

SHINGWAUK
PROJECT
ART: SHING
cop. #1
(29)

PAST USES AND PRESENT CONTROVERSY OVER THE SHINGWAUK HALL

David A. Nock, B.A., Institute of Canadian Studies

Anthropology 470

FEB/MARCH 1971 draft

Indians and Eskimos of North America

The Shingwauk Hall at present lies empty and abandoned on a 100 acre site which is situated in a suburban residential area of Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario. Only a few years ago, the Hall was still in the countryside, but development now extends to this area and beyond. The Hall used to be a residential Home and School for approximately 150 Indian boys and girls-mainly from Northern Ontario. All facilities were closed in June 1970 and a decision for future uses must still be made. The Hall was used continuously for Indian education for nearly one hundred years, but it now appears as if a new function will be found. Besides the Shingwauk building and land, there are a number of residences, a memorial chapel (to the first Anglican Bishop of Algoma), a cemetery, and support buildings of various kinds. Although built in the countryside, the Shingwauk Hall is now situated in one of the more desirable areas of Sault Ste. Marie. It overlooks the Channel of the St. Mary's River which connects Lake Superior and Lake Huron.

To a large extent, the Shingwauk Hall was built by the Anglican Church as a result of evasion of promises by the Province of Upper Canada to the local Indians. (who are Ojibway) Legendary Chief Shingwaukoons, as

With the case of his sons, was eager to bring the white man's education in order to combat the drunkenness and anomie which he had noticed. He walked to Toronto by snowshoe (a distance of 500 miles) and requested teachers for his band. At the meeting, he was asked by officials which religion he desired his band to follow. Shingwaukoons asked "What Church is the Queen's Church?" On being answered that it was the Church of England, Chief Shingwaukoons decided his people would also become Anglican.¹ This story, quaint as it may sound, was important since the Church of England with its missionary societies was very important in the attention it gave to Indian work.

In 1832, a missionary, William McMurray was appointed to establish a mission. "A farmer and a school teacher also were sent to teach them the ways of the white man."² A schoolhouse was built in the northwestern area of Sault Ste. Marie, and the Indians began to build homes financed largely by government funds. The government changed hands, however, and funds were cut off. "In January of 1837, Chief Shingwaukoons wrote a letter to the Lieutenant Governor Bond Head expressing his disappointment."³ Angered by the withdrawal of funds, the band moved to a traditional tribal site, Garden River,

1 Barbara Baggs, The Algoma Anglican (January, 1958), p. 6.

2 Ibid., p. 6.

3 Ibid., p. 6.

which is situated ten miles east of Sault Ste. Marie, on the banks of the St. Mary's River. Mr. McMurray left the area in 1837.

In 1850, treaties were signed between the Indians and government agents, in which the natives ceded all land from Batchewana to the west end of Lake Superior and the other lands east of Batchewana, including Sault Ste. Marie. (Batchewana is thirty miles northwest of Sault Ste. Marie) In return, the government agreed to pay an annuity to each Indian, and set aside reserves where they could dwell under government protection. Today there are about 1,000 Indians in the region of Sault Ste. Marie, some at Garden River and the rest near Batchewana.

The next educational development came with the arrival of the Rev. James Chance, in 1851. Father Chance--another Church of England missionary--introduced a grist mill, taught the Indians to grow wheat, and built a mission house and church. "He also started a school in the village."¹ Father Chance left his post at Garden River in 1871, after nearly twenty years.

Several observations can be made of this early period. Schooling resulted from the establishment of Church of England missionaries, but education was a marginal duty.

1 Ibid., p. 66.

The instruction given by the clergymen was of the practical type-trades and farming. The advancement of education was encouraged by the early Indian chiefs as a means of combatting the effects of alcohol. The building of Shingwauk Hall was not the first experience in education for local Indians but its establishment was a step to permanence and institutionalization. No longer would education depend on the whims of a missionary or a bishop. In the future, a staff of teachers and supervisors was secured.

