A STUDY IN FAILURE:

THE ANGLICAN MISSION AT SAULT STE. MARIE, UPPER CANADA 1830-1841

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Abstract

At the close of the War of 1812 the British were at a loss as to what to do with their former Indian allies. In time the British Parliament adopted an experimental policy whereby Indians would be "civilised" in communities apart from white settlement under the supervision of the various Christian denominations.

In 1820 Shingwaukonce, a war chief to his uncle Shingabawasin, made the decision to break with the American Chippewa and crossed the St. Mary's River into Canada. He had been disappointed in his recent relations with officials of the American government and hoped to re-establish an alliance with the British on whose side he had fought in the late war. A proud man he was prepared to make the necessary compromises but refused to surrender his principles. Throughout his primary concern was to ensure the security and educational betterment of his followers.

The Church of England agreed to participate in the government's plan not from a response to the needs of the Indians but in reaction to the rapid advances being made by the Methodists and Roman Catholics which they viewed as rivals to their established authority. Between 1832 and 1841 three Anglican missionaries were dispatched to Sault Ste. Marie: James Cameron, William McMurray and Frederick O'Meara. This essay explores the causes behind their individual failures and concludes with an examination of Shingwaukonce's response to the missionary experience and his continuing involvement in the ceremonies and practices of the *medewewin.*

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by Alan Knight

Those who begin by loving Christianity more than truth, proceed to love their sect more than Christianity, and end by loving themselves most of all. *Samuel Taylor Coleridge*

8th July [1822]. [Sault Ste. Marie]. I went to rest last night with the heavy murmuring sound of the falls in my ears, broken at short intervals by the busy thump-thump-thump of the Indian drum; for it is to be added, to the otherwise crowded state of the place, that the open grounds and river-side greens of the village which stretch along irregularly for a mile or two, are filled with the lodges of visiting Indian bands from the interior. The last month of spring and the early summer constitute, in fact, a kind of carnival for the natives. It is at this season that the traders, who have wintered in the interior, come out with their furs to the frontier posts of St. Mary's, Drummond Island and Michilimackinac, to renew their stock of goods. (Schoolcraft, 1851, p.95)

The Ojibwe at the Falls of the St. Mary's

The Ojibwe were traditionally a nomadic people (Ontario, 1918) whose members inhabited the region extending from the upper reaches of the Mississippi River, along the north shore of Lake Superior, and into the eastern prairies. For more than a millennium they had journeyed to the rapids of the St. Mary's River to fish, feast and conduct their religious ceremonies (MacDonald, 1979)(see Appendix I). By the middle of the nineteenth century they had come to dwell on the Canadian side of the river in two distinct, yet interdependent, bands. The first numbered approximately two hundred and fifty members and was under the leadership of Shingwaukonce ("the Little Pine")(1773-1854). The second was smaller - one hundred and sixty members - and centred at Batchawana on Lake Superior. It was led by Nebenaigooching (1808-1899)("He Who Appears [in the Night Sky] Like the Moon When It Is Holding Water"), or Joseph Seyer [or Sayer], to use his white name (see Appendix II). The chiefs were related through common ancestry and belonged to the Crane totem.

Shingwaukonce's father was a Quebec free trader by the name of Jean Baptiste Barthe

(1751-1827) who, along with his brother Lavoine, had trapped in the area of the Keewanaw peninsula on the south shore of Lake Superior and westward into Wisconsin in the 1770's. They were field agents for the Detroit merchant John Askin (Quaife, 1931). Their sister, Archanges Barthe, was Askin's second wife. Jean Baptiste was later employed as a warehousekeeper for Askin at Sault Ste. Marie and owned property, in his own right, on the American side of the St. Mary's River. Jean Baptiste Barthe retired to Detroit and fought for the British in the War of 1812 (Berton, 1980, pp. 208-210) but his brother Lavoine stayed on at LaPointe in Michigan until as late as 1830.

Shingwaukonce was born at either Sault Ste. Marie or Mackinac and moved with his mother, while still a young child, to Grand Island, near Houghton, in Michigan. He also lived for a time at Green Bay in Wisconsin. His mother was Ogemahqua ("Queen"), the daughter of Mamongazida ("Loon Foot"), chief of the Chaquamegon Ojibwe. Mamongazida had fought with General Montcalm on the Plains of Abraham in 1759.

Shingwaukonce was appointed a minor chief in 1790. Three years later he was selected as war chief under the authority of his uncle Shingabawasin ("The Shining Stone" or "The Image Stone") when the latter became principal chief of the Crane clan following the death, from tuberculosis, of his elder brother Waubojeeg ("The White Fisher") in 1793. Shingabawasin's village, consisting of forty to fifty lodges, was located on the south side of the St. Mary's River, opposite the rapids.

Shingwaukonce had proven his loyalty to the Crown when he fought alongside the British at the Straits of Mackinac and on the Niagara frontier in the War of 1812 (See Allen, 1993; Lavender, 1964; and Berton, 1980). He was present at Queenston Heights when General Isaac Brock was killed and later fought at Fort Malden with Tecumseh. To commemorate his participation he received a large silver medallion from George III.

Shingwaukonce preferred to be known as "The Pine". "He is not an hereditary chief", wrote Anna Jameson (1990) in 1837,

> but an elective or war chief, and owes his dignity to his bravery and to his eloquence. Among these people, a man who unites both is sure to obtain power. Without letters, without laws, without arbitrary distinctions of rank or wealth, and with a code of morality so simple, that upon that point they are pretty much on a par, it is superior natural gifts, strength and intelligence, that raise an Indian to distinction or influence. He has not the less to fish for his own dinner, and build his own canoe (p.479).

Another writer has described Shingwaukonce as a "shrewd and polite" (Schoolcraft, 1851, p. 306) man, with tufts of whiskers on his chin,

> about five feet ten inches [in stature], of a stout, well-set frame. He has an intelligent eye ... a man of strong and sound, but uncultivated mind, he possesses powers of reflection beyond most people. He has also a good memory, and may be considered a learned man, in a tribe where learning is the result of memory, in retaining the accumulated stories of forest arts and forest lore, as derived from oral sources. He speaks his own language fluently, and is still regarded as one of the best orators of his tribe (Schoolcraft, 1851-1857, vol. 3).

As a chief, responsible for the welfare of his people, Shingwaukonce believed it wise to keep his options open - his irons stoking away in as many fires as possible. In the autumn of 1819 Governor Lewis Cass of Michigan (and Shingwaukonce's old nemesis from the battle of Fort Malden) presented a memorial to John C. Calhoun, the American Secretary for War, in which he proposed the extermination of Indian land titles in and about the straits of the St. Mary's River, Prairie du Chein and Green Bay. Chiefs Shingabawasin and Shingwaukonce were opposed to the idea that the land surrendered at the Sault should be used to build an American garrison [Fort Brady] citing the fact that this was the exact location of the traditional cemetery of the band. Cass responded that his offer was only a courtesy since the United States had already acquired the rights of all former European land grants through the Treaty of Greenville in 1795. Since the French had owned a fort at Sault Ste. Marie in the eighteenth century Cass claimed that the United States could occupy the spot with or without the agreement of the Ojibwe. This upset the chiefs but Shingabawasin called for moderation. Sassaba, one of the young war chiefs, had come to the council dressed in the uniform of a British brigadier general. Recalling his brother Waubejejauk's death at the battle of Fort George, Sassaba angrily kicked aside a bundle of tobacco that had been offered by the Americans, struck his lance into the ground and, accompanied by Shingwaukonce, stormed back to his tent where he raised the Union Jack. Cass pursued them, accompanied by Waubojeeg's grandson, George Johnston (1796-1861), who acted as Cass's interpreter. Cass tore down the flag and returned with it to his tent. Sassaba assembled his warriors and prepared to attack the governor.

A little while later Shingwaukonce's cousin Oshauguscodaywayquay (1772-1843)("The Woman of the Green Meadow") instructed her son, the above mentioned George Johnston, to assemble the chiefs in his office. She was the daughter of Waubojeeg. As to her influence amongst her people it was said of her that she was well aware of her power and knew how to exercise it. George Johnston informed the chiefs

> that they were well aware that America and Great Britain were now at peace, and that they would look in vain for assistance from the English when the United States punished them for the insult which had been offered its government by one of their hot headed young men (Fowle, 1925, pp. 312-313).

Furthermore, according to George Johnston,

> My mother at this time came in and with authority commanded the assembled chiefs to be quick and suppress the follies of Sassaba the chief. She counselled them that resistance to the Americans was madness, that this man Cass had the air of a great man and could carry his flag through the country; the party was then under the hospitality of her roof. She counselled peace. Chief Shingbawasin assented to the wisdom of her council, and was seconded by the Little Pine. The crisis was passed, the better counsel of the moderate chiefs prevailed (Fowle, 1925, pp. 312-313)

Under the terms of the Treaty of 1820 the Chippewa/Ojibwe ceded four square miles at the Sault (sixteen miles altogether) and reserved the right to fish the rapids. Shingwaukonce signed the treaty as "Augustin Bart"(Warren 1885) and soon thereafter departed for Canada. Over the next decade his village could be found at various sites including Pointe aux Pins, Partridge Point and Garden River.

According to the American Indian agent at Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, Henry Rowe Schoolcraft (1793-1864), Shingwaukonce visited his establishment on a number of occasions during the 1820's with the hope of receiving government presents. On the 16th of September, 1826, Shingwaukonce delivered a speech wherein

> he recapitulated his good offices and exertions towards the Americans from the time of Gov. Cass's arrival in 1820. He states that a plot had then been formed to cut off the Gov.'s party, and that he and Mr. G. Johnston had been instrumental in thwarting the design. He was glad to see the fire I had lighted up here in 1822 [the creation of the Michigan Indian agency] was kept burning, that the Indians might come and warm themselves by it. He had now determined to come and live permanently

> on the American side of the River, and put himself under my protection. He repeated his friendship and gave a 'parole' of blue wampum to confirm his words. One of his party then lighted a pipe and handed it to me to smoke in the usual manner. Caused tobacco and sixty rations of food to be distributed among his band (Schoolcraft, 1851, pp. 248-249).

Apparently Shingwaukonce's visits became quite frequent at this time and his name would

later appear in Schoolcraft's writings as a source for his explanations of Ojibwe religious ceremonies and pictography.

By the summer of 1828 the blossoming friendship had seemingly wilted and they began to observe a regimen of strict formality. One reason for this may have been that the chief had learned of the American policy on Indian removal that would lead to the infamous "trail of tears". Another was that in September of 1826 a local furore was created amongst the Ojibwe with the discovery that garrison troops had desecrated the Indian burial grounds and stolen corpses for the purposes of dissection by the assistant surgeon at Fort Brady (Bremer, 1987, pp. 79-80). In his introduction to the passage quoted below, detailing their meeting on the 18th of July, 1828, Schoolcraft made a point of emphasising the fact that Shingwaukonce was "the leading chief on the British shore of the St. Mary's." According to Schoolcraft:

> the giving of public presents on the 5th [of July] had evidently led to his visit, although he had not pursued the policy expected from him, so far as his influence reached among the Chippewas on the American shores of the straits. He made a speech well suited to his position, and glossed off with some generalities, avoiding commitments on main points and making them on minor ones, concluding with a string of wampum. I

> smoked and shook hands with him, and accepted his tenders of friendship by re-pledging the pipe but narrowed his visit to official proprieties, and refused his wampum (Schoolcraft, 1851, p.306)

The Origins of the Idea for an Anglican Mission

The suggestion that an Anglican mission should be established at the Falls of the St. Mary's River originated as early as 1810 in the correspondence of the Irish born, "American" fur trader, John Johnston (1763-1828)(See Kingsford, July 1881; Caniff, 1888; Schoolcraft, 1908; Lewis, 1932; Hambleton & Stoutamire, 1992; and, Brazer, 1993). As an employee of the firm of Todd and Magill Johnston had initiated a trading operation at LaPointe on the south shore of Lake Superior in the early 1790's and married the afore-mentioned Oshasuguscodaywayquay in 1793. For most of his career Johnston regarded himself as an independent trader, sending his furs to David and David of Montreal, from which he obtained his supplies and trading goods. Johnston was a man of strong religious convictions. His maternal aunt was Lady Mary Saurin, wife of the Bishop of Dromore in Ireland. Although nominally a Presbyterian, he daily read the prayers for his family from the Book of Common Prayer and frequently preached, when called upon, before the populace of Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan. It was there that he had constructed a substantial two-story log house in 1794.

In order to settle the affairs of his family's Irish estate, and in an effort to provide his eldest daughter Jane (1800-1842), an opportunity for a wider and more formal education, Johnston spent the year 1809-1810 in England and Ireland. During that time he submitted a petition to Josiah Pratt, Secretary to the Society for Missions to Africa and the East (a forerunner of the Church Missionary Society). Nothing came of Johnston's request for a mission but the idea was reflected in the correspondence between Jacob Mountain, Bishop of Quebec, and the Archbishop of Canterbury (Bishop of Quebec, 12 November 1810). Taking the matter into his own hands the determined Johnston engaged, at his own expense, a clergyman of the Church of England to accompany him to Sault Ste. Marie but when the clergyman reached Quebec City his courage deserted him and he soon returned to England.

Interest was resumed late in the 1820's when Governor George Simpson of the Hudson's Bay Company informed Bishop Charles James Stewart of Quebec (then comprising Upper Canada) that he considered the Sault "a strategic spot" for missionary labours. He did, though, add a caution - that

> a mission there cannot be expected to do much good, unless a sum of about 300 [pounds] can be procured for it. I mean to recommend this mission to the Hudson's Bay Company, but as the situation is beyond the limits of the territory, I do not expect they will do more towards its support than offer the clergyman and his assistants board and lodgings at their establishment there (Waddilove, 1838, p. 86).

The Hudson's Bay Company regarded the missionary as an agent of change and had drawn up a policy in 1825 (see Peake, 1972) directed towards dealing with their more disruptive influences. According to Roger Mason (1996) the missionaries

> were not to impose their moral scruples on Company officials and their way of doing business. They were to build their missions only at company posts. They were to teach company servants, minister to them, and develop their mission only with those Indians who deliberately sought knowledge of the basics of Christianity and the English language. They should promote agriculture in poor areas, but not at the expense of the Indians' commitment to hunt and trap for the Company. They were

> not to spend much time in the Indian encampments, where they could disturb the Indians' traditional way of life. They could not establish a mission where it would be financially burdensome to the Company. Above all else, they were not to meddle with the Company in its trading processes (pp. 44-45).

The problem for the HBC was that the Lakes Superior and Huron Districts were beyond the bounds of its charter of 1670 (all the waters that drain into Hudson Bay). They lacked the legal powers to enforce their policies independent of the courts of Upper Canada and therefore were forced to negotiate agreements with the individual churches or their agents. At the same time the churches did not want to provoke the Hudson's Bay Company for such provocation could harm their future status in the northwest.

A Convergence of Church and State Interests

For most of the eighteenth century the Indians were regarded as important allies in the British-French rivalry and later during hostilities with the United States. By the 1820's, however, their importance to both British military policy and the fur trade had declined in the region about the Upper Great Lakes.

