in the-Day, the younger sought Enmegahbowh's advice about joining the Sioux, he was honest and knew that it would make him a vulnerable target for political and physical retribution. His leadership earned the respect of all White Earth factions and was hailed as a genuine Anishinabeg leader when he died on June 12th, 1902. He was buried in the churchyard at St. Columba's, the mission which he helped found.

Great Lakes Connections and Anishinabe Christian Practice

Much has been said about the work of the Indian deacons at White Earth. In Ojibwe Singers, Michael McNally parallels the activities of the "Band of Singing Young Men" to that of the former drum societies that had existed among the Ojibwe. These prayer and singing gatherings played a pivotal role in helping Ojibwe believers synthesize, process, and interpret complex Christian theology. These gatherings enhanced the spirituality of faithful followers and also helped reclaim Ojibwe who had backslidden from the Christian faith. A further investigation into these meetings also unveils another Christian Ojibwe practice that occurred throughout the entire Great Lakes.

Shaydayence or The Little Pelican was an advanced Mediwiwin or Grand Medicine Society practitioner. People came from great distances to be healed by one of his ceremonies. Yet even this religious leader was influenced by the work of the Indian clergy at White Earth. According to *Shadayence's* own testimony, he was greatly touched by the conversion and

personal ministry of *Nebuneshkung* (also spelled *Nabunaskong)* or Isaac Tuttle. This was the same warrior who had led the Gull Lakers to White Earth, despite Hole-in-the-Day's threat to kill the first person that left for White Earth. He described the meetings between himself and his relative *Nebuneshkung*, who was on his sick bed:

> I would go in the evening and to see Nebuneshkung who was my relative, and would find him lying on his bed. As soon as I entered, he would begin to speak to me about religion and about my soul, and to persuade me to become a Christian, but with a voice so low and faint through extreme exhaustion that I could hardly hear him. By and by he would get stronger, as if carried away with his subject; then he would rise from his bed and begin to pace about the floor, his voice growing stronger and stronger, until he seemed to me like a man inspired. Then he would call upon his wife to make him some tea, and so he would continue, walking about the room, and exhorting me all night, yes even to the break of day. This he did over and over again.[315]

Nebuneshkung's exhortations did not go unheeded. After his relative's death, *Shaydayence* considered embracing Christianity based on the words of *Nabuneshkung*, which he told church officials during a visit by the Bishop. However, before he was baptized, *Shaydayence* made the unprecedented move of attending a Grand Medicine ceremony, renounced his affiliation with the religion, and declared his intention of becoming a Christian.[316] He was baptized and confirmed by Bishop Whipple in June of 1872.

Shaydayence credits the "Band of Singing Young Men" for his conversion. This band which was comprised of young male converts, would visit people in their homes and pray and sing for them for hours. Typically the meeting would open with a prayer, followed by a hymn. Between hymns, certain individuals would be called on by the band leader to testify to the person whom they visited, of the power of God in their own lives. Frequently these meetings lasted the

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[315] Joseph Gilfillan, The Church and the Indians (New York: Office of the Indian Commission, Protestant Episcopal Church, 1876), 5.

[316] Gilfillan, The Church and the Indians, 5.

duration of the night and sometimes, until day break. *Shaydayence* described how his conversion to Christianity was fostered by the Band of Singing Young Men:

> But just at that point when I was almost ready to faint, God moved the Band of Singing Young Men who go about from house to house, singing Chippewa hymns and exhorting each another—and as I listened to their hymns and to their singing, and to their exhortations to me and to each other between the hymns, it seemed to me that I experienced as it were an opening of the mind, and I understood the truth and found comfort in it. It seemed as if a heavenly light dawned upon my mind as I listened to them, and since that day I have gone on and on in knowledge, in love, and in peace.[317]

Shaydayence, though in his upper 60s, became the leader of the Band of Singing Young Men. Reverend Gilfillan, a General Theological Seminary graduate and scholar, participated in many of these prayer/singing sessions, and was frequently the only white person present. He was deeply moved by what he saw at these meetings:

> Some of the deepest truths of the Bible, which one would think could only be elaborated by a Christian of long experience after much study and prayer in his closet, can there be heard falling from the lips of these poor wild men of the forest. New lights and views of the Gospel truth, brilliant and beautiful, flash over that dark faced throng, sitting in the dim glimmer of a single candle, working out with each other the problem of Life and immorality. Let no one think that it is but a little advance in Christian Life, which these poor savages can make. Listen to them, and you will find that whatever region of Christian experience your step has penetrated, they have been there before you.[318]

Enmegahbowh's influence at White Earth cannot be overstated. His congregation of three hundred probably included the individuals who comprised the Band if Singing Young Men. Enmegahbowh himself probably participated in many of these all night prayer and singing meetings.

