

## **“How to Win Friends and Influence People”: Missions to Bawating, 1830-1840<sup>1</sup>**

KARL HELE

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From 1830 to 1840 the Anglican and Methodist missionaries to Sault Ste. Marie sought to convert the Indians to their specific interpretation of the faith. They desired to “make friends quickly and easily,” “increase [their] popularity,” “win people to [their] way of thinking,” “increase [their] influence . . . prestige . . . ability to get things done,” and “keep [their] human contacts smooth and pleasant,” while arousing enthusiasm and stir the people to whom they preached out of the ‘mental rut of uneducated superstition.’<sup>2</sup> In essence the missionaries sought to become fathers, brothers and friends to the people of the Sault.

Throughout the decade fifteen Protestant missionaries were present on the Canadian side of the rapids at one time or another, with an additional two or three on the American side.<sup>3</sup> Proselytization efforts appear to have peaked in 1833 when eight itinerant Methodist catechists and an Anglican were seeking adherents (see Appendix I). All the missionaries obtained “pledges [from the Indians] that they would embrace the Christian Religion.”<sup>4</sup> The question is why, despite the promises of the Indians to adhere to either the Anglican or Methodist faith, did the Anglicans experience the greatest success?

The key, partly, to understanding lies in the expectations of the Ojibwa. They promised to adhere to Christianity as long as “a missionary [be] sent amongst them.”<sup>5</sup> None of the Methodists remained beyond the dispersal of the people after their summer gathering, while the Anglicans stationed a missionary there throughout the decade despite the dispersals.

Nevertheless, this explanation fails to account for the conversion of people to the Methodist faith.

Elizabeth Graham presents an explanation for the apparent success of the Anglicans. She recognizes that “[t]he various roles played by the missionaries in the Indian communities are important in regarding the missionaries not only as a source of change, but also as an integral part of the social structure of changing Indian society.”<sup>6</sup> Moreover, these roles included, “spheres of influence” and access to various “sources of power, combined for the “[s]uccessful performance of the ‘missionary role.’”<sup>7</sup> Despite her assertions Graham does not provide a comprehensive method with which to analyze such roles and influences.

A recent article by Bruce White about the fur trade can be utilized to provide a method through which we can develop an understanding of what, in part, made a missionary successful. He reveals that the understanding of the terms ‘father’ and ‘brother’ when applied to a trader by the Indians and/or used by the trader himself, implied a specific type of relationship.<sup>8</sup> Each term denotes a specific social responsibility: a father was suppose to be more generous, while a brother was an equal.<sup>9</sup> In addition, White maintains that these fictive connotations can be turned into an actual relationship through marriage: “marrying into an Indian family did not lesson his [the fur trader’s] obligation . . . it simply provided him with a previously defined kinship network.”<sup>10</sup> In other words, the trader, to be successful, became part of the community, establishing various social relationships through kin, services, goods, and gifts. The creation and solidifying of such a relationship was similarly necessary for a missionary to win adherents. Whether fictive or actual kin, a missionary had to establish a firm relationship to the people with whom he was working otherwise success would continue to elude him.

The Methodists were the first seek to establish a field of labour along the shores of the Canadian Sault. Furthermore, Shingwauk, chief at the Sault and later Garden River, met and promised the Rev. Peter Jones in 1830, at Penetanguishene, that he was “willing to give himself up to the white man’s worship, but would have to consult with his people . . . and he would recommend them to become Christians.”<sup>11</sup> Responding quickly, the Methodists did send a few men to preach to the Indians, such as John Sunday, and by 1833 had a fair following with “between one and two hundred . . . [giving] pledges that they would embrace the Christian Religion.”<sup>12</sup> The *Christian Guardian* contains numerous accounts of men

and women seeking solace in God despite the obvious displeasure and conflict caused by conversion or merely listening to the missionary. For example, David Sawyer reports that Indian women from both sides of the river met after a prayer meeting and decided to build a house where they might hear the words of God.<sup>13</sup> Another woman, after finding that her husband had taken the canoe, swam across the St. Mary's River with her two children seated upon either shoulder to reach John Sunday's sermon.<sup>14</sup> Persistence in seeking out the missionaries and conversion resulted in one woman being rejected by her husband: he eventually attempted to take her life.<sup>15</sup> Despite apparent rifts developing between converts and non-converts the missionaries predicted that the field was going to be a great success but it was far from their field alone.

In 1830 the Anglicans made their appearance at the rapids under the auspices of James Cameron. However, within a season Cameron was a convert to the Baptist faith and dismissed from his post, all despite the conviction by his employer that he was "zealous even to enthusiasm, on the object of civilizing and converting his countrymen."<sup>16</sup> From all appearances, Cameron was conducting the mission well; he had the support of the Head Chief Shingwauk, was holding adult prayer meetings and had a day school with the eighteen to twenty people in attendance.

With the dismissal of Cameron in 1832, William McMurray was appointed in his stead.<sup>17</sup> It was under the direction of McMurray that the Anglican mission to the Sault would be placed upon a firm and lasting footing. From 1832 to 1838 McMurray laboured at the Sault to bring the people over to the Anglican faith and despite problems typical to mission stations such as the seasonal withdrawal students, the presence of detractors and whisky traders, by the end of his tenure he was able to claim one hundred and sixty baptisms with forty people having been admitted to Holy Communion.<sup>18</sup> With the health of his wife failing, McMurray requested relocation to a more southerly climate, which was granted.<sup>19</sup>

Rev. McMurray's replacement was Rev. Frederick O'Meara who, upon arrival in the Sault, was pleased with the evidence of the progress of the Indians toward civilization, their abstention from alcohol, and continued gathering every Sunday to pray despite the absence of a minister.<sup>20</sup> After re-establishing the Sunday school and being confronted with a large attendance, and seeing that people continued to desire baptism, O'Meara predicted that, "the most blessed result may be anticipated."<sup>21</sup> Yet within two years of his arrival, the congregation had dispersed and the

church left to decay.<sup>22</sup> He subsequently withdrew to a new station on Manitoulin Island in 1840/1. This left the field essentially empty until the late 1840s.