In an effort to hold down expenses, the military decided to relinquish its control. Responsibility was transferred to the public sector and the budget for the Indian Department was brought under the direct supervision of the British Parliament. As a result, authorities were faced with the problem of formulating a new policy. Government officials were convinced that the Indian could not be incorporated into white society as either a source of cheap labour or as a market for British goods. Three alternatives were therefore open to them: (1) mirror American policy and drive the Indian westward, (2) amalgamate them with the colonists, or (3) "civilise" them in communities isolated from the whites (Surtees, 1969).

The Indian Department accepted the challenge and decided to experiment with the third option. The plan was officially adopted by Lord Dalhousie on the 24th of July, 1828. Details of the scheme where later outlined by Dalhousie's successor, Sir James Kempt:

> Indians should be collected into villages with only enough land for their agricultural support. The government should provide for their religious instruction, elementary education and training in agriculture. It should encourage them to build homes, and acquire tools and seeds. But it would prove expensive 14 [pounds] 3 [shillings] & 4 [pence] to settle a family of five on cleared land and 100 [pounds] on forest land. Therefore the Indian should pay the cost of their own assimilation by using the money from land sales to buy the necessary equipment (Kempt in Upton, 1973, p. 57).

Like many in his generation, Kempt was assured that Christianity and the outward conventions of Western civilisation should go hand in hand and believed that "these poor folk living in pagan darkness" should be compelled to adopt the benefits of "houses, trousers, soap and Sunday, together with the less obvious benefits of the Gospel" (Peake, nd, p. 17). Settlements were started for three Ojibwe bands under Chiefs Yellowhead, John Aisance and Snake at Coldwater and the Narrows (now Orillia).

The Church of England became involved when, on the 29th of October, 1830, Bishop Stewart chaired a meeting held in the Court House in York [Toronto after 1834] for the purpose of founding "The Society for Converting and Civilising the Indians" [often referred to as The Toronto Society]. Stewart then announced

> that although the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the New England Company, together with the Roman Catholics and the Methodists in Canada have lately used means for the conversion of the Indians, yet the members of the Church of England in this country have not come forward as a body to promote these objects ... It was particularly to be remarked that it was the intention of the Society to avoid interference with the labours of other denominations. His Lordship stated that the plan did not originate with himself but with the Lieutenant-Governor and the Rev. G[eorge] Archbold, [1783-1840][a retired veteran of the Peninsular Wars] visiting missionary of the Diocese, who had during last summer resided among the Indians inhabiting the shores of Lake Huron (Christian Sentinel, 20 & 30 October, 1830).

The initial set-up model would be based on the work accomplished by the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States and their mission at Green Bay, Wisconsin, and in various parts of Michigan.

The mandate of the Society was soon expanded [22 December 1830] to include work amongst destitute white settlers. The Lieutenant-Governor, Sir John Colborne, agreed to serve as patron, thus uniting the sacred and secular programmes. A travelling missionary [The Rev'd Adam Elliot] was appointed to serve the outstations and money set aside for the establishment of missions on Lake St. Clair, among the Mohawks on the Bay of Quinte and for the Odawa and Ojibwe on Manitoulin Island. The Five Nations were not included since, for more than a century, they had been the responsibility of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG). Scholarships for deserving Indian students were also begun to encourage their attendance at the University of Upper Canada [Upper Canada College].

A "Failure" in Conscience: James Cameron (October 1831 to April 1832)

To find someone at such short notice was difficult but "The Society for Converting and Civilising the Indians" was able to contact James Dugald Cameron (born 1808). Cameron's uncle, Duncan Cameron, was a merchant in York, Provincial Secretary from 1817 to 1838, and a committee member of the Society. In 1832 James elder brother, William, would be ordained priest in the Diocese of Quebec.

James Cameron was a graduate of the Rev'd John West's Red River grammar school (1820-1823) and Upper Canada College. He possessed a good working knowledge of Greek and Hebrew and spoke several Indian languages. His father, John Dugald Cameron (1777-1851)(Van Kirk, 1985, pp. 121-122) had been employed by the Northwest and Hudson's Bay Companies at various postings including Nipigon, Sault Ste. Marie, Red River and later Whitefish Falls, LaCloche and Michipicoten. His mother was of mixed Odawa/Ojibwe ancestry from the region about the Sault. In 1830 Cameron found work as George Archbold's assistant and interpreter and spent the following season with his parents at the HBC post at LaCloche.

Cameron arrived in Sault Ste. Marie in October of 1831 and, as promised, was provided with quarters by the agent of the Hudson's Bay Company. Financial backing, amounting to 100 [pounds] per annum came from the New England Company. By January of 1832 he was able to inform his superiors of the rapid progress that was being made although he was becoming all too aware of the dangers hinted at in Governor Simpson's warning:

> They are coming under the pall of salvation day after day. The correct number of converts is not yet ascertained, but I think about fifty-five souls. We have no means to carry on such expensive undertakings, in fact we are destitute of everything (Waddilove, 1838, pp. 27-28).

Cameron translated the Ten Commandments into Ojibwe and an adult prayer meeting met at the HBC fort in the evenings. A day school was conducted in Cameron's residence at which eighteen to twenty pupils were in regular attendance. Since text books were not supplied, they had to be loaned from the Company's officers or, since the resources of the HBC post at the Sault were limited, purchased at the teacher's own expense.

For reasons of his own conscience, Cameron soon found it necessary to convert to the Baptists. His father expressed both his sorrow and disapproval over the direction that his son had chosen and the Society in Toronto felt itself compelled to request his resignation. The rumour that he "had gone native" only intensified with the knowledge of his marriage to a daughter of Chief Shingabawasin. The local Ojibwe came to know him as "Yellowbeard".

James Cameron soon found work as a Baptist lay preacher along the eastern shore of Lake Superior and later at the Tequaminon mission in Upper Michigan. He was assisted by Shingwaukonce's eldest son, Thomas Ogista (1796-1883) who was born in the United States. Over the next twenty years Cameron's name would crop up repeatedly as the principal organiser of the giant revival meetings which were jointly sponsored by the Presbyterians, Methodists and Baptists and held either at Whitefish Point or in the open fields on the south shore of the St. Mary's River.

A "Failure" in Policy: The Team Ministry of William and Charlotte McMurray (October 1832 to May 1838)

William McMurray (1810-1894) was born in Seagoe, County Armagh, Ireland, the son of Bradshaw and Mary Doak McMurray. His parents brought him to York in 1811 where his father found employment as a merchant. At the age of eighteen William McMurray enrolled in divinity courses at the school run by the then Archdeacon of York, John Strachan. Strachan was rector of St. James Church (later Cathedral) where

McMurray served as a catechist and assisted in the care of the missions at Mimico, Thornhill and York Mills. Strachan was an acquaintance of John Johnston through their common membership in the Beaver Club of Montreal and referred to him in his correspondence with McMurray as "my old friend".

Within a few days of his arrival members of Shingwaukonce's band informed the young missionary that they would be unable to attend his services at that time since they were departing for their winter hunting grounds but would leave some of their children behind to attend school in the interval. School opened on the 12th of November, 1832, and by the 23rd of December the number of pupils had gradually increased to twenty-four. On the 14th of November, 1832, McMurray, aided by John Tanner, (born 1778)(James, 1830 & Fierst, 1986) an interpreter from the American side, preached his first sermon to a congregation of thirty persons, most of them native. The number gradually grew until the congregation had reached eighty by the 17th of January, 1833, and then slowly decreased when the Ojibwe departed for their sugar maple camps at the end of March.

While Shingwaukonce acknowledged the Indians' financial responsibility towards the support of the mission he reminded McMurray that

> our father here knows that we Indians have not yellow money (gold), nor white money (silver), nor even red money (copper). But I will tell you what we can do. In a few weeks we shall all be leaving this village of ours and going out to the sugar bush. You know that the earliest produce of the tapped trees is always the fairest and best of the season. Let us put some of this by and bring it to the missionary, and he will sell it to the trader and send the money to the Society to be used for sending the light of the Gospel to parts which are still in darkness. Two months after an

> old Indian woman arrived at the missionary's house carrying a large basket of sugar, which she said was the first fruits of the sugar harvest. She requested that it might be put into the missionary barrel for her. One after another, the Indians brought similar contributions for the same purpose, so that two barrels of the fairest and best sugar were available for sale. Every pound of this represented self-denial on the part of those who had given, and who would have to go without some comfort which the sugar would have procured (Shingwaukonce in Burden [HNB], 1895, pp. 25-26).

On the 16th of February, 1833, Shingwaukonce, in the name of the Ojibwe population at Sault Ste. Marie, sent an address to the Society in Toronto expressing their satisfaction with the young missionary and included a message for Governor Colborne reminding him "to build the promised huts, and this respect, to place the Indians upon the same footing as those of the River Credit" (Third Annual Report of Toronto Society, October, 1833) who had constructed a model village fifteen miles to the west of York in 1826. The Committee agreed to Shingwaukonce's request and granted 150 pounds in currency which was to be "appropriated by the Indian Department and expended in raising the requisite buildings for the foundation of a village, which would be commenced in the ensuing spring" (Third Annual Report of the Toronto Society, October, 1833).

Realising that ordination would increase his prospects for Church aid and, since an outbreak of measles prevented the holding of services in the Sault, McMurray set out on an exhaustive three month journey to seek Bishop Stewart who was then conducting confirmations throughout his vast diocese. He eventually caught up with the Bishop at Trinity Church, St. Armand's (now Frelighsburg) in the Eastern townships of Quebec. McMurray was raised to the diaconate on the 11th of August, 1833 (Schoolcraft papers in Brazer, 1993, p. 243).

Shingwaukonce, along with six of his young men, accompanied McMurray on the first leg of his journey. At York the Chief met with Bishop Stewart, or the *Gitchi-mahdawekoonya* ("Great Blackcoat") as the Ojibwe called him, and requested that his people be taught to read and write so that they could fully participate in the white man's world. Shingwaukonce also conferred with Sir John Colborne who presented him with a British flag which he was instructed to fly in front of his lodge every Sunday. While in York Shingwaukonce camped in a pine grove on the grounds of Holy Trinity Anglican Church near the modern day Eaton's centre.

When McMurray returned to the Sault at the end of September he discovered that the Chief's

> youngest son and favourite ... was lying very dangerously ill with a haemorrhage from the nose. At my request the medical officer of the garrison on the American side came at once to see him, and was fortunate in being able to stay the bleeding which threatened his life. After the doctor's departure I read to the invalid and offered up a prayer for his recovery. His father, Shingwahcase, who was smoking his pipe, arose and proclaimed "Why should not I also offer up a prayer to the Great Spirit in behalf of his son". This was to me a most encouraging event, and the first evidence of the work of the Blessed Spirit of God upon the hearts of his people. One by one the other Indians gave up their heathen idols and turned to the living God, and after proper instructions were baptised members of the Church (McMurray, January 1890).

It is important to note that Shingwaukonce told McMurray that he was offering up his prayer to the Great Spirit and made no reference as to a personal conversion to Christianity. It was McMurray who twisted the details of the event to meet the demands of his own interpretation.

McMurray conducted his first service as a deacon on the 18th of October, 1833 - the Feast of St. Luke - within the confines of the HBC fort. As a deacon he was not permitted to celebrate the Eucharist. His first winter in the Sault was spent in one of the outbuildings on the HBC property and in the Johnston home on the south side of the St. Mary's River. The Johnston family was becoming increasingly impoverished. Five of the eight Johnston children, ranging in age from fifteen to thirty, were still living at home. In 1831 Mrs. Susan Johnston [Oshauguscodaywayquay] sold her late husband's business to the American Fur Company. By 1833 the family was largely dependent upon Mrs. Johnston's garden and her annual fishing and sugar making expeditions for its subsistence.

On the 28th of September, 1833, McMurray wed Charlotte Johnston (1806-1878)(Ogenebugakwa - "The Woman of the Wild Rose"). In her Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada (1838), Anna Jameson (1990) described Charlotte as

> rather above the average height and of indescribable grace and undulation of movement, speaking the perfection of form. Her features, though distinctly Indian, were softened and refined, her dark eyes having a fawn-like shyness in their glance. Her manner, though timid, was quite free from embarrassment or restraint. She spoke English well, but with a slight intonation, which was interesting (p. 194)(see Delafield, 1823, for a description of the Johnston family in 1822).

Charlotte was regarded as the beauty of the Johnston family. She captivated people with her sparkle. Colonel Thomas McKenney, the American Commissioner of Indian Affairs, described her, in 1826, as a young lady who dressed and sang well and "would be a belle in Washington" (McKenney, 1959, pp. 185-186). McKenney, who would later publish a multi-volumned work on the American Indian, was middle-aged, married, and had a grown son yet, on his second visit with the Johnston family, it soon became evident that he was smitten with the charms of the twenty-one year old Charlotte when he invited her to accompany him to Washington as his protege. Charlotte's father thought such a proposal an improper one and that McKenney was out to take advantage of his daughter's "innocent and unsuspecting nature" (Schoolcraft papers in Brazer, 1993, p. 192). He soon put an end to it.

Charlotte's older sister, Jane (1800-1842), appeared far more Indian in her features with high cheekbones, dark eyes and a broad jaw. In 1823 Jane had married the Presbyterian Indian agent Henry Rowe Schoolcraft - ethnologist, explorer, legislator and chief judge of Chippewa County (1827). There were four girls in the Johnston family. A younger sister, the elegant Anna Maria (1814-1856) married twice. Her first husband was Schoolcraft's younger brother James (1800-1846). Later she married the Episcopal clergyman, the Rev'd Oliver Taylor of Pontiac. Another sister, Eliza (1802-1883), was the darkest in complexion and fleshy like her mother. Eliza was an eccentric with a mercurial temperament. She would remain a spinster and inherit the Johnston family home. Three of the Johnston brothers - George (1796-1861), William Miengun (1811-1863) and John McDougall (1816-1895) - would find irregular employment as traders and fishermen or as interpreters for the American Indian Department. Lewis Saurin (1793-1825), the eldest of the Johnston siblings, was a commissioned officer in the British navy.

Lest one might be led to agree with the long accepted version that Charlotte was all sweetness and light a very different picture emerges of her character from the following incident. Along with the rest of her family Charlotte did not approve of the marriage between Anna Maria and James Schoolcraft. James had the reputation of a politically opportunistic, charming, yet often argumentative near-do-well and gambler who relied upon his older brother for his livelihood. He stabbed a man at a Thanksgiving Day dance in the Sault and spent most of the winter in the jail in Mackinac. When he broke out, while awaiting trial, the Johnstons helped him to escape to Canada. James Schoolcraft was eventually prosecuted for his crime and was convicted by jury trial but the judge ruled *nolle proce* (refusal to proceed) which implied interference from the Attorney-General's office, probably at the behest of his brother Henry, a sitting Michigan legislator.