The building of the Shingwauk was due to the energies of the Rev. E.F. Wilson, also of the Church of England. Father Wilson came to Canada as a layman but was ordained by the Bishop of London in England. He returned to Canada under auspices of the Church Missionary Society, and carried out his work with Indians near Sarnia. Wilson was to become one of the early Indian 'experts' in Canada. Besides founding the Shingwauk and acting as its Principal for twenty years, he edited the diocesan newspaper, wrote a book on his experiences among the Ojibway, founded the first two magazines on the Canadian Indian and a society for research and aid to the Canadian Indian. He also wrote a handbook on the Ojibway tongue.

Father Wilson had first seen the Indians around Sault Ste. Marie in 1870, when he had acted as Chaplain to Colonel Wolseley as far as Fort William during the expedition to the Red River uprising. The next year, while on leave because of illness, he again visited the area and endeared himself to the tribe. By this time Father Chance had left so the post was vacant. 'With four dollars in his pocket', Chief Augustin Shingwauk left by steamer for Toronto to plead for Wilson's appointment ~~as~~ Bishop Bethune. (The diocese of Algoma was not created until 1873) Shingwauk, the son of Shingwaukoons, asked "...the Great Black Coat to send more teachers to the Great Chippeway Lake (ie. Superior) for they are indeed very poor there, left so long in ignorance and darkness with no one to instruct them."¹ The appeal being successful, Wilson began work at Garden River and commenced a fund drive to build a school.

Father Wilson showed that he knew something of showmanship since he had the Indian chiefs accompany him, dressed in their native clothing. In July 1871, Wilson and Chief Shingwauk visited Southern Ontario. "...though he spoke no English...(Chief Shingwauk) fascinated his audience. He told listeners of the ignorant and degraded

¹ Quoted by Col. D. Geddes Indian Schools in Sault Ste. Marie, p. 1.

state his people had been in before the arrival of the white man's religion."1 More funds were needed so a trip to England was made. Wilson was accompanied by Chief Bukkwujjenene, Shingwauk's brother. During this visit, Bukkwujjenene was introduced to the Prince of Wales and the Archbishop of Canterbury. "The chief, dressed in full regalia for his various appearances, created much interest."2 The school was finally built-at Garder River-and opened September 22nd, 1873. Disaster occurred when it burned to the ground only six days later. No one was hurt but all equipment and contents were destroyed.

For the new school, a site was established at the present location which was then the countryside neighbouring Sault Ste. Marie. Within a year, 2000 pounds had been raised in Canada and Great Britain. The old school had space for 40 pupils; the new one had room for 60. When the Shingwauk actually opened in October of 1874, there were 18 pupils, boys and girls.

The Indian pupils came from all parts of Canada, wherever education of the type was not available. However the largest group (about 75 percent) were Ojibway Indians from Northern Ontario. Most of the childrens' parents were still engaged in hunting and gathering activities,

Ibid., p. 2.

Ibid., p. 2.

7
supplemented by fur-trapping and trading. Thus most of the children entered the Shingwauk new to the white man's civilization. About 20 percent were still 'pagan', but as will be explained later, heavy emphasis was placed in the school on Christianization. The majority of the pupils were in the 10-15 age group, with a limit from 6 to 22 years. Average stay at the school was from one to three years.

There is little doubt that the education given at the Shingwauk was of the sort to create proper British subjects of the working class. Academically, the main stress of the curriculum was on spoken and written English, completed by simple arithmetic and geography. A small number of gifted students were given further instruction with the intention that they should enter the priesthood (sic.) or the teaching profession. These adepts were taught algebra, Euclid, history, grammar, Latin, Greek, and first-aid medicine. In order to ensure that all pupils learned English, the use of Ojibway or other Indian languages was forbidden.

Besides academic subjects, trades, farming, and home economics were also taught. Examples of these occupations were laundress, housemaid, baker, blacksmith,

tailor, baker, carpenter, and farmer. Some of these trades were given at the Shingwauk; others, by arrangement with local merchants and tradesmen, were given in Sault Ste. Marie. Colonel Geddes records that "...some of the employers apparently took advantage of the cheap labour this system afforded."¹ For the work they did, the boys were rewarded with small wages. For example, "Boys of the fourth year will work all day (if required) at their trade, and will receive 20 cents a week, cash, and 30 cents to their savings-bank account, in addition to their board and clothing, provided their work is satisfactory."² By this means, the Indian children learned the white man's currency system, and his concept of deferred gratification.