Methodists and Anglicans both interacted with and sought converts among the Ojibwa at the rapids, yet only Rev. McMurray's mission was deemed a success and was unequalled until the 1850s. The Ojibwa at the rapids sought out the missionaries as friends, allies and teachers, yet apparently the majority of the converts sought out and followed McMurray. From this conclusion, I will attempt to explain why the various missionaries to the Sault were able to create a following and from this following draw converts.<sup>23</sup>

A large part of the early success of the Methodists was due to the propagation of the faith by native (mixed blood) preachers, such as Peter Jones, Peter Jacobs, Peter Marksman, John Sunday and David Sawyer who spoke Ojibwa. James Evans is an exception but apparently he was fluent in Ojibwa.<sup>24</sup> The ability to appeal to the Indians in their own language gave the Methodists an advantage over those who did not. The Anglicans recognized such influence and ensured that their first missionary, Cameron, was of mixed ancestry and spoke fluent Ojibwa. Later both McMurray and O'Meara learned the local language to enable them to readily talk with the people with whom they were working. All believed that to be successful it was necessary to acquire a thorough knowledge of Ojibwa, for without this one was handicapped by the quality of interpreter and the inability to converse with the people in their homes.<sup>25</sup>

A following was also acquired by the native preachers sent by the Methodists through their talk of native homelands. They presented these lands as being open to Indians only where they could seek spiritual and physical solace, Christian Brotherhood, aid in the development of a settled community and escape from frontier society.<sup>26</sup> Additionally the itinerant preachers/exhorters provided seasonal schooling, returned year after year, and administered medicine to the sick. With high attendance numbers at sermons and classes, combined with the interest of the Chief, great success was being predicted. Peter Jones felt that the Spirit of God had instilled an interest in Jesus in the hearts of the Indians which would make the Sault and Garden River an excellent mission station.<sup>27</sup>

In his prediction Jones also noted that the construction of a church, schoolhouse and residence, as well as the establishment of a model farm would secure their initial successes. Chief Shingwauk, in 1830 and again

in 1832, requested the governor and missionaries, specifically James Evans, to send a teacher to his people. Obviously the Chief felt that a permanent teacher was needed among his followers. If the Methodists were unable to provide one then he would turn elsewhere. The arrival of the Anglicans under the auspices of McMurray and their desire to become a permanent presence was what, in part, the Chief and others sought.

Upon his arrival McMurray called a council at which he presented his credentials of office to all present and stated that he had been sent to instruct the Great Father's red children. Before accepting his word, the council and Chief Shingwauk sought to obtain proof of his appointment by the governor. In establishing his credibility McMurray presented papers which bore a seal; this image, after being compared to a medal worn by the chief, gained McMurray his initial acceptance.<sup>28</sup> With this done "the council decided to accept the offer of the Church and Government, and promised to open their ears to the instruction of their agent."<sup>29</sup> To affirm his word, McMurray moved quickly to establish the permanence of the mission by hiring an interpreter of his sermons, and by renting a house and farm to serve as his mission station and school. McMurray was soon able to gather a large following around him, and within two years of his arrival predicted the success of his mission due to the reciprocal attachment that was developing between himself and the people.<sup>30</sup> His success in winning souls can be attributed to several factors, such as his relationships with community members, choice of wife, as well as government support.

Locally, there were two main sources of influence which furnished McMurray with access to the community, besides the desire of the people to have their own minister. One such source he touched, albeit unknowingly, was that of the fur trade. Governor Simpson had the Hudson's Bay Company (hereafter HBC) post host McMurray until suitable accommodations could be found.<sup>31</sup> After a dispute with the factor at the post, McMurray moved across the river and into the John Johnston's home. John Johnston was both a prominent community member and considered a "gentleman of rank" in the Sault and area, partly due to his ties to the fur trade and partly because of his wife.<sup>32</sup>

Mrs. Johnston, or O-shah-gus-ko-da-wa-quay (Woman of the Green Meadow), was the daughter of the war chief Waub-o-jeeg and a fullblood Ojibwa.<sup>33</sup> She was a powerful woman in local affairs: American Indian Agent Henry Rowe Schoolcraft credits her with preventing war between the United States and the Ojibwa in 1821 over the extension of American

sovereignty into the area.<sup>34</sup> She also conducted the affairs of her husband while he was away on business.

After a brief stay with this locally notable family McMurray was able to relocate to the Canadian side once more, but often returned to the hospitality of the Johnston home. The residence he rented was owned by a former fur trader, Charles Oakes Ermatinger.<sup>35</sup> From these connections McMurray was able to draw upon the goods and established relationships which both had created. Furthermore, Johnston and the HBC's factor encouraged their kin and fictive-kin (trade customers) to attend to the new minister.

While residing at the Johnston home, McMurray was able to make to more very important connections. First, he established a friendly relationship with Schoolcraft, a son-in-law to the Johnstons through his marriage to their daughter Jane. Schoolcraft believed himself and others to be under a moral obligation to introduce and educate the heathen Indians about the advantages of Christianity and civilization, which would elevate them to a status on par with Euro-Americans.<sup>36</sup> As such, Schoolcraft was more than willing to help the new minister.