In February of 1834 the Johnstons were informed of a rumour that James was up to his old practices of drinking and philandering. James insisted on knowing the source of the rumour and threatened to take the matter before the congregation of the Presbyterian Church on the the American side. The Johnstons believed that James Schoolcraft seemed to bring out the worst in Anna Maria. When she refused to break with James an anxious Mrs. Johnston sent for Charlotte

> to try and deal with the wilful girl. An even hotter argument ensued. Charlotte, according to Anna Maria's report to James, became so exasperated that she advised Mama to beat Anna Maria. "Seizing Maria by both arms, she calls on her mother to strike her, which waz [sic] accordingly done by inflicting blows over her shoulders with a pair of *fire tongs"*. Perhaps even worse, out of the fury of the scene emerged the revelation that it was Charlotte who had told [her sister] Eliza of the gossip about James, that allegedly emanated from the "ladies of the garrison" and it was not generalised whoring of which he was accused. Rather, Anna Maria, was reputed to be his "kept mistress" (Schoolcraft papers in Brazer, 1993, p. 246).

A distressed Jane Schoolcraft wrote Charlotte of her disapproval of her younger sister's behaviour:

> there is one thing I cannot approve .... & that is your urging Mama to [corporal punishment] towards Ann. Now that she is of age no one has a right to lay violent hands on her ... I do not [excuse] any of Ann's conduct for I have condemned it from beginning to end & I have told her so ... forgive my frankness & candour, you know it is my nature never to gamble with the truth (Schoolcraft papers in Brazer, 1993, p. 247).

James Schoolcraft then fired off a letter to Charlotte in which he informed her bluntly of his suspicions that the rumour had originated with her and that she had deliberately set out to destroy her sister's reputation and concluded with the declaration: "I hope still that you may be able to clear up the matter ... if finally you cannot do so further steps will be adopted" (Schoolcraft papers in Brazer, 1993, p. 247). Schoolcraft's ambiguous threat then drove McMurray to take action with a letter to Henry Schoolcraft. Previous to this occasion McMurray's relationship with the older man was deferential, conciliatory and even somewhat submissive. "James", wrote the young clergyman,

> may think he can do as he pleases with the family on that side of the river ... my door is always open for him and we will give him audience, but to write notes as he did this morning is beyond bearing (Schoolcraft papers in Brazer, 1993, p. 247).

James Schoolcraft was taken aback by what he perceived to be McMurray's uncalled for interference in his personal life

> condemning Maria & myself in *toto*, and a veto upon all intimacy between us. I don't know *why* Mr. McMurray should be deemed a

> standard by which *my* actions are to be judged ... What rank or pretension places Mr. McMurray above the ordinary, respectable inhabitant of this place ... instead of his appearing the peacemaker, the reconciler of difficulties we find him coercive, ambitious and unrelenting. Instead of attempting reconciliation, we find him threatening me with insults. In the place of forgiveness we observe resentment. Where love should reign, hatred predominates. Instead of the Ambassador of Christ, we see the secular man (Schoolcraft papers in Brazer, 1993, p. 248).

Schoolcraft's criticism of the McMurrays was not entirely unjustified but, in the end, all the furore came to naught. James and Anna Maria were married on the 29th of November, 1834,. James replaced James Hulbert as the sutter [storekeeper] at Fort Brady and his brother arranged his appointment as register probate and clerk of the court. The couple moved in with Mrs. Johnston in the Johnston family homestead. Hulbert, who was married to Schoolcraft's sister Maria, then became associate judge and sheriff of Chippewa County.

At the height of the family squabble Charlotte discovered that she was pregnant. In a sad letter to Henry Schoolcraft, in August of 1834, William McMurray recounted his wife's travail:

> My Dearest Charlotte has suffered everything but death, but it has pleased God to spare her a little longer ... on Thursday evening ... a most beautiful Babe was given us, but not to gladden our hearts, for Alas! it was dead. Doctor Clark ... was obliged to perforate the Brain of our Dear little son, to save poor Charlotte's life, but he assured us that it had been dead some hours ... He lies buried on the left side of our Papa [John Johnston], and your own little Willy on the right ... Maria has been a little humbled by

> the loss of our dear little Babe. She saw it when taken over to Mamma's ... and then came over at my request to see Charlotte (Schoolcraft papers in Brazer, 1993, pp. 257-258).

Yet, despite the momentary reconciliation, Anna Maria continued to view Charlotte as a meddlesome busybody and would keep her distance for some time. On the 20th of September, 1835, Charlotte gave birth to William Strachan McMurray, named in honour of her husband's mentor.

On the 30th of April, 1834, the McMurrays moved into the "Old Stone House" (Reid, 1977) for which they were to pay the family of retired fur trader, Charles Oakes Ermatinger (1776-1833), an annual sum of 25 pounds. The building had been vacated in 1828 and, since then, had become somewhat dilapidated under the custodianship of retired HBC employee, Joseph LaFond. A water-colour by George Catlin, (Catlin, 1995, p. 265 & Reid, 1977) painted in 1836, depicted the "Old Stone House" from the rear and shows four outbuildings - a barn, a summer kitchen, the stone grist mill and a stone storage house.

Charlotte would prove herself a great asset to her husband in the composition of his sermons and in teaching the congregation the sacred music to accompany the hymns. In addition to their competency in the native languages the Johnstons were also fluent in French. In keeping with the tradition established by their father, and making use of his extensive library (more than a thousand volumes), Charlotte and Jane had initiated a weekly prayer meeting for the native population in the year prior to McMurray's arrival and many in that group would form the nucleus of his future congregation (Fierst, 1986, p. 32). Charlotte had found employment, prior to her marriage, as an interpreter for the American Baptist missionary, the Rev'd Abel Bingham (1785-1865). Bingham had settled in Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, in 1828, and, like McMurray, lived in the Johnston home during his initial year.

As to his own abilities in the Ojibwe tongue, McMurray, even after a full year in the native community, remained hesitant.

> I can make myself understood in common conversation. The Indians assure me I advance rapidly, but the difficulty exceeds my calculation. As so much is required in instructing ignorant and illiterate persons, I am not desirous of attempting to converse with them upon religious subjects until I have mastered the language (Fourth Annual Report of the Toronto Society, 1834).

A translation of the catechism into Ojibwe was published by the firm of Robert Stanton in 1834 under McMurray's name but, given the above declaration it must be presumed that much of the work was written by Charlotte (Waddilove, 1838, p. 98).

Probably due to a breakdown in communication McMurray took the 150 pounds supplied by the Indian Department and hired the aged John Robertson as farmer, along with his Ojibwe wife and mixed blood family, to care for the twenty-six acres of gardens and vegetable plots surrounding the mission house. The main crops were potatoes and Indian maize. Robertson was also to instruct the Ojibwe in the most efficient means of soil cultivation. Oxen, milk cows, chickens and agricultural implements were purchased and a combination schoolhouse/chapel erected to the north of the settlement on the Pim Street hill.

During the summer of 1835 the McMurrays entertained the party accompanying William Botsfield Jarvis, the Sheriff of the Home District [the area surrounding Toronto]. "We arrived at St. Mary's at 1 o'clock," wrote Jarvis in his journal,

> and were met at the wharf by the Reverend McMurray who took us up to his house and introduced us to his wife - a half breed, well educated and of most fascinating and genteel manners. We were invited to spend the evening with them. About sunset we returned from the American side and spent the evening with Mr. and Mrs. McMurray - and were treated with a most sumptuous supper at which white fish, sturgeon, caribou made a prominent part of the viands with which the table was laden. We spent the evening most pleasantly, and were presented by Mr. MacMurray with several Indian curiosities and some specimens of stone found on the shores of Lake Superior, consisting of comelian, [sic][should read carnelian or cornelian] agate and copper, a piece of PURE lead found in the country of the "Black Hawke" near Green Bay, was given us also some pemmican brot from the North by Captain Back (Merideth, 1928, p. 109).

Sometimes the McMurrays' hospitality was overwhelmed by the constant presence of transient Ojibwe (chiefly from the Leech and Sandy Lakes at the headwaters of Lake Superior).

> Scarcely a day passes but the greater part of it I am confined to my room; no sooner have I finished with one band (of Indians) than another comes to converse with me. The disagreeable smell of the weed which they chew with their tobacco [kinnikinic], produces in strangers a serious and incessant headache, from which I have been by no means exempted. It is impossible to escape from an Indian who desires your interest and conversation. He comes at all hours, ignorant of their relative convenience or inconvenience. The plainest intimations fail to make him

> sensible of intrusion. I have, therefore, no other remedy than to sit still during the greater part of these interminable interviews, and exercise the necessary patience (Fourth Annual Report of the Toronto Society, 1834).

McMurray told Anna Jameson (1990)

> that they never took anything, nor did the least injury, except that which necessarily resulted from their vile dirty habits. Those few which are now here, and the women especially, are always lounging in and out, coming to Mrs. McMurray about every little trifle, and frequently about nothing at all (p. 480).

In order to meet the needs of the Ojibwe from other bands McMurray increased the number of services on Sunday from two to three and weekly services (previously held on Thursday evenings) from one to two. Numbers in attendance in 1835 usually ranged from one hundred and fifty to two hundred on any given Sunday.

Sometime in 1834 Shingwaukonce's third and fourth sons, Augustin Shingwauk (1800-1890) and Henry Bughwujjenene (1813-1900) had approached McMurray and asked his permission to visit their fellow Ojibwe at Michipicoten to speak to them about the Gospel. McMurray supplied them with a small fund to supplement their expenses. Both had been baptised by McMurray during the previous year (see Appendix III).

> On their arrival at Michipicoten, George Keith, Esq., the Chief Factor of the Hon. H. B. Company stationed at that place, wrote me thus: "I have only time to inform you that I duly received your favour per Augustus and his companions, some few days since, and that they appear contented with their reception and professional prospects." By their return home, the same gentleman wrote: "Your young men are speaking of taking their

> departure at not a distant date. I am really amazed at the knowledge they have acquired of Christianity. They have behaved in every respect with the greatest propriety, and I am now persuaded the seed they have sown will bring forth fruit to repentance and reformation (Fourth Annual Report of the Toronto Society, 1834).

Due to a lack of sufficient funding from the Society in Toronto and the unwillingness, in some sectors, to accept natives in the role of missionaries and intermediaries with white society, McMurray was unable to advance further in the exploration of such possibilities in his ministry. This must have proved an especially hard blow to Augustine and Bughwujjenene given the fact that their older brother Thomas was functioning in just such a capacity under the supervision of James Cameron at the Tequaminon Baptist mission.

From the 15th of June to the 13th of July, 1835, the Rev'd Adam Elliot (1802-1878), the Anglican travelling missionary in the Home District (with his base at Tuscorara), visited the Indian population on Georgian Bay and Lake Huron's north shore. He was greatly impressed by the decorum and orderly behaviour of the crowd awaiting him on the dock at the Sault. An extract from Elliot's subsequent report:

> On Sunday, the 28th, we administered Holy Communion to thirty-five persons, most of whom had been baptised and instructed by Mr. McMurray in the Chippewa tongue ...The congregation consisted of about one hundred and forty persons, and Mr. McMurray informed me that the number of Indians receiving religious instruction from him is two hundred and sixteen, many of them, however, are yet absent form the mission. I have peculiar pleasure in being able to state, for the information of the Society, that Mr. McMurray's missionary labours have

> been attended with great success (Waddilove, 1838, pp. 84-85).

By the autumn of 1835, however, Sheriff William Jarvis had concluded otherwise - that the young missionary "had many difficulties to contend with, and his success was very problematical" (Merideth, 1928, p. 109). Earlier in January Sir John Colborne received a petition from the Roman Catholic inhabitants of Sault Ste. Marie stating that

> having agreed to provide their share of timber for the church on the American side in return for the services of the American priest, they have been prevented from cutting timber on the Indian lands by a Rev. Mr. McMurray in spite of permission of the Indian chief. They ask the Lt. Governor's intervention (Petition of the Roman Catholic inhabitants of Sault Ste. Marie, 12 January, 1835).

The Roman Catholic community did not retreat as expected but brazenly challenged McMurray's authority and brought him into direct conflict with the original mandate of the Society for Converting and Civilizing the Indians that it should avoid conflict with other other denominations. According to Captain Thomas "Tige" Anderson (1779-1875), then Northern Superintendent of Indian Affairs (1830-1845), a

> Roman Catholic priest, a foreigner, [Father Francis Haetscher] living on the American side, visited the [French] Canadians &c almost daily, that he actually burnt an English Bible on that side of the water, and that he had tried to get some of our side for the same purpose, that Mr. McMurray had been compelled to turn him out of his enclosure when he had made his way to Mr. McMurray's Indians, and that he had actually

> caused a bark chapel to be built adjoining this enclosure, much to the annoyance of Mr. McMurray and his adherents. I told the assembled Indians that the priest, being a foreigner, ought not to exercise his functions on our side without an authority from the civil power, and that no one had a right to build without permission from the government (Anderson in Strachan Papers, 18 July 1835).

As to who owned the land and possessed the ultimate authority in the years following the Royal Proclamation of 1763 and prior to the signing of the Robinson Treaties in 1850 Shingwaukonce had his own interpretation to offer. In 1838 he complained to then governor, Sir Francis Bond Head,

> that certain of the French Canadians had cut down their timber to sell it to the Americans, by permission of a British magistrate [Major William Kingdom Rains who was "married" to the Roman Catholic Eliza Doubleday] residing at St. Joseph [Island]. He [Shingwaukonce] says, "Is this right? I have never heard that the British had purchased our land and timber from us. But whenever I say a word, they say, "Pay no attention to him, he knows nothing. This will not do"(Jameson, 1990, p. 482).

With the formation of a Temperance Society McMurray brought himself into direct confrontation with the local independent liquor traders. Whether McMurray initiated the idea or simply extended what was already in operation in Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, is a matter of conjecture (Fowle, 1925, p. 344). Apparently McMurray also ran afoul of Angus Bethune, the HBC Factor at Michipicoten when he advised his native parishioners not to work the Company's boats so that they might spend more of their time at the Anglican mission as settled farmers and fishermen. McMurray also warned his charges against working on the Sabbath. While HBC Governor George Simpson found it difficult to agree with McMurray he did make an effort to resolve the differences between the two men. (Ruggle,1990, p. 680).

By agreeing to function as an Indian agent for Thomas Anderson McMurray had unwittingly formerly allied himself and, in turn, the Church of England, with the civil authorities and thereby embroiled himself in the intricacies of native politics. While this might have been standard procedure in Toronto it would prove another matter on the frontier. In 1835 Shingwaukonce had replaced the Roman Catholic Nebenaigooching as Head Chief of the district, following the latter's removal by the government for his notorious smuggling practices (Anderson in Strachan Papers, 18 July 1835). Nebenaigooching's brother, or half-brother, was the Lake Superior free trader and liquor salesman, Henry Sayer. The Roman Catholic Indians, associated with Nebenaigooching, were upset by what they perceived to be the prejudices of the Indian Department insofar as the Anglican Indians received their presents at the Sault while the non-Anglicans had to make the trip to Penetanguishene. In an effort to ease the unpleasantness Anderson suggested that McMurray be removed from his concern with the temporal affairs of the Ojibwe and that his duties as Indian agent be temporarily transferred to John Robertson, the gardener. Anderson, however, expressed his hesitation in employing Robertson on a permanent basis not because he had the "smallest doubt as to his integrity or his religious profession &c. but I fear that his and Mr. McMurray's ideas might not long remain congenial to each other" (Anderson in Strachan Papers, 18 July, 1835).

