

***A NUMIANY (THE PRAYER PEOPLE) AND THE PAGANS OF  
WALPOLE ISLAND FIRST NATION: RESISTANCE TO THE  
ANGLICAN CHURCH, 1845 - 1885***

A Thesis submitted to the Committee on Graduate Studies  
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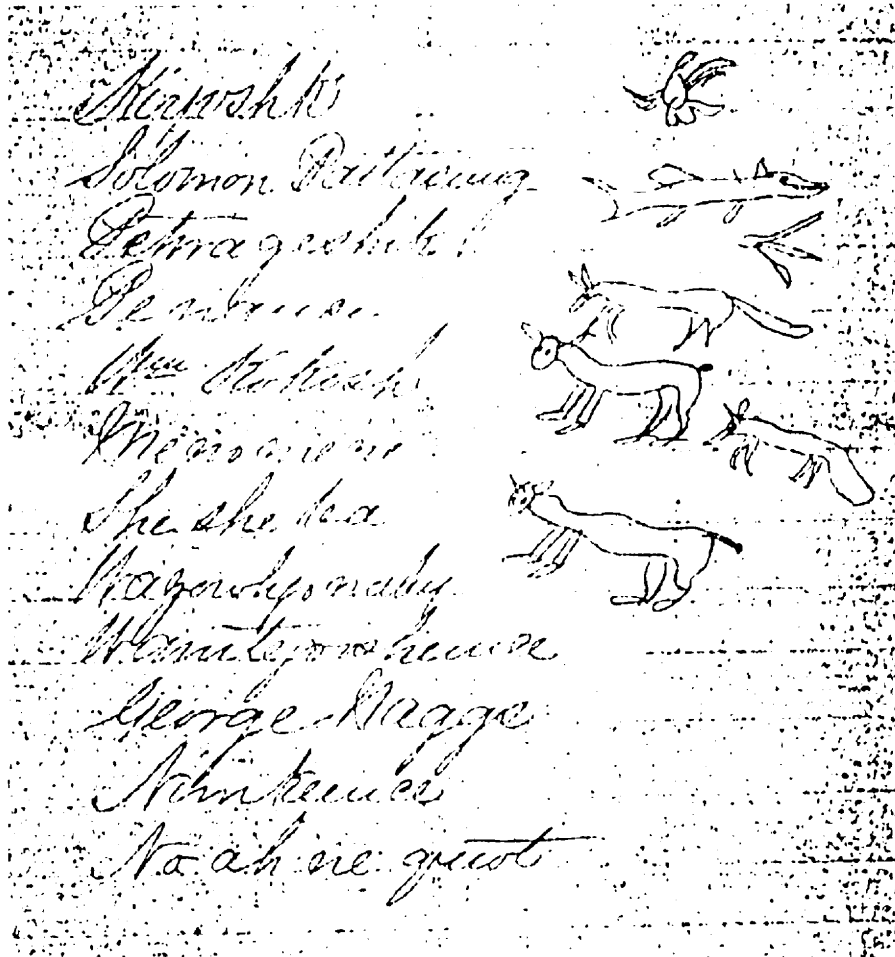
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The totem or clan figures represent the signatures of the Chiefs and councilors at Walpole Island. From "Brief Statement And Translation thereof respecting W. Island Indians" by William N. Fisher Interpreter, 1870. Courtesy of the Walpole Island Heritage Centre.

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*Abstract**A Numiany (The Prayer People) And The Pagans Of Walpole Island  
First Nation: Resistance To The Anglican Church 1845 - 1885*

The focus of this thesis is the letters and reports written by Reverend Andrew Jamieson, Anglican missionary to Walpole Island from 1845 to 1885. Jamieson's letters and reports are held as the Jamieson Papers at the Cronyn Memorial Archives at the Anglican Diocese of Huron, in London, Ontario. This thesis argues that the Jamieson Papers reveal much resistance to the Anglican church from the Walpole Island community. Resistance to assimilation policies is a central theme in the history of Walpole Island First Nation. The Walpole Island Heritage Center has documented resistance to the Methodist and Jesuit missionaries in the early nineteenth century, and resistance to the Department of Indian Affairs and the Indian Agent system in the twentieth century. My analysis of the Jamieson Papers continues this theme of resistance, refuting secondary literature written by John Webster Grant, and Elizabeth Graham who claimed that Jamieson converted most of the Walpole Island community to Christianity during his tenure on the island.

### *Acknowledgements*

Many thanks are due at the completion of this thesis, which certainly would never have been finished without the help and encouragement of many people. I first want to thank Winona Stevenson, as it was her inspiration that led me to graduate school, and her guidance as the external committee member that helped me to complete this thesis while living in Saskatoon. I also want to thank my supervisor David Newhouse for his patience, and for setting aside time for long meetings in which to discuss my thesis revisions. The rest of my committee provided incredible support, especially Peter Kulchyski during my second year at Trent University, and John Milloy during my first year. I must thank Louise Garrow for her comments on my early drafts, and Barb Rivett for her help and support in the Native Studies department. I must also thank the external examiner Douglas Leighton, for his thorough comments and suggestions.

While writing this thesis I relied upon the students and faculty at three Native/Indian Studies departments (Saskatchewan Indian Federated College's Indian Studies department, Trent University and the University of Saskatchewan's Native Studies departments) which provided a wealth of knowledge. I must thank Rudolpho Pino, Miriam McNab, Danny Musqua, Marlene Davey, Tracey Robinson, Debra Laliberte, Neal Macleod, April Chiefcalf, Sophie Malinoski, and many of my fellow students at Saskatchewan Indian Federated College. From the University of Saskatchewan I must thank Ron Laliberte, Jack Smith, Crystal Kozar, Michelle Heslop, Colby Zaph, Cheryl Holst, and especially Maria Campbell for her teachings and inspiration. Of course all my colleagues in Native Studies and graduate studies at Trent

University were incredibly supportive. I would especially like to thank Shirley Williams, Paul Bourgeois, D'arcy Rheault, Paulette Nichols, Winnie Janzen, Sheena Symington, Jeannette Menzies, Erin Windatt, Shanna Balaz, and my friend and roommate, John-Paul Gouett.

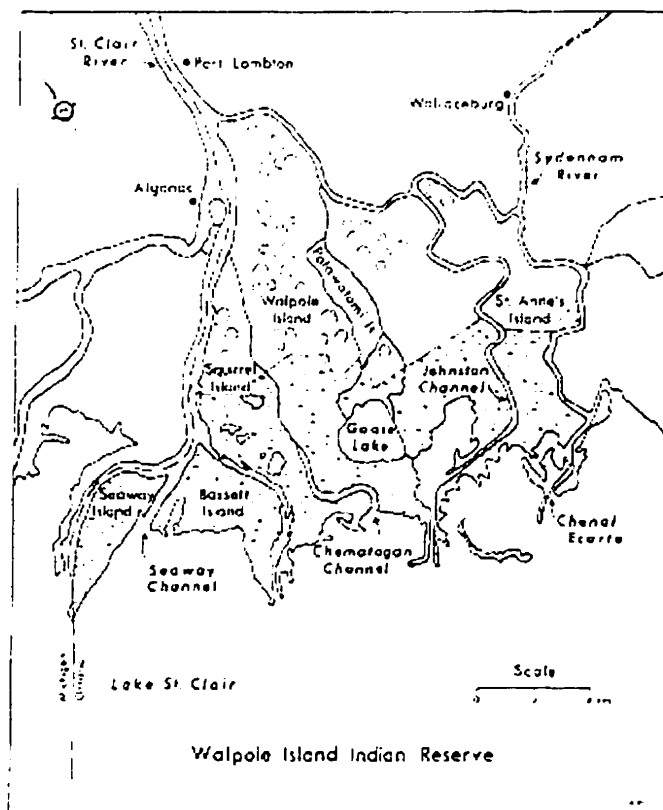
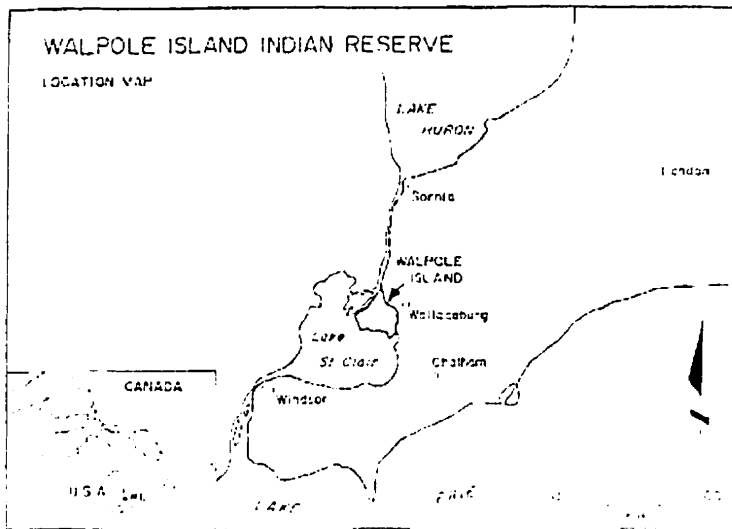
I would like to thank Dean Jacobs and the Walpole Island Heritage Centre for allowing me to conduct this research, and David McNab for suggesting the Jamieson Papers as a topic. My family has been incredibly supportive, and I thank them for their encouragement and understanding. I would also like to thank Frank Tough, now at the University of Alberta, for his advice as reluctant mentor and his guidance. My most heartfelt thanks goes to Robin Smith who painstakingly read my thesis drafts, provided comments and encouragement throughout the revisions, and taught me many lessons along the way. It was through her example and guidance that I managed to complete this thesis.

*Chronology of Events relating to the Anglican Church at Walpole Island First Nation*

- 1763 *Royal Proclamation of 1763.*
- 1790 The land surrenders begin in present day southern Ontario (Walpole Island is not surrendered).
- 1823 Methodist missionary Peter Jones visits Walpole Island.
- 1839 Jesuit missionaries arrive at Walpole Island.
- 1841 Anglican missionary Reverend Coleman arrives at Walpole Island.
- 1843 Reverend Coleman leaves and the Anglican missionary Reverend Carey arrives at Walpole Island.
- 1843 Anglican Church (St George's) and school are built by the Department of Indian Affairs.
- 1844 Father Chazelle organizes the Ojibwa-Jesuit debate at Walpole Island.
- 1845 Reverend Andrew Jamieson arrives at Walpole Island.
- 1849 Chief Petwegizhik burns down the Jesuit church.
- 1859 Beginning of the first quarterly report to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts written by Jamieson.
- 1860 Jamieson and family move to Algonac, Michigan.
- 1870 Jamieson travels to Europe on a fundraising tour for a new church (St. John's).
- 1885 Death of Reverend Jamieson at the age of 61.



### Maps of Walpole Island First Nation



Taken from *Walpole Island: The Soul of Indian Territory*

***Preface: "There is another story to be told"***

*In general my narrative is an autobiographical account. Specifically it is an act of the imagination. When I turn my mind to my early life, it is the imaginative part of it that comes first and irresistibly into reach, and of that part I take hold. This is one way to tell a story. In this instance it is my way, and it is the way of my people. When Pohd-lohk told a story he began by being quiet. Then he said Ah-keah-de, "They were camping," and he said it every time. I was trying to write in the same way, in the same spirit. Imagine: They were camping*

N. Scott Momaday's *The Names*

While attempting to clarify the focus of resistance in this thesis David Newhouse (my supervisor) said, "it seems like there is another story to be told in your research." The story was of resistance to assimilation policies, and it needed to be told in order to emphasize the power of Aboriginal peoples in the face of adversity. My interest in Native resistance to assimilation policies began at the University of Saskatchewan where I was an undergraduate in Native Studies. The courses I took focused on Aboriginal culture areas, the Fur Trade, Native politics, and Native and non Native relations. These topics provided good background information, but I became specifically interested in Native resistance and soon discovered that there was very little information written on the topic in universities. My search for the story of resistance led me to the Walpole Island Heritage Centre in 1994 where I intended to research the communities resistance to Jesuit missionaries for my undergraduate honours paper.

Dean Jacobs, director of the heritage centre, was kind enough to meet me and spent an afternoon explaining the history of Walpole Island. At the end of his discussion he said: "and now here comes the test." My eyes grew, and I think my jaw dropped slightly as he asked, "What is the number of one resource at Walpole Island First

Nation?” Luckily I had studied some of Walpole Island’s history and knew the answer was bureaucracy, as the community had taken over the administration of programs from the Department of Indian Affairs. Dean Jacobs claimed the test was given because some researchers had published material that the community was not happy with. He wanted to show that the Heritage Centre had authority over their research materials and archival documents, and as keepers of the Walpole Island’s histories they would be best able to provide guidance to my research.

Concerns over appropriation of knowledge and issues of identity have always been present in Native Studies. In *The Turn to the Native* Arnold Krupat noted that to write about Native history or literature “without an awareness of the many significant issues ... is to write as either a knave or a fool.” Krupat considered critical identity very important and dedicated a large portion of his book to explaining his identity and place in American Indian literature and criticism. Like Krupat I am a non Native person that focuses writing and research on Aboriginal histories. While Krupat is an American of Jewish descent, I am a Canadian of Ukrainian descent. In “A Nice Jewish Boy Among the Indians” Krupat discussed his Jewish heritage, or lack of heritage which he connected to the immigrant status of his parents in New York. He wrote:

Surely one of the most extraordinary achievements of contemporary Native American writers ... is to have represented an experience very distant from mine with such power as to cause me to want to stay with it, to consider it, to examine it, to discover the ways in which aspects of this distant experience could at moments somehow feel very close.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Arnold Krupat, *The Turn to the Native: Studies in Criticism and Culture* (University of Nebraska Press, 1996). p. 107.