McMurray's introduction to Charlotte (Jane's sister) is the second connection and perhaps the most important one he made while residing at the Johnston home. She was an accomplished translator, having been employed by the Rev. Able Bingham, and as such McMurray hired her to both instruct him in, and translate his sermons into, Ojibwa. He subsequently married Charlotte Johnston in 1833, making him a son-in-law of an important trading family and brother-in-law to Schoolcraft. Charlotte (Johnston) McMurray is credited by contemporaries as being of great assistance to her husband. For instance, Anna Jameson a traveller to the Sault, noted that, "He [McMurray] is satisfied with his success, and seems to have gained the good-will and attachment of the Indians around; he owes much, he says, to his sweet wife, whose perfect knowledge of the language and habits of her people has aided him in his task."<sup>37</sup> Mrs. McMurray established a school where she taught girls and women how to sing and initiated "them into the ways of civilized life."<sup>38</sup> She was able to teach her husband the language while assisting him in translating the bible, his sermons as well as prayers. Eventually, the McMurrays were able to translate the Church catechism, part of the prayer book and the Ten Commandments into Ojibwa.<sup>39</sup> Nevertheless, according to Jameson, Mrs. McMurray was never limited to the realm of translation. Native women

were “always lounging in and out, coming to Mrs. McMurray about every little trifle, and very frequently about nothing at all.”<sup>40</sup> She was able through her own connections to function as a counsellor among the women while Rev. McMurray played the role among the men. Additionally, her education in the Sault area provided her with the ability to function in both the white and Indian worlds. This ability allowed her to interpret Ojibwa culture and worldviews to her husband, as well as explain the missionary to the Ojibwa. Simply put, she had the ability to translate cultural suppositions to both her husband and the Ojibwa. Finally, Mrs. McMurray also managed the household. Such a task freed her husband from performing tasks such as cooking, cleaning, and cutting wood for which he would have experienced derision.<sup>41</sup> McMurray was thus able to avoid the problems entailed in attempting to gain the people’s respect while carrying out duties not befitting the Ojibwa image of a man.

The roles Mrs. McMurray assumed – translator, teacher, wife, and mother – as well as her ties to the community, gave her husband and the Church of England the ability to establish itself at the rapids. These connections would serve him well, for “the influence and success that a trader [and missionary] had with the Indians corresponded to the strength and renown of his father-in-law,” to which can be added in this case the renown of both the mother and brother-in-law as well.<sup>42</sup> Kin ties established by McMurray added weight to his authority and position within the Ojibwa Sault community. As expressed by Augustine Shingwauk (son of Shingwauk and subsequent chief), thirty-three years later, he “took Ogenebugokwa [Charlotte], one of our nation, for his wife; and we loved him still more, for we felt that he was now indeed become one of us.”<sup>43</sup> The Methodist itinerant preachers – like Jones being Mississauga and fluent – simply could not compete with the ties created by marriage.

Aside from the personal ties McMurray created, he attracted potential adherents upon the basis of the powers he represented, that of a new God and the Crown. Indians, according to Janet Chute, sought missionaries out both as potential allies and for their power in an effort to sustain their traditions and independence while interacting with the incoming Euro-Canadians.<sup>44</sup> The desire expressed by Shingwauk, in the name of the people of the Sault, for a teacher can be seen as such an effort. McMurray was, therefore, entering a role predetermined by the Indians at the Sault; all that was left was to see if he would be able and/or willing to fill it.<sup>45</sup>

McMurray was the representative of the Governor General's Church. One year after McMurray's arrival, and after considering the different faiths, Shingwauk stated that he would "shut [his] ears against them, and attend only to the Preacher you [Gov. Colborne] have sent us."<sup>46</sup> Hence, McMurray was seen as the representative of the Great Father in Toronto.<sup>47</sup> Shingwauk and others at the rapids were not wrong in this assumption, for McMurray was appointed by the Society for Converting and Civilizing the Indians and Propagating the Gospel Among Destitute Settlers (hereafter Society) whose key patrons were the leaders of Upper Canadian Society, such as Lieutenant-Governor Sir John Colborne and Bishop John Strachan. In 1835, in response to rumours that McMurray was an imposter, Thomas G. Anderson, Superintendent of Indian Affairs at Manitowaning, stated "that if their father had anything to communicate to them he would do it thr' their Minister and should they have anything to say to him, he would write it for them if it was proper."<sup>48</sup> Furthermore, until Anderson's appointment as Superintendent, McMurray was the Indian Agent for Sault Ste. Marie. As such the Ojibwa were more than justified in believing that they had a direct line to the heart of British civilization and authority.

Apart from representing the Crown, McMurray also represented a source of potential material goods. McMurray's original instructions, given to him by Sir John Colborne and members of the Society, called for the construction of twenty houses, a supply of farm implements and animals, and an instructor.<sup>49</sup> This promise was renewed by Sir J. Colborne in 1831 when McMurray brought Shingwauk and his son Augustine to ask their Great Father which religion they should assume; naturally the governor recommended the Queen's religion.<sup>50</sup> The promise of housing went quite far in encouraging at least adherence if not outright conversion. In the Society's *Annual Report* for 1833, McMurray recognized the advantage which the promise of houses had given him over the other faiths in the field.<sup>51</sup> Other material inducements to conversion in addition to the housing, such as oxen, cows, chickens, harrows, and ploughs, attracted potential Indian converts from the growing Methodist flock on the American side.<sup>52</sup> Such advantages left the Methodists complaining that their converts were being induced by material rewards to assume the Queen's religion.<sup>53</sup> Shingwauk, in attempting to take advantage of the government's promise of housing as well as the perceived material advantages of Anglicanism, claimed that "[m]any Heathen Indians would if they saw me and my band in good houses be induced to give up their wandering habits