Wilson had, of course, the usual 19th century British attitudes about the backward nature of the Indian. His premise,³ that desired or not, the encroachment of the white man onto Indian territory meant the destruction of the native way of life. "The forests, where he (ie, the Indian) was wont to echo forth his war-whoop, have been felled."³ Wilson was convinced that this meant that "unless opportunities are forced upon him, he (ie, the Indian) must either disappear or die out."⁴ These opportunities must be "the advance of the Indian toward

1 Ibid., p. 4.

2 Fourth Annual Report of the Shingwauk Home for Indian Boys and First Annual Report of the Wawanosh Home for Indian Girls, 1878, p. 44.

3 The Canadian Indian, Vl. I, No. 2, (November, 1890), p. 28.

4 The Canadian Indian, Vl. I, No. 5, (February, 1891), p. 227.

civilization, viz., the adoption of the whiteman's dress, education of children, and engaging in agriculture."¹ Wilson acknowledged that there had been some good aspects to the Indian's traditional life style--such as the qualities of courage, patience, and endurance. However in the main, it had been short and brutal. "His squaw was his slave. With no more affection than a coyote feels for his mate, he brought her to his wigwam to minister to his wants."²

In a special article, Father Wilson expounded his views on Indian education. "Industrial training should be the principal feature in its course"³, but more was required since the Indian pupil had missed the 'thousand beneficent influences' that a white child received from his family. The Indian home was "encompassed by a degrading atmosphere of superstition and barbarism."⁴ Thus the Indian school had to provide and substitute for the socialization that a white child received as a matter of course. The expenses of such training would well be worth it, asserted Father Wilson, since otherwise the costs of supporting the Indian in a state of pauperism would be ten times the amount. That the system did not work well in practice is seen by Giddes's comment, "Generally speaking, the children failed in attempts to use the trades

1 Ibid., p. 179.

2 The Canadian Indian, VI, I, No. 3, (November, 1890) p. 78.

3 Ibid., p. 28.

4 Ibid., p. 28.

skills learned at the Shingvauk Home."¹

This emphasis on indoctrinating the Indian with the white man's civilization is seen in the following excerpt of a letter that Father Wilson wrote. This system of acculturation included, of course, participation in and conversion to Anglicanism.

"It was indeed an interesting sight to see those children, many of whom no doubt gathered from homes where paganism, ignorance, and filth combined to make life wretched; now there they stand, well dressed, clean, and wholesome looking and unitedly lifting up their voices in the House of the Lord in Songs of Praise. As we listened to the singing we could almost imagine we heard the strains of some surpliced choir in England."²

A major method by which the Indian child was socialized into the white man's culture was the process of routinization and institutionalization. A definite timetable was used every day which left little room for the Indians's traditional spontaneity of action.³ At six a.m. the school captain got up and rang the bell. The children then washed and dressed, followed by a calling of the roll. At seven a.m. came breakfast, followed an hour later by morning prayer and bedmaking. Half an hour of play was provided before the day's work began. Half of the pupils worked in the morning and the other half went to class; this schedule reversed itself in the afternoon. "Appren-

1 Geddes, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 5.

3 See C.E. Hendry *Beyond Traplines*. (Toronto, 1969) where the following contrast of the white and Native value orientation is made: "White-man dominated nature, future oriented, doing and activity oriented Indian-in harmony with nature, past and present oriented, being-in-becoming." p 32.

tices start up town for their days work, or go to work in the institute shops; others go to the farm or garden, or to haul water or to chop wood; others to wash dishes or to sweep the rooms."1 Dinner was at noon, followed by a playtime After evening prayers came the 'retribution hour' when troublemakers made amends to Father Wilson. "One perhaps has broken a window, another has struck a companion with a stone, another has broken the rules by speaking Indian."2 An honour system was employed which forbade tattling. Singing and school preparation occupied the children until 8.15 when they began to go to bed in shifts, depending on seniority. The gates were closed at 9.30, and at 11.15 Father Wilson made his rounds.