I would certainly agree with Krupat, as it was the power of N. Scott Momaday's *House Made of Dawn* that first sparked my interest in Aboriginal history and literature. *House Made of Dawn* is a lyrical, layered, and incredibly complex novel that tells modern stories based upon the Kiowa oral histories. It is a powerful account that lingers in the imagination and eventually caused me to ask questions about Native history in North America.

The opening quotation to this preface is from Momaday's *The Names*. The act of naming is an idea that has permeated much of Momaday's writing. When asked if he considered naming the first creative act, he replied:

Is it the first creative act? Probably, probably. I think there is inherent in the Native American world view the idea that naming is coincidental with creation; that, when you bestow a name upon someone or something you at the same time invest it with being. It's not an idea, by the way, that's peculiar to Native American experience; it's a worldwide kind of idea, but it is certainly important in American Indian society. And I think, yes, this is where things begin – naming.<sup>2</sup>

I often use the example of my name to emphasize my perspective for research in Native communities. My last name, Krasowski, comes from the root 'kras' which when translated from Ukrainian means "on the outside" or "on the periphery."<sup>3</sup> This is how I

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<sup>2</sup> Laura Coltelli, *Winged Words: American Indian Writers Speak* (University of Nebraska Press, 1990). p. 92.

<sup>3</sup> I was informed of this fact from a Polish exchange student who happened to be carrying a Polish language dictionary at the University of Toronto in the summer of 1997.

see my research in Native communities, very much on the periphery but guided by the community.

Another idea from Momaday's work that relates to my critical identity came from a traditional story told in *The Way To Rainy Mountain*. In this story an old man in a tipi is approached by another man outside of the tipi. The old man can see the shadow of the other as he walks around. The man outside stops, and peers through a seam in the tipi trying to see the old man. The old man then says in his own language, "If you are Kiowa, you will understand what I am saying, and you will speak your name, if you do not understand me, if you do not understand my words, you're dead."<sup>4</sup> The man outside the tipi was an enemy and did not know the language. He said nothing in response to the old man and he was killed with an arrow through the seam in the tipi.

Gerald Vizenor and others have compared the man outside of the tipi to a non Native person studying Native histories. Momaday's story stressed the need to understand Native cultures, but it is important to recognize that I will never fully understand Native languages and perspectives. This is one of the reasons that the focus of this thesis is a group of documents written by a non Native person (Reverend Andrew Jamieson). It is impossible for me to sit inside the tipi with the understanding of the Kiowa man in Momaday's story. However, by working with Native communities and following their guidance, it is possible that I won't be an enemy to the community.

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<sup>4</sup> Coltelli, *Winged Words*, p. 156.

## ***Chapter One: Introduction***

*In the summer of 1845 the Walpole Islanders were all pagans. The wanhuvnoo, the pagan dance, the tricks of the conjurors and various heathen ceremonies were in full swing. With the exceptions of a few small patches of corn, tilled but imperfectly they paid no attention to the cultivation of the soil. They had no oxen, no cows, the hoe was the only farming implement possessed. For food they depended mainly on hunting; they were strangers to steady and continuous labor and they betook themselves to the chase only when impelled by hunger and having obtained a supply of venison they would return to their wigwams and as long as the supply lasted and would enjoy themselves after their fashion in feasting, in dancing, and in drinking the firewater.*

Reverend Andrew Jamieson: Annual Report to the  
Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1859

With the above quotation the Reverend Andrew Jamieson, Anglican missionary to Walpole Island First Nation, began his first annual report to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG). Jamieson referred to the people that resisted Christianity as Pagans<sup>1</sup>, and these people in turn referred to the Christians as *A Numiany*, which meant “the prayer people,” or “the people that pray.” Over the course of his forty years as missionary to Walpole Island, Jamieson claimed to have converted most of the community to Christianity. However, he mentioned the continuing presence of Pagans on the island throughout his letters and annual reports (from 1859 to 1885). This is significant and casts doubt upon his claim to have converted most of the community to Christianity. This thesis examines resistance to Jamieson and the Anglican church at Walpole Island First Nation in the late nineteenth century utilizing the letters and annual reports written by the Reverend Jamieson. The following introduces Walpole

Island First Nation, the Walpole Island Heritage Centre, and explains the focus on resistance, and its importance to First Nations history.

Walpole Island, also known as Bkejwanong, which means “where the waters divide” is situated in Lake St. Clair, between Lakes Huron and Erie in southern Ontario. Walpole Island First Nation is actually a collection of islands that includes Walpole Island, Squirrel Island, St. Anne Island, Seaway Island, Basset Island and Potowatomi Island. These islands cover almost 24,000 hectares and are known for their rare flora and fauna. The island contains a “unique ecosystem including 6,900 hectares of the most diverse wetlands in all of the Great Lakes Basin.”<sup>2</sup> The name Walpole originated from the war poles that lined the island and were seen by early visitors in the eighteenth century. These war poles have been described as “long wooden staves planted in the ground with the emblems of the First Nations upon them.”<sup>3</sup>

Monsieur de Sabrevois, a traveler from France provided one of the earliest written descriptions of Bkejwanong in 1718:

Twelve leagues from the fort of destriot [Detroit] always ascending the river, you will find the Misisaguez [Missassaugas] “Sauvages,” who dwell on a beautiful island [Walpole Island] where they have cleared some land. They number about 60 or 80 men. Their language is like the

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<sup>1</sup> For the use of the word Pagan and other terms in this thesis see Notes on Terminology in the glossary section on page 121.

<sup>2</sup> Dean Jacobs, “ ‘We Have But Our Hearts and the Traditions of our old Men’: Understanding The Traditions and History of Bkejwanong,” *Gin Das Winan Documenting Aboriginal History in Ontario*, (The Champlain Society, 1996) p.1.

<sup>3</sup> Jacobs, *We Have But Our Hearts*, p. 1.

outaouac [Ottawa], with but little difference. Their customs are the same, and they are very industrious. . .<sup>4</sup>

De Sabrevois admired Walpole Island and observed that the Native peoples had cleared some land, probably for farming. The word “Sauvage” is quite complex, but Robert Berkofer stated the term was first used by the French to refer to Native peoples, and its definition originated in Germany with the idea of the wild man, or “wilder Mann.”<sup>5</sup>

According to legend the wild man was a “hairy, naked, club wielding child of nature who lived half way between humanity and animality.”<sup>6</sup> After the French spent more time with Aboriginal peoples the definition of “Sauvage” changed. By the nineteenth century it simply meant eluding Christian norms, which is probably how De Sabrevois would have used the word.

Walpole Island has traditionally been home to the Odawa (Ottawa), Anishnabeg (Ojibwa), and Potawatomi peoples who utilized its rich hunting grounds for hundreds of years before the arrival of Europeans. Archaeological sites on the island have found tools and points dated as early as 10,000 years ago. During this time Walpole Island was probably covered with pine and various deciduous trees interspersed with open areas of prairie grasses.<sup>7</sup> Deer, elk, moose and caribou were on the island in abundance, hunted by the Paleoindians, ancestors to today’s Aboriginal peoples. These Paleoindians would have followed the migrating caribou herds and adjusted to the changing climate and

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<sup>4</sup> Jacobs, *We Have But Our Hearts*, p. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Robert Berkhofer Jr. *The Whiteman’s Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (Vintage Books, 1979) p. 13.

<sup>6</sup> Berkhofer, *The Whiteman’s Indian*, p. 13.



landscape after the retreat of the continental ice sheet. By approximately 8,000 years ago some of Walpole Island's prairie grassland openings were replaced by forest cover, and the rivers and streams continued to provide abundant fish, wildfowl, and plant foods. Perhaps even including wild rice.<sup>8</sup>

Archaeological evidence also indicates that Walpole Island was situated on a north-south travel corridor. This would have allowed local peoples to acquire tools and technologies from as far away as present day Ohio. Gourds and squash may have been planted as early as 2,500 years ago and corn as early as 1,000 years ago with tobacco and beans following.<sup>9</sup> During this time permanent villages with winter disbursement patterns began forming in southern Ontario, and it is possible that such villages existed on Walpole Island. Evidence for the travel corridor is significant to Walpole Island's history. Situated near the centre of North America Walpole Island has been known as a meeting ground, and is often referred to as the 'soul of Indian territory' by the Walpole Island community.

Today Walpole Island is home to more than three thousand Aboriginal peoples that are united through the political alliance of the Council of the Three Fires,<sup>10</sup> or the Three Fires Confederacy.<sup>11</sup> Oral histories tell that the original ancestors of the Anishnabeg, Odawa, and Potowatomi were brothers.<sup>12</sup> They share similar dialects of the Algonquian language, and a long history together. All three groups camped and hunted at

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<sup>7</sup> Nin da waab jig, *Walpole Island: The Soul of Indian Territory*, (Walpole Island Heritage Centre, 1987).

<sup>8</sup> Nin da waab jig, *Walpole Island*, p. 2.

<sup>9</sup> Nin da waab jig, *Walpole Island*, p. 2.

<sup>10</sup> Nin da waab jig, *Walpole Island*, p. 6.

Walpole Island during and before contact with Europeans. The Anishnabeg and Odawa peoples were the first to permanently settle at Walpole Island in the late eighteenth century after most of southern Ontario was surrendered to the British in the Ontario land cession treaties. A group of Potawatomi peoples settled on the island after 1836.

The impetus for the Ontario land cession treaties was the end of the Seven Year's War (1756-1763) and the Royal Proclamation of 1763.<sup>13</sup> The Royal Proclamation recognized Aboriginal peoples as Nations, but also set out how the British government could acquire their lands.<sup>14</sup> Between 1790 and 1827 over four million acres of land in present day Ontario was surrendered to the British Crown through land cession treaties. Walpole Island was overlooked in these land session treaties, and is currently unceded land.<sup>15</sup> Chief Beyigishigneshkam of Walpole Island recounted the words of Alexander McKee (head of the Indian Department ) in 1796:

“Remain my children,” said he [Alexander McKee]. “Do not desert the abode to which I brought you. I never shall let anyone molest you. Should any persons come to ask from you a part of these lands, turn from them with distrust and deny them their request. Never for a moment heed their voice and at your dying day instruct your sons to get theirs, teach them as generation succeeds generation to reserve intact their inheritance and poverty shall be unknown to them.”<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Nin da waab jig, *Council of Three Fires*. (Walpole Island Heritage Centre, 1992).

<sup>12</sup> Dr. Cecil King, Personal Communication, November 3, 1997.

<sup>13</sup> Robert J Surtees, “Land Cessions, 1763-1830” *Aboriginal Ontario: Historical Perspectives on the First Nations*, eds., Edward S. Rogers and Donald B. Smith (University of Toronto Press, 1996) p. 93.

<sup>14</sup> Nin da waab jig, *Walpole Island*, p. 12.

<sup>15</sup> Surtees, Robert J. Land Cessions, p. 119.

Unfortunately McKee's advice was not followed by his own department. His successor, Colonel Jarvis promised to protect Walpole Island from squatters, but he was later fired from the Indian Department for stealing funds set aside by the Oneida peoples to purchase land.<sup>17</sup> Jarvis' promises were never fulfilled, but Walpole Island remains on unceded land and the community has instigated a number of land claims to regain land that has been taken from them.



*The Walpole Island Heritage Centre*

The Walpole Island Heritage Centre, or Nin.da.waab.jig, directs research for Walpole Island First Nation and provided guidance to this thesis. The Heritage Centre was formally established in 1989. Nin.da.waab.jig means "those who seek to find," which captures the essence of the work at the centre. According to Dean Jacobs "Nin.da.waab.jig is primarily concerned with recording the past to help better understand the present." Jacobs is the Director of the Centre, which is composed of community members and advisory consultants who conduct research for the Chief and Council of Walpole Island First Nation. Most of the work coordinated by Nin.da.waab.jig has focused on historical and environmental research.

The historical documents collected by the Heritage Centre are quite substantial. The information regarding nineteenth century missions have been organized into mission files which were greatly relied upon in this research. A valuable source that is not being

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<sup>16</sup> Dean Jacobs, *We Have But Our Hearts*, p. 2.

utilized in this thesis is the Walpole Island communities oral histories. The Walpole Island First Nation is currently negotiating a number of land claims with the provincial and federal governments. Oral histories are easily susceptible to misinterpretation in the Canadian court system. A recent example of the misinterpretation of oral histories is the 1995 case of *Delgamuuk v. The Queen*, in which the Gitksan Wet'suwet'en communities sued the province of British Columbia over rights to 58,000 square kilometers of land.