[and] come [and] reside with us [and] pray with us, should the like be done for them.”<sup>54</sup>

The promise of housing was only one of many inducements to join with the Queen’s Church. McMurray’s followers were entitled to receive their annual gifts at the Sault, whereas the pagan, Roman Catholic, and Methodist Indians had to travel to Manitoulin Island to obtain theirs.<sup>55</sup> Shingwauk and his followers perceived the promise held out to them by ascribing to the Anglican faith in the terms of material and spiritual advantages. Years later, Captain Anderson advised his son, the Rev. Gustavus Anderson, that he should not promise the Indians any material aid despite the fact that McMurray had been relatively successful due to the liberal support of the government.<sup>56</sup> Clearly, material benefits and the Anglican brand of Christianity had been successfully linked in the minds of many people, or, as succinctly expressed to Rev. Anderson by one of his followers, “the English appear to be most favoured in everything, the Great spirit must look with favourable eye upon him.”<sup>57</sup>

Material benefits and ties to the government were not the only inducements to join McMurray’s church. After all, McMurray’s position as a man of God also endowed him with spiritual power. Shingwauk and others who desired to learn about the God of the Bible so as to better understand and deal with the world beyond the Sault called upon their minister for both advice and medicines.<sup>58</sup> McMurray’s power was felt to be superior to that of the local shamans; he was able to destroy ‘meta-wa-aun’ bags and bring their owners over to his faith.<sup>59</sup> Shingwauk was a powerful member of the mede society and had given over his beliefs and practices under the tutelage of McMurray.<sup>60</sup> When the McMurrays left the Sault in 1838, Shingwauk apparently resumed them, and it is debatable as to whether or not Shingwauk actually gave over his meta-wa-auns.<sup>61</sup> As with all conversions, that of Shingwauk was multifaceted, but a significant contribution to it was the result of the apparent cure of another son, Buhjwujjenene, by the supplications of McMurray to his God. Out of respect for his friend, William McMurray, Shingwauk took his name upon being baptised a member of the Church of England on 19 January 1834.<sup>62</sup>

A further indication of acceptance by the Indians was the bestowing of an Indian name by which the person was to be known for the rest of his life. McMurray was honoured with the name Nashikawah-wahsung or The Lone Lightning. The name, according to Augustine Shingwauk, was conferred upon their beloved teacher of Christianity and the good Book,

because he was “the first messenger of Christ to bring them the light of the Gospel.”<sup>63</sup> McMurray, in effect, was now seen as an important member of the community, an ally, a representative of Euro-Canadian society, and a access channel to the power of the new nation.

Nevertheless, the ties to the administration of the colony would prove to be McMurray’s undoing. With the appointment of Sir Francis Bond Head to the post of Lieutenant-Governor, a change in Indian Affairs occurred. Bond Head sought to relocate all Indians, including those at the Sault, to the Manitoulin Island chain where they could vanish peacefully, while opening land up for settlement.<sup>64</sup> The schoolmaster was soon removed by Bond Head, causing McMurray to fear the collapse of his efforts to educate, civilize and Christianize the Indians. Baptisms began to drop off, as houses promised by Lt.-Gov. Colborne were now cancelled by Bond Head. However, the Society failed to acknowledge the source of the problems and instead stated that the reason for the decline was the fact that all Indians in the Sault were now baptized by one faith or another.<sup>65</sup> McMurray was subsequently informed that the houses would only be delivered if he and his converts located to Manitoulin Island. Despite official denials of the impending collapse of mission efforts, McMurray incontrovertibly realized the reciprocal relationships he had created were disintegrating. He felt the betrayal by Bond Head,

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 the authority for making the promises referred to, thus casting a 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 Head. It was a severe trial, for I loved the work, which had prospered until the shock came to which reference has been made . . .<sup>66</sup>

The illusion, as well as the reality, of power emanating from the Great Father had been destroyed. Without the ability to live up to his promises, McMurray’s word soon came to mean nothing – after all, many people converted because of the promise of temporal gain.<sup>67</sup>

The people of Garden River were sad to see their missionary leave,

“for we loved him very much; we loved his wife . . . his children who were born on our land, and had grown up together with our children.”<sup>68</sup> Such sorrow is only confirmation of the respect in which McMurray was held. Rev. F.A. O’Meara soon replaced McMurray. However, O’Meara’s relationship with the community was not nearly as cordial as the McMurrays. First the temporal advantages that McMurray was able to offer were denied O’Meara under the change of Lt.-Governors. For example, Shingwauk continually pressed for the promised housing, which he soon realized that O’Meara was in no position to deliver due to the government’s bad faith.

Further disputes arose between the new minister, Shingwauk and his band over Bond Head’s relocation scheme. To bring his policy into effect Bond Head solicited the aid of the Anglican Clergy, and specifically that of O’Meara.<sup>69</sup> After receiving a letter from the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Captain T.G. Anderson, in November 1840, as to the desirability of removal, O’Meara sought to enlist the chief’s aid. However, when presented with the idea both the Chief and band rejected it. Instead of accepting the council’s decision, O’Meara believing that the people would soon see their error and change their minds. Again in 1841 he officially presented the idea to the Chief, expressing his opinion in favour of removal.<sup>70</sup> Shingwauk merely promised that he would consult his principle men on the subject and abide by their decision. Despite this second setback O’Meara did try to encourage the people to move. Basically, the relocation scheme placed mission and the band in direct conflict of opinion as to what was in their best interest.<sup>71</sup>