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[317] Gilfillan, The Church and the Indians, 6.

[318] Gilfillan, The Church and the Indians, 8.

These nightly prayer and singing vigils which entailed in-depth spiritual discussions were a Great Lakes-wide phenomena that occurred among the Christian Ojibwe. Peter Jacobs or *Pahtahsega,* the Mississauga-Ojibwe converted by Peter Jones in Upper Canada, related similar incidents while a missionary:

> Once I had been preaching to eleven at night to the converted Indians at Lake Simcoe, and was just finishing, when the Indians said: 'When we were heathen, we never gave up drinking the fire-waters the whole night; and why should we now go to bed? Why shouldn't we go on singing, and praising God till daylight?' I was young and full of spirits; and though I had just done preaching, I began again, and preached a great part of the night.[319]

Peter Jones described numerous times in which they prayed and sang throughout the night. This practice was especially illustrated at the death of the great Mississauga-Ojibwe preacher on June 29th, 1856 at his home near Brantford in Canada-West. His wife Eliza recorded in his journal that while he was dying his visitors included a small band of Indians from his home reserve. Of the visit she says, "A number of Indians came from New Credit today. It was affecting to witness their deep sorrow as they gazed on the emaciated form of their long tried, faithful friend...The dear afflicted Indians met several times during the day for singing and prayer."[320]

Expressive worship was characteristic of converted Anishinabeg throughout the Great Lakes. While visiting Ojibwe families in their wigwams at White Earth, Father Gilfillan encountered a Christian family. Gilfillan describes the domestic scene and the son who appeared to be in a mode of worship while reading a hymnal (which contained hymns likely translated by Peter Jones):

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[319] Jacobs, 5.

[320] Jones, Life, 416.

> On the other side, opposite them, lies on his back, on a mat, with his feet close to the fire, an Indian young man, holding up an open Prayer Book in front of his face, out of which he sings, or rather shouts, Ojibway hymns at the very top of his voice, in a manner that would be to us earsplitting, but which to them is most delicious music.[321]

It is evident that the vocal expression of many Ojibwe Christians was considerably louder than their white counterparts. This difference in worship styles frequently led to misunderstandings and divisions when Indians and whites assembled together. This difference in religious expression is aptly demonstrated in the story of Peter Greensky and a group of his Odawa followers, known as "Greensky Indians" in northern Michigan. As mentioned, Peter Greensky or *Showskawageshik* was originally converted under John Sunday in Sault Ste. Marie, in 1831. He attended school at the Little Rapids Mission in the Sault and after being trained at the Methodist mission in Bay Mills, he was sent to Duluth, Minnesota as a missionary. He returned to the Sault and eventually left to assist Peter Dougherty at his mission in Grand Traverse Bay, acting as an interpreter.[322]

Greensky and his followers frequently clashed with the Presbyterian missionary William Dougherty and later, with Methodists who utilized Greensky as an interpreter and missionary assistant. Around the year 1839, these differences came to a head during the celebration festivities which marked the founding of the Northport Methodist Church near Charlevoix, MI. While the celebratory service was being conducted, Greensky and his followers grew so boisterous while shouting praise and giving thanks for the new building that they were instructed by the presiding Methodist minister that if they did not quiet down, they would have to leave the service. Offended and angered at this indignity, Greensky and his followers left the service. Peter Greensky and twenty-seven Odawa families prepared their canoes and travelled across the bay to

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[321] Gilfillan, The Church and the Indians, 11.

[322] McClurken, The Way It Happened, 25.

the shore of Pine Lake (present day Lake Charlevoix). In a small clearing on the top of a hill, near Pine River (which was rumored to be the legendary meeting ground of Anishinabe chiefs in the past) they constructed a large bark lodge in which to hold services. Greensky received his license to preach from the Methodists in 1844 and over the next two years he served as a missionary at Fond du Lac and Sault Ste. Marie. After serving at various Indian missions in Michigan, Greensky returned to the Pine River Mission in 1863, he died in 1866.[323]

Conducting home based "church services" was also important among the growing Christian population of Odawa Indians in northern Michigan. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, many Odawa held positions of leadership in the church and served as deacons, exhorters, preachers, and ministers. Each summer local Anishinabeg gathered to hold open air revival meetings on the mission grounds. Many Christian Ojibwe and Odawa from Grand Traverse Bay, Beaver Island, Charlevoix, Petoskey, and the Indian community of Harbor Springs frequently conducted church services in each other's homes, where they often met for prayer meetings and fellowship activities.[324] These house meetings were important in facilitating a Christian Indian identity, with little interference from Anglo clergy or outside interests. Believers were free to worship, sing, pray, share oral stories and relate tribal histories in their native language. The Odawa of northwest Lower Michigan also built a log church on the Pine Lake Mission site. The church building, constructed by the Odawa during the 1860s, is still in use over 150 years later. The Odawa named their church Greensky Hill Church in honor of its founder, Peter Greensky.[325]

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[323] Reuter, 152.