During the proceedings the court focused on Aboriginal title and the communities presented their "adaawk," the "sacred oral tradition about their ancestors and territories" into evidence. Justice McEachren, the trial judge, rejected the claims and the evidence of oral history, and dismissed the lawsuit. The Gitksan Wet'suwet'en peoples were shocked by the decision. After presenting over a year of sacred testimony to the courts their histories were belittled and left unrecognized. However, the decision was appealed to the Supreme Court of Canada, which ruled in favor of the Gitksan Wet'suwet'en peoples. The decision claimed the trial judge was in error by not recognizing the oral histories and stated:

The oral histories were used in an attempt to establish occupation and use of the disputed territory which is an essential requirement for Aboriginal title. The trial judge refused to admit or gave no independent weight to these oral histories and then concluded that the appellants had not demonstrated the requisite degree of occupation for "ownership." Had the

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<sup>17</sup> James Douglas Leighton, *The Development of Federal Indian Policy in Canada, 1840-1890* (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Western Ontario, 1975) p. 21.

oral histories been correctly assessed, the conclusions on these issues of fact might have been very different.<sup>18</sup>

Though the appeal was successful the supreme court did not rule on Aboriginal rights to the territory. It instead recommended Aboriginal rights be defined politically through negotiations with the province of British Columbia. Thus, questions of Aboriginal rights and oral history remain tenuous in Canada. In order to protect their claims the Heritage Centre is not publishing their oral histories until the disputes have been settled. The lack of oral histories limit the depth of this thesis, but it is hoped that the historical information researched and discussed will be of use to the Heritage Centre in their future projects.



### *Resistance to Assimilation Policies*

The assimilation policies that affected Aboriginal peoples are explained in greater detail in chapter four, but have been best described in anthropology using the analogy of the *troika*. A *troika* is a “Russian sleigh or carriage drawn by a team of three horses abreast.”<sup>19</sup> Each of the three horses have been compared to the fur traders, the Indian agents, and the missionaries. The analogy continues with Aboriginal peoples as the sleigh or carriage. The goal of the traders, agents, and missionaries was to pull Aboriginal peoples into mainstream Eurocanadian society. Aboriginal peoples were to abandon their cultures, languages, spiritual beliefs, and their history. In return the fur traders presented

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<sup>18</sup> Canada, *Delgamuukw v. British Columbia* p. 6

an economic alternative of trapping to traditional gathering and hunting. The Indian agents offered protection from Europeans, and assistance through treaty payments and annuities. The missionaries were to subvert traditional beliefs, and introduce European civilization and Christianity. The *troika* analogy is a powerful one as anthropologists have argued that the three agents pulling Aboriginal peoples toward the same goal was almost impossible for Native communities to resist.<sup>20</sup> This idea has been disputed by some historians that have argued that the fur trade did not subvert Native traditions, but simply provided a supplementary income.<sup>21</sup> However, in general the basic ideas of the *troika* have been followed in anthropology and other departments within universities.

Most early anthropological studies have tended to focus on ethnography, offering descriptions of material culture and portraying Native peoples as a disappearing race.<sup>22</sup> More recent studies from history and anthropology have focused on cultural change. Elizabeth Graham's *Medicine Man to Missionary* is a good example of this. Graham is an anthropologist who has written a number of books about Native peoples and Christian missions in Southern Ontario. She wrote that, "processes of social change are of primary concern to anthropologists,"<sup>23</sup> and her study focused on changes to First Nations communities influenced by missionaries. Though she relied on good historical sources,

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<sup>19</sup> *Webster's New World College Dictionary*, Third Edition (Simon and Schuster, 1994).

<sup>20</sup> Mitsuro Shimpo and Robert Williamson, *Socio-Cultural Disintegration among the Fringe Saulteaux* (Centre for Community Studies, 1965) p. 27

<sup>21</sup> See Arthur J. Ray, *Indian in the Fur Trade: Their Role as Trappers, Hunters, and Middlemen in the Lands Southwest of Hudson's Bay: 1660-1870* (University of Toronto Press, 1974) and Frank Tough, *As Their Natural Resources Fail: Native Peoples and the Economic History of Northern Manitoba, 1870-1930* (UBC Press, 1996).

<sup>22</sup> L.L. Langness, *The Study of Culture* (Chandler and Sharp, 1974) p. 22.

<sup>23</sup> Elizabeth Graham, *Medicine Man to Missionary: Missionaries as Agents of Change among the Indians of Southern Ontario, 1784-1867* (P. Martin Associates, 1975) p. 2.

Graham's work was limited by her focus on social change and she completely ignored resistance to the missionaries.

Elizabeth Graham's work is just one example among many in anthropology that have focused on change or traditional practices and limited their scope of analysis. The works of Franz Boas and Diamond Jenness are good examples of the limitations of anthropology. Boas is known as the father of modern anthropology and ethnography.<sup>24</sup> At the beginning of the twentieth century he proposed that anthropologists focus on collecting information on Aboriginal cultures before they disappeared. Unfortunately most of this information emphasized traditional pursuits, ignoring the changes Native peoples were experiencing. Jenness studied Aboriginal peoples from the Arctic, to the west coast of Canada, and wrote *The Indians of Canada*, one of the most popular reference works on Aboriginal cultures. *The Indians of Canada* looked at Aboriginal peoples from a very narrow anthropological framework. While describing physical characteristics Jenness generalized across the many different First Nations in Canada:

Everywhere the color of the skin is some shade of brown, varying from a yellowish to a redish tinge . . . The hair of the head is lank, black, and fairly abundant, but hair is generally sparse on other parts of the body.<sup>25</sup>

This type of generalization and focus on material culture not only limited the usefulness of anthropological studies, but also angered many Aboriginal peoples.

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<sup>24</sup> L.L. Langness, *The Study of Culture* (Chandler and Sharp, 1974) p. 39.

<sup>25</sup> Diamond Jenness, *The Indians of Canada* (National Museum of Canada, 1963) p. 2

Vine Deloria Jr. has written the most biting criticisms of anthropology in *Custer Died For Your Sins* and the more recent *Red Earth, White Lies*. In the latter work Deloria reluctantly congratulated anthropologists for collecting and preserving information on tribal cultures, but condemned the same anthropologists for portraying this information in a very narrow and negative way. Deloria claimed anthropologists, “promulgated the idea that these tribal cultures were of stone age achievement and represented primitive superstitions which could not be believed.”<sup>26</sup>

When traditional spirituality is discussed in anthropology it is called ‘revitalization’<sup>27</sup> which assumes traditional religion had become dormant, and is now revitalized. However, when Indian agents and missionaries arrived in Native communities many traditional practices went underground, and were practiced in secret until missionary fervor died down and laws designed to extinguish them were repealed. Traditional spirituality was not “revitalized,” it was just practiced more openly. By discussing traditional spirituality as revitalization, anthropologists unnecessarily limited and compartmentalized the topic. In this process the earlier resistance to missionaries and Indian agents was lost to the academics.

A discussion of resistance is important because it emphasizes the dynamic nature and the power of Native cultures. Native peoples did not simply adapt to European ideals and succumb to assimilative policies. Many Native peoples fought and resisted Christian missionaries, holding their traditional religion as far superior to that of Christianity. Other

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<sup>26</sup> Deloria, Vine Jr. *Red Earth, White Lies* (Scribner, 1995) p. 48.

<sup>27</sup> Shimpo and Williamson, *Socio-Cultural Disintegration among the Fringe Saulteaux*, p. 4



Native peoples integrated elements of Christianity into their traditional practices. Some newer academic studies are beginning to address the importance of resistance. Anthony Wallace's *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca* tells the history of resistance through what he termed a renaissance connected to the teachings of Handsome Lake. The Seneca's managed to resist some assimilationist policies by incorporating aspects of Christianity into the traditional culture, thus strengthening their society.<sup>28</sup> Carol Devens' *Countering Colonization: Native American Women and Great Lakes Missions, 1630-1900* is a good example. Devens relied upon archival sources and focused her discussion of resistance on Native women. The result is a description of Native women as powerful people who were not afraid to "shove missionaries down river."<sup>29</sup> These histories need to be told within academia in order to present a more accurate and dynamic picture of Native history and cultures.



### *Resistance in the Community*

Walpole Island First Nation has documented its resistance to assimilation policies through Nin.da.waab.jig, and their publication, *Walpole Island: The Soul of Indian Territory*. Walpole Island was the first Aboriginal community in Canada to remove its Indian Agent in 1965. After changes to the Indian Act in 1951, First Nations in Canada regained more control of their lands and resources. However, elected Band Councils were still guided and controlled by an Indian Agent of the Department of Indian Affairs.

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<sup>28</sup> Anthony Wallace, *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca*, (Alfred A. Knopf, 1970) p. 303.

Burton Jacobs, Chief of Walpole Island in the 1950's described the power of the Agent in the community:

And although there was a Chief and Council somewhere, it had little or no significance as a ruling body. If you wanted to speak to the council, it was always the agent who came forward and demanded to know what you wanted. The Chief and Council were virtually powerless because the agent had systemic control of the Council.<sup>30</sup>

After the Indian agent re-negotiated farming leases without input from the community Chief Jacobs resolved to get rid of the Agent. Jacobs won the support of the Band Council, then petitioned Indian Affairs. After a dispute between the council and the band manager the Indian agent was suspended from duty by Indian Affairs. The Council took over the Agency office, and after a trial period of one year, the power of the Indian agent was transferred to the Walpole Island Band Council. Nin Da Waab Jig described the removal of the Indian agent and claimed that the efforts of the community:

were directed towards recovering, rather than establishing self sufficiency. The ancestors of the Walpole Island band had been completely self sufficient in the past. They lost control of their lives only because external circumstances temporarily prevented them from exercising it. Yet, even at the worst of times, they never lost their will to retain their identity and to live as a people in their own way.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Carol Devens, *Countering Colonization: Native American Women and Great Lakes Missions, 1630 - 1900*. (University of California Press, 1992) p. 90.

<sup>30</sup> Nin da waab jig, *Walpole Island*, p. 97.

<sup>31</sup> Nin da waab jig, *Walpole Island*. p. 97

The report stressed resistance in that the peoples of Walpole Island recovered self sufficiency, and never lost their 'will to retain their identity and to live as people in their own way.' This mention of identity is important because it relates to culture. By holding on to their traditions 'even at the worst of times' the community kept their cultures strong.

Resistance to Christian missionaries at Bkejwanong in the early nineteenth century is well documented in the primary and secondary materials. The Reverend Peter Jones (Kahkewequonaby) described resistance to his Methodist teachings on the island in *The History of the Ojibwa Indians With Especial Reference to Their Conversion to Christianity*. In response to Jones' teachings, Bauzhi - geezhig - waeshikum, head chief of Walpole Island said:

The white man makes fire-water, he drinks, and he sells it to the Indians, he lies and cheats the poor Indian. I have seen him go to his prayer house in [Fort] Malden, and as soon as he comes out I have seen him go straight to the tavern, get drunk, quarrel, and fight. Now the white man's religion is no better than mine. I will hold fast to the religion of my forefathers.<sup>32</sup>

Jones was successful at converting Aboriginal peoples to Christianity elsewhere in the Great Lakes area, but was unsuccessful at Walpole Island. He visited the island in 1823 and in 1830, but both times Bauzhi - geezhig - waeshikum 'held fast to the religion' of his forefathers and resisted Christianity. According to Jones the death of Bauzhi - geezhig - waeshikum in 1842, removed "a great obstacle ... from the Missionary's war in the

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<sup>32</sup> Peter Jones, *The History of the Ojibwa Indians with Especial Reference to their Conversion to Christianity* (Bennet, 1861) p. 42.

conversion of the Indians.”<sup>33</sup> However, Chief Petwegizhik, who became the last hereditary chief at Walpole Island followed Bauzhi - geezhig - waeshikum’s example and resisted the Jesuit missionaries attempts at conversion in the 1840’s.

After the Jesuit missionaries appropriated the highest point of the island (which contained an ancient burial mound and more recent cemetery) to build their church, Chief Petwegizhik demanded the building stop. When Dominique du Ranquet, the Jesuit missionary, continued to build, and eventually made his home on the island, Petwegizhik and the community opposed the Jesuit teachings. In a debate between the Jesuits and the community Chief Oshawana (John Nahdee) said:

We . . . know that the Great Spirit created man, and that he gave him a mind to acquire wisdom. We know that he gave him knowledge. We also know that he created other minds that are more wise than ours, more powerful than us, but that are quite inferior to him. I know these truths. The Great Spirit taught them to me through my ancestor. My way of seeking light is right for me.<sup>34</sup>

The Walpole Island community won the debate against the Jesuits, but the Jesuits “did not know how to listen and they refused to understand.” Petwegezshik, with the support of the community, eventually burned the Jesuit’s church to the ground in 1849. Du Ranquet left the island in 1850 and never returned to the community.

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<sup>33</sup> Jones, *History*, p. 43.

<sup>34</sup> Denys Delage and Helen Hornbeck Turner, “The Ojibway - Jesuit Debate at Walpo’le Island” *Ethnohistory* 41: 2, p. 297.

Reverend James Coleman was the first Anglican missionary at Walpole Island in 1841, but he did not establish a mission and was replaced by Reverend John Carey in 1843. Carey was considered inappropriate by the Indian agent (John Keating) but was not replaced until 1845 when Reverend Andrew Jamieson arrived at the island. Jamieson acted as Anglican missionary to Walpole Island until 1885. A number of historical sources described Jamieson's tenure on the island as very successful. In *Medicine Man To Missionary* Elizabeth Graham wrote:

Jamieson remained on the island until his death in 1885, and seems to have gained the affection of the Indians. He learned the language and acted as letter writer and intermediary in business with the Government. By 1861, he had baptized 400 out of a population of 750.<sup>35</sup>

Graham claimed Jamieson remained upon Walpole Island until his death in 1885, but the Jamieson Papers revealed that he moved to Algonac, Michigan in 1869. Graham also claimed Jamieson acted as letter writer and intermediary on the island. To a certain extent this was true, but the Jamieson Papers also revealed that this position was held for a very short period of time. When Native peoples in the community learned to read and write Jamieson's services in the Indian Councils were no longer needed. John Webster Grant's *Moon of Wintertime* emphasized the Jesuit's success at Wikwemikong, on Manitoulin Island, and merely mentioned the opposition from Walpole Island.<sup>36</sup> Neither Graham, nor

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<sup>35</sup> Graham, *Medicine Man*, p. 45.