The alienation of his charges by O’Meara continued through his lack of compassion and ‘cultural’ sensitivity. For instance, instead of consoling Shingwauk as his oldest son lay dying, O’Meara reprimanded those present for not calling him to administer to the man before the delirium had set in. Then, once Nahwahquashkum died, O’Meara refused to provide burial goods. He thought it necessary to correct the Indians in their false impression of his ability to procure goods and provide for them; he felt that by removing the false impression, the Indians would be better able to appreciate salvation.<sup>72</sup> Regardless of O’Meara’s intentions, people felt that he was being selfish and extremely rude in a time of mourning. At the funeral O’Meara proceeded to take advantage of the opportunity presented, and preach to those assembled on the benefits of being prepared for death. This speech was given after his refusal to help the dying man meet this

very need. In addition to his unfeeling nature at the funeral, O'Meara failed to grasp the depth of Shingwauk's pain. When finding the Chief and his sons-in-law drunk shortly thereafter, he reprimanded the Chief, further alienating him.<sup>73</sup>

O'Meara's understanding of his role was incompatible with Ojibwa expectations. Shingwauk and his followers sought to cast O'Meara into the same role as McMurray had played, that of a go-between. The lack of understanding and sympathy O'Meara showed for the aspirations of the Indians is demonstrated by his seeking the removal of the Garden River people to Manitoulin Island instead of defending their desire to remain at Garden River. A second example of his misunderstanding of the role comes in October of 1839. Before O'Meara left from Manitoulin Island to go to Toronto Chief Shingwauk placed a pipe in his hands to present to the Lieutenant Governor with a message. Shingwauk's aim was to have O'Meara remind Bond Head of the promises of his predecessor to construct houses for the Indians.<sup>74</sup> Yet upon meeting the Lieutenant-Governor, O'Meara only discussed the planned removals and how best to go about encouraging the people at Garden River to remove to Manitoulin Island. For all his efforts at converting the people, O'Meara's lack of understanding or unwillingness to play the role cast for him caused further erosion of his support. The loss continued until O'Meara, under direction of the Government, willingly moved himself to Manitoulin Island. Refusing to recognize the true reasons to why he was losing support, O'Meara blamed the whisky.<sup>75</sup>

Loss of support for O'Meara is evident in many forms. People stopped attending services regularly and refused to settle and farm. They refused to travel to the Mission house in the Sault, which eventually forced O'Meara to travel once a week to Garden River to deliver his sermons. Suggestive of further disenchantment with O'Meara was the collapse of temperance: in 1841, when O'Meara arrived at Garden River to preach, he found charges drunk and unable to attend service.<sup>76</sup> The Indians also showed their displeasure by refusing to transport the priest to Manitoulin Island, forcing him to ride in the HBC's boat.<sup>77</sup> In spite of waning support and trust for O'Meara, the people were not willing to give up their chosen Church.

When O'Meara left in 1841 in an effort to force the Indians to relocate to Manitoulin Island, Shingwauk called upon his friend and brother to live once more amongst them or "help . . . me, that we may

again have a Minister at Bahwetang (Sault Ste. Marie).<sup>78</sup> McMurray, taken with his people's plight, requested Bishop Strachan to post him once again to his former station, but the request was denied on the grounds that Shingwauk had merely "taken liberty with the truth."<sup>79</sup> Despite their disappointment with the Anglican Church, people at Garden River and the Sault did attempt to maintain their faith in opposition to the growing numbers of Catholic and Methodist converts, although they felt "like sheep standing in the midst of wolves, who are striving to scatter us."<sup>80</sup> Despite the 'wolves,' McMurray had succeeded in planting the seed of the Church of England in the Sault and area. The following McMurray had in the Sault was based upon respect, power, authority and love felt for and commanded by him as well as love of the new God and material gain.

In their efforts to "make friends quickly and easily," "increase [their] popularity," "win people to [their] way of thinking," "increase [their] influence . . . prestige . . . ability to get things done," and "keep [their] human contacts smooth and pleasant," while arousing enthusiasm and attempting to get the people to whom they preached out of the 'mental rut of uneducated superstition,' both the Anglican and Methodist missionaries were able to report successes.<sup>81</sup> Yet, it was the Anglican faith that attracted the most adherents – Why? The various ties McMurray created and had to the community, especially through marriage, and the outside world enabled him to harvest the sowings of others. Conscious efforts on the part of McMurray and the Anglican church to attract adherents included the promise of housing, farm implements, as well religious and secular. McMurray's marriage to Charlotte Johnston furthered his mission well beyond the promise of temporal gain. Perhaps if the Methodists, as Peter Jones suggested, had taken advantage of the situation and established a permanent mission the story would have been different. While the ability to speak Ojibwa and understand the culture were definite advantages, the lack of permanence, official ties to government and its funds were definite hindrances during these years. When asking why Indians chose to follow a specific faith we must consider also who the missionary was. For like the fur traders who preceded the missionaries, they were representatives of the European culture, sources of aid, useful as allies, and valued as kin. By entering into pre-established kin networks, missionaries became integrated into the societies they sought to recreate in the civilized Christian image. To be a successful missionary meant to come to an understanding and act as a member of the community one sought to change. Rev. McMurray's

mission to the Sault is a useful example of how a missionary could win adherents to his faith by becoming “one with a people.” A missionary, hence, was more than a blind propagator of the faith, and more than a simple tool of the government.