For a few years the coeducation system at the Shingwauk was disrupted when Wilson opened the Wawanosh Home for Girls. He visited England once again in the spring of 1876 to solicit funds for the new Home-named after an Indian princess he had known at Sarnia. The experience at Wawanosh was not entirely happy-since it was situated in Taurentorus Township, far from the Shingwauk. It thus had a disruptive effect, dividing brother and sister and relations and friends. According to an observer, "The girls are instructed in every branch of household work,

1 Rev. E.F. Wilson "A Day at the Shingwauk", Our Forest Children, VI. II, No. 10. (Christmas, 1888), p. 15.

2 Ibid., p. 15.

and, indeed practically do all the work of the home under the oversight of the matron, as well as sew and knit....They generally go as domestic servants and give great satisfaction. "1 As was the case with many other missionary schools, the equipment was often less than adequate. The Toronto ladies were shocked to find that the pupils were forced to unnecessary work because of lack of funds for newer equipment. The ladies hoped that 'wealthy men of Toronto' would visit the Wawanosh and then feel compelled to contribute. By 1900, there were 14 girls at the Wawanosh with 61 boys at the Shingwauk. However "it was found better to have all the children under one roof, and in 1897 a grant by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel from the Harriott Bequest made it possible to build on to the boy's part a wing for girls."2 In 1911, the Wawanosh Home was sold and served as an orphanage and old folk's home for a number of years.

As indicated in the account of the Toronto ladies, the missionary school was always troubled by lack of money. The Depression brought on many problems, among which was the question of how to finance new buildings, since the edifice raised by Wilson was now sixty years old.

In October 1929 the Rev. C.F. Hives became the new

1 Our Forest Children, VI. IV, No. 6, (September, 1890) p. 247.

2 Eda Green Pioneer Work In Algoma, (London, 1915), p. 51.

principal, travelling from his former post in Northern Saskatchewan. He became infuriated over the condition in which he found the Shingwauk. "...it was ill planned, unsanitary, and in a very dilapidated condition; and certainly not the type of building one would have expected to see in Ontario...I'll never forget the multitude of rats which appeared to inhabit the old building. Surely Hamlin town had no greater need of a Pied Piper than did old Shingwauk in those days."¹ The Algoma Missionary News agreed that although the old building had been very 'picturesque', it had been 'sadly out of date and inadequate in every respect.'²

Father Hives began a campaign for a new Shingwauk. At first the prospects looked bleak-he was told by the Indian Residential School Commission that there were other schools far worse off. However, Hives was aided by the local Chief of the Fire Department who "in going the rounds...used words that are not in common use. I mean manly words, such as are not found in the dictionary or in sermons."³ A few years^{later}, the government had proposed to build a new school in place of the old Shingwauk, but had been rebuffed by the syrod which placed too high a value on the land. Now the Bishop, Rocksborough Smith, was more

¹ Rev. C.F. Hives "The Period of Transition" In the Special Supplement' The Algoma Missionary News, (Sept. and Oct., 1944) Vl. 36, No. 14, p. 321.

² The Algoma Missionary News, Vl. 30, No. 3, (May-June, 1934), p. 41.

³ Hives, op. cit., p. 322.

amenable to state aid.

By the agreement signed in 1935, certain lands on the Shingwauk property became the Church's outright. The rest was ceded to the crown but "to be used solely for the purpose of maintaining thereupon a residential school for Indian children to be called the Shingwauk Indian Residential School."¹ The agreement included the basic desire for a new set of modern buildings. "His Majesty shall erect (on the lands herein before conveyed) for the purposes of said school such new buildings as have heretofore been agreed between the parties hereto."² The agreement went on that in the event that his Majesty ceased to use the land for the purpose of Indian education that "His Majesty shall pay to the Synod the then fair market value of the lands."³ If the two parties, i.e. the federal government and the Synod of Algoma, could not agree then the settlement would be determined by the Exchequer Court of Canada. Finally, as long as the school continued on the Shingwauk grounds, the education was to be entrusted to the Synod.

An account from the war-time principal, the Rev. A.E. Minchin demonstrates that the regimen at the Shingwauk still resembled in many ways that of Father Wilson.