Originally, McMurray had hoped to place the Indian village along the river front but that was impossible since few of the French Canadians and mixed bloods would agree to vacate their plots. Reassessing the water lots claimed by the retired voyageurs McMurray came to the conclusion that, in the long run, they would be unsatisfactory because

> there is no wood; the land is rather low and wet, and not a sufficiency. Beyond the hill the land is excellent; hard wood and a fine soil, a southern aspect, and sheltered from the northern winds. This is the place where the Indians wish their village to be, a choice in which I concur (Fourth Annual Report to the Toronto Society, 1834).

McMurray regarded the majority of the French Canadians and mixed bloods as little more than a disruptive nuisance. Captain Anderson confirmed McMurray's opinion in his summary of the letters of complaint that his office had received against the missionary. Free trader, tanner and sometime Indian Department interpreter, John Bell (1802-1872), went so far as to declare that "McMurray is doing no good here with his religion, only sending the Indians to hell headformost" (Anderson quoting Bell in Strachan Papers, 18 July 1835). Bell would "renounce Popery" in 1842 and listed himself as a member of the Church of England in the census records for 1861 and 1871.

In 1839, after nearly five years in operation, the Report of the Society found reason to give thanks

> for the manifest measure of success which has blessed his (McMurray's) exertions. This appears from the contrast between the former and the present course of life among the Indians. Instead of beholding them wallowing in the mire of intoxication, in rags and perishing with hunger, they are found orderly in their conduct, decently clothed, and attentive to their Christian duties. They have been regular in their attendance on the service of the Church, and if the baptisms have not been so NUMEROUS during the last year, it has arisen from the circumstances that the greater number of natives in the neighbourhood of Sault Ste. Marie have already

> joined the Church, so that the new admissions were less frequent. Indeed your Committee will shortly take active steps towards the improvement of the Indians, both in a temporal and spiritual point of view (Seventh Annual Report of the Toronto Society, 1839).

Mrs. Jameson (1990) records that McMurray baptised one hundred and forty-five (he claimed 160), married thirteen, buried seven and left behind sixty-six communicants in the spring of 1838 after a seven year incumbency (p. 477).

McMurray's original instructions called for the construction of approximately twenty cabins in which the Ojibwe were meant to live while at the Sault. Logs were cut and stacked but the project never got off the ground. Anna Jameson's (1990) impression was that

> Sir John Colborne [had taken] a strong interest in the conversion and civilisation of the Indians, and though often discouraged, did not despair. He promised to found a village, and build log-houses for the converts here, as at Coldwater (on Lake Simcoe;) but this promise has not been fulfilled, nor is it likely to be so. I asked, very naturally, "Why, if the Indians wish for log-huts, do they not build them. They are on the verge of the forest, and the task is not difficult." I was told that it was impossible, that they neither *could* nor *would!* - that this sort of labour is absolutely inimical to their habits. It requires more strength than the women possess; and for the men to fell the wood and carry the logs were unheard of degradation. Mrs. McMurray is very anxious that their houses should be built because she thinks it will keep *her* [italics mine] converts stationary. Whether their morality, cleanliness, health and happiness will

> be thereby improved, I doubt; and the present governor seems to have very decidedly made up his mind on the matter. I should like to see an Indian brought up to prefer a house to a wigwam, and live in a house of his own building, but what is gained by building houses for them? The promise was made, however, and the Indians have no comprehension of a change in governors being a change in principles. They consider themselves deceived and ill-treated (p. 481).

On another occasion Mrs. Jameson (1990) remarked that "about thirty children attend *Mrs. McMurray's school*" [italics mine] (p. 478) implying that Charlotte was the working missionary and that her husband's role was chiefly that of a sacramental functionary and contact person with the outside authorities. Archdeacon Strachan reinforced this interpretation when he wrote McMurray that he took "great pleasure in congratulating you on your general success in your Mission - a great deal must and ought to be attributed to your amiable spouse' (Schoolcraft papers in Brazer, 1993, p. 282). Charlotte was McMurray's senior by a number of years and, in her correspondence with her family, typically referred to him, in a motherly sense, as "my Willy". Besides, Charlotte was the primary contact person with the Ojibwe. She had inherited her mother's authority and Shingwaukonce was a member of her extended family.

In order to free-up time for Charlotte's teaching duties the McMurrays employed a young native girl, by the name of Angelique, as a baby-sitter for their infant son (Jameson, 1990, p. 486). Angelique was assisted in her task by the couple's niece, Louisa (1823-1864), eldest daughter of Charlotte's brother George, whom the McMurrays boarded in their home. Louisa was a girl known for her sweet disposition. In the summer of 1835 Louisa had fallen and injured her knee which failed to heal properly. The leg would trouble her for the rest of her life and soon she was able to walk only with the aid of crutches. In their correspondence the family would usually refer to her as "poor Louisa".

Financing for the Anglican mission at Sault Ste. Marie came to a halt as a result of Colborne's replacement by Sir Francis Bond Head. Head had no previous experience in colonial government or politics. He was trained as a military engineer, worked as a manager of British silver mines in South America, was a writer of lively travel books and was assistant poor law commissioner in the English county of Kent. Head judged the settlement programme of placing Indians in villages a failure and persuaded the Ojibwe and Odawa dwelling on Manitoulin Island to allow Indians living elsewhere to join them. He was convinced that the native population were obviously unable to generate the necessary revenue from the sale of lands to aid in their assimilation. They should, therefore, be left, in his opinion, in their native state, apart from white settlement.

Proud as a warrior and powerful as a *wabeno* (healer), *jossakeed* (a seer and summoner of the spirits) and *mede*, or priest, in the sacred society known as the *medewewin* Shingwaukonce refused to follow the plan of the Indian Department and settle his people on Manitoulin Island. He did not wish to sit, as he told Captain Thomas Anderson, his old comrade-in-arms from the attack on Fort Michilimackinac in 1812, "like a gull on a barren rock" (Anderson, 1847). The Chief expressed his distress and dispatched the following petition to Governor Head:

> My father you have made promises to me and my children. You promised me houses, but as yet nothing has been performed, although five years are past. I am now very old, [sixty-five] and to judge by the way you have used me, I am afraid I shall be laid in my grave before I see any of your promises fulfilled. Many of the children address you, and tell you

> they are poor, and they are much better off than I am in everything. I can say, in sincerity, that I am poor. I am like the beast of the forest that has no shelter. I lie down on the snow and cover myself with boughs of the trees. If the promises had been made by a person of no standing, I should not be astonished to see his promises fail. But *you* who are so great in riches and power, I am astonished that I do not see your promises fulfilled! I would have been better pleased if you had never made them and not performed them. But, my father, perhaps I do not see clearly; I am old, and perhaps I have lost my eyesight; and if you should come to visit us, you might discover these promises already performed! I have heard that you have visited all parts of the country around. This is the only place you have not seen; if you promise to come, I will have my little fish (i.e. the white fish) ready drawn from the water, that you may taste of the food which sustains me ... And now, my father, I shall take my seat, and look towards your place, that I may hear the answer you will send me between this time and the spring. And now, my father, I have done! I have told you some of the things that were on my mind. I take you by the hand, and wish you a happy new year, trusting that we may be allowed to see one another again (Jameson, 1990, pp. 481-482).

Mrs. Jameson (1990) wrote of her own disapproval of the lack of financial support for the Anglican mission at Sault Ste. Marie. If the Church of England was unwilling to sow, she pointed out, then it should not expect to reap. Travelling missionaries, such as the Rev'd Adam Elliott, were doing good work amongst the white settlers in the backwoods but even greater effort should be devoted to the Indians. Comparing the various denominations she thought that "the Roman Catholic missions [to have been] the most active and persevering, next to these the Methodists. The Presbyterians and the English Churches have hitherto been comparatively indifferent and negligent" (pp. 511-512).

A long-held interpretation has been that as soon as McMurray realised that the Lt. Governor would not rescind his decision he was compelled to offer his resignation, insisting that his position with the Ojibwe had been compromised. Fifty years later, in a reflective piece that he compiled for the Canadian Church Magazine, McMurray argued that Head's change in policy

> reflected sorely upon me as their missionary. I made the promises to the Indians on the strength of those to them by Sir John Colborne; but as they were not carried out by his successor my position was seriously altered, for the Indians began to think that I had not authority for making the promises referred to, thus casting doubt upon my veracity. This induced me to resign my mission, not because I did not love the work, but I could not allow myself to be looked upon as a deceiver by the changed action of the Government under Sir Francis Bond Head. It was a severe trial, for I loved the work, which had prospered until the shock came to which reference has been made (McMurray, January, 1890).

The Society, because of its political connections, refused to accept McMurray's explanation [if, indeed, he did offer it at the time or only in hindsight] and recorded, in its minutes, that his resignation was due to Charlotte's ill health and need for a better climate (Seventh Annual Report of the Toronto Society, 1839).

McMurray had grappled with the idea of resignation as early as the Spring of 1837 but for reasons different than those cited above. That summer he and Charlotte travelled to Toronto to visit with Bishop Stewart in order to discuss the possibility of a posting in a more financially secure incumbency. On their arrival they discovered that their trip was made in vain since the Bishop was touring the Gaspe and would not return until late in August. Since the McMurrays could neither afford local lodgings nor to pursue the Bishop they were compelled to return home disappointed.

By November of 1837 McMurray had made up his mind to leave Sault Ste. Marie and missionary work altogether although he hoped to remain within the ranks of the ordained clergy.

> I have perhaps as many trials since my residence with [the Indians], in trying to bolster their deplorable conditions, as almost any other person ... yet I feel myself called upon to relinquish them to endeavour to find some more tranquil place, where my services can be appreciated and where I can be more useful (Schoolcraft papers in Brazer, 1993, p. 286).

That winter the McMurrays moved in with Charlotte's mother on the American side of the river. By that time James and Anna Maria Schoolcraft were living within Fort Brady. Since the St. Mary's River was often impassable due to ice floes and the doctor often unable to cross over from the garrison the couple deemed it a wise decision given the fact that, by that time, Charlotte was in an advanced stage of pregnancy (Schoolcraft papers in Brazer, 1993, p. 286). John Henry McMurray was born on the 5th of January, 1838.

Throughout these months McMurray was becoming more and more depressed by what he perceived to be improprieties amongst the white and mixed-blood population at the Sault which seemed, in his opinion,

> to be getting worse every day. Nothing is heard of but balls and drinking, in the former of which I am sorry to say John [Charlotte's younger brother] participates in freely (Schoolcraft papers in Brazer, 1993, p. 287).

McMurray must have been aware of the well known fact that Charlotte's brothers were openly engaged in extra-marital affairs. Charlotte's deceased elder brother, Lewis Saurin (died 1825), had fathered two daughters with the married Janette Piquette Cadotte who was already the mother of three children (Theresa Schenck in Elizabeth Hambleton & Elizabeth Warren Stoutamire, 1992, pp. 26-27). By 1832 Mrs. Cadotte was employed by the widowed George Johnston as his "housekeeper". With the death of Cadotte she married Joseph Sauve. The two girls worked as servants in their grandparents' home. One of the girls, Sophie Cadotte, was the cause of great dissension when she was discovered by Henry and Jane Schoolcraft, at the tender age of fourteen, in bed with Henry Sewakee, the Indian Agency's Ojibwe interpreter. Sophie's sister Polly would achieve notoriety in her own right when, in 1844, she accused Eustace Roussain, the father of her child, of raping her. At one point McMurray had written to Jane Schoolcraft with the proposal that "your mother says that if we all go and settle near Pontiac that she will go also, and endeavour to persuade Waishkey [Mrs. Johnston's brother] also" (Schoolcraft papers in Brazer, 1993, p. 287).

Early in 1838 the McMurrays went to Detroit to meet with Bishop McCloskey of Michigan but soon learned that the Bishop was detained in Chicago. During their wait McMurray visited a parish in Pontiac where he hoped to find a charge (Schoolcraft papers in Brazer, 1993, p. 287). When an appointment appeared uncertain he and Charlotte left for Toronto to see what might be available there. The soon to be consecrated Bishop of Toronto [1839], John Strachan, did have an opening for him as an assistant curate in the parish of Ancaster and Dundas, near Hamilton, to assist the ailing clergy, John Millar. At first, McMurray was inclined to turn it down and expressed his preference to remain in Michigan - even if he had to find work as a farmer. Henry Schoolcraft had purchased land for the McMurrays in Oakland County, Michigan (Schoolcraft papers in Brazer, 1993, p. 287). When contact was finally made with Bishop McCloskey the bishop was able to recommend several other possibilities besides Pontiac, including Deter and Ypsilanti (Schoolcraft papers in Brazer, 1993, p. 287).

By this time McMurray had convinced himself that his only justification for remaining within Canada was to pursue the decades old financial claims of the Johnston family. These included claims against both the American and British governments resulting from the destruction of John Johnston's holdings at the Sault during the War of 1812 and claims against the family's Irish estates. McMurray believed that the British claims had a better chance of success if they were promoted by a citizen living within Upper Canada. He also hoped that Henry Schoolcraft would concurrently launch a similar campaign before the American Congress. Although McMurray had never met his father-in-law these "paper" claims soon became an obsession. Despite all his legal manoeuvrings, in the end, the financial returns proved meagre and served only to increase the level of mistrust and animosity within the Johnston family.

Following an unsuccessful pursuit of a chaplaincy at Mackinac McMurray finally accepted the position at Dundas and Ancaster - an attractive farming community with a combined population of 2400 persons. He was to be paid a salary of $700 with $120 reserved for the rent on a new brick rectory in the Georgian style - "Orchard Hill" - with nine rooms and three acres of surrounding lawns and gardens.

McMurray was priested by Bishop Strachan on the 12th of April, 1840. With the death of the incumbent he was appointed rector of the parish and immediately set about to raise the $6000 necessary for the building of a new church that would seat six hundred persons. McMurray's new duties proved very different from those in an Indian mission with much of his time directed towards the preparation of sermons.

Although McMurray's parishioners were kind and appreciative of his efforts both he and Charlotte felt lonely. After a second miscarriage Charlotte gave birth to the couple's fourth child - James Saurin - on the 28th of May, 1840. Writing to her sister, Jane, during the winter of 1839, Charlotte confessed that she did not

> know how I can even live so far from my friends; for this part of the country seems quite of the world with me; but I hope at no distant day we shall go back to Michigan where we hope to find a permanent home. Dear Jane it would not be much out of your way if you could ... pay a visit on your way to Mackinac. I need not say how happy we should be to see you both (Schoolcraft papers in Brazer, 1993, p. 294).