[324] McClurken, The Way It Happened, 26.

[325] Greensky Hill United Methodist Indian Mission Church is located in Charlevoix, Michigan. Always a popular destination for summer camp meetings, it continued to host a variety of cultural and religious functions for the local Odawa community.

Figure 11: Christian Odawa built this log church in the 1850s. The congregation enjoyed the leadership of Methodist minister Peter Greensky, who was educated at the Little Rapids Mission in Sault Ste. Marie in the 1830s. The church enjoys active use today by the Odawa of northern Michigan and is known by the name of Greensky Hill Church, in honor of their leader. (McClurken, *The Way It Happened*, 1991).

Figure 12: Anishinabe Methodist ministers pose for a picture taken at a camp meeting at Sutton's Bay in northern Michigan, 1880.

CONCLUSION

The chapters in this text have covered an extensive period of Great Lakes history. Early chapters illustrate how several missionary organizations came to the Great Lakes during the nineteenth century in search of Native souls. Yet, their experience differed drastically from what they had experienced in white communities in the Northeast. Missionaries did not realize it, but they stepped into a world in which they had little experience. They underestimated the permeability and durability of Ojibwe religious practices, nor did they understand the substance which comprised those practices. Not being able to speak the language, misunderstandings surrounding giving and generosity, misinterpretations of Ojibwe ceremonies, and unfamiliarity with Ojibwe migratory patterns were just some of the obstacles that impeded evangelization efforts of the Anishinabeg by eastern missionaries. I argue that the emergence of Christian Ojibwe leadership was critical to the Christianization of the Ojibwe of the western Great Lakes. Missionary efforts to convert the Anishinabeg of the Lake Superior region failed miserably in the 1820s. Although Abel Bingham's Baptist mission was nominally successful, most missions in the western Great Lakes were not. Bingham himself replaced two missionaries who had just abandoned missionary efforts at Sault Ste. Marie when he arrived in 1828.

Ojibwe ministers and missionaries were able to communicate in the Ojibwe language and had little need for interpreters. As a result, they were able to convey complex Christian theology within an indigenous context, clearly understood by Ojibwe hearers. Because they held similar world views and were raised participating in the same religious ceremonies of prospective converts, they were able to address oppositional arguments which were rooted in Ojibwe religious and cultural frameworks. Ojibwe ministers also fulfilled traditional definitions of Anishinabe leadership by giving to those in need, representing the community at political functions (such as treaty negotiations), and communicating in a non-confrontational manner. Many Ojibwe ministers and missionaries were teachers whose literacy and experience working with government institutions were sorely needed by tribal communities during an unprecedented era of

treaty meeting. They also employed culturally relevant techniques to spread their message such as using wampum belts, preaching in the Ojibwe languages, using artistic oratory, and incorporating Indian folk stories to better convey biblical precepts which were well received.

Ojibwe clergy's ties to the community heightened their credibility and fidelity in the eyes of many Anishinabeg. Depletion of the fur trade, commercial fisheries, spoiled government food rations, inconsistent annuity payments, poverty, alcoholism, and fraudulent land deals affected Indian missionaries just as they did the rest of the community, irrespective of religious affiliation. However, Christian Ojibwe leaders like Jones utilized their recognition by the government to counter the corrupt dealings of government and white society. While various denominations of white Christians worked at cross purposes, Native Christians who worked within the Methodist Church in Michigan and Upper Canada demonstrated a dynamic level of leadership, spirituality, and culturally relevant messages. The same influence was yielded later by the Indian deacons in the Episcopal Church in Minnesota. The cultural presence which the Christian Ojibwe brought to the church, along with the prospect of receiving an education, and opportunities for leadership, attracted non-Christian Indians who were previously unaffected by the message of earlier white missionaries.

Ojibwe ministers often enjoyed extensive kinship networks in the communities where they ministered. Some, such as Enmegahbowh and Peter Marksman, married into prominent Indian and mixed blood families which strengthened their ties to local tribal communities. Their personal concern for the long term survival and sustainability of Indian communities drove Anishinabe ministers to continue with their labors when white missionaries turned back. During the hostilities which led to the Dakota Wars of 1862, when missionary societies abandoned the field in northern Minnesota, Enmegahbowh remained. Although his personal life was in

jeopardy, he continued to ministers to the needs of Ojibwe communities and advised tribal leaders against going to war with the U.S. government.