1 Statement of Agreement Between His Majesty and the Synod of Algoma Concerning the Shingwauk Hall, 1935, p. 4.

2 Ibid., p. 5.

3 Ibid., p. 5.

The number of pupils had risen to 130 children which was just a few under capacity. Although the government was in official charge, the actual educational process was still left in the hands of the Church of England in Canada. The type of education given was still very much of the British-Canadian Anglican brand. Principal Minchin mentions that such organizations as the Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, Brownies, Church Boy's League, and the Junior Auxiliary were popular. Class-work was supplemented by practical work in farming and housework. The programme of manual training had been curtailed by the war, but Principal Minchin expressed hopes that these studies might be resumed after peace returned.

Great emphasis was still placed on religious instruction. Daily and morning prayers were said in the auditorium. Holy Communion each Sunday, Sunday School, Bible Classes, and regular Divine Worship completed the list. Each year, the Principal instructed the children in Confirmation classes, and the Bishop would confirm them on Ascension Day. As Father Minchin commented, "The religious life of the school is a very real thing."¹

As with most of the Indian schools, there was trouble in keeping the pupils within the educational

¹ Rev. A.E. Minchin "The Present" in the 'Special Supplement' The Algoma Missionary News, Vl. 36, No. 14, (Sept. and Oct., 1944), p. 325.

system. Most came for a few years only and then drifted northward again, back to their families and the old way of life. Of those who passed their Grade VIII examinations 'at a reasonably early age' the opportunity was open to attend a Technical Institute or Collegiate Institute in the city of Sault Ste. Marie. In the year of Father Minchin's article, 17 children were following this option.

As with the earlier period, we can see that the processes of routinization, Christianization, anglicization, and institutionalization were still noticeable. The situation was made worse by the fact that the Indian child went to class until the end of his primary school alongside other Indians—mainly Northern Ojibway; if he wished to continue his studies, he had to change completely into an all white school system.

In 1956, the government began a new policy which led finally to the closing of the Shingwauk. As in the United States, there were movements of thought which emphasized the benefits of integration. Recently, of course, this goal has been discredited by an increasing number of Negroes in the United States and Indians in Canada. In both cases, this rejection of integration was one aspect of a heightened nationalism—the black and red power movements.

By 1961, the changeover from residential school to residence only was completed. Along side this change, the government began to lodge Indian children-at first the older ones only, in white homes in the city. The Shingwauk was left with the somewhat vestigial-albeit important-function of acting as a transitional preparation before the Indian pupil was launched totally into white society. There was still one study period a day at the Shingwauk in the evenings, under the supervision of school personnel. The new function of the Shingwauk was described as follows. "Training at the Shingwauk centres around helping the children achieve a form of independence and the knowledge and understanding of social behavior. This makes their integration into present day society that much easier."¹

The last ties between the Shingwauk and the Anglican Church of Canada (as it became known after 1955) were severed as of April 1st, 1969. Up to that time "the Church had a part in the management through our national office"². After April 1st, the Shingwauk employees all became civil servants. Most continued to serve in the last year of operation. The Principal, for example, the Rev. Noel Goater remained until the school closed in June 1970. He then

- ¹ Sault Daily Star (26 June, 1968), Third Section.
² Sault Daily Star (No date. From Father Goater's scrap-book. Probably late 1969 or 1970.)

left the civil service although all employees at the Shingwauk had been assured of postings in other areas.

The main reason for closing the Shingwauk even as an 'orientation centre' was because of the construction of public schools in the children's own area. Of the 95 Indians still at the Shingwauk in June 1968 "Seventy-two are from the wilderness north of Nakina and Sioux Look-out, while the remaining 23 are from various locations in the James Bay and Kenora areas." Mr. Scott, the district school superintendent of the Department of Indian Affairs, commented that "Taking children to schools in far-off places has been a problem. The Indian parents hate to see their kiddies leave home. There are a lot of wet eyes in the fall. The proposed closing is not a part of the federal austerity program, although savings of tax-payers money is a consideration." Instead 'at their parents request', the Indian children would now be placed in the new public schools around their own areas.