When Henry Schoolcraft made the decision to go to Europe to seek out a publisher for some of his writings, and with their children away at boarding school in Albany, Jane finally decided that it was time to visit her sister in Dundas. The sisters enjoyed three weeks together before the frail and feeble Jane fell ill and died in Charlotte's arms on the 22nd of May, 1842. She was buried beneath a large flat stone in the cemetery at St. John's Church, Ancaster. For more than a decade she had suffered from a serious heart condition. William McMurray had himself been the chief supplier of Jane's medicinal use of laudanum of which she admitted an addiction.

The McMurrays' fifth child and their only daughter - Charlotte Elizabeth - was born at Dundas on the 23rd of July, 1843. Somewhat surprisingly, Charlotte and her infant daughter were baptized together on the 31st of December, 1843, the evening of the consecration of the new St. James Church in Dundas. One is left to wonder why McMurray would baptise more than one hundred and fifty members of his congregation at Sault Ste. Marie and overlook Charlotte, his co-worker?

Despite his seemingly good fortune McMurray had protested continually to Henry Schoolcraft that the financial demands placed upon him were proving expensive. On their first meeting Jane Schoolcraft had noted of McMurray that he was a man who was "determined to live well and genteely"(Schoolcraft papers in Brazer, 1993, p. 244). Schoolcraft showed little sympathy for his brother-in-law's plight believing that he was the author of his own misfortune.

> I had a letter from McMurray yesterday. He is tired of Canada & will come back at all events, and when he has been in Michigan a few months, will be tired here & will go somewhere else. He is living beyond his means, has squandered away money in travel abroad and is blown about by unsteady purposes (Schoolcraft papers in Brazer, 1993, p. 308).

James Schoolcraft's assessment was even harsher when he declared McMurray to be "a very queer *minister*, too fond of money, and possessed of rather too high notions of his own importance (Schoolcraft papers in Brazer, 1993, p. 324). In short, the Schoolcrafts viewed their Canadian in-law as "a man on the make" which was an evaluation probably typical of many Canadian Anglican clergy of the period.

Although they struggled, from time to time, the McMurrays, by 1850, were the most financially well off members of the family. Two of Charlotte's brothers would end their lives in poverty brought on, to some extent, by the poor investments Schoolcraft had made for them of the generous monies they had been granted under the terms of the American Indian treaty of 1836. James Schoolcraft was murdered in 1846 (supposedly at the hands of the "white Indian" John Tanner) and Henry would spend his later years mired in bankruptcy, scandal and ill health.

By 1853 McMurray had discovered a new career as a fundraiser and much of his time was spent in travelling "over thousands of miles and ... preach[ing] to tens of thousands of people in all the principle churches of the chief cities of the Union" (Johnston papers in Brazer, 1993, p. 345) on behalf of Trinity College, Toronto. He delighted in the work and was appreciative of both the honours and the corresponding increase in his status and income. As he bragged to George Johnston in 1852, Columbia College,

> the oldest and best in the United states [sic] conferred upon me the Degree of Doctor of Divinity. This was no doubt a compliment to our Church, but the honour fell upon me ... So now you see your humble servant, is entitled to the Rev'd Dr. McMurray!!! - So much for being a public man, or rather acting in a public capacity (Johnston papers in Brazer, 1993, p. 346).

Trinity College, Toronto, soon followed with the honorary degree of Doctor of Canon Law and, with the completion of a successful fund raising tour of England, he was appointed to the Council of that University. A large portrait of McMurray hangs today in Sealey Hall at Trinity College. In 1854 McMurray presided over the passage of the Clergy Reserves Bill through the Legislature and succeeded to the rectorship of St. Mark's, Niagara-on-the-Lake, three years later. He became the Archdeacon of Niagara in 1867 (see MacLean, September 1973).

Charlotte Johnston McMurray died on the 17th of January, 1878, and was buried in St. Mark's cemetery. During his visit to England, in 1864, McMurray had written in his diary: "This is the Anniversary of our Wedding Day ... Deeply do I regret my absence from her, who has been indeed a helpmeet, and a partner of my joys and sorrows" (Elizabeth Warren Stoutamire in Elizabeth Hambleton & Elizabeth Warren Stoutamire, 1992, p. 53). Unlike the McMurrays the Schoolcrafts seemed to drift apart in the later years of their marriage. During the last decade of her life Jane was often alone while her husband involved himself in numerous projects. She felt that he had deserted her and was ashamed of her presence in white society.

In 1880 McMurray married Amelia Baxter, the daughter of an officer in the Royal Canadian Rifles. McMurray's son James, later a barrister, married Elizabeth Fuller, the daughter of Thomas Brock Fuller, first Bishop of the Diocese of Niagara. Daughter Charlotte married the prominent engineer Hamilton Hartley Killaly. McMurray had become one with the Upper Canadian Establishment.

A "Failure" in Communication: The Rev'd Frederick O'Meara (December 1838 to July 1841)

The Rev'd Frederick Augustus O'Meara (1814-1888) will be remembered in the annals of Canadian Church history in connection with his translations of the Old and New Testaments and The Book of Common Prayer into Ojibwe. He is also associated with the operation of the Anglican native mission at Manitowaning from 1841 to 1859 and the founding of Toronto's Episcopal Divinity School which became Wycliffe College in 1877. At the same time O'Meara gained a reputation among both his colleagues and congregations for his evangelical zealotry and prickly temperament. While a degree of blame for the failure at Manitowaning must rest with its unfavourable location, the seasonal nomadic nature of the Ojibwe and changes in government policies there is a recurring theme running throughout O'Meara's ministry which reminds the observer of a fundamental defect in his character and inter-personal relationships. Nowhere is that flaw more evident than during the period from December 1838 to the summer of 1841 when O'Meara endeavoured to revitalise the fortunes of the Anglican mission at Sault Ste. Marie.

O'Meara was born in Wexford, Ireland, the son of school teachers Charles O'Meara and Sarah Murphy. Much of O'Meara's stipend (175 pounds a year), that he would earn while at the Sault, would find its way to support his widowed mother who was living on the outskirts of Dublin. At the age of eighteen he had entered Trinity College, Dublin, and graduated with a BA in 1837. He was led to the life of a missionary through the influence of the Dublin University Association of the Church Missionary Society. O'Meara was ordained deacon by the Bishop of London in 1837 and priest by Bishop George Mountain of Quebec at St. John's Church, Woodhouse township, near Simcoe, in 1838. He served as a travelling missionary in the Home District and assisted the Rev'd Featherstone Lake Osler in Tecumseh township and at Coldwater and Orillia, all in Simcoe county, Upper Canada.

Following McMurray's departure Shingwaukonce had notified the Anglican Society (for Converting and Civilising the Indians) in Toronto that if the partially completed houses in the Sault remained unfinished he would move his people to their summer location at the mouth of the Garden River, nine miles to the east of Sault Ste. Marie. The chief promised that he would return to live at the Sault if the Anglicans decided to reopen their mission. The farmland at Garden River, though for the most part uncleared, was thought to be of a better quality. Thomas Anderson believed the move a good one insofar as it would effectively isolate the Ojibwe from the corrupting influences of the Metis and the American troops at Fort Brady.

For a little more than two years O'Meara would live in Sault Ste. Marie and visit Garden River once a week to conduct services and hold regular prayer meetings. Anderson did not believe that it was financially feasible to replace the "Old Stone House" as the missionary's residence. This would prove a major mistake for it effectively separated the minister from his flock. O'Meara was also given the responsibility for the missions at Bruce Mines and Owen Sound. It was this which earned O'Meara the Ojibwe name of Tatebawad ("he who walks around the shore").

"During the winter months", wrote O'Meara soon after his arrival,

> the Indians being in different places at distances from me and from each other, it is necessary that I should be constantly on the foot, and these weekly journeys afford much matter for observations on the character and future prospects of this interesting people; but when summer sets in they are attracted to this place by the quality of the fish to be caught in the rapids, which surpasses anything that ever I could have had any idea of, and thus they are more concentrated and there exists a matter of course a regular routine of ministerial duties ... Amongst these may be enumerated visiting among Indian tents and conversing with them at the Mission House, whither they resort for the solution of all their difficulties and for assistance in all their schemes, and in all cases of sickness they apply to their Blackcoat as they call their minister for medicines and advice. Besides this, my endeavours to learn the language take up much of my time, and in this respect I have to labour against what at first appears an insurmountable difficulty, the want of an interpreter constantly residing at the house, which puts me under the necessity of conducting all my conversations with the Indians myself, and entails on me much labour among them (O'Meara, Report, 3 October, 1839).

Interpretative assistance was offered by Charlotte McMurray's brother, George Johnston (see Clapp, 1939), but his time was limited due to his regular employment with the American Indian Department. Together, Johnston and O'Meara quickly translated the Morning and Evening Prayers, the Litany and the Communion service into Ojibwe. From time to time O'Meara would employ Johnston to edit his work. Years later George Johnston would protest vigorously that O'Meara had not only denied him credit for his contribution but had refused to pay him the amount that had been agreed. In 1852 he wrote to O'Meara: "I have relied wholly upon your word, when you stated to me, that you was [sic] authorized by the Bishop to employ me for revising your translation, and that you would pay well" (Brazer, 1993, p. 343).

Despite his obligation to Johnston O'Meara did make a real effort on his own to learn Ojibwe. In the spring of 1839 O'Meara accompanied his flock to their sugar camps at Goulais Bay and then struck out on his own by paddling a birch bark canoe further up the coast of Lake Superior. There, in the wilds, he sought out "the children of the forest" and practised his sermons without the benefit of an interpreter. After only six months O'Meara was preaching two sermons each Sunday in Ojibwe. By the end of 1839 he had translated the Collects, Epistles and Gospel readings for the Sundays and holidays of the Christian year. To fill in the gaps in his knowledge O'Meara convinced Bishop Strachan to employ, at the missionary's own expense, Francis Wilson Jones, or Wahbahnoosay [Wahbunoo], a young lad from the Credit River mission and half-brother to the Methodist missionary, the Rev'd Peter Jones (Smith, 1987, p. 209). Again one is left to wonder as to the extent of Jones' contribution to O'Meara's final production. Jones arrived in the Sault in November of 1839.

Following one of his Sunday morning services at Garden River O'Meara received word that his

> boat was frozen up, and if it was not immediately removed into open water, I would probably be prevented from getting home for some time, as the ice would become so hard as not to admit of its being disengaged. By their advice I determined to endeavour to get home as soon as possible, as in case it was icebound I had not sufficient provisions to last till it would possible to get home on foot; and after a pull of about four hours against a strong current with a north westerly gale we arrived at the Sault sometime after nightfall (O'Meara, Journal, 15 December, 1839 &

Report, 4 May, 1840).

On another occasion O'Meara was with Wilson Jones near Goulais Bay on Lake Superior when they discovered the usual

> path through the woods very much obstructed by fallen trees, to cover which there had not as yet been sufficient snow. We had several parts of the way literally to drag both dogs and sled over those trees, and when on the edge of the bay, which is about six miles in breadth, towards evening to our very great disappointment we found the ice quite broken up by a high wind that had swept Lake Superior on the night previous, so that we were obliged to remain on this side all night, with the bare possibility that the ice might be sufficiently sound by morning for us to attempt to cross (O'Meara, Journal, 18 January, 1840 & Report, 4 May, 1840).

O'Meara was detained for two days at his makeship camp before he was able to cross the bay to minister to the approximately fifty families which had gathered from Batchawana and the American shore of Lake Superior.

The next month O'Meara returned to the same spot and once again ran into inclement weather. This time

> the day was mild with some rain which had made travelling very unpleasant during the day, and in the evening when we came to the edge of the lake whence we had to traverse the bay, we found the whole covered with water, so that the surface presented more the appearance of

> October than February. This would have prevented our attempting to cross it had we had any way of putting up for the night, but on looking at our sled we found that we had neglected to carry an axe with us. So it became impossible for us to encamp on this side, therefore the only alternative was to go on and cross the dangerous traverses. After having waded six miles up to [the] ankles in water we reached the Indian lodges after dark completely worn out and able for nothing but to lay us down on our lowly mat to rest after the fatigues of the day (O'Meara, Journal, 29 February, 1840 & Report, 4 May, 1840).

The budding translator found it useful to carry his notes with him wherever he went. On a mild January day in 1840 O'Meara was returning by dogsled across the slushy ice of the St. Mary's River, when, all of a sudden,

> the ice on which we were travelling ... gave way, and through the mercy of God the place where Mr. Sanson [the catechist and schoolteacher] and I fell in was near some small brambles which preserved our lives. Our three dogs with the sled containing my travelling apparatus and all my translations fell in at some distance further off from shore. The struggles and cries of the drowning animals were heart rending, and pity for them added to the consideration that my translations were at stake and induced me without delay or waiting to take off any part of my dress to plunge into the water, in order to extricate the sled with the poor animals, whose attempts to swim being obstructed by the harness they were on the point of perishing. In this I succeeded with imminent peril of my life in consequence of the strength of the ice that I had to break through to get at

> them; and with great difficulty reached home late in the day my clothes having been all completely frozen to my person (O'Meara, Journal, 13 January, 1840 & Report, 4 May 1840).

When he wasn't on the move O'Meara was constantly writing. His early exploits were documented in his daily journal and in two reports, both published under the same title: A Mission to the Ottawahs and Ojibwas on Lake Huron, (1846 & 1849). In 1844 he wrote a devotional work, The Faith and Duty of A Christian , followed by the translations of The Book of Common Prayer (1846), The Four Gospels (1850), The New Testament, (1854) and The Psalms , in 1856. In collaboration with the Rev'd Peter Jacobs Jr. (1833-1864) he produced the Penteteuch, Proverbs, Isaiah and a Hymn Book in 1861. O'Meara translated directly from the Greek into Ojibwe. Jacobs came from the Rama reserve near Orillia and was married to Susan Cooper, the daughter of an Anglican clergyman. Jacobs was educated under the direction of Bishop David Anderson of Rupertsland and would succeed O'Meara as the incumbent at Manitowaning (1859-1864).

In recognition of his translations and later fund raising abilities O'Meara was awarded an honorary LL.D. from his *alma mater* in 1849. Jacobs received no special recognition for his contribution.

O'Meara's correspondence portrays him as a somewhat lonely and self-absorbed young bachelor with shortcomings, even then, all too evident in his character. While he declared himself openly fond of his native congregation O'Meara seemed to purposely distance himself from them as a lesser class and race. He was either unwilling or unable to develop an emotional bond with any of his charges and he remains in their memory as "the man who walks around the shore". His writings frequently present the Ojibwe only as suitable subjects for his observations and instruction rather than as friends and colleagues. For example, after one Sunday service, he invited Shingwaukonce and another Indian to spend the evening with him:

> I had much interesting conversation with them. It has always surprised me to observe the degree to decorum with which these people, tho' in their own wigwams entirely without the refinements of life, conduct themselves when brought to the table. The course they adopt is to watch what others do around them do, and to imitate them closely. I generally make it a practice at least once a week to have the Chief spend an evening with me, by which means my acquaintance with the language is increased, and I have a favourable opportunity of impressing on him the importance of using all his influence, which appears to be considerable to keep his young men attentive to the instructions of religion (O'Meara, Journal, 23 June, 1839 & Report, 3 October, 1839).