<sup>36</sup> John Webster Grant, *Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter since 1534* (University of Toronto, 1984) pp. 80 – 81.

Grant included the Jamieson Papers in their research, and Graham relied mainly upon secondary sources in her comments on Jamieson.

This thesis focuses on resistance to the Anglican missionaries, particularly resistance to Reverend Andrew Jamieson between 1845 and 1885. Resistance to the Jesuits and Methodists has been documented and this information has been collected by the Walpole Island Heritage Centre, but resistance to Jamieson, and the Anglican church has not yet been documented. Through the analysis of a number of historical sources, including Jamieson's letters and reports to the SPG, this thesis will argue that Jamieson did not convert all of the Aboriginal peoples of Walpole Island to Christianity. The historical sources reveal much resistance to Jamieson's teachings from the Walpole Island community.

Resistance to the Anglican church in the Jamieson Papers is often plainly stated, but sometimes the line between Christian and Pagan is finely drawn. Aboriginal peoples that Jamieson described as Christians participated in Pagan ceremonies, and peoples described as Pagan sat on the Walpole Island council and made their living by farming. It is important to realize that the conversion process is not static. Many peoples that had been baptized and attended church services also continued their traditional practices, thus integrating aspects of both Christianity and traditional spirituality. This aspect of the conversion process has been ignored in most missionary sources, but has been discussed by Winona Stevenson, Robert Berkofer, James Axtell, and John Webster Grant. Stevenson noted that Charles Pratt and other Native missionaries taught hunting and

trapping, and managed to integrate traditional teachings into the Christian schools.<sup>37</sup> Berkhofer published one of the first studies of Native missionary relations, and outlined the complexities of the conversion process.<sup>38</sup> Axtell and Grant questioned the quality of conversions in Native communities. In “Were Indian Conversions Bona fide” Axtell asked if Native peoples truly understood the Christianity they converted to.<sup>39</sup> In “A Yes That Means No” Grant asked if Native peoples that converted to Christianity followed its laws and teachings.<sup>40</sup> Both authors found different answers to their questions, and these will be discussed in greater detail in the context of the Jamieson Papers in Chapter six.



### *Summary and Prospectus*

This introduction briefly discussed the Walpole Island community and presented the focus and thesis statement. The focus of this thesis is the reports and letters written by Reverend Andrew Jamieson between 1845 and 1885. This thesis argues that the Jamieson Papers reveal much resistance to the Anglican church from the Walpole Island community. Resistance has been a recurring theme surrounding Bkejwanong. Nin.da.waab.jig has documented resistance to the Methodist and Jesuit missionaries in the nineteenth century, and resistance to the Department of Indian affairs and the Indian

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<sup>37</sup> Winona Stevenson, *The Church Missionary Society Red River Mission and the Emergence of a Native Ministry 1820 - 1860. With a Case Study of Charles Pratt of Touchwood Hills* (MA Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1988) p. 2.

<sup>38</sup> Robert F. Berkhofer. *Salvation and the Savage" An Analysis of Protestant Missions and American Indian Response, 1787-1862.* (University of Kentucky Press, 1967).

<sup>39</sup> James Axtell, *The Invasion Within: The Context of Cultures in Colonial North America* (Oxford University Press, 1985).

<sup>40</sup> Grant, *Moon of Wintertime*, p. 239.

Agent system in the twentieth century. My analysis of the Jamieson Papers continues the theme of resistance, refuting secondary literature written by Grant, and Graham that claimed Jamieson converted the Walpole Island community to Christianity.

Resistance is a very important theme in Aboriginal history and has been virtually ignored in the academic literature. Anthropology has attempted to document Aboriginal cultures, but by focusing on cultural change and narrow frameworks of analysis anthropologists have portrayed Native peoples in a negative and unflattering way. Anthropologists have ignored resistance, which is very important to First Nations cultures and histories. Resistance emphasizes the power of Aboriginal peoples. By resisting assimilation policies Aboriginal peoples maintained their traditions, which is a very important theme in Walpole Island's history.

Chapter two discusses the research methodology used to analyze historical documents. It relies upon the work of James C. Scott, who has written extensively on the analysis of resistance from a political and historical perspective. Scott's numerous works provide case studies of resistance in Aboriginal cultures and detailed methods for analysis of this resistance. Scott's methodology is explained using examples from Winona Stevenson's study of the Native catechist Askenootow (Charles Pratt). Stevenson analyzed the journals left by Askenootow and applied Scott's methodology. Added to these examples are ideas from Gerald Vizenor who provides a Native perspective for doing research in Aboriginal communities.



Chapter three discusses Walpole Island in the early nineteenth century, emphasizing the theme of resistance in the community. This chapter attempts to provide some historical background to the Walpole Island community to better understand the context of the Jamieson Papers. This chapter relies heavily upon primary documents collected by *Nin.da.waab.jig*. These include the writings of Methodist missionary Peter Jones, and the Jesuit missionaries, du Ranquet, Chazelle, and Brother Joseph Jennessaux.

Chapter four introduces the Reverend Andrew Jamieson, describing his life, and history in the Walpole Island community. It is important to the analysis of the Jamieson Papers to gather as much information about his life as possible. Why did Jamieson come to Walpole Island? What experience did he have as a missionary? What school did he attend? What about Jamieson's family? What was their life like on the island? The answers to these questions all provide clues that helps to understand Jamieson's perspective when he wrote his letters and annual reports. Information about Jamieson is held at the Comyn Memorial Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Huron, and the Anglican church at Walpole Island. Reverend James Miller (the current Anglican priest at Walpole Island) was also very helpful in providing information about Andrew Jamieson. This chapter also discusses the history of the Anglican church missionary societies, and the ideas that guided Jamieson, and other Anglican missionaries in the nineteenth century. British Indian policy is discussed as a complement to missionary policy, which is important because the Department of Indian Affairs worked closely with the churches to administer their policies of civilization and assimilation.

Chapter five describes the Jamieson Papers, and applies the methodology discussed in chapter two to an analysis of resistance to the Anglican church. This discussion is organized by themes that are present throughout the Jamieson papers. The most prominent of these are Paganism, education and farming. Evidence of resistance is tangled into these themes. This chapter includes a number of lengthy quotations from the Jamieson Papers in an attempt to give as much detail as possible. These quotations are discussed and analyzed using the ideas of James C. Scott, Gerald Vizenor, and Winona Stevenson that are discussed in the methodology.

Chapter six attempts to describe the conversion process, and problems associated with defining conversion. This chapter will use examples from the Jamieson Papers, and attempt to discuss a number of problems associated with defining conversions to Christianity. These problems have been discussed by James Axtell, John Webster Grant, and Winona Stevenson, and their work will be utilized as well. A discussion of the conversion process is essential because there is no line drawn between Pagan and Christian. People at Walpole Island who were Christians participated in Pagan ceremonies, and people that were Pagans attended church services. Discussing the problems of measuring the conversion process emphasizes the complexities of the relationship between missionaries and Aboriginal peoples. The conclusion will attempt to tie the research together by describing the themes of Walpole Island's history and the importance of resistance in the community. The value of the methodology will be discussed at some length, as well as the usefulness of this study to the Walpole Island community.

## ***Chapter Two: Methodology***

*What's obvious in this is that I'm establishing in play a kind of binary; it's anthropologists and then play, humor and imagination. I can say dumb things like, "some anthropologists are my best friends" and stuff like that, and some things I read by anthropologists are really interesting. I think a tremendous disservice has occurred, but I am not naïve about it. Knowledge is power and there is, as Michel Foucault would say, an archaeology of this knowledge and energy. My point is that it doesn't have anything to do with Indians, and I'd like to just refocus it to where it is. It's a system of power; anthropologists have invented cultures; it doesn't have anything to do with Indians and it's all their business. And I think it's interesting as their business. It's very interesting. And they can peek at each other, you know, on either side of the bookshelves. They can hold up their microfiches and change the world through the printed image.*

From an interview with Gerald Vizenor in *Winged Words:  
Aboriginal Writer's Speak*

This chapter introduces the research methodology which is based on the work of James C. Scott and Gerald Vizenor. The methodology guides the analysis of resistance in Jamieson's letters and reports. It contains discussions of resistance in Aboriginal communities, as well as examples and terminology that will be used throughout this thesis. The methodology also helps deal with questions of bias in the research materials, and my bias in the interpretation of the documents. According to Catherine Sims in "Exploring Ojibway History Through Documentary Sources" there are a number of difficulties stemming from the nature of primary sources. The primary problem with documentary accounts is that government officials and missionaries generated most of these sources.<sup>41</sup> Most missionaries wrote to their superiors and had to demonstrate that progress was being made in the conversion and assimilation of their Native congregation. The same is true of Indian agents and government officials who wrote to the Department

of Indian Affairs. These documents are biased toward the needs of their authors, their goals, and their understanding of Aboriginal cultures.

Most missionaries and Indian agents had little understanding of Aboriginal cultures and religions, and were heavily biased from a devout Christian perspective.

David Nock wrote:

Christianity for the Evangelical was a wonderful gift by God to humankind: by its nature it was unique and complete. This meant that evangelicals rarely pondered over whether other world religions might include some spark of divine truth. Thus it was that such an ancient and sophisticated civilization as that of Hindu India was met with the contempt and hatred of the Evangelicals.<sup>42</sup>

Nock referred to the early Anglican missionaries as Evangelicals as, and his quotation emphasized their heavy bias. Christianity was considered 'unique and complete,' and there was no need for other religions. In fact, most missionaries were revolted by traditional Native beliefs which they considered Pagan and devil worship. Many missionaries condemned Native peoples for their beliefs, and disparaged the descriptions of traditional ceremonies. This bias must also be taken into account when interpreting missionary writings. It is important to understand why missionaries made disparaging comments, and sift through the details for important observations.

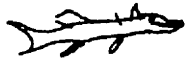
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<sup>41</sup> Catherine A. Sims "Exploring Ojibwa History Through Documentary Sources: An Outline of the Life of Chief John Assance" *Gin Das Winan Documenting Aboriginal History in Ontario*, (The Champlain Society, 1996) p. 35.

<sup>42</sup> Nock, *A Victorian Missionary*, p. 21

My bias in interpreting the documents is centered around the focus of resistance to the Anglican church, which was explained in the preface. It is important to note that my biases affect the interpretation of the Jamieson papers. However, it is hoped that the ideas presented in the methodology can help focus the analysis and explain the biases in the interpretation.

Scott's methodology best deals with the problems of bias in the primary documents, and his discussion of resistance helps guide the analysis of the Jamieson Papers. Scott's methodology also helps clarify the use of the term resistance. Using a term like resistance is very problematic because there can be varying degrees of both resistance and compliance. Petwegizhik's burning down the Jesuit church would surely be considered resistance to Catholic missionaries, but what if a church is allowed in the community? Can church attendance be considered support, and non attendance considered resistance? Vizenor's methodology also helps clarify the use of the term resistance by introducing terminology and his perspectives for research in Native communities. These methodologies are joined by the work of Winona Stevenson, who has applied the methodologies of Scott and Vizenor in a study of the journals of her Great Grandfather Charles Pratt, who was also an Anglican missionary. The following will introduce the authors and explain their perspectives for doing research. In the summary I will attempt to connect the different frameworks into a single methodology for the analysis of the Jamieson papers and other primary documents utilized in this thesis.



## *The Arts of Resistance: Theoretical Framework*

James C. Scott, a professor of Political Studies, focused his research on resistance, initially among the poorer classes in Burma, and more recently in a general study of resistance in Europe and North America. Scott's methodology is found in *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. While Scott did not focus upon Aboriginal peoples of North America, many of his ideas regarding resistance can be applied to the experience of Native peoples. Important to the study of missionaries at Walpole Island is Scott's discussion of resistance hidden from the public view. He utilized two terms in his analysis of resistance, the hidden transcript and the public transcript. According to Scott the public transcript is:

The self portrait of the dominant elites as they would have themselves seen. It is a highly partisan and partial narrative. It is designed to be impressive, to affirm and naturalize the power of dominant elites, and to conceal or euphemize the dirty linen of their rule.<sup>43</sup>

The public transcript is incredibly complex. It is "unlikely to be merely a skein of lies and misrepresentations." The public transcript usually involves some concessions to the subordinates, but it is often a lopsided discussion focusing on the desires of its author. Most of the primary documents utilized in this thesis are public transcripts. Jamieson's reports and letters are an excellent example of public transcripts as they were written to the SPG in England. Jamieson's salary was paid by the SPG and he had to demonstrate

progress in the civilization of the peoples of Walpole Island. Other public transcripts in the research for this thesis are the letters of the first Indian Agent at Walpole Island, John Keating, and the accounts of missionary work by Anglican catechists, and later missionaries on the island.