Since the abandonment of the Shingwauk, there has emerged a quiet but nonetheless real community split over its future possible use. It will be remembered that the Shingwauk now lies in a choice area of Sault Ste. Marie, overlooking the river on a large tract of land.

1 Sault Daily Star (26 June, 1968), Third Section.

2 Sault Daily Star (No date. From Father Goater's scrap-book. Probably late 1969 or 1970.)

The debate has primarily been between local Indians who want the Shingwauk as an Indian cultural centre, many of the townsfolk of Sault Ste. Marie who want it for a hospital for the mentally retarded, and several members of what one might call the local industrial, religious, and educational 'elite'. No official decision has yet been reached although there is much speculation.

A number of other suggestions had been made. One was that the Shingwauk continue to be used as a residence or school for Indian children from the diocese of Moosenee. This diocese, which lies north of Algoma and centres around James Bay, extends into the Province of Quebec. Because of conflicts of provincial jurisdiction this solution appeared impossible.

The civic buildings of Sault Ste. Marie were fast becoming inadequate and it was proposed that the Shingwauk provide at least temporary quarters for city hall. The Soo Star, for example, noted that "the city would be best advised to...purchase this valuable piece of property and use it as temporary headquarters."¹ On August 26th, City Administrator Don Evans reported that as he saw it this possibility ^{should} be dropped. He noted that it would cost much more than anticipated and that acquiring the Shing-

1 Sault Daily Star (7 August, 1970), p. 6.

wauk "may well deprive the community of some worthwhile development or delay its progress."¹ He also voiced the opinion-which was shared by some citizens-that because the Shingwauk had been used for nearly one hundred years for the purposes of Indian education that the government would probably wish to keep it for some Indian purpose.

A proposal which caught popular support in Sault Ste. Marie was to use the Shingwauk as a home for retarded children. The Algoma Health Unit had suggested the idea. Mr. Art Rose, president of the local association for the retarded, said that the Shingwauk would be 'an ideal solution' to the problem of overcrowding at present institutions. A petition began to be circulated around the city and it gained widespread support. Most importantly, the petition was printed in the Algoma Unionist. (Sault Ste. Marie escapes narrowly from being a one-industry town-the Algoma Steel Company employs about 8000 persons). The petition read "At present there are approximately 150 retarded children and adults from the Sault and surrounding area living in, or will have to be eventual² placed in institutions more than 400 miles from their homes." It added that "The Shingwauk Student Residence could, with little added expense, become a most suitable home for the retarded;

1 Sault Daily Star (25 August, 1970). p. 11.

2 Algoma Unionist, Vl. 18, No. 7, (Nov. and Dec., 1970), p.7.

therefore, I most respectfully suggest that every consideration be given to the efforts being made in this direction." 1

The Shingwauk had, it will be remembered, originally been built at Garden River. Later on reserve schools were built so that the Shingwauk lost its early connection with local bands. When the Shingwauk became vacant, however, the Ojibway bands around Sault Ste. Marie made a bid with the general idea that the Shingwauk should not cease to be used for Indian work. The Soo Star had already commented that although the suggested conversion of the Shingwauk to a retarded care centre was 'a commendable suggestion' that "...foremost consideration when it comes to the future disposition of the Shingwauk is: should this property continue to be devoted to some use that will aid and improve the Indians of this province? To live up to the reputation of extending a welcoming community hand to the Indians the citizens should be sympathetic to the idea that the first consideration which should be given to the future of the Shingwauk is whether it can continue to in some way serve the province's Indians." 2

In October 1970 a meeting had been held between the Batchewana and Rankin bands. A spokesman, Carole Madji-

1 Ibid., p. 7.

2 Sault Daily Star (March, 1970)

won had suggested that the Shingwauk could serve as an Indian centre to preserve and promote the Indian's cultural heritage. She said that it would "...provide an opportunity for the Indian people to meet and learn their traditions, speak their languages...(it would be) a meeting place for both the whiteman and Indian, an Indian craft centre, a drop-in centre and educational centre."¹ With the help of the Institute of Indian Studies, a brief was being prepared for the perusal of the Department of Indian Affairs. A larger meeting was held on November 6th of the seven bands of the local administrative unit, at which the chiefs urged that "the Shingwauk (be obtained) for continued Indian-oriented purposes."² Chief Richard Pine raised the possibility that the land was originally Indian property which should now be reverted to the Indian. (Pine, one should notice, is a translation of the Ojibway for Shingwauk). A lawyer, Mr. Frank Shunock, was engaged to investigate the possible Indian claims.