Despite the outward signs of a formal sociability O'Meara remarks in his journal the next morning of his delight in the visit of his fellow missionary from Manitowaning, Charles Crosbie Brough (1794-1873), a fellow Irishman, who had come to "relieve the spiritual loneliness of my field of labour" (O'Meara, Journal, 25 June, 1839 & Report, 3 October, 1839).

Shingwaukonce and O'Meara were bound to quarrel by the very nature of their personalities. Where one was inclusive, the other was exclusive. Unless his pride was touched or the safety of his people endangered Shingwaukonce was, for the most part, an easy going fellow. O'Meara was quite the opposite. Thomas Millman has written of him that while he "possessed zeal and a true missionary spirit" he was "also of a hasty disposition and often precipitate in judgement" (Millman, 1982, p. 654). When Bishop

Strachan envisaged the creation of a Diocese of St. Mary's in 1849 O'Meara's name, naturally, came to the fore but, by that time, he had gained a reputation as "a strong evangelical, firm in his opinions, and ready in his expression of them" which effectively disqualified him "for the higher duties of the episcopate where correctness and precision of judgement and firmness of character are as essential as the higher qualifications of piety and learning" (Millman, 1982, p. 654).

From the time of his arrival O'Meara seemed to delight in his battle with members of what he viewed to be the "rival" denominations. On the occasion of their first meeting he refused to even sit at the same table as Father Jean Baptiste Proulx (1808-1881)(Leighton, 1982, pp. 714-715) of Wikwemikong and frequently referred to the Roman Catholic priest, in his letters to Charles Brough, in images associating him with the devil incarnate and as their arch enemy. He specifically objected to the openly friendly relations between the Roman Catholics and the representatives of the Indian Department.

Within his own denomination O'Meara wrote long letters to Bishop Strachan complaining about the activities of the Oxford Movement unaware that, at that time, the Bishop was in direct correspondence with John Henry Newman, one of its leading lights. He actively endeavoured to influence Strachan in dismissing the Oxford educated, the Rev'd George Hallam (see Parry, 1994) of Medonte, for his Anglo-Catholic sympathies but Strachan responded by appointing the clergyman to the important position as military chaplain to the garrison at Penetanguishene.

Although O'Meara was on friendly terms with some of the Methodist clergy he seldom missed an opportunity to downgrade them for their lack of Apostolic Succession. When the commanding officer of Fort Brady decided that he had tired of the puritanical tendencies of the Baptist clergy, Abel Bingham, he asked O'Meara to intercede with the Bishop of Detroit to request an Episcopalian clergy. Oblivious to the promotion of constructive ecumenical relations O'Meara brazenly put his own case forward and began to conduct regular monthly services for the American troops at Fort Brady.

With his professed Evangelical outlook and sense of heightened righteousness O'Meara saw it as his personal duty to seek out both the sin and the sinner. He was one of those missionaries who seemed never to tire of telling the Indians (and others) of what they should be doing and how to do it but seldom listened to what others had to say. An example of this is a conversation recorded by Thomas Anderson involving O'Meara, Prouxl, John Bell and Shingwaukonce. The two priests were discussing the relative merits of British and French weaponry and were deliberately excluding the chief and Bell.

As Bell would later recall:

> In the meantime I observed to "the Pine" [Shingwaukonce] that it was a pity that they should be quarrelling about religion [sic!] but, if there were 7 or 8 different persuasions it would be still worse - the Pine said yes! and speaking to the gentlemen said stop! & a second time said I tell you to stop, it is my turn to speak & said, this is the way the Black Coat acted at the Sault before I became a Christian, each on of six denominations wished to make me believe his was the best. I had an idea of joining the Roman Catholics but determined to go to Toronto and take the advice of the Governor" [Colborne][who informed him of the Queen's religion] (Grant, 1984, p. 236).

When Shingwaukonce had finished his speech the missionaries resumed their arguing.

A chronicling of their two years together provides an illuminating insight into the breakdown in communication between Shingwaukonce and O'Meara. While O'Meara's focus centred on salvation and his translations Shingwaukonce wanted to firmly cement his political alliances. In his first petition to Sir George Arthur, the Lt. Governor replacing Head, on the 13th of July, 1839, Shingwaukonce prefaced his request with his standard exhortation declaring how pleased his people were with their new missionary but that joy might have referred to O'Meara's mere presence rather than implying anything about him personally or his performance. The petition then went on to remind Governor Arthur

> of the promise made to the Indians ... by Sir John Colborne six years ago of building houses for them in which they might live as the whites do and cultivate the land for their subsistence instead of roving from place to place in order to eke out an uncertain living (Shingwaukonce's Petitition in O'Meara, Journal, 13 July, 1839 & Report, 3 October, 1839).

The request was accompanied by an ornamental pipe. Arthur's reply arrived in September, 1839, announcing that

> my Sovereign, your Great Mother, has commanded that the good of her Red Children shall be in every way promoted so that it is to *Her Majesty Queen Victoria* that your thanks are due for the comforts which you and your women and your children enjoy ... You shall have some assistance in building your houses, and a little present for those who are most industrious, and you shall have Axes and other tools - I want all your people to learn to work because they will thus have food and comfortable homes. I charge you as you do me to live and favour the Great Spirit and not to let any of your people drink any Fire Water (George Arthur, Indian

Land Papers, September, 1839).

For a while Shingwaukonce seemed satisfied. In mid October O'Meara accompanied his flock as they fished the rapids of the St. Mary's River after which he conducted a service and baptised the Chief's grandchild. Fishing was poor that year and the Ojibwe had to fish long hours in order to catch what was required to feed them over the winter. Two weeks passed and O'Meara wrote of his disappointment when Shingwaukonce failed to show up for Sunday worship:

> After service to-day had a good deal of serious conversation with the Chief on the evil of spending the Sabbath sleeping. This arose from circumstances of the Indians at the rapids having spent the whole of Saturday night scooping whitefish, and being consequently too oppressed with fatigue on Sunday as not to be able to keep awake during service. I told them thro' their Chief that they were not only to abstain from work on the Sabbath itself but also from such extra labour on the Saturday night as would render them incapable of putting the day to the purpose for which it was intended, namely, the service and worship of God (O'Meara, Journal, 3 November, 1839 & Report, 4 May, 1840).

O'Meara's rebuke must have been particularly stinging for Shingwaukonce, a man who had fasted and prayed to the Great Spirit, on a daily basis, from his earliest years.

Nahwahgwaishkum (1799-1840), Shingwaukonce's second eldest son, had ruptured himself the previous summer while lifting a heavy weight at Mackinac and would spend the winter of 1839-1840 in a great deal of pain. While he was fishing at the Rapids the Chief had approached O'Meara to request assistance in counselling his son. On the 11th of October O'Meara confided in his journal that

> an affair of a rather delicate nature was referred to me this evening. Nahwahquashkum, one of the sons of the Chief, a man of about forty, had married a young girl [Ningahbeunoqua] of about seventeen from the American side, whose parents are heathen, and by her had two children. He fell ill this autumn and since then has not been tended by his wife whose heathen mother seems to have induced her to spend much of her time away from her husband, and to be very anxious that she should leave him altogether and return to her old habits. The Chief applied to me to interfere in the matter, and to speak to his daughter-in-law on the sinfulness of her conduct in neglecting the vow of love in sickness and in health that she made to her husband (O'Meara, Journal, 11 October, 1839 & Report, 4 May, 1840).

O'Meara spoke to Ningahbeunoqua before the Sunday service "but could not perceive whether what [he] had said had any effect on her" (O'Meara, Journal, 12 October, 1839 & Report, 4 May, 1840). O'Meara's frequent and ultimate solution for any sinner he felt unrepentant was public rebuke in accordance with the rubrics of the Prayer Book which called for the denial of communion to the transgressor. For the Ojibwe this was one of the harshest things he could have done since public embarrassment was regarded as the severest form of discipline.

O'Meara visited Nahwahgwaishkum on the 8th of December at Garden River. He was surprised to discover the sick man's mother-in-law in his tent. While she pretended to be mending a pair of mocassins she spent the whole of the visit cursing Christianity and staring coldly at the missionary. On his departure O'Meara was accompanied back to the

Sault by members of the chief's family who desired some of the white man's medicine for the sick man. On arrival O'Meara informed them bluntly that much of Nahwahgwaishkum's troubles had come about due to the injudicious use of herbal remedies, knowing full well that it was Shingwaukonce who was the prime source for those herbs.

"Went down again to Garden River", wrote O'Meara on the 13th of March, 1840,

> to see the sick man, whom I found in the agony of death and still insensible to all around him, and shortly after I had left on my return home he breathed his last. Some tribal circumstances which took place after this man's death and before his burial were the means of making known to me a false impression under which the Indians had been as to the powers with which I am vested. From the manner in which one of them expressed himself, asking me to procure some things required for the funeral, I was led to suspect that some wrong impression existed on the man's mind with regard to the character in which I had come among them; and thinking it my duty to inquire into the matter I found that they supposed that besides being a missionary for their spiritual good I was also a kind of Indian Agent for the care of their secular concerns, and as such had a large sum committed to my charge by the Indian Department to be laid out on their account. This mistake of theirs I of course lost no time in correcting, and though I foresee that for the present the undeceiving them than before, and perhaps may cause some to fall off in their Christian profession, yet I am full assured that in the end the effect will be the highest beneficial to the real prosperity of the mission... (O'Meara, Journal, 13 March, 1840 & Report, 4 May, 1840).

At first O'Meara appeared to be noticeably shocked by the discovery that many of the Ojibwe at Sault Ste. Marie had accepted conversion to the Church of England not out of spiritual need or conviction but, rather, with the hope of financial and political advantage. Later he came to blame the confusion on what he described as the deliberate deception and misrepresentations of his predecessor.

In April, 1840, O'Meara left the Sault to marry Margaret Johnston Dallas of Orillia. During his honeymoon he found time to preach at Bond Head, Orillia and in St. James' Cathedral, Toronto, before returning to the mission house on the 8th of June. For some reason O'Meara never refers to his wife directly in his journals. O'Meara appeared to be a man who preferred to maintain a line of separation that would clearly distinguish his professional from his personal life.

Nahwahgwaishkum was buried in the little Anglican cemetery on the hill above the village in Sault Ste. Marie. After the funeral, and following O'Meara's return, Shingwaukonce seemed to adopt a practised indifference to many of O'Meara's requests. If the government felt itself not obliged to fulfil their side of the agreement then Shingwaukonce thought himself justified in retreating from his side of the bargain. Recalling Governor Arthur's final admonition and, most likely, to further irk the missionary the chief seemed to make a point of appearing openly drunk, especially when O'Meara was present. From O'Meara's journal:

> 4 September, 1840 - In the evening as I was getting into my boat to return from the Hudson's Bay Company's house, I heard in a wigwam near the shore a sound of drunkenness, and on searching more particularly I found the Chief and some other Indians who had been on the other side [and] were quite drunk ... I returned home having ascertained who were the

> drunkards in the wigwam, much cast down in spirit (O'Meara, Journal, 4 September, 1840 & Report, 19 January, 1841).

On the 26th of October, 1840, O'Meara arrived home at the mission house only

> to hear from a log house in the rear where the Indians, when they come to the Sault for any purpose, usually live, the sound of drunkenness, and on going closer, found the voices to be those of the Chief and some of his sons-in-law who appeared to be quite intoxicated. To-day before the Chief left for Garden River I sent for him (the others having left on Sunday morning as soon as soon as they learned that I had returned home the previous night) and spoke to him solemnly of the danger which must result to a soul from falling again into his former course of life, and directed him to have recourse to praying for the gift of God's Holy Spirit, by which he would be enabled heartily to repent of his sin, and thro' faith in Christ to be received into favour with God. He appeared much cast down from a sense of his fault, and I trust he will be enabled to follow the directions I gave him as guidance (O'Meara, Journal, 26 October, 1840 & Report, 19 January, 1841).

Throughout these months O'Meara continued to insist that the ultimate responsibility for the Ojibwe being led astray rested with the "licentious habits" of the French Canadians who he described as "the most unprincipled set of human beings I have ever met" (O'Meara, Journal, 11 October, 1839).

With his wife now safely ensconced in the "Old Stone House" [for propriety's sake] O'Meara proposed to the Indian Department, in October of 1840, that he be permitted to take a number of Indian children into his home for the duration of the winter months for their educational instruction. Reflecting the philosophy of the later residential schools O'Meara was convinced of the "necessity of separating the children from their parents if we would educate and civilise them" to the extent that he was willing "to run the risk of even having to incur the expense out of my own salary for one winter's support of them & to take the remaining three or four to complete the number of six or seven" (Letter from O'Meara to John Strachan, 7 October, 1840).

Even this perceived act of generosity on O'Meara's part seemed to fall on deaf ears. It soon became evident, even to O'Meara, that he was losing the allegiance of his flock. There is something extremely sad in the image of the missionary standing alone in expectation on the steps of his mission house for students he must have known would never come. "The only alternative" to waiting, in O'Meara's opinion, was

> either to remain entirely useless at home or to encounter the toil of rowing myself with the assistance of only the interpreter twenty or twenty-four miles every week, a task to which my strength of body is by no means equal, and which when it is accomplished brings me within reach of only three or four families at most, for those who live on the shores of Lake Superior are entirely out of reach, that being too long and perilous a voyage to be attempted in an open boat such as mine, or without a strong crew of voyageurs, and even so it is not attended with considerable danger (Letter from O'Meara to John Strachan, 19 January, 1841).

By January of 1841 O'Meara began to notice clear signs that Shingwaukonce and his band had given up on the promise that cabins would ever be built for them at Sault Ste. Marie and,

> therefore each family continues encamped in the summer in or about their sugar bush which is usually contiguous to the spot on which they make their gardens, near which it is much more convenient for them to remain than at the Sault, and thus they are likely in the future to be as much scattered in the summer as they are in the winter and indeed more so, as the necessity of fishing then makes them collect more in one place during the winter, but in summer wherever each family chooses to pitch their tent they can generally obtain subsistence, and by this means the children are prevented from receiving any regular instruction which they were in the habit of enjoying while their parents encamped together at the Sault. It being impossible even on Sundays when Mr. Sanson accompanies me to collect [no] more than three or four at a time (Letter from O'Meara to John Strachan, 19 January, 1841).

In the same letter O'Meara went on to disclose to his Bishop that during one visit to Batchewana, earlier that winter, he had become much

> depressed in spirits from seeing the great listlessness and unconcern among those for whose souls I am labouring. Toils and dangers the missionary can, supported by the influence of the same glorious tidings that he bears to others suffer joyfully; but when his message is received with coldness or apathy where a warm and anxious reception was looked for, this breaks the spirit and saddens the heart of the ambassador of Christ (O'Meara, Journal, 1 March 1840 & Report, 4 May, 1840).