### ***Endnotes***

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2. Dale Carnegie, *How to Win Friends and Influence People* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1981), 3.
3. While preaching at the Sault and Drummond Island on their way to the Red River Colony the Catholics did not seek to establish a permanent presence in the area until 1842.
4. *Sixth Annual Report of the Canada Conference Mission Society of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, 1829-1831*, 8.
5. *Sixth Annual Report of the Canada Conference Mission Society of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, 1829-1831*, 8.
6. Elizabeth Graham, *Medicine Man to Missionary: Missionaries as Agents of Change among the Indians of Southern Ontario, 1784-1867* (Toronto: Peter Martin Associates Ltd., 1975), 5.
7. Graham, *Medicine Man to Missionary*, 5, 62, 89-90.
8. “‘Give Us a Little Milk’: The Social and Cultural Significance of Gift Giving in the Lake Superior Fur Trade,” in *Rendezvous: Selected Papers of the Fourth North American Fur Trade Conference, 1981*, ed. Thomas C. Buckley (St. Paul: the Conference, 1984), 188-197.
9. White, “‘Give Us a Little Milk,’” 194-195.
10. White, “‘Give Us a Little Milk,’” 195.
11. Peter Jones, “Journal of Penetanguishene Indian Meeting,” *New York Christian Advocate*, 13 August 1830, 198.

12. *Sixth Annual Report of the Canada Conference Missionary Society of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, 1829-1831*, 8.
13. "Continuance of extracts from D. Sawyer's Journal," *Christian Guardian*, 20 February 1833, 58.
14. Peter Jones (Kahkewaquonaby), *History of the Ojebway Indians: with especial reference to their conversion to Christianity* (London: A.W. Bennett, 1861), 227.
15. "John Sunday's Journal extracts, continued." *Christian Guardian*, 2 October 1833, 186.
16. *Toronto Societies Report for 1832*; cited in *The Stewart Missions: a series of letters and Journals, calculate to exhibit to British Christians, the spiritual destitution of the emigrants settled in the remote parts of Upper Canada*, ed. Rev. W.J.D. Waddilove (London: J. Hatchard and Son, 1838), 86.
17. When William McMurray first arrived in the Sault, he was only acting in the capacity as lay preacher and catechist. It was in 1833 that McMurray was ordained by the Bishop of Quebec who chased him throughout the townships in Lower Canada (see, "Historical Sketches, No. 43 – Archdeacon McMurray," *Canadian Church Magazine and Mission News* 4, No. 43 [January 1890]: 1; "The Ordination of a Missionary – The Late Bishop of Quebec," *The Church*, 30 March 1839; and *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* [Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1966- ], 12: 680).
18. *Canadian Church Magazine and Mission News* 4, No. 43 (January 1890): 2.
19. *Seventh Annual Report of the Society for Converting and Civilizing the Indians and Propagating the Gospel among Destitute Settlers in Upper Canada* (Toronto, 1838), 20-21.
20. *Seventh Annual Report of the Society for Converting and Civilizing the Indians and Propagating the Gospel among Destitute Settlers in Upper Canada* (Toronto, 1838), 20.
21. *Third Report of the Upper Canada Clergy Society, for Sending out Clergymen* (Toronto, 1839), 13.
22. T.G. Anderson, Coburg, to Son Gustavus, 24 July 1848, Anderson Papers, Toronto Metropolitan Reference Library (hereafter TMRL).
23. Native people converted for numerous reasons in addition to the 'attractions' of the missionary. It is my contention that all the aspects of the missionary need to be examined in order to understand conversion, success, and failure.

Missionaries were not simple pawns of colonialism or natives.

24. Letter recorded 4 August 1847, Letterbook, 1844-1847, John Strachan Papers, Archives of Ontario (hereafter AO); and Joseph Forsyth, "Garden River Indian Mission," *Christian Guardian*, 6 May 1857, 123.
25. O'Meara learned the Ojibwa language by having his interpreter translate his English sermons orally. He then copied down what the interpreter was saying while attempting to hear and acquire the correct pronunciation of each word. Come Sunday, he would preach the translation as he had heard it. Eventually, he acquired a thorough knowledge of Ojibwa. He began the translation of the scriptures in this manner with the help of Johnston as interpreter (*Conference on Missions Held in 1860 at Liverpool: Including the Papers Read, The Deliberations and the Conclusions Reached* [London: James Nisbet and Co., 1860], 33-34; Rev. F.A. O'Meara, Mission House Sault Ste. Marie, to the Bishop of Toronto, 6 March 1840, John Strachan Papers, AO; Rev. F.A. O'Meara, Mission House, Sault Ste. Marie, to the Rev. H.J. Grassett, Toronto, 5 June 1839, John Strachan Papers, AO; and *Third Report of the Upper Canada Clergy Society, for Sending out Clergymen* (Toronto, 1839), 13.
26. Janet Chute, "A Century of Native Leadership: Responses of Chief Shingwaukonce and His Successors to Government, Missionary and Commercial Influences on the Ojibway Community at Sault Ste. Marie and Garden River, Ontario," Ph.D. diss., McMaster University, 1985, 124.
27. Fred Landon, "Letters of Rev. James Evans, Methodist Missionary, Written During his Journey to and Residence in the Lake Superior Region, 1838-9," *Ontario Historical Society* 28 (1932): 52.
28. William McMurray, "Mission work among Indians at Sault Ste. Marie in Early Days," *Canadian Church Magazine* [typescript copy], 1891, Missions and Missionaries Binder, Historical Files, Sault Ste. Marie Public Library; *Second Annual Report of the Society for Converting and Civilizing the Indians and Propagating the Gospel among Destitute Settlers in Upper Canada* (Toronto, 1832), 21-22; and "The Ordination of a Missionary – The Late Bishop of Quebec."
29. McMurray, "Mission work among Indians at Sault Ste. Marie in Early Days"; and "The Ordination of a Missionary – The Late Bishop of Quebec."
30. Waddilove, ed., *The Stewart Missions*, 102.
31. T.G. Anderson, S.I.A., Coldwater, to Captain G. Phillpots, A.D.C., 18 July 1835, John Strachan Papers, AO; *Centennial Commemoration: One Hundred Years of the Church of England in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario* (Sault Ste.