According to Scott there are four main characteristics of the public transcript. The first is the self flattering image of the author of the document. Scott used the example of white slave owner's paternalistic descriptions of the "care, feeding, housing, and clothing of slaves." As the practices were different than the descriptions the self flattering image becomes an object for criticism. The self flattering image of the writer in the public transcript results in a document lopsided toward the perspective of the author. This is easily observed in the document and must be taken into account in any analysis.

The second characteristic of the public transcript is the hidden transcript, which is of central importance to this methodology. The hidden transcript relates to a specific site and a specific set of actors. For this thesis the site is Walpole Island First Nation, and the actors are the Aboriginal peoples of the island. The hidden transcript involves not only speech acts but "a whole range of practices."<sup>43</sup> These can include participation in certain acts, and non participation in others, dissension and controversy in the community, and overt acts of resistance like the burning of the Jesuit church at Walpole Island in 1849. The hidden transcript is a bit confusing, but is best understood as reading between the lines. The hidden transcript stresses hidden from view or glance. It is also important to

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<sup>43</sup> James C. Scott, *Domination and The Arts of Resistance* (Yale University Press, 1975) p. 18.

<sup>44</sup> Scott, *Domination*, p. 16.

note that the hidden transcript is part of the public transcript, and can be found in all public transcripts, including the primary documents utilized in this thesis.

A third characteristic of the public transcript is the “politics of disguise and anonymity that takes place in the public view, but is designed to have a double meaning or shield the identity of the actors.” This characteristic is very subtle and hard to identify, but according to Scott it often takes the form of rumor, gossip, folktales, songs and rituals, and in Aboriginal histories it can also include metaphor and irony. This third characteristic of the public transcript is difficult to grasp, but perhaps it can be clarified with an example from Winona Stevenson’s study of her great grandfather Askenootow. In her analysis Stevenson utilized the work of Scott and discovered a tentative resistance to the church in Askenootow’s journals in the form of non compliance to some Church of England teachings. According to Stevenson, Askenootow rarely condemned or described Aboriginal traditions. His silence on these two important themes accounts for non compliance, as most missionaries condemned Native religions in almost every report, and as amateur ethnographers attempted to describe ceremonies and traditions (this was certainly the case in Jamieson’s reports).

Askenootow also utilized irony and metaphor in his journals, which when analyzed closely emphasized tentative resistance, and demonstrate Scott’s use of the third characteristic of the public transcript (the politics of disguise and anonymity). On 21 September 1856 Askenootow wrote in his journal:



21st the Lord's day, that be so I am enjoying another sabbath day ... while our bodies are falling away, for want to food, I trust he is feeding our souls with that bread of life which if a man eat thereof he shall live forever, O may he ever more give us that bread.<sup>45</sup>

The metaphor here is the use of bread as the "bread of life," or spiritual teachings, and the baked bread that is eaten for sustenance. The irony follows, 'O may he ever give us more of that bread' in which he used the spiritual language of the church to demonstrate his need for food. A number of years later Askenootow employed a similar use of irony :

Indeed I may say, with sorrow that after I omit family prayers at night after a hard days toile, for want of a candle or lamp. O may the Lord Jesus have pity on my weakness that the true light may shine more and more into the perfect day.<sup>46</sup>

As in the previous quotation, metaphor is used, this time in the difference between 'the true light' and 'a candle or a lamp,' and the statement is ironic as the candle or lamp is necessary to write in his journal, but Askenootow's plea is for the true light, or the spiritual teachings of Jesus.

The fourth characteristic of Scott's public transcript occurs when the differences between the public and private transcripts are shattered. That is, when resistance is discussed openly in the public transcript. This can be done in a number of ways. According to Scott the most common is when an act of resistance becomes prominent in the community, and cannot be ignored in the public transcript. According to Scott this

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<sup>45</sup> Stevenson, *Journals and Voices*, pp. 319-20.

rarely occurs and his focus is often on aspects of resistance hidden deeper in the public transcript. However, the Jamieson Papers contain a number of examples of resistance discussed prominently in the letters and reports, which will be discussed in chapter five.

The terms hidden transcript and public transcript focus the discussion of resistance and help overcome the question of bias in the interpretation of the documents by providing a new framework for the analysis. The one weakness of the terms is that they were created to analyze resistance in general, and are not specific to Native peoples of North America. Gerald Vizenor's work can be used to address this issue. Vizenor has focused his writing on problems in Native Studies research. His ideas are a wonderful compliment to Scott's ideas, and extremely useful to research in Native communities.



### *Postindian Theory*

In his introduction to *Narrative Chance: Postmodern Discourse on Native American Indian Literatures*, Vizenor was critical of non Native theoretical perspectives in Native Studies, which he considered negative and extremely limited. He proposed the term “pleasureable misreadings” as a guide for research in Native communities. There have been enough interpretations of Native communities that focus on the negative and exclude humor. Vizenor’s “pleasureable misreadings” encouraged interpretations that are based on the positive aspects of Native communities. According to Vizenor, there can be

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<sup>46</sup> Stevenson, *Journals and Voices*, p. 320.

no “correct” or objective reading of a text, there can only be interpretations which should be based on humor and the imagination.<sup>47</sup>

Important to Vizenor is the imagination, or as he called it, narrative chance. Narrative chance refers to interpretation, and Vizenor encouraged academics to use their imagination when interpreting research. All aspects of research have an element of chance, and how this element is interpreted relates to the writer’s use of bias. Vizenor utilized narrative chance and pleasureable misreadings in his *Manifest Manners: Postindian Warriors of Survivance*. The result is wonderful analogies and discoveries like the following example from the journals of early American explorers Lewis and Clark:

as we were anxious now to meet with the Sosonees or snake Indians as soon as possible in order to obtain information relative to the geography of the country. . . we begin to feel considerable anxiety with respect to the snake Indians. If we do not find them or some other Nation that has horses I feel the successful issue of our voyage will be very doubtful, or at all events much more difficult in its accomplishment.<sup>48</sup>

Vizenor juxtaposed this example from the Lewis and Clark expedition against the cliché in western adventure fiction where white men see Indians and then “take care to remain unseen by them.” Vizenor showed that “the greatest dangers the Indians could pose for Lewis and Clark arose from their absence rather than their presence.”<sup>49</sup> By applying his perspectives to a historical document Vizenor managed to find a new idea, then juxtapose

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<sup>47</sup> Gerald Vizenor, *Narrative Chance: Postmodern Discourse on Native American Indian Literatures* (University of New Mexico Press, 1989) p. 16.

<sup>48</sup> Gerald Vizenor, *Manifest Manners: Postindian Warriors of Survivance* (Wesleyan University Press, 1994) p. 2.

<sup>49</sup> Vizenor, *Manifest Manners*, p. 2.

it to an Indian stereotype. The result is the explosion of that stereotype, and an excellent example of the benefits of Vizenor's ideas regarding narrative chance and pleasureable misreadings.

Vizenor is primarily concerned with the story, and uses Aboriginal Oral Histories to inform his works of theory. Vizenor began an interview for *Winged Words: Aboriginal Writers Speak* with the following:

All right. You can't understand the world without telling a story. There isn't any Centre to the world, but a story. I want to distinguish "story." It's not a rehearsed or repeated story, it's a visual reference to experience.<sup>50</sup>

And when discussing how oral histories were related to his perspective he said,

The thing I remember mostly about stories whoever was telling them -- my grandmother, my uncles, the kids, even my mother -- the thing I remember most vividly is the idea of being set free. . . . To me there is no more profound gesture in communication, or I want to use the word discourse . . . than to set someone free in talk. This is so precious and so gentle and so powerful because so often people don't set us free -- they try to control us with language.<sup>51</sup>

Oral history, and the idea of being set free was also important to Winona

Stevenson's study of Askenootow. She wrote:

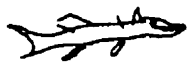
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<sup>50</sup> Laura Coltelli, *Winged Words: Aboriginal Writers Speak* (University of Nebraska Press, 1990) p. 156.

<sup>51</sup> Kimberly Blaeser, *Gerald Vizenor: Writing in the Oral Tradition* (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Notre Dame 1992) p. 1.

Our grandparents were wonderful storytellers. The way they interacted with their listeners, us children, as well as their body language, tones, and inflections, combined to bring the stories of mosom Charles [Askenootow] to life. When grandma Clara Pratt told stories, her eyes danced and glistened. The eyes of Old People, especially grandparents, are windows to the past through which we are honoured by visions of our deceased relatives. Oral history, in both its content and form, conveys the humanity, character and environment of our ancestors in ways the written word simply cannot duplicate.<sup>52</sup>

It was Stevenson's understanding of oral history that led her to a closer analysis of Askenootow's journals. From the oral histories she learned that her great grandfather was respected by his community, had a large family, hunted and ran the buffalo, was a pipe carrier and followed some traditional teachings. These aspects of Askenootow were not revealed in Stevenson's first reading of his journals where she focused on his missionary zeal, and devotion to Christianity. However, by understanding the oral histories she was able to question the writing, and apply tools of analysis in an attempt to reconcile the written word, with the spoken histories.



### *Summary*

The preceding discussion put forth frameworks for doing research by James C. Scott, Gerald Vizenor, and Winona Stevenson. Independently these ideas can be used to guide various aspects of research in Native communities, but the following will attempt

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<sup>52</sup> Stevenson, *Journals and Voices*, pp. 308-309.

to combine them into a single methodology to analyze the Jamieson Papers and other primary documents utilized in this thesis. The frameworks can be discussed as tools for analysis. Utilizing the analogy of a toolbox, which contains hammers, nails, and saws that can be used separately to perform a task, or together to build a house. The tools for analysis include Scott's hidden transcript and public transcript, and Vizenor's pleasureable misreadings and narrative chance. These tools can be used on their own to analyze documents, or they can be combined in an interdisciplinary approach to research and analysis.

Scott defined the public transcript as a self portrait. The Jamieson Papers emphasized Jamieson's view of the Anglican mission on Walpole Island, and his view of the community. According to Scott the public transcript is designed to affirm the power of the writer. Thus in the case of the Jamieson Papers, the reports and letters were written to affirm Jamieson's power and control in the Walpole Island community. The public transcript is often complex. It is not 'merely a skein of lies' but is often lopsided focusing on the desire of the author. The analysis of Jamieson's reports will show that he presented a lopsided account of the Anglican mission on Walpole Island. This reflected his bias as an Anglican priest and the need to emphasize progress in the conversion and civilization of the Walpole Island community.

According to Scott, resistance in the public transcript is shown in the hidden transcript which is part and parcel of the public transcript. This argument seems problematic, but can be clarified with the statement that all public documents contain a hidden transcript, and this hidden transcript emphasizes resistance. Winona Stevenson

discovered the hidden transcript of resistance in Askenootow's journals with her knowledge of oral history, and the tools of critical analysis. By using the ideas of Scott, Vizenor, and others Stevenson understood Askenootow's use of metaphor and irony, and revealed his resistance to the church.

The tools hidden transcripts and public transcripts apply structure to the analysis of the Jamieson papers which ameliorate the problems of bias in the documents. The bias in the documents include Jamieson's bias as an Anglican missionary, and my bias as a researcher. The problem of Jamieson's bias is addressed by acknowledgment of the Jamieson papers as a public transcript. It is a document that is a self portrait with a highly partisan narrative. The problem of my bias in researching the Jamieson papers is partially addressed with the structure placed in the analysis. The structure is provided by Scott and Vizenor and includes the tools, hidden transcript, public transcript, pleasureable misreadings, and narrative chance.

According to Vizenor there have been enough interpretations of Native communities that exclude humor and focus on the negative. Pleasureable misreadings suggested that researchers focus on positive aspects of Native communities, and emphasize humor and the dynamic nature of Native cultures. These ideas are reflected in the focus of this thesis. Resistance to missionaries at Walpole Island stressed the dynamic nature of the Walpole Island community. Resistance is a positive characteristic of the community because it emphasized their power and independence. Pleasureable misreadings also relates to perspective. Vizenor chose the term misreadings to show that there is not one 'true' or 'correct' interpretation of a text. The researcher should not be

concerned with trying to attain the 'correct' interpretation and focus instead on positive aspects of the community.

Vizenor's ideas will enhance the discussion of resistance that is guided by Scott's hidden transcripts and public transcripts. Though discussed separately the tools for research suggested by Vizenor and Scott compliment each other. Scott's tools guide the discussion of resistance by providing a framework for analysis. Vizenor's tools enhance the discussion by encouraging juxtaposition in the descriptions, and imagination in the analysis. Vizenor also added the importance of positive aspects in the research, and the emphasis of humor. Winona Stevenson's examples from Askenootow's journals help to explain the ideas of Scott and Vizenor, and also help in the analysis of the Jamieson papers by providing a similar example of study.

The next chapter will describe some of the primary documents utilized in this thesis in an attempt to describe Walpole Island in the nineteenth century. There are a number of early descriptions of Walpole Island from John Keating, first Indian agent at Walpole Island, as well as early travelers and missionaries. The descriptions by Keating emphasized the relationship between Native and non Native peoples, and the importance of farming in the community. Descriptions by missionaries were analyzed using the methodology discussed in this chapter. Letters written by Jesuit missionaries focus on descriptions of the Walpole Island community, while the writings of Methodist and Anglican missionaries emphasized resistance to the church in the community.