In November of 1840 Indian Superintendent Thomas "Tige" Anderson sent a letter to Shingwaukonce (addressed to O'Meara) in which he renewed his proposal that

Shingwaukonce and his band move to Manitoulin Island. The chief again refused the offer but O'Meara was convinced that he could be persuaded to change his mind. When influenza struck the mission house in January of 1841 O'Meara viewed it as an opportune time to make an extended visit to Garden River. Gathering the band together O'Meara discussed patiently the pros and cons of the removal, adding his

> own opinion in a much more decided manner than I had hitherto ventured to do. I did not expect a very favourable answer at first, but was rather agreeably surprised to find that the Chief's mind appears to be much changed on the subject since I last mentioned it to him. He professed to agree entirely in my view of the danger to himself and his children which was daily becoming greater in consequence of the continual increase of whisky dealing at the Saut [sic] since last winter; but, however, he did not give a decided answer, but said he would wait until he had consulted the principal of his young men on the subject (O'Meara, Journal, 24 January, 1841 & Report, 20 October, 1841).

Again, on the 2nd of February, Shingwaukonce told the missionary that he remained positive to the idea of removal but, by the 27th of March, his outlook "appear[ed] to be either somewhat changed in his mind, or to have some reason for concealing his real sentiments on the subject. My conversation on that occasion," confided O'Meara to his journal, "was very unsatisfactory" (O'Meara, Journal, 27 March, 1841 & Report, 20 October, 1841).

A crisis was finally reached in May of 1841. From O'Meara's journal:

> Sunday, 9 May 1841 - Today very wet. Went down in my boat to Garden River. Found the Indians still in their sugar camps, but was very much distressed to find that Canadians had been down from the Sault buying up their sugar which they paid for in whisky. They had all therefore spent the Saturday night in drinking, and were, on my arrival, utterly incapable of uniting in Divine service. Having waited for sometime I spoke a little to a few women who were not in that state and then left for home, the rain still falling heavily...
>
> Thursday, 13 May 1841 - The Chief with some of his family came up from Garden River. I described to him my distress and disappointment last Sunday when I had gone down in the midst of the pouring rain to find himself and his people in such a state of intoxication as to render it impossible that my visit could be of any avail to them and moreover spoke to him of the awful consequences that must follow such conduct in one who, as he does, knows full well the guilt of drunkenness. He told me that he had come up to tell me that he had come to the determination that, let his young men do as they like, he must flee this place, for he felt that the longer he remained the worse he became, so he must go immediately even should no one wish to follow him (O'Meara, Journal, 9 May & 13 May, 1841 & Report, 20 October, 1841).

On the 15th of June, 1841, Shingwaukonce, his son-in-law, Charles LaRose, and friend John Bell, made an elaborate departure, with their families, from the mission dock at Sault Ste. Marie for Manitoulin Island. Most of the chief's band came up from Garden River to bid the small party farewell.

Following O'Meara's replacement of Charles Brough at Manitowaning in August of 1841 Shingwaukonce returned to Sault Ste. Marie. Despite O'Meara's frequent appeals that he return Shingwaukonce responded with ingenious excuses of why he should remain at Garden River. Typical of these was the following:

> The Chief is still lame from the effect of a severe cut which he had given himself last summer, and which for some time threatened to prove fatal; this he says, alone prevents his going to settle on the Island at this present time (O'Meara, 1846, p. 37).

Was Shingwaukonce's pretence of going to Manitoulin Island only a ruse to get O'Meara to leave the Sault? What the missionary had learned, to his regret, was that while the Ojibwe could imitate the white man in order to be polite that same politeness could also be employed as a guise to conceal their true feelings.

With O'Meara gone the anger of the Ojibwe then directed itself towards the missionary's residence. If they were not entitled to have their homes promised by the government then why should the missionary be entitled to have one? Parts of the "Old Stone House" then began to gradually disappear. In January of 1844 John Ballenden, then agent for the Hudson's Bay Company at Sault Ste. Marie, sent the following evaluation of the dilapidated condition of the mission house to his owner, Charles Oakes Ermatinger Jr. (1802-1857):

> The dwelling house is in such a state that unless considerable repairs be made in the roof and gutters, the walls will in my opinion, fall down in a very few years. Already there are various cracks from the plating down to

the sills of the upper windows, and the west end wall is cracked from the plating to the ground. When it rains heavy the water penetrates thru any room in the house excepting the west front room and the plaster is thereby much injured, so much so indeed that in some of the upper rooms considerable portions of the stone wall are visible. Three of the window frames have been taken out of the upper rooms and are not to be found, all the outer window blinds are much injured, in short there is not a room in the house which can be made habitable without encurring considerable expense. The Kitchen was burnt down some years ago, and since then the west bedroom in the lower flat has been used for cooking and thereby much injured. The upper floors of all the outer buildings have been taken up and carried off and the house floors are much decayed. One of the outer buildings at the end of the west store fell down last summer and the large barn will I think fall down in the spring. The small stone buildings at each end of the house are in pretty good order excepting that the panel doors have been destroyed. The west meadows are in good condition but those in the rear would require to be harrowed or ploughed, at least half of the log fencing has been carried off and cannot now in consequence of the scarcity of cedar be replaced excepting at a very great expense, a few years the produce of the meadows would have been worth from 25 pounds to 30 pounds per annum if well attended to but at present there is not a market for hay at the Sault, most of the inhabitants of both sides having cleared ground for themselves or finding it cheaper to cut hay at L[ake] George.

Joseph LaFond who has occupied the house for the last two years has at this moment at least three fourths of the crop of last year on hand.

> A few days ago I spoke to Mr. LaFond in whose charge you left the establishment and I was informed by him that an outlay of four thousand dollars would not put the place in the same condition as it was when by your order he delivered up his charge to the Rev. Mr. McMurray. This opinion is confirmed by some of the old residents of the Sault (Ballenden in Reid, 1977, Appendix).

Despite the infrequent visits of O'Meara from Manitowaning and the American Episcopal clergyman, William Cameron, (James Cameron's brother) the decade of the 1840's were years of an isolated and unrestricted spiritual life for what remained of the Anglican mission at Sault Ste. Marie/Garden River. Shingwaukonce continued to raise the Union Jack in front of his lodge and gathered his people to sing hymns and read the lessons. On the 21st of August, 1842, Bishop Strachan paid a visit and discovered fifty persons in attendance at the service he conducted. Upon reflection, the Bishop's impression was that there were "too few Indians at the St. Mary's and in the neighbourhood to justify the establishment of a mission" and hoped "that the few will be induced to join their brethren on Manitoulin Island" (Strachan, 1846). James Beaven, Professor of Divinity at King's College, Toronto, (later Trinity College), passed through Sault Ste. Marie in the summer of 1846, and found the little church raised by McMurray to be

> a neat frame structure, with a bell; it had desks all round its sides, being intended for a school room; but the benches were taken to the various houses in order to be guarded from injury or spoilation. In the enclosure, within which it stands, were a few graves of Indians, one quite recent, marked by pine logs, laid longitudinally, supported and kept together by

> six short posts of the same description. It is these graves, as perhaps anything else, which attach this little tribe both to the Sault and to the Church with which their graveyard is connected (Beaven, 1846).

Shingwaukonce's Response

As a "mixed blood" Indian (who thought of himself as more Indian than white) Shingwaukonce (see Chute, 1998) was the middleman between various world views and competing political, economical, racial and ethnic interests. Shingwaukonce both directed, and was directed by, those forces which shaped his peoples' existence. He was able to function within a practical sphere and was not afraid to make those compromises which he believed were necessary to ensure the long-term protection of his followers. Throughout he never lost his original sense of vision. The formation and maintenance of alliances were essential to his way of life. In the role of arbitrator Shingwaukonce was often called upon to make important decisions as to what to lose and what to retain from the Ojibwe past as well as what to borrow and shape from other cultures that would aid in the building of a better future. An acknowledgement of the need to make such decisions made Shingwaukonce a powerful advocate of the need for education and self-awareness.

It is not unreasonable to suggest that, at this time, Christianity and Ojibwe shamanism existed side by side at Sault Ste. Marie and Garden River and that the mythological elements of both were in the process of syncretizing into a single force. As John Webster Grant has observed, "Shingwaukonce inhabited a world on the margins between the "civilised" white world of Upper Canada and his fellow tribesmen west of Lake Superior, where organised shamanism prevented any significant Christian penetration for many years" (Grant, 1984, p. 87).

That Shingwaukonce acted as a conduit for communications was evident in the tracing of the transfer of wampum bags back and forth amongst the Ojibwe, In his Indian

Researches (1844) Benjamin Slight notes that sometime in 1838

> Chief Mesquakeence, or Yellowhead, head chief of Lake Simcoe, sent a wampum to the Pagans on the American side of Lake Superior, together with a speech. The wampum consisted of seven strings of white, and one of coloured beads, with nearly two yards of red ribbon, instead of signifying war, was explained to signify that the Son of God came into our world and shed his blood for sinners. The white beads signified that there was peace proclaimed on earth and good will to men by the blood of the cross. The mode of conveying a wampum is to forward it from one tribe to another. Yellowhead sent it to Shingwongkoonse, a chief on the Canadian side of the St. Mary's river; Shingwongkoonse sent it to the other village at Kewnon [Kewadin][Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan] (pp. 78-80).

The next year Shingwaukonce produced

> two wampum belts which had been sent to him by chiefs in the interior in order to be delivered to the Chief Superintendent of Indian Affairs (or as they called him "The Red Coat") this summer at Manitoulin. These which are the more aboriginal modes of sending messages (letters being only used by those who have intercourse with the whites) are formed of pieces of eagles' claws strung on deer skin or silk ribbon, which according to their arrangement are made to speak the mind of the person sending them. Besides those which I have mentioned there is also another mode of conveying intelligence from one to the other, which is by pieces of

> tobacco varying in number and mode of painting according to the message which is intended to be conveyed (O'Meara, Journal, 19 June, 1839 & Report, 3 October, 1839).

It is highly improbable that Shingwaukonce ever surrendered his position in the *medewewin* or the symbols of that which had required him to spend more than thirty thousand dollars in furs to acquire (Kohl, 1860, p. 382). This went against the actions of the majority of the other "Christian" *mede*, or medicine men, for, as Anna Jameson (1990) recorded from what William McMurray had told her,

> when a sorcerer is converted, he in the first place, surrendered his *metawaaun*, or medicine sack, containing his manitos. Mr. McMurray showed me several; an owl-skin; a wild-cat-skin, an otter skin; and he gave me two, with the implements of sorcery; one of birch-bark, containing the skin of a black adder; the other, an embroidered mink-skin, contains the skin of an enormous rattle-snake, (four feet long,) a feather dyed crimson, a cowrie shell, and some magical pebbles, wrapped up in bark - the spells and charms of this Indian Archimago, who name was, I think, Matabash. He also gave me a drum, formed of a stretched hoop, and filled with pebbles, and a most portentous looking rattle formed of about a hundred bears' claws, strung together by a thong, and suspended to a carved stick, both being used in their medicine dances (p. 479).

After showing his birch bark scrolls, which contained an outline of his role in the *medewewin* to Henry Schoolcraft family tradition has it that Shingwaukonce did not turn them over to McMurray but buried them along with his skunk-skin cap, *pinjigosaun* (medicine bag), *mazinini* (dolls), *mittigwakih* (drum) and *medawatigaun* (painted sticks). Proof of the family's contention is illustrated in a photograph taken of the chief when he visited Montreal in 1849. In the photograph he is seated between Nebenaigooching and William Beverly Robinson (of the Robinson Treaties) and wearing his skunk-skin cap.

Many questions arise concerning Shingwaukonce's drinking habits. There are numerous accounts of his drinking to excess but was he addicted to alcohol or did he employ drunkenness as a pretence or ploy in order to gain a confidence or drive home a point? "At an early age", wrote the German travel writer Johann Kohl, in 1860, Shingwaukonce had

> distinguished himself by his abstinence, and in his tenth year fasted twice ten days in succession without taking a particle of food. When grown up he showed himself strong in fasting, and for the last twenty years of his life always fasted, that is, lived temperately, and only took so much food as was required to keep his body strong. It is very natural that the Indians should make a strong faster into a brave, for they are often obliged to fast involuntarily, that the energetic defeat of hunger and thirst must become a necessity. Shinguakongse, however, nearly resembled an ancient stoic. He said he fasted not to obtain a great name and respect among his people, but because he always wished to have fine dreams - that is, wished to keep his head and thoughts clear (Kohl, 1860, p. 374).

Kohl's informant on this occasion was Angelique LaRose, the mother of Shingwaukonce's son-in-law, Charles LaRose. The LaRoses had been associated with the chief from the time of his boyhood at Green Bay in Wisconsin.

The following story was supplied to Kohl by an American who had visited

Shingwaukonce and his uncle Kiguash in the chief's lodge:

> The entrance of the wigwam was covered by a blanket, and I heard for some distance the murmur of the song and the drum-beating of the two men. As I addressed them when a pause ensued, and they recognised my voice, they received me very kindly, and allowed me to enter. I found a very pleasant, new, and cleanly hut, hung with fresh, gaily dyed mats. The chiefs themselves were in their grandest holiday state, adorned with all their eagle feathers, medals, bears'-claw necklaces, with their faces painted bright red and other glaring colours and wrapped in their long white blankets, on which the signs of their totems were sewn with blue thread. In the middle of the wigwam a white cloth was spread out, at the ends of which they sat opposite each other. By their side lay their open medicine-bags with their contents displayed on the white cloth. They consisted of small pieces of copper and other metal, bones, shells and various sizes and colours, small packets of roots, papers or bags of red, or green or yellow coloured powders, and other substances unknown to me, many wrapped in swan's down. Behind Shinguakongse packets of peltry were piled up - beaver and bearskins - as well as coloured calicoes, silks, and many yards of blue and scarlet cloth. I soon perceived that they had been imparting to each other, explaining, and exchanging their various family and tribe secrets. The principal buyer was Shinguakongse, who was always eager for such things. He gave old Kiguash, who was deeply engaged in these mysteries, whole bales of beaver skins for a couple of powders and the necessary instructions. Still, it could not be said that Kiguash was taking him in, for he had himself, probably, paid very dearly

> for these matters. As the display of these mysterious articles, the explanation of their virtues, the settlement of the price, and the inspection of the goods, proceed very slowly and cautiously, and as magic songs have to be sung, the drum beaten, and many calumets of peace smoked in the intervals, days are often spent before the Indians have completed such negotiations. One really takes lessons from the other, and, in order to be able to receive them without disturbance, they order their squaws to build them separate wigwams for the purpose (Kohl, 1860, pp. 380-383).

From an early vision Shingwaukonce had taken the name *Sagadjive-Osse* or *Sahkahjewosa* which means "when the sun rises". From that time forth it was said that he adored the sun, "and when he dreamed of it, he ever saw it before him, like a person walking before him and conversing" (Kohl, 1860, p. 377). As his spirituality became more developed so did his name *Shingwauk* come to reflect the influence of the sun on the growing pine throughout his life - at dawn, mid-day and at dusk. Thus Shingwaukonce was the name of the "Little Pine" in maturity and old age.