- Marie: Cliffe Printing, 1932), 7.
32. Mentor L. Williams, ed., *Schoolcraft's Narrative Journal of Travels: Through the Northwestern Regions of the United States extending from Detroit through the Great Chain of American Lakes to the Source of the Mississippi River in the Year 1820* (East Lansing: Michigan State Univ. Press, 1992), 95; and Chute, "A Century of Native Leadership," 101-109.
  33. Charlotte Killarly, "Lore and Legend of Our Forebears," Biography Sketches, AO; Stanley Newton, *The Story of Sault Ste. Marie and Chippewa County* (Sault Ste. Marie: Sault News Printing Co., 1923), 103; and Anna Brownell Jameson, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1838; reprint Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1990), 454, 467.
  34. Williams, ed., *Schoolcraft's Narrative Journal of Travels*, 99. She is also credited with this feat by Charles C. Towbridge, "The Journal of Charles C. Towbridge, Expedition of 1820," in *Schoolcraft's Narrative Journal of Travels*, Appendix G, 1, 469; and Chute, "A Century of Native Leadership," 104.
  35. Waddilove, ed., *The Stewart Missions*, 99; and Alan Knight, "'A Charge to Keep I Have': Mission to the Ojibwa at Sault Ste. Marie, St. John's (Church), Garden River," unpublished paper, 1983, 5, Shingwauk Collection, Algoma University College Library.
  36. Carol Devens, *Countering Colonization: Native American Women and Great Lakes Missions, 1630-1900* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1992), 71.
  37. Jameson, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*, 477; Charlotte is also described as "invaluable in interpreting prayers and sermons and leading teaching and singing" (*Canadian Church Magazine and Mission News* 4, No. 43 [January 1890]: 2).
  38. Mabel Berkholder, "Devoted Life of Archdeacon William McMurray," typescript copy of article published in the *Hamilton Spectator* (20 March 1954).
  39. Waddilove, ed., *The Stewart Missions*, 28, 85; *Canadian Church Magazine and Mission News* 4, No. 43 (January 1890): 2; Jameson, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*, 477; and *Fourth Annual Report of the Society for Converting and Civilizing the Indians and Propagating the Gospel among Destitute Settlers* (Toronto, 1834), 23.
  40. Jameson, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*, 481.

41. Further integrating the McMurrays into the local community was the hiring of a nanny for their children from among the flock (Charlotte Killarly, "Lore and Legend of Our Forebears," Biography Sketches, AO; Karl Hele, "'Only calculated to captivate the senses': The Protestant Missionary Experience of Garden River First Nation, 1830-1870," M.A. thesis, Univ. of Toronto, 1994, 44-45; Diary of T.G. Anderson, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, T.G. Anderson Papers, TMRL).
  42. White, "'Give Us a Little Milk,'" 195.
  43. Augustine Shingwauk, *Little Pine's Journal*, ed. Shingwauk Reunion Committee (Sault Ste. Marie: Algoma University College, 1991), 3.
  44. Chute, "A Century of Native Leadership," 118-119, 121-122, 135-137.
  45. Chute, "A Century of Native Leadership," 127.
  46. Waddilove, ed., *The Stewart Missions*, 105. John Webster Grant, *Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter since 1854* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1984), 91.
  47. The alliance between the Ojibwa and the British, as well as all native groups, utilized metaphors such as Father, Brother, to illustrate specific relationships. The term "father" had different connotations in the British and Ojibwa cultures. See White ("Give Us a Little Milk") for further elaboration.
- T.G. Anderson, S.I.A., Coldwater, to Captain G. Phillipots, A.D.C., 18 July 1835, John Strachan Papers, AO.
49. McMurray, "Mission Work Among Indians at Sault Ste. Marie In Early Days," 4.
  50. Drafts of letters and reports by Rev. G. Anderson, Sault and Garden River, T.G. Anderson Papers, TMRL.
  51. *Third Annual Report of the Society for Converting and Civilizing the Indians and Propagating the Gospel among Destitute Settlers* (Toronto, 1833), 12; and *Fourth Annual Report of the Society for Converting and Civilizing the Indians and Propagating the Gospel among Destitute Settlers* (Toronto, 1834), 31-32.
  52. *Christian Advocate* (11 April 1834). In her article "Of Missionaries and Their Cattle: Ojibwa Perceptions of a Missionary as Evil Shaman" (*Ethnohistory* 41, No. 2 [1994]: 227-228), Rebecca Kugel outlines the spiritual power conferred upon the missionary by the presence of such common European animals as cattle and various paintings, both lacking in the Indian world. In

short, she illustrates the perceptions of the Indians based upon their traditions and life experiences.

53. *Christian Guardian* (5 July 1854).
54. Address of Chinghaconse to Colonel Jarvis on the subject of building houses at the Sault, July-September 1839, Samuel Jarvis Papers, TMRL.
55. This blatant favouritism left bad feelings towards McMurray among the Methodist and Catholic converts (T.G. Anderson, S.I.A., Coldwater, to Capt. G. Phillpots, A.D.C., 18 July 1835, John Strachan Papers, AO).
56. T.G. Anderson, Coburg to Son Gustavus, 24 July 1848, T.G. Anderson Papers, TMRL.
57. Drafts of letters and reports by Rev. G. Anderson, Sault and Garden River, T.G. Anderson Papers, TMRL.
58. Rev. F.A. O'Meara, Sault Ste. Marie, 3 October 1839, John Strachan Papers, AO.
59. Jameson, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*, 479. McMurray apparently collected several meta-wa-aun bags, made of owl, wildcat, otter, and mink skins, as well as birch bark. The confiscation of the bags was seen by missionaries as a symbolic acceptance of the new ways and a rejection of the old while ensuring that the convert would not be tempted by his old demons.
60. A pre-contract religious society amongst the Anishinabwe.
61. Johann Georg Kohl, *Life Among the Lake Superior Ojibway* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1985), 380, 383-384. He notes that Shingwauk never destroyed his medicine until shortly before his death in 1854.
62. Waddilove, *The Stewart Missions*, 104; *Centennial Commemoration: One Hundred Years of the Church of England in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario*, 9.
63. Augustine Shingwauk, *Little Pine's Journal*, 4, n. 4; and James Axtell, *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1985), 83.
64. Olive P. Dickason, *Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1992), 237-238; and J.R. Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1991), 103-104.