### *Chapter Three: Walpole Island in the Nineteenth Century*

*My brother, the Great Spirit who made all things that exist made them with infinite variety, they are not all alike. The trees are of many different species, and the plants are even more diverse. How different are the barks of trees, their leaves, everything we see! We men of different names are not all alike. I do not have the same skin as you and I do not speak the same language you speak. It is certainly true the Great Spirit who put these innumerable differences in all that he created; consequently, his plan was not that we all have one and the same way of seeking the light. I have a special way of seeking the light that he gave to me, you have yours that he also gave to you, and it is the same for all nations<sup>53</sup>.*

From Chief Petwegizhik's speech in the Ojibwa Jesuit debate

This chapter describes the Walpole Island community in the nineteenth century and provides some context for the analysis of the Jamieson Papers. Very little is known about Walpole Island in the early nineteenth century, but Nin.daa.waab.jig's *Walpole Island: The Soul of Indian Territory* reveals some of the community's early history. In the 1830's there were approximately three hundred Anishnabeg, Odawa, and Potawatomi peoples on the island. Many were allies of the British in the war of 1812, and settled on Walpole Island after Native peoples in the United States were removed west of the Mississippi.

The Odawa, Anishnabeg and Potawatomi peoples shared the political and spiritual alliance of the Three Fires Confederacy. They spoke similar dialects of the Anishnabeg language, and according to Keewaquoshkum, an Ottawa chief and Indian historian, "the Chippewas [Anishnabeg] Ottawas, and Potowatomies were one nation. We separated at Michillimackinac. We were related by the same blood, language, and

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<sup>53</sup> Delage and Tanner, *The Ojibway - Jesuit Debate*, pp. 311-312.

interests, but in the course of a long time we have forgotten.”<sup>54</sup> According to James Clifton the Potawatomi peoples moved by foot and canoe into lower Michigan and northeastern Wisconsin in the seventeenth century, but in the nineteenth century they moved eastward “as mounted warriors, armed with percussion muskets, experienced in the fur trade, now horticultural in subsistence technique, with numerous successful political and military campaigns as part of their traditional history.”<sup>55</sup>

There are also a number of early descriptions of the island. This description of Bkejwanong was written in 1836 by Irish-born traveler Anna Brownell-Murphy:

. . . we stretched northwards across Lake St. Clair. this beautiful lake, though three times the size of lake Geneva, is a mere pond compared with the enormous seas in its neighborhood. About one o'clock we entered the river St. Clair, (which like the Detroit, is rather a straight or a channel than a river) forming the communication between Lake St. Clair and Lake Huron. Ascending this beautiful river, we had, on the right, part of the western district of Upper Canada, and on the left the Michigan territory. The shores on either side, though low and always bounded by the forest, were broken into bays and little promontories, or diversified by islands, richly wooded and of every variety and form. The bateaux of the Canadians, or the canoes of the Indians were perpetually seen gliding among these winding channels, or shooting across the river from side to side, as if playing hide and seek among the leafy recesses. Now and then a beautiful schooner, with white sails relieved against the green mass of foliage, passed us, gracefully curtsying and sidling along. Innumerable flocks of wild fowl were disporting among the reedy islets, and here and

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<sup>54</sup> Nin da waab jig, *Walpole Island*, p. 10.

there a great black loon was seen diving and dipping, or skimming over the waters.<sup>56</sup>

Brownell-Murphy's description of Walpole Island is worth quoting at length because of its detail and the early date. Her juxtaposition of the 'Indian canoes' and the 'beautiful schooners' eloquently reveals the relationship between the island's original inhabitants and the early travelers and settlers. Because of its position between lakes Huron and Erie, lake St. Clair has always been a popular spot for travelers. Many non Native people attempted to settle on Walpole Island, and by 1844 the Native peoples were having problems with squatters on their land.



#### *Keating's Descriptions of Walpole Island*

J. W. Keating, the Indian Agent at Walpole Island, questioned the presence of squatters on the island in a letter to Indian Affairs dated April 19, 1844. He wrote:

I felt naturally surprised that an island that I had understood to be expressly appropriated to the settlement of Indians should be thus held entirely by whites, many of them of most abandoned character and more than questionable loyalty.<sup>57</sup>

Keating managed to expel all of the squatters, though it took a number of years, with much work and time spent in a court of law. The following quote from Keating's letters shows one of the inconveniences caused by the settlers:

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<sup>55</sup> James A. Clifton, "A Report on the Survey of Potowatomi Indian Groups in Canada," (University of Wisconsin, July 24, 1973) pp. 8-9.

<sup>56</sup> Jacobs, *We Have But Our Hearts*, pp. 4-5

<sup>57</sup> RG10, series A, Vol. 571. Reel C-13373. J.W. Keating, "Letterbook" p. 20.

it appears that considerable animosity has long existed between Jacob East, a squatter on Walpole Island against some of the Indians residing near him which on one occasion led him to assault one of them for which I had him fined. Since then he has stabbed one of their horses and killed one of their pigs. . .<sup>58</sup>

According to Keating this resulted in a “bad feeling among the Indians” and one of them broke a window in East’s house. East could not pursue him, but the next day he had three Indians arrested and they were tried, found guilty, fined, and their horses and rifles were taken. Keating later followed up the conviction and noted:

I find that although he arrested three Indians, he only returns one of his conviction[s] to the Clerk of the Peace. These other two Indians had to pay 15s 3p for which his rifle was seized and the other had a horse seized and sold for his supposed participation and yet no notice of these is found in the record.<sup>59</sup>

Keating claimed the person charged guilty could have been proven innocent by “white evidence” as he was not within ten miles of East’s house at “the time of the outrage.” Keating managed to pay the fines and recover the rifle, but the horses were “sacrificed.”<sup>60</sup> Out of over twenty settlers only four had paid money to the Native peoples for their leases. These four families were compensated by the Walpole Island Indian Council out of the annuity funds. Keating wrote in the same letter:

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<sup>58</sup> Keating, Letterbook, p. 23.

<sup>59</sup> Keating, Letterbook, p. 24.

<sup>60</sup> Keating, Letterbook, p. 24.

The Indians are willing, as I had the honor of reporting to remunerate 4 families, whom they think deserving, but it is to be well understood that these squatters did not clear the land, it was prairie land in which a plough could at once be put, with perhaps a few bushes and had been used for many years by the Indians for their small corn fields.<sup>61</sup>

This excerpt from Keating's letters describes two characteristics of Walpole Island early in the nineteenth century. The Indian Council was used for making decisions in the community, and farming had been practiced before Europeans had settled on the island.

Farming on the island by the community is important because Jamieson and others had assumed that Aboriginal peoples hunted and trapped for their livelihood. In fact Native peoples had been growing corn and other crops for a very long time before the arrival of settlers on the island. Keating mentioned in a later letter that when purchasing supplies he had to buy seed potatoes from a Native person on the island. Graham also described farming by Native peoples on Walpole Island:

Over 600 acres were cultivated by the Indians [probably in the 1840's] and Keating was encouraging them to build up their stock holdings. He described the form of land tenure; there were five inferior chiefs amongst the Ojibwa, who were always surrounded by their own immediate relations, their connections by marriage, and the young men who, through their control of the Head Chief, recognized especially their own leader. These chiefs divided up the land, and each separate band cultivated in one

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<sup>61</sup> Keating, Letterbook, p. 25.

vast enclosure, each person to his means or industry, planting more or less land.<sup>62</sup>

The above emphasized the importance of farming in the community by the structure that it had established. Farming was a communal effort, but organized by the chiefs and families.

Monsieur de Sabrevois emphasized farming on the island as well. He wrote: “you will find the Misisaguez ‘Sauvages,’ who dwell on a beautiful island where they have cleared some land.” The passage was dated 1718 and included a description of the people and the Island. The year 1718 preceded European settlers on the island, and the quote revealed that they had cleared land, probably for the planting of corn and potatoes.



### *The Jesuits' Descriptions of Walpole Island*

The Jesuit Brother Joseph Jennessaux accompanied du Ranquet to Walpole Island in the early 1840's and a number of his letters are on file at the Walpole Island Heritage Centre. In a letter dated August 9, 1844 Jennessaux described the Jesuit mission on Walpole Island. He wrote that the Jesuits made the journey to Walpole Island because they, “learned that a great number of still heathen savages were living on this island and they resolved to save them.” Jennessaux then described the Native peoples from Walpole Island:

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<sup>62</sup> Elizabeth Graham, *Strategies and Souls* (PhD Thesis, University of Toronto) p. 271.

they are drunken and extremely lazy; they do barely what they have to live, when they get too hungry, they go hunting or fishing: the women are more industrious than the men: they do practically all the work. They are not very obliging between themselves and especially toward the whites. If you want them to help you, you first have to show them their reward. I guess one can attribute this egocentrism to the mixture of nations, each of which preserves a special identity and a certain coldness to people of another race.<sup>63</sup>

As described in the methodology Jennessaux's letter can be discussed as a public document and recognized as a self portrait. The above description is lopsided toward what Jennessaux would have perceived as negative traits. He described the community as 'drunken and extremely lazy,' but Jennessaux's European work ethic, characterized by "self-improvement, thrift, work, and industry,"<sup>64</sup> was much different than the Walpole Island community's work ethic. Jennessaux emphasized his hard work throughout the letter. He described the cooking, building, and general work of the mission in great detail. The community's work on the island would have included hunting and trapping, planting and harvesting crops, and other tasks that differed greatly from Jennessaux's routine. These differences in work ethic are part of the different perspectives between the Jesuits and the community. Despite these differences Jennessaux's descriptions of the community are still useful. Jennessaux described the clothing worn on Bkejwanong:

During the summer all they wear are what they call brayettes: everybody wears this: it is a belt from which are hung two strips of material, one in the front, the other in the back; added to this is an Indian shirt, so dirty it is

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<sup>63</sup> Joseph Jennessaux, "Letter from Walpole Island, August 9, 1844" (Walpole Island Heritage Centre, history file 8-9) p. 5.

<sup>64</sup> Jean Usher, *William Duncan of Metlakatla* ((National museum of Man, 1874) p. viii.

hard to determine its colour and often it is rotten and torn. For the most part, washing clothes and mending them, and changing them is unknown to them. The neater ones wear a type of pants which covers the legs: they do not go barefoot which is the usual way, they prepare boots made out of moose hide: they prepare the skin themselves, they sew it with pieces of animal nerve tissue: they often put most of the decoration on their feet. On their heads they wear a large mandana, open at the top and trimmed with feathers when they can get them; their long black hair is split into several carefully made braids to which they attach all types of small objects, feathers and bells. They often make earrings, which are nothing more than a thin wire or a thin string; many wear a ring at the nose.<sup>65</sup>

Jenessaux also described the women's clothing on the island:

The women are more decently dressed: they robe themselves from the waist to the knees one and a half times round with a piece of cloth, they also wear large leggings, called mitas, which are similar to the ones often worn in the French countryside. This is where the indian woman wears her luxury. She will also put ribbons and pearls on her shoes, which resemble those of the men. They also wear an Indian blouse which comes down just above the knee and a sort of cap decorated with shiny bits of material and as many necklaces as they can. They attach a wide ribbon to their long carefully braided hair and let it float on their shoulders; that is an indian woman in her finery. She completes the ensemble by wrapping herself up in a blanket or if she is rich, in a red or blue sheet.<sup>66</sup>

Jenessaux's descriptions can be compared to those made by Major John Richardson.

Richardson was a novelist and an Aboriginal person who visited Walpole Island in 1848.

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<sup>65</sup> Jenessaux, Letter from Walpole Island, pp. 5-6

<sup>66</sup> Jenessaux, Letter from Walpole Island, p. 6.



The following description of the disbursement of annuities on Walpole Island is taken from *Tecumseh and Richardson, the Story of a Trip to Walpole Island*:

About nine o' clock in the morning, and as the landing of the presents commenced, the Indians began to assemble from all quarters - many coming from a distance in canoes - but most of them emerging in all points of the wood that skirted the little plain already described, and behind which most of their dwellings were situated. At each moment this increased until twelve o' clock, when nearly the whole were upon the ground, presenting in the variety and brilliancy of their costumes in which each seemed to consult his own fancy, a most picturesque spectacle. Scattered around in different small groups, they either stood lounging gracefully, or moving over the ground, amused themselves in various ways. Cards and ball playing engaged their principal attention, but the last was not that spirited game which and once formed the leading characteristic of the Indian race; and yet the men who played were not the half civilized, and therefore degenerate beings I had been led to fear I should find, but principally of the original and unadulterated stock of the red man, whose proud demeanor they evidently inherited, and whose language alone, unmixed with that of the white man was familiar to them . . . Several of the younger chiefs were gaily enough dressed, and exhibited taste in the costumes they had chosen; but although their leggin[g]s were made of the finest scarlet cloth, and these, as well as their garters and moccasins, covered with variegated ribbons of the gaudiest hues, and that the arms of their dark *capots*, were encircled with broad silver bands from the shoulder to the wrist, and that their shirts were of the whitest calico, and their European fashioned beaver hats, ornamented with huge silver rings, in which were stuck the plumes of the ostrich, dyed of a jet black

color, and tipped with crimson, while from their ears depended multitudinous small drops of a sugar loaf shape.<sup>67</sup>

When compared to Jennessaux's descriptions of the men's clothing Richardson's observations of dress revealed a number of different points. Richardson described the men's shirts as made from the 'whitest calico' while Jennessaux described them as 'so dirty it is hard to determine its color and often it is rotten and torn.' Of course Richardson's descriptions were during annuity time which was a celebration in the community, but Jennessaux claimed that washing and mending clothing is unknown to the community. This definitely contrasted with Richardson's opinion of the men's dress which he claimed 'exhibited taste.' The two contrasting descriptions by Jennessaux and Richardson emphasized their different perspectives and provide different views of the community.