In a letter to me, Mr. Shunock wrote "Please note that the property does not revert to the Church after the 'use of the property as a place for school age Indian children' has ended. Rather, the Federal Government must pay a fair market price now."³ It is clear that Mr. Shun-

1 The Globe and Mail (12 October, 1970), p. 4.

2 Sault Daily Star (6 November, 1970).

3 F.F. Shunock to D.A. Nock, (8 March, 1971).

believes that the original agreement between the government and the Anglican synod of Algoma must be strictly adhered to. If this was done, the site could then be transferred to the Indians by the federal government. However, since the closing of the Shingwauk the government and the Church have been renegotiating, and although the final agreements have not yet been signed, it is clear that the original agreement will be bypassed. H.D. Rodie, Ontario regional superintendent for the department of Indian affairs was quoted as saying "the Shingwauk property is in the process of being turned over from the federal government to the Anglican Diocese of Algoma."¹

In this drive by the Indians to secure the Shingwauk for Indian purposes can be seen the 'new Indian nationalism' that Bruce Cox has noted. As quoted by Cox, Dr. Howard Adams (a Métis) sees Indian schools as serving to "foster feelings of dependence, and deprive Indians of their sense of identity...In our schools we are being brainwashed to believe that we are shy, retiring, and lack self-confidence. The brainwashing deprives us of developing our leadership qualities."² In striving to secure the Shingwauk, the local bands have shown no little sense of irony-acquiring a school where the main thrust had been to train the Indian into the white man's culture, and using it to redefine

1 Sault Daily Star (27 January 1971), p. 17.

2 Bruce Cox "Canadian Indian Nationalism: A Proposal for Further Research", essay type-script, p. 4.

their status and retain their identity as Indians."¹

Since the Shingwauk has become vacant, however, the industrial, religious, and educational elite have become committed to the idea of using the site for a campus of Algoma College. This word 'elite' may be pompous when used in reference to a small community like Sault Ste. Marie (population 70,000) but it is useful in that a small group of men, prominent in their respective fields, are of key importance in community decisions. In the case of the Shingwauk, the 'elite' consists of an important executive who is on the Algoma Board of Governors, several members of the Anglican hierarchy who are involved in matters concerning the higher education of Northern Ontario, and education officials who feel that the expansion of Algoma College is absolutely necessary.

Algoma College opened in 1967 as an affiliated college to Laurentian University. This step was taken since the university student group in Sault Ste. Marie either had to attend an inferior near-by Michigan college which had high tuition fees for foreigners, or else travel at least 200 miles. (500 miles if Laurentian is not considered) The college was only given the first year of a full-time programme, and expansion to degree-granting status was to follow when sufficient demand was shown.

1 Ibid., p. 4.

Besides the limited programme with which Algoma opened, the buildings in which it was housed were inadequate. The college shares its campus with the Cambrian Community College, but where the Cambrian buildings are imposing, modern, and spacious, Algoma had to be content with portable blue shacks. Later the college also acquired an antique former public school. The general dissatisfaction with these accommodations is seen in the following letter to the editor:

"You mean there's a college or something in those little blue shacks? (the typical visitor would ask) Algoma needs an identity, a separate identity. For an institution, identity is almost synonymous with locale. If Algoma College were given the Shingwauk School instead of the Cambrian parking lot, its location would be guaranteed at least for a few years...this would be a start. This is what we cry for now-a start...Algoma College seems doomed to existence or non-existence in the shadow of Cambrian, figuratively and literally."¹

Despite its inadequate facilities, Algoma College has successfully built a loyal spirit among its students, and when William Davis, then Education Minister and now Ontario Premier, came to Sault Ste. Marie to announce that at long last Algoma could expand to second and third years he was met with a number of placard-bearing students. They had feared that the decision would not be favourable. Since Algoma College opened it has trebled full-time