65. *Seventh Annual Report of the Society for Converting and Civilizing the Indians and Propagating the Gospel among Destitute Settlers in Upper Canada* (Toronto, 1838), 20.
66. McMurray, "Mission Work Among Indians at the Sault Ste. Marie In Early Days," 4. See also Chute, "A Century of Native Leadership," 160.
67. Until his death Shingwauk sought to have the government fulfill its 1832 promise to construct 30 houses. "[O]wing to some hesitation on the part of the Government, "the houses had yet to be built. In 1833, Shingwauk made a speech in which he stressed the promises made to him and suggested that his conversion and his groups conversion were predicated upon their fulfilment. Simply put, "[w]hen I see the houses built, and School-House erected, I will send all my children and all my young men, and all our sisters, to be instructed by our kind Teacher." Shingwauk further associated his conversion with help from the government in protecting his land and stopping whisky traders from taking advantage of his people. Furthermore, if the buildings were built and the implements supplied, he would settle down and farm (*The Fifth Annual Report of the Society for Converting and Civilizing the Indians and Propagating the Gospel among the Destitute Settlers of Upper Canada* [Toronto, 1835], 11; *The Third Annual Report of the Society for Converting and Civilizing the Indians and Propagating the Gospel among the Destitute Settlers of Upper Canada* [Toronto, 1833], 53-54; Speech by Shingwauk regarding Squatters on Indian lands, 27 May 1835, Samuel Jarvis Papers, TMRL; and Waddilove, *The Stewart Missions*, 104).
68. Augustine Shingwauk, *Little Pine's Journal*, 1.
69. Letter Book 1844-1849, John Strachan Papers, AO. Bishop Strachan was one of the proponents and key supporters of this policy, believing that little could be done for the Indians unless relocated to Manitoulin Island.
70. Rev. O'Meara, Statement of missionary endeavours at Manitoulin Island and elsewhere, RG 10, vol. 145, National Archives of Canada (hereafter NAC).
71. Shingwauk once did consent to go to Manitoulin Island, but he remained only for two summers (1841 and 1842). While there he kept in continued contact with his people. Basically, the Chief had no desire to remove from the area of the rapids, specifically Garden River. Rather, he sought to create a homeland here for all Indians if they wished to come and settle. His opinions were thus in direct contrast to those of the missionary (see James Beaven, *Recreations of a Long Vacation: Or A Visit to the Indian Missions in Upper Canada* [Toronto: Hand & W. Rousell, 1846], 2-3; Rev. O'Meara, Statement of missionary endeavours at Manitoulin Island and elsewhere, RG 10, vol 145, NAC; Rev. F.A. O'Meara to the Bishop of Toronto, 19 January 1841, John

- Strachan Papers, AO; and Chute, "A Century of Native Leadership," 200, 202, 209).
72. Rev. F.A. O'Meara, Sault Ste. Marie, to the Rev. H.J. Grasset, Sec'y of Society for Converting and Civilizing the Indians, 17 March 1840, John Strachan Papers, AO.
  73. Rev. F.A. O'Meara to the Bishop of Toronto, 19 January 1841, John Strachan Papers, AO.
  74. Rev. F.A. O'Meara to the Bishop of Toronto, 19 January 1841, John Strachan Papers, AO.
  75. Rev. F.A. O'Meara to the Bishop of Toronto, 19 January 1841, John Strachan Papers, AO.
  76. Rev. F.A. O'Meara to the Bishop of Toronto, 6 January 1841, John Strachan Papers, AO.
  77. Rev. F.A. O'Meara to the Bishop of Toronto, 19 January 1841; and Rev. F.A. O'Meara, Sault Ste. Marie, 3 October 1839, John Strachan Papers, AO.
  78. Rev. Wm. McMurray, Dundas, to Bishop of Toronto, 20 June 1844, John Strachan Papers, AO.
  79. Letter dated 15 July 1849, Letter Book, 1844-1849, John Strachan Papers, AO.
  80. Rev. Wm. McMurray, Dundas, to Bishop of Toronto, 20 June 1844, John Strachan Papers, AO.
  81. Carnegie, *How to Win Friends and Influence People*, 3.

***Appendix I******The Protestant Missionaries******Church of England***

Rev. G. Archbold	pre-1830
James D. Cameron	1831-1832
Rev. William McMurray	1832-1838
Rev. O'Meara	1838/9-1841 (from 1841-1848, visited Garden River from Manitoulin Island)

***Methodist Itinerants***

John Sunday (Shawundais)	pre-1830, 1832, 1833, 1834, 1838
James Young	1832
David Sawyer	1833
Peter Jones	1833, 1834, 1852
Thomas Frazer	1833
Thomas McGee	1833
William Herkimer	1833
John Cah-beach	1833
John Taunchery	1833
Rev. Thomas Hurlbert	1833, 1839
James Evans	1838-1839
Peter Jacobs	1836