Peter Marksman frequently set out to visit remote Ojibwe settlements located in the interior with nothing more than a birch bark canoe, hatchet, and small bag of supplies. Like most Ojibwe missionaries, Marksman lived from the seasonal cycle which enabled him to visit remote Ojibwe communities and live in them throughout the year. The ability to follow Ojibwe groups to sugar encampments and fishing and hunting stations allowed Indian missionaries to minister at sites where white missionaries did not regularly visit. Visiting sugar camps, hunting/fishing stations, annuity payment sights, and attending treaty negotiations allowed Indian missionaries to engage in face-to-face interactions with little or no outside white missionary representation. These all-Indian gatherings permitted Christian and non-Christian Ojibwe to speak to each other freely and with a great degree of candor; intimate discussions which rarely occurred between non-Christian Ojibwe and white missionaries.

As a result of their kinship ties, communal oriented lifestyles, and connections to American institutions these Indian missionaries were looked upon as valuable intercultural mediators. Their message was well received because their personal welfare was so intimately connected to the wellbeing of the entire community; they could be trusted. Their community and kin networks facilitated an east-to-west flow of missionary work. Residents at one missionary station often recommended Indian ministers visit other Ojibwe communities and even supplied them with the names of relatives who served as points of contact. Though it was eastern missionary societies who originally established missionary posts in remote locations in Wisconsin and Minnesota, it was Indian missionaries who used their expanding network of community contacts to reach outlying Ojibwe communities. And when these eastern missionary posts were abandoned, Indian missionaries often remained behind to continue the work. Some missionaries

such as John Sunday and Peter Greensky periodically operated independent of any sponsoring missionary society and established missions among Ojibwe communities, which had minimal, if any, ties to an outside denomination or ministerial body.

It is clear that conversion to Protestant Christianity facilitated cultural and ethnic adaptations. Most Ojibwe missionaries and ministers cut their hair, wore Euro-American clothing, and adopted a Christian name upon being inducted into the overall evangelical community. Many young converts, such as Peter Marksman saw this incorporation of white culture and begun to emulate his new found religious leaders by adopting the same practices of wearing short hair and Euro-American clothing. Yet these adaptations occurred in regions such as Southern Ontario, Sault Ste. Marie, and Mackinaw Island, where white population densities were highest and increased interaction between tribal and white populations brought intermarriages between the two groups. In places such as Wisconsin and Minnesota, however, where white encroachment into Ojibwe territory was not as pervasive, Native cultural constructs remained strong.

I assert, however, that as the Anishinabeg were Christianized, they adopted Christian expression into pre-existing traditional frameworks. It is clear from the repeated accounts of excessively loud Christian Ojibwe worship that the Ojibwe had a different idea of spiritual and ceremonial expression than did white evangelical Christians. The intensity of their worship experience also varied from what white missionaries were accustomed to seeing. Christian Ojibwe would routinely pray and sing for hours at a time, which amazed many missionaries. Yet, it was these Christian expressions of hymn singing and praying that replaced traditional Ojibwe practices such as drum societies, which provided a model for indigenous worship before conversion. Ojibwe ministers who were raised with such a worldview were able to encourage Ojibwe converts to adapt previous ceremonial expression to their Christian worship. Their

cultural positioning enabled them to capitalize on expressions which were sometimes mischaracterized by white missionaries as being pagan in nature.

Those Native converts that observed the cultural transformation that followed the adoption of Christianity also expressed a readiness to transition to sedentary agriculture after seeing the prosperity of white communities. Unfortunately, this process of agricultural adaptation was often hampered by the assumed superiority of "white civilization" and by the dismissal of an Ojibwe worldview of history, culture, and ceremonial practices. Although there was a clear implication on the behalf of Indian missionaries that Christianization simultaneously entailed the adoption of agrarian practices most Ojibwe missionaries emphasized conversion, before acculturation. Ojibwe Methodist preachers also tended to allow the individual convert to make their own decisions about hair length, clothing, and sedentary agriculture. Christian Ojibwe leaders also genuinely cared for the well being of the communities in which they labored and were willing to personally sacrifice for the benefit of those communities. This approach not only facilitated conversions but also hastened the adoption of sedentary agriculture.

In the end, Ojibwe missionaries and ministers brought a credible, culturally relevant, spiritually palpable, politically empowering, and socially personable message which provided stability to Ojibwe communities devastated by American and Canadian expansion and colonialism. Native people frequently looked upon non-Indian missionaries as agents of this domination and were hesitant to participate in their own destruction by aiding missionaries, which they not infrequently saw as extensions of governmental authority. Anishinabe ministers were able to bridge the gap; they preached the message of Christianity, while looking out for the best interests of the community.

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