Jennessaux also described the land of Walpole Island. In the letter from 1844 he described Walpole Island as a "large swamp" infested with snakes. During the Jesuit's first visit to the island their tent was torn by wind and they were soaked by six days of rain, and spent many days sitting in their "miserable tent" waiting for permission to build a church and cabin. When permission did not come they ran from the snakes and "unnerving" wild horses and commandeered the highest point of the island to build their church.<sup>68</sup> This area, known as Highbanks, provides a wonderful view of the St. Clair river, and is one of the most beautiful points on the island. But for the peoples of

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<sup>67</sup> Jacobs, *We Have But the Hearts*, pp. 7-8.

<sup>68</sup> Jennessaux, *Letter from Walpole Island*, p. 7.

Walpole Island the Highbanks was sacred ground. It “contained an ancient burial mound as well as a more recent cemetery.”<sup>69</sup> To make matters worse Jennessaux chopped down a century-old oak grove for timber. This infuriated the peoples of Walpole Island, and ignited what later became known as the war against the Black Robes. Following this incident du Ranquet was summoned before a Council of Elders and chastised by the orator Ochaouanon:

You, Black Robe, the man who wears a hat, what have you done? You have dishonored the most beautiful part of this island, which is ours. You have cut down some ancient trees, trees which we respected. What do you intend to do with them? Build a large prayer lodge? But what would you say if we went to the other side of the great water to force our customs on you? When have Whites ever taken part in our dances, our celebrations, our customs and boasted about it? Black Robe . . . you have come to ridicule our customs right here on our own land . . . You mock the remains of our ancestors.<sup>70</sup>

The Jesuit superior, Father Chazelle arrived from Sudbury and attempted to settle things through what is now known as the Ojibwa-Jesuit debate of 1844.



### *The Ojibwa- Jesuit Debate*

The Ojibwa-Jesuit debate was organized by Father Chazelle, interpreted by Georges Henri Mongotas, and recorded by Father du Ranquet. The transcript was captured in one of Chazelle’s letters, later published in Lorenzo Cadieux’s *Lettres Des*

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<sup>69</sup> Nin da waab jig, *Walpole Island*, p. 39.

<sup>70</sup> James Morrison, “Upper Great lakes Settlement: The Anishnabe-Jesuit record” *Ontario History*, Vol. LXXXVI, No. 1, pp. 55-56.

*Nouvelles Missions du Canada*. Cadieux's collection is notable as it was privately printed for the use of the Jesuits, and has only recently been made available to the public. The debate took place on July 23, 1844 and lasted over two and a half hours. A large crowd gathered to hear the debate which took place at Highbanks. Chazelle set the stage of the debate at the beginning of his letter:

You know, Reverend Father, the little burial mound on the right side of the Chenal Ecarte. Well! Beside this ancient warriors' tomb you can see a small temporary chapel surmounted with a wooden cross. See the portico with its benches intended for Canadian, Irish, and American catholics [sic] who come to hear the mass on Sundays. On these benches facing the altar sits the Senate of savages, and on the outer angle of the house of prayer stands the old Black Robe. His gaze is directed toward oak point, and when he does not pause to recognize the red men, his audience, it rises up to the pure bright sky; or it wanders over the river and the forest.<sup>71</sup>

Chazelle's description emphasizes the Jesuit's inflated sense of their importance. The old Black Robe's gaze "rises up to the pure bright sky," but the description is useful and sets scene of the debate from the eyes of the Jesuits.

Oshawana spoke to begin the debate and addressed Father Chazelle, who was much older than du Ranquet and was accorded more respect by the peoples of Walpole Island. Oshawana was living near Sudbury, but he had fought with Tecumseh, and was highly respected in the Walpole island community. The great chief of the island, Pazehizhikquashkum, had recently passed away. Pazehizhikquashkum was a great

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<sup>71</sup> Delage and Tanner, *The Ojibway - Jesuit Debate*, p. 303.

spiritual leader and orator, and many of his speeches were recorded. In a speech to the Chief Superintendent Jarvis of the Indian department Pazehizhikquashkum said,

Father we have no records of ancient treaties to refer to, we have no books handed down to us by our ancestors to direct us in our speech, we have but our hearts and the traditions of our old men: they are not deceitful.<sup>72</sup>

And in reference to the English and American governments Pazehizhikquashkum said,

By the construction of this instrument [a pair of scissors] they [the government] said, it would appear as if in shutting, these two sharp knives would strike together and destroy each other's edges; but no such thing: they only cut what comes between them. And thus the English and Americans do when they go to war against one another. It is not each other that they want to destroy, but us, poor Indians that are between them.<sup>73</sup>

Pazehizhikquashkum's speeches were rich in metaphors and stressed the importance of Walpole Island as a community. His leadership was missed at the debate, but the young chief Petwegizhik took his place and spoke eloquently on behalf of his community. Petwegizhik spoke after Father Chazelle and said,

My brother, you proclaim that there is but one way to see the light that is the same for all peoples. I do not know; however, I have to be what the Great Spirit, who made and determines all things asks of me.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Morrison, *Upper Great lakes Settlement*, p. 55.

<sup>73</sup> Smith. *Sacred Feathers*, p. 67.

<sup>74</sup> Delage and Tanner, *The Ojibway - Jesuit Debate*, p. 311.

Petwegizhik's speech received shouts of approval from the crowd, which supported Oshawana and Petwegizhik throughout the debate. After the Jesuits spoke the Elders would gather to discuss the response. Then Petwegizhik or Oshawana would speak.

Oshawana announced the rules of the debate that included "no interruptions." He then addressed the Black Robes:

My brother, your brothers seated here, the chiefs and elders ask you. Where do you come from? Who sends you? You come, my brother, thinking that you will teach us Wisdom. But don't believe that savages are fools. They have the knowledge that they need. The Great Spirit has not left them in ignorance: he has given them great gifts; he has given them wisdom.<sup>75</sup>

And in closing his first speech Oshawana said,

Therefore, my brother, do not flatter yourself that we will change. No, never will I, a savage man, forget the Great Spirit by whom all things exist. I know what he has given me and I will preserve it carefully. I feed my fire, it will not go out.<sup>76</sup>

Chazelle's reply focused the belief that there is one religion for all men, and explained his relationship with du Ranquet. Chazelle had called the debate to placate the resistance to the Jesuit church, and help du Ranquet gain respect in the community.

Chazelle called du Ranquet his son and stated, "What I say, he too says: the thoughts and

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<sup>75</sup> Delage and Tanner, *The Ojibway - Jesuit Debate*, p. 303.

<sup>76</sup> Delage and Tanner, *The Ojibway - Jesuit Debate*, p. 305.

feelings of each are the same. Listen and understand me.”<sup>77</sup> Chazelle also claimed the community needed the Jesuits to fully understand the Great Spirit. He said:

My brother, you know the Great Spirit better than did my ancestors, I told you so. But you do not know him well enough; you do not know him as he wants to be known; you do not know him because you do not know Jesus Christ his son, whom he sent to teach all men, to save all men. You do not know Jesus Christ because you do not know prayer.<sup>78</sup>

Chazelle claimed that Aboriginal peoples did not pray, and it was for this purpose that the Jesuits were needed on the island.

In his first speech Petwegizhik replied to Chazelle’s claim that there is one religion for all men. He stated:

My brother, you proclaim that there is but one way to seek the light that is the same for all peoples. I do not know; however; I have to be what the Great Spirit, who makes and determines all things asks of me ... My brother, if, when my ancestor was created by the Great Spirit, he had been told: one day you will receive the visit of a man with a hat, and the blessings that I have given him will become your blessings; you shall then renounce those that I am now giving you – my brothers seated here would answer your call. But we have not heard a word of it ...<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> Delage and Tanner, *The Ojibway - Jesuit Debate*, p. 306.

<sup>78</sup> Delage and Tanner, *The Ojibway - Jesuit Debate*, p. 307.

<sup>79</sup> Delage and Tanner, *The Ojibway - Jesuit Debate*, p. 311.

Petwegizhik utilized the metaphor of the diversity of plants and animals to emphasize the complexities of the Great Spirit. His speech eloquently focused on resistance, telling du Ranquet to stop building the church, and if “ you persist in your resolution I do not know what might happen.”<sup>80</sup> With this threat Chazelle called for a break, and after a short time du Ranquet spoke.

Du Ranquet praised Petwegizhik and Oshawana and expanded on Chazelle’s discussion on the need for prayer. He also restated his request to keep building the church. Referring to the church he stated, “ there is one thing that you will not refuse me”<sup>81</sup> and later added, “do not be distressed that I am building my cabin [church] on the contrary rejoice. It has been decided; the Great Spirit wants it, the House of Prayer will be built on the highest and most beautiful part of the island.”<sup>82</sup> After du Ranquet spoke there was a few minutes of silence and Oshawana replied. He stressed his belief in the Great Spirit above all else the Jesuits could offer. He reiterated Petwegizhik’s plea for the Jesuit’s to leave the island, “ stop building your house for a while, this is what I ask. . .”<sup>83</sup> When Chazelle tried to reply to this he was told that no response was wanted.

The Jesuits had lost the debate. Their promises of Christianity held no influence over the community, and now the peoples of Walpole Island demanded that the building stop. Chazelle replied that he “ would not stop for one minute building the house of

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<sup>80</sup> Delage and Tanner, *The Ojibway - Jesuit Debate*, p. 313.

<sup>81</sup> Delage and Tanner, *The Ojibway - Jesuit Debate*, p. 314.

<sup>82</sup> Delage and Tanner, *The Ojibway - Jesuit Debate*, p. 318.

<sup>83</sup> Delage and Tanner, *The Ojibway - Jesuit Debate*, p. 305.



prayer.”<sup>84</sup> The assembly did not disperse, and Chazelle attempted to placate the “overly serious” faces by shaking hands. Petwegizhik was the last to leave the assembly.

Noticeably distraught he was overheard as saying, “I am going to bring down the Black Robes Cabin.” A little after midnight on March 23, 1849 the Jesuit church was burned to the ground. It was no secret that Petwegizhik burned down the Jesuit church. Du Ranquet pronounced upon whoever “did the wicked deed [burned the church] that he would not live long and be a very poor man,” but Petwegizhik lived to be nearly one hundred years old and was comfortable to the end of his life.<sup>85</sup>

Du Ranquet and Jennessaux were off the island at the time of the fire, and after spending a “miserable winter” both left Walpole Island forever. Father Durthaller recorded a meeting with du Ranquet after the burning of the church.

I found him [du Ranquet] and Brother Jennessaux lodged in a wretched bark cabin adjoining a mere hut which served as a chapel. He was but a shadow of himself. Though only thirty four years of age, he looked like an old man, with wrinkled face and white hair, the effect of his privations, his incessant labors and unceasing fight against opposition.<sup>86</sup>

Du Ranquet’s condition may have been slightly exaggerated as missionaries often exaggerated their hardships to emphasize the difficulty of their work to their superiors and to the public in general. However, the steady opposition from the Walpole Island community must have taken its toll upon his condition.

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<sup>84</sup> Delage and Tanner, *The Ojibway - Jesuit Debate*, p. 320.

<sup>85</sup> H.B. Williams, “Some Facts Regarding The Beginning of The Missionary Work on Walpole Island” (Walpole Island Heritage Centre, History File 8-9) p. 2.



## *The Methodists*

The Walpole Island community had also resisted Anglican and Methodist attempts at conversion to Christianity before the Jesuits. Kahkewaquonaby made two attempts at conversion on the island, but Pazezhizhikquashkum refused both times saying:

The Great spirit made us all. When he made the white man he gave him his worship written in a book, and prepared a place for his soul in heaven above. he also gave him his mode of preparing and administering medicine to the sick different to that of the Indians. Brothers and friends, when the Great Spirit made the Indian he gave him his mode of worship, and the manner of administering medicine to the sick. The Great Spirit gave the Indian to know the virtue of roots and plants to preserve life; and by attending to these things our lives are preserved.<sup>87</sup>

Kahkewaquonaby left the island calling it “one of the hardest I know.” Another Methodist missionary, Thomas Turner, proselytized along lake St. Clair, but “considered himself a failure.” He felt that the adults drank too much to allow conversion, and “suggested it would be more productive to concentrate on the children, ‘the rising generation.’”<sup>88</sup> Turner mainly faced resistance, but claimed modest success when he was asked by Chief Wawanosh to say a prayer at the funeral for a young man that had drowned during an epileptic seizure. He wrote:

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<sup>86</sup> Father M. Blonde, *History of the Church of Our lady Help of Christians* (Wallaceburg Book Binding, 1987) p. 11.

<sup>87</sup> Donald B. Smith, “Pazezhizhikquashkum.” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Vol. VII 1836 to 1850* (University of Toronto Press, 1975) p. 54.

<sup>88</sup> Devens, *Countering Colonization*, p. 50.

Trivial indeed it would appear to many, but to a missionary living among pure pagans as these Indians are, even such an incident is not without interest. . . as soon as I observed that the other chiefs, and nearly all the men who were present joined with Waywaynosh in his request I consented, and during prayer both men and women were silent and attentive.”<sup>89</sup>

It appeared that Wawanosh retained his “pure pagan” character until at least 1844, when he debated the Jesuits at Bkejwanong. Turner’s failure was also repeated by the first two Anglican missionaries at Walpole Island.



### *Early Anglican Missionaries*

The history and perspectives of the Anglican church are described in the following chapter, but the impetus for the arrival of Anglican missionaries at Bkejwanong in 1841 can be traced to a demand by Chief Petwegizhik for two eyes. The interpretation of his request is a matter of debate, but H.B. Williams wrote:

He [Petwegizhik] was asked what he meant by two eyes, and he replied, “I want a black coat teacher (a clergyman) for me and my people and a teacher for our children.”<sup>90</sup>

At this time the number of European settlers in southern Ontario was increasing.

Williams argued that Petwegizhik desired an English education in order to help deal with

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<sup>89</sup> Devens, *Countering Colonization*, p. 50.

<sup>90</sup> Williams, *Some Facts*, p. 2.

the impact of Europeans. It is also possible that by “two eyes” Petwegizhik meant that he wanted to be able to see European ways with one eye, and traditional Aboriginal ways with the other. Regardless of the intentions, the result was the arrival of the Anglican missionaries at Walpole Island.

The first Anglican missionary to arrive was the Reverend James Coleman in 1841. There is little information in the historical record relating to his tenure on the island, but he was unsuccessful in making any conversions to the Anglican church. The two references to Coleman’s mission are from Keating, and from Reverend Pyne, a missionary that lived near Walpole Island. Keating did not approve of Coleman and wrote:

Mr. Coleman was little adapted to his charge; he had but recently taken orders, was timid and embarrassed when addressing them, and could not in the least suit the language to his hearers. His personal appearance, his manner, and that of his former career, a County Apothecary in Wales, made an unfavourable impression on the Indians, who are exceedingly prone to ridicule, and he did not succeed, neither would he in a century ...<sup>91</sup>

Reverend Pyne agreed with Keating. His account of a meeting between Coleman and a group of Native peoples on Walpole Island emphasized humor, and the characteristic (‘prone to ridicule’) mentioned by Keating:

... in consequence in being unable to satisfy the doctors of his people [Native leaders] about certain subjects of the Christian faith – one of which subjects was (the Chief said) the Trinity: for, when called on to explain how there could be three persons in one, the missionary answered by an illustration, which, unfortunately (not convincing them), proved the ruin of his mission, and they would no longer hear him ... The illustration which he used, and which proved so unfortunate, was to compare ‘the Trinity to the three lakes, Ontario, Erie, and Huron, the waters of which were all one, as they flowed into each other.’ ...the practical minds of the Indian doctors at once repudiated the similie, by crying out: ‘Ah! This man’s God is all water.’ This was so sudden a defeat, that the missionary was obliged to leave the island.”<sup>2</sup>

Reverend John Carey replaced James Coleman in 1843, “but he too was unable to establish a mission.” Keating reported in 1844 that Coleman’s failure was “owing to his own want of energy,” and added “that the Indian Bishop [in charge of missions] of Toronto has conveyed to me his unqualified disapprobation of Mr. Carey’s conduct and his determination not again to employ him for some years.”<sup>93</sup> Keating also wrote:

I cannot forebear the remarking that however zealous his intentions Mr. Carey has never been able to carry them into practice and that not from want of cooperation on my part, but from constitutional nervousness which prevents him from ever addressing a congregation without the

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<sup>91</sup> Sheila M. Van Wyck, *Harvest Yet to Reap: History, Identity, and Agriculture in a Canadian Indian Community* (University of Toronto, unpublished PhD Thesis, 1992) p. 191.

<sup>92</sup> Van Wyck, *Harvest Yet to Reap*, p. 191.

<sup>93</sup> Keating, *Letterbook*, pp. 17-18.

greatest effort and habitual moroseness which never imbends into the slightest approach to hilarity.”<sup>94</sup>

Keating’s remarks were in defense of an allegation against him from Carey, but he appeared to be correct as Carey was removed from the island and replaced by Jamieson in 1845. When Jamieson arrived the church and school house had been built and the community was anxiously waiting for a school teacher. At the time of his arrival on the island the community said they were satisfied with this school, “would never accept any kind of prayer, but would leave their grown up children free to adopt the Anglican prayer if they chose.”<sup>95</sup>

### Summary

This chapter utilized a number of primary and secondary sources to describe Walpole Island in the nineteenth century. Nin da waab jig’s *Walpole Island: The Soul of Indian Territory* included a number of early historical descriptions of the island. These descriptions complimented Keating’s observations of the community, as well as the Jesuit, Methodist and Anglican experiences. The methodology discussed in chapter two was applied to these sources revealing lopsided accounts, but emphasizing the different descriptions of the island, as in the example of Richardson and Jennessaux’s discussion of the people and clothing worn on the island. The Ojibwa-Jesuit debate emphasized resistance to missionaries and the autonomy of the Walpole Island community. Chief

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<sup>94</sup> Keating, Letterbook, p. 17.

<sup>95</sup> Williams, Some Facts, p. 4.

Petwegizhik's request for "two eyes" revealed the impetus for the arrival of the Anglican missionaries.

The next chapter describes Jamieson's early life on the island using a number of sources from the Jamieson Papers and the Walpole Island Heritage Centre. This chapter also describes the history and perspectives of the church mission societies in general, and the Anglican church missions in particular. This discussion relies upon works from history, sociology, and theology and attempts to discuss the ideas that guided the Anglican church in nineteenth century Upper Canada. The discussion of missionary societies is followed by a discussion of the 'Indian policy' of the British colonial government. The policies of these institutions relate directly to their impact on Native peoples, and also provide context for the analysis of the Jamieson papers.

### *Chapter Four: Historical Context to the Jamieson Papers*

*The [Native woman] is a virago who handles an oar and hunting piece as easily as our warriors. With eye on fire she addressed to the culpable Christian these words: "Infamous girl, I am very glad to meet you ... Ah, fortunate for you that I fear the Mekata-Koneia (black robe, missionary), otherwise I would tear you to pieces. Thank him that I fear him, but take care if I meet you again. This fear may not find itself in my heart. Then nothing will restrain me.*

Quotation from Anthony Maria Gachet in Carol Devens *Countering Colonization*

The perspectives of the Anglican church and the Department of Indian Affairs were directly related to Reverend Jamieson's ideas and perspectives when he wrote the his letters and reports to the SPG. Jamieson received a salary from the Department of Indian Affairs, and a stipend plus expenses from the Anglican church through the SPG. This chapter proposes that Indian Affairs, and the Anglican Church, though very different institutions, shared similar ideas about their treatment of Aboriginal peoples. Both promoted acculturation and assimilation, and the belief that Native peoples were doomed to extinction unless they could be integrated into Eurocanadian society. In fact, the Department of Indian Affairs relied upon the church to promote assimilation. Douglas Leighton wrote:

Out of these French attitudes came the idea that the Indian should be "Frenchified" or civilized so that he might become acceptable as the social equal of the European settler. The Church was the chief instrument used for this task and consequently received land grants from the colonial governments ...<sup>96</sup>



The land grants, known as the clergy reserves, emphasized the connection between the Anglican Church and the government. This partnership will be discussed later in the chapter, but first a discussion of the history of the Anglican Church is necessary.



### *The Anglican Church in Canada*

The Anglican Church is a denomination of the Protestant religions which originated after the Protestant Reformation in Europe in the seventeenth century.<sup>97</sup> The Protestant Reformation enacted a split away from the Catholic faith, in which Protestant denominations severed ties with Rome and the Pope. Other denominations of the Protestant religion include the Methodists, and Presbyterians who united with the Anglicans in Canada in the late nineteenth century. The beginnings of the Anglican church in Canada have been traced to 1713, after the Treaty of Utrecht, which ended the French wars and resulted in thirty years of peace in the North American colonies.<sup>98</sup> During this period the SPG, which was formed in 1701, sent a number of missionaries to the East coast of present day Canada. “Slowly, with the help of the S.P.G.. clergy were appointed, churches were built, and schools started.”<sup>99</sup>

The Anglican church expanded into Upper Canada (present day Ontario) during the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century. The two men that were connected to this expansion were Bishop Jacob Mountain, and Bishop John Strachan.

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<sup>96</sup> Douglas Leighton, *The Development of Federal Indian Policy in Canada, 1840-1890* (University of Western Ontario, unpublished PhD Thesis, 1975) p. 6.

<sup>97</sup> William Westfall, *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (McGill Queen's University Press, 1945) p. 12.

Jacob Mountain was consecrated as Bishop of Quebec in 1793, and after his death in 1825 his epitaph read, “(in Latin) Founder of the Church in the Canadas; Foremost in the Service of God; Willing, faithful, tireless.”<sup>100</sup> Mountain was charged with establishing missions, and securing funding for the church. The Clergy reserves (which set aside one seventh of the land in each township “as an endowment for the Protestant clergy”<sup>101</sup>) began in 1792, but did not become a source of income until much later. Mountain relied upon the SPG to fund the missionaries and tried to establish relationships with government officials. When Mountain arrived in Quebec:

There were few congregations and almost no clergy. To serve the needs of his wilderness charge, the Bishop set out to create a proper parish system of churches and schools, but his hard work was met with hostility and indifference. The Papists, of course opposed him, and worse still, the small Protestant population showed a singular want of enthusiasm for Mountain's attempt to bestow the uncountable benefits of an Anglican establishment on the colony. Nevertheless, Mountain had managed to advance the cause of the church by slow degrees. If he had not left the church in a position of prosperity, he had nonetheless constructed 'a fair foundation ... for the diffusion of Christianity throughout the Diocese.'<sup>102</sup>

This description of Mountain's work is from John Strachan, and was written to emphasize the Bishop's success in Upper Canada. Strachan's description also reveals the newness of the Anglican church, which in 1825 was finding a foothold, and attempting to establish

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<sup>98</sup> Phillip Carrington, *The Anglican Church in Canada: A History* (Collins, 1963) p. 32.

<sup>99</sup> Carrington, *The Anglican Church*, p. 32.

<sup>100</sup> Carrington, *The Anglican Church*, p. 79.

<sup>101</sup> Carrington, *The Anglican Church*, p. 53.

itself as the dominant religion in Upper Canada. It would be a number of years after the death of Jacob Mountain before John Strachan would be ordained as Bishop, and during this time the Anglican church went through a number of upheavals.



### *The Separation of Church and State*

The first upheaval in the history of the Anglican church was related to the alliance of the church and state. Prior to the 1830s the government of Upper Canada supported the Anglican church financially through land grants, as the government of Great Britain had done for hundreds of years. The 1830s marked a shift toward 'responsible government,' in Upper Canada which resulted in less control for Britain, and a change in the relationship between the church and state.<sup>103</sup> No longer would the Anglican church be directly funded by the government. The relationship between the Anglican church and the government of Upper Canada had been separated. According to William Westfall, this separation shook the entire foundation of the Anglican church in Upper Canada. He wrote:

The established church was embedded in the British state, part of the fabric of the nation, and in a British colony one would expect to find such an establishment as a matter of course. Nor was the imperial state the only one to advocate public support for religion: the people themselves

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<sup>102</sup> Westfall, *Two Worlds*, pp. 19-20.

<sup>103</sup> Westfall, *Two Worlds*, p. 83.

petitioned the government to set aside land for religious and other social purposes.<sup>104</sup>

If the history of the church and state were connected so closely, what could possibly lead to this split? Westfall claimed it was capitalism, which became an upheaval in itself when the focus of religious conservatism shifted to a focus on industry and progress. Upper Canada became consumed with developing the country's natural resources. Lands were opened up for farming, mines were developed, timber was harvested, and the railroad became the focus and driving force of the new economy.<sup>105</sup>

Before the 1830s Anglican thought and ideas focused on creating a heaven on earth and the salvation of the world. For the Anglicans this salvation was centered around order, which overlapped the goals of the state, which needed order to govern effectively.<sup>106</sup> These mutual goals resulted in an alliance, "that the church shall apply its utmost influence in the service of the state, and the state shall support and protect the church."<sup>107</sup> This alliance helped the Anglican church move to its goal of creating a heaven on earth. However, after 1830 this goal was threatened when capitalism secularized the landscape. Instead of focusing on the progress of religion and order, the people of Upper Canada were focused on the progress of economic development.<sup>108</sup> Eventually "the state rejected the old axiom that public religion was essential to public

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<sup>104</sup> Westfall, *Two Worlds*, p. 85.

<sup>105</sup> Westfall, *Two Worlds*, p. 90.

<sup>106</sup> Curtis Fahey, *In His Name: The Anglican Experience in Upper Canada, 1791-1854* (Carleton University Press, 1991) p. 2.

<sup>107</sup> Westfall, *Two Worlds*, p. 90.

<sup>108</sup> Carrington, *The Anglican Church*, p. 77.

order because it had found a new formula for creating order and happiness.”<sup>109</sup> This order was capitalism.

These ideas and histories of the Anglican church are important to understanding Jamieson’s writing. He most certainly would have been influenced by the debates over responsible government, which lasted past the mid-nineteenth century. In fact Jamieson’s salary was directly