The name "Sault Ste. Marie" comes from the vision that a Jesuit priest had of the Virgin Mary rising from the rapids of the river. The Ojibwe had experienced a similar vision but interpreted it differently. According to William Whipple Warren:

> While our forefathers were living on the great salt water toward the rising sun, the Great *Megis* (sea-shell) showed itself above the surface of the great water, and the rays of the sun for a long period were reflected from its glossy back. It gave warmth and light to the Anishinaubag (red race). All at once it sank into the deep, and for a time our ancestors were not blessed with its light. It rose to the surface and appeared on the great river which drains the waters of the Great Lakes, and again for a long

> time it gave life to our forefathers, and reflected back the rays of the sun. Again it disappeared from sight and it rose not, till it appeared to the eyes of the Anishinaubag on the shores of the first great lake. Again it sank from sight, and death daily visited the wigwams of our forefathers, till it showed its back, and reflected the rays of the sun once here at Boweting (Sault Ste. Marie). Here it remained for a long time, but once more, and for the last time, it disappeared, and the Anishinaubag was left in distress and misery, till it floated and once more showed its bright back at Moningwunakaunig (La Pointe Island), where it has ever since reflected back the rays of the sun, and blessed our ancestors with life, light and wisdom. Its rays reach the remotest village of the wide spread of the Ojibways (Warren, 1885).

In 1833 Shingwaukonce was joined in Christian marriage with his fourth wife - the thirty-three year old Ogahbageyhegua ("the shaker woman") - implying a connection with the shaking tent ceremony of the *jossakeed.* It is doubtful that the chief broke off relations with his other wives (his first wife - the mother of Thomas Ogista, Nahwahgwaishkum and Augustine - was dead by that time) which must have upset the missionaries. McMurray informed Anna Jameson (1990) that

> one of [the] chiefs from the north came to [him] and expressed a wish to become a Christian; unfortunately, he had three wives, and, as a necessary preliminary he was informed that he must confine himself to one. He had no objection to keep the youngest, to whom he was lately married, and put away the two others; but this was not admissible. The one he had taken to wife was to be the permitted wife, and no other. He

> expostulated. Mr. McMurray insisted; in the end the old man went off in a high dudgeon. Next morning there was no sign of his wigwam, and he never applied again to be "made a Christian" the terms apparently being too hard to digest. "The Roman Catholic priests", said Mr. McMurray, "are not so strict on this point as we are; but they insist on the convert retaining only one wife, but they leave him the choice among those who bear the title" (p. 478).

One might suspect that McMurray told this version to Mrs. Jameson for public consumption and that Shingwaukonce was the transgressor. McMurray most likely had his views modified through the intervention of his wife who must have reminded him that the chief's other wives were also the mothers of his many children. In the end what the missionary refused to acknowledge, at least officially, wouldn't hurt him or his cause and life would proceed as it always had.

As Shingwaukonce dwelt amongst divergent cultures so did his band. It is through a description of the Ojibwe cemetery beside the Anglican church/schoolhouse in Sault Ste. Marie that the most obvious example can be ascertained as to the manner by which the Ojibwe had linked Christianity to their ancient shamanistic traditions:

> some of the graves are covered with a low bark roof of cedar bark, others with a wooden box; over others was placed a little house like a dog-kennel, except that it had no door; others were covered with little log cabins. One of these was of such a size that a small Indian family would have found it amply large for their accommodation. It is a practice among the savage to protect the graves of the dead from wolves by stakes driven into the ground meeting at the top like rafters of a roof; and perhaps when

> the Indians or half breed exchanged his wigwam to make the same improvement in the architecture of their narrow houses (Bryant, pp. 70-71).

After death the body was usually wrapped in birchbark or placed in a wide coffin with the knees drawn up to the chest. It was then laid in a shallow oval grave on an east-west axis. The head was pointed towards the west and the land of the souls [opposite to that of the Christian and the rising sun of the east] (Warren, 1885). Frequently a pronged stick was driven into the ground beside the graves. On it were placed coloured pennants and gifts for the dead: tobacco and moccasins for the men: portage collars and necklaces for the women. Occasionally, small articles - cakes of maple syrup, a flint and steel, arrowheads, fishing hooks, beadwork, clay pipes, shells, rattles, berries and feathers - were placed on the graves. Often larger items appeared such as a gun, a blanket, a kettle, a net, bows, arrows and even a canoe with paddles.

What must McMurray and O'Meara thought when they saw these edifices? How did they interpret them and why did they prefer not to mention them in their journals and correspondence with their superiors? When remarks do appear they refer to such artefacts as mere relics of a pre-conversion past rather than as essential elements in an on-going faith. Even to suggest such a possibility would only serve to damage the promise of future outside funding for the mission. James Cameron and Charlotte Johnston McMurray were accustomed to such sights from an early age and came to regard them as integral parts of the equation for conversion on the frontier. Missionaries could succeed if they were willing to make accommodations,

William McMurray and Frederick O'Meara, preferred to find agreement with Henry Schoolcraft who, in the early 1830s, wrote of his assurance that the Ojibwe were primed and ready to receive the missionaries' message:

> No very strong barriers appear to stand in the way of the introduction of Christianity among the northern tribes ... Their institutions, moral and political, are so fragile as to be ready to tumble on the application of the slightest power ... Nothing is more common, however, in conversing with them [than] to find individuals, who are ready to acknowledge, the insufficiency of those means, and who appear prepared to abandon them, and embrace the doctrine of the Savior, the moment the fear of popular opinion among their own people can be removed (Schoolcraft, 1958, p. 43).

As the missionaries were to discover, first to their surprise and then to their sad disappointment, Schoolcraft's assessment was wide from the mark. The major difficulty rested within the missionaries themselves. As Robert Choquette (1995) has pointed out in his book, The Oblate Assault on Canada's Northwest:

> ... Anglo-Protestant clergymen truly believed that they were destined by God and progress to dominate the world, because of their inherent superiority. Therefore, when Anglo-Protestant ministers moved into the Northwest, they simply took up station at a trading post, having brought along with them as much of England as they could, and waited for Indians to come to them - in order to reap all the benefits of English religion and civilisation. Inevitably this implied that they look down upon all who differed from them - Metis, Indian, French, Canadian and Catholic. They could not understand why it was that most Indians shied away from them

(p. 223).

If the missionaries had spent more of their time in truly listening to what Shingwaukonce was trying to tell them and less in battling the internal contradictions of their own set agendas then they might have been able to both recognise and seize the opportunity for aiding the Gospel message to bridge both culture and politics. But they were trapped in time, space and thought. "If they had but ears to hear and eyes to see..."

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Appendix I

Sault Ste. Marie in 1669-1670

> What is commonly called the Sault, is not properly a Sault, or a very high waterfall, but a very violent current of waters from Lake Superior, - which finding themselves checked by a great number of rocks that dispute their passage, form a dangerous cascade of half a league in width, all these waters descending and plunging headlong together, as by a flight of stairs, over the rocks which bar the whole river. It is three leagues below Lake Superior, and twelve leagues above the Lake of the Hurons, this entire extent making a beautiful river, cut up by many islands, which divide it and increase its width in some places so that the eye cannot reach across. It flows very gently through almost its entire course, being difficult passage only at the Sault.
>
> It is at the foot of these rapids, and even amid these boiling waters, that extensive fishing is carried on, from Spring until Winter, of a kind of fish found usually only in Lake Superior and Lake Huron. It is called in the native language *Attica-meg,* and in ours *Poisson-blanc* - [whitefish], because in truth it is very white; and it is very excellent, so that it furnishes food, almost by itself, to the greater part of all these peoples.
>
> Dexterity and strength are needed for this kind of fishing: for one must stand upright in a bark canoe, and there, among the whirlpools, with muscles tense, thrust deep into the water a rod, at one end of which is fastened a net made in the form of a pocket, into which the fish are made to enter. One must look for them as they glide between the rocks, pursue them when they are seen; and when they have been made to enter the net, raise them with a sudden strong pull into the canoe. Not all persons are fitted for this fishing; and sometimes those are found who, by the exertion they are forced to make, overturn the canoe, for want of possessing sufficient skill and experience.
>
> This convenience of having the fish in such quantities that one has only to go and draw them out of the water, attracts the surrounding nations to the spot during the summer. These people being wanderers, without fields and without corn, and living for the most part by fishing, find here the means to satisfy their wants; and at the same time we embrace the opportunity to instruct them and train them in Christianity during their sojourn at this place.

Therefore we have been obliged to establish here a permanent mission, which we call Sainte Marie du Sault, which is the centre for the others, as we are here surrounded by different nations, of which the following are those which sustain relations to the place, repairing hither to live on its fish. (Father Claude Dablon in Thwaites, 54, p. 129)

Appendix II

Nebenaigooching

Nebenaigooching was born on Leech Island in Lake Superior and grew up in the United States. It is known that he was connected to both Shingwaukonce's daughter, Annie Shingwauk (1815 Michipicoten - 1887) and Marie LaBris (sometimes called O'Connor)(born 1811) and that he fathered ten children between 1843 and 1859. There is a good chance that his mother was the Isabella Sayer baptised in 1834 (see Appendix III) who was probably Shingwaukonce's elder sister. An eleven year old Nebenaigooching was made head chief by authority of the British government at Drummond Island in 1819.

Nebenaigooching's obituary in the Sault Star (10 June 1899) claimed that "Sayer's grandfather Undosagi had seven sons the last of whom was Wabatchicherk [Wabejejauk or "The White Crane"] who was the father of Sayer". Wabejejauk was killed in the War of 1812 at Fort George with his brother Kabmosah. After her husband's death Nebenaigooching's mother may have taken up with John Sayer. It is known that John Sayer wintered at Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, from 1793 to 1797, as an agent for the North West Company. The size of his lot was three acres in front by eighty in depth and contained "a very large storehouse" with outhouses and an extensive garden. He employed Michael Augie and John Reed as his clerks. Indians burnt John Sayer's establishment in 1818 and the Michigan government refused to recognize his claim in 1823 since he was considered to be a "foreigner".

In 1835 Thomas Anderson wrote of Nebenenaigooching that "he is a R[oman] Catholic and until this spring has resided on the American side [and] carried on an illicit trade to the injury of our traders. His adherents, few in number, still remained encamped near the American fort, where many of them are servants to the traders and well supplied with whisky.

This chief, with our John Bell, a half-breed, appear to be made instruments to disturb the minds of the people and keep alive a flame of discord in the hopes of injuring the Church Establishment; and so long as they receive countenance by attention to their unfounded grievance complaints, so long as they continue their exciting against the Church, without a proper solicitude for their own welfare".(Anderson in Strachan Papers, 18 July 1835).

Henry Sayer, Nebenaigooching's brother, or half-brother, had inherited John Sayer's business. Henry was in charge of the HBC post at Whitefish River for a short time in 1830 and was later factor at Mississagi from 1845 to 1862. Henry Sayer claimed property at Sault Ste. Marie, Canada, from 1818, and used the Sault as his base of operations as a free trader from 1838 to 1845.

In 1850 Nebenaigooching was given forty acres at Garden River (under the terms of the Robinson Treaties) as well as property on the Batchawana Reserve. His eldest son, Edward Sayer (1829-1915), was dismissed as police constable at Garden River in 1878 for selling liquor to the residents. Edward Sayer owned property in the Sault and had inherited his uncle's property at Mississagi. Edward Sayer became chief of the Batchawana band upon his father's death in 1899.

Appendix III

Account of Baptisms, Marriages and Funerals at the Mission of Sault Ste. Mary

Baptisms

1833

Indian Name	Age	Christian Name
Bahgwudgeinine	20	Henry McMurray
Bedequahsenoqua	8	Charlotte McMurray
Kabosa	30	John Jones
Odunewahsenoqua	8	Mary Jones
Biazhegbab	2	William Logan
*	10 mons.	John McMurray
+	11	Norman Bethune
+	4 mons.	Caroline Ogenebug Smith
1834		
Shinguahcose	60	William McMurray (chief)

Augustus	30	Thomas McMurray
Mahgesahnequa	35	Charles Mathews
Owiaquahgeyhegoqus	28	Mary Mathews
Wahsangais	8	George Mathews
*	15 mons.	John Mathews
Ogahbageyhegua	35	Eliza McMurray (chief's wife)
Pewanndahgahsenoqua	20	Jane McMurray
Ogemahqua	22	Ann Jones
Obemahabhoqua	65	Isabella Sayer
+	28	Lt. Edwin Ramsay Long USA
+	21	Phoebe Ann Long
+	2	John Osmond Long
+	3 mons.	James Cowie
Ahnahgeah	50	Joseph Harris
Megi	55	Samuel Harris
Ojanganuse	36	Ann Logan
Apoquosh	15	George Logan
Wiahbundible	50	Stephen McIntosh
*	4	Stephen McIntosh
Kagwadahahgwndoqua	45	Susan Harris
Bashebeahnoqua	5	Susan Harris
+	10 mons.	Sarah Elizabeth Allington
+	10 mons.	Henry George Mason
+	6 wks.	William Marshall
	1	William Ephraim Leech
*	6 days	Lewis McMurray
Bashegonaib	27	Thomas Shaw
Nahbunaahsenoqua	20	Charlotte Shaw
Katagigwun	5	Thomas Shaw
Betahnequd	4	William Shaw
Ogemahqua	10 mons.	Charlotte Shaw
Biahbedahsung	30	Charles Askin
Megesegeyhick	16	John Askin
Sahgudgewaosa	13	Henry Askin
Wiahweenind	7	Charles Askin
*	4 mons.	Thomas Logan
+	6 mons.	John Nourse

1835

*	1 mon.	Elizabeth Ann Jones
+	4 mons.	Helen Maria Long
+	2	Helen Russell
	1 mon.	Samuel Askin

Marriages at Sault Ste. Marie Mission

1833

Shinguahcose (chief)	60	William McMurray
Ogahbagephegoqua	35	Eliza McMurray
Kabaosa	30	John Jones
Ogemahqua	22	Ann Jones

1835

Mahgesabnequa	35	Charles Mathews
Owiahquahgeybegoqua	28	Mary Mathews
Odahbid	40	Andrew Robertson
Shawashgoqua	38	Mary Robertson

Burials at Sault Ste. Mary Mission

Oct. 16, 1834	1	John Jones
Aug. 26, 1835	1	Caroline Ogenbug Smith
Feb. 27, 1835	13	Nicolas Mason

**Indian children who were given no name previous to baptism*
+ *children of parents employed by the Hudson's Bay Company or Fort Brady*

This is an exact copy of my record up to the quarter ending March 24, 1835, of Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials, hereafter I shall give the names, as you request, in each quarter's report. I merely send this, thinking that it might be pleasing for the Committee to have a connected statement (form the time of my ordination to the present) of what has been done. Total number of baptisms 50; marriages 4, burials 3.

William McMurray

Source: Fifth Annual Report of the Society for Converting and Civilising the Indians and Propagating the Gospel Among the Destitute Settlers of Upper Canada, York.