¹ Pat and Mary Grogan Sault Daily Star (20 August, 1970) letter to the editor, p. 6.

enrolment, and has attracted a large number of summer and part-time students. One of the bodies which has supported Algoma's expansion has been the association of secondary school teachers. They signed a petition which read "We most strongly support Algoma College in its current attempt to gain second year status, a necessary and significant step along the road to becoming a full degree granting university." The local newspaper noted that with increases in enrolment "...it (Algoma) is still looking for a permanent home."¹

As noted, the negotiations between the government and the Anglican diocese have not been completed. What seems likely however is a turnover of the entire Shingwauk to the diocese which may then do as it wishes. Most probably the site will then be leased by Algoma College. Since Algoma will be offering a second year this September, informal agreements between the three parties must already have been reached. An indication that they have been was the comment printed from Algoma College's chairman of the board of governors, Lawrence Brown, who is also a highly placed executive with Algoma Steel. Asked to verify reports that the Shingwauk would be acquired by the college, he said "no legal documents have been signed, but I fully anticipate that this will be the case."²

1 Sault Daily Star (26 August, 1970), p. 21.

2 Sault Daily Star (27 January, 1971), p. 17.

Some people have hoped that the Shingwauk property could accomodate both the college and the Indians. As a newspaper observed "...some people suggest both groups could be served with the development of Shingwauk by the college with a section dedicated to Indian studies."¹ The principal of Algoma, Dr. Ian Brown, has suggested both in the press and to the author the hope that such a programme might be implemented. However, Dr. Brown resigns as Principal this spring, so that the proposed Indian studies section is still hypothetical.

The decisions over Shingwauk Hall remain to be announced. This building, which instigated a community struggle and in which Indian education was carried on for one hundred years, may in the future lose its attachment to Indians. If the decision is adverse to the local tribes, there may be sharp protests from the Ojibway who feel that they are morally right in demanding that the site be continued for Indian purposes. This is especially likely since the last two years has seen a spectacular rise in the visibility and forcefulness of Indian exponents of nationalism, awareness, and militancy. Having served Indians for nearly one hundred years there may be severe criticism if the Shingwauk is adapted for other purposes.

1 The Globe and Mail (12 October, 1970), p. 4.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- The Algoma Anglican, January, 1958.
- The Algoma Missionary News, Vl. 30, No. 3, May-June, 1934.
...Vl. 36, No. 14, Sept.-Oct., 1944, Special Supplement.
- Algoma Unionist, Vl. 18, No. 7, Nov. and Dec., 1970.
- The Canadian Indian, Vl. 1, No. 2, November, 1890.
...Vl. I, No. 5, February, 1891.
- Cox, Bruce "Canadian Indian Nationalism: A Proposal for Further Research", essay type-script.
- Geddes, Col. D. "Indian Schools in Sault Ste. Marie", essay type-script.
- Globe and Mail, 12 October, 1970.
- Green, Eda Pioneer Work in Algoma, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel into Foreign Parts, London, 1915.
- Hendry, C.E. Beyond Trailines, The Ryerson Press, Toronto, 1969.
- Sault Daily Star, various articles 1970-71. 1968.
- Shunock, F.F. to D.A. Kock, 8 March, 1971.
- Statement of Agreement Between His Majesty and the Synod of Algoma Concerning the Shingwauk Hall, 1935.
- Wilson, Rev. E.F., '4th Annual Report of the Shingwauk Home for Indian Boys and First Annual Report of the Ojawanosh Home for Indian Girls, 1878.
...Our Forest Children, Vl. II, No. 10, Christmas, 1888.
Vl. IV, No. 6, September, 1890.

Notes: A few of the footnotes for the Sault Daily Star are not precise because they were taken from the scrapbook of the Rev. Noel Coater, former Principal of the Shingwauk. He did not always date the columns. However except for the exceptions noted, they all date from 1970. During the essay I used the frequent short form current in Sault Ste. Marie Soo Star for the newspaper's full name.

Please note that words such as 'priest' and 'Father' are not the preserve of the Roman Catholic Church, but are common usage in the Church of England and the Anglican Church of Canada. The latter term replaced the former (C. of E. in Canada) in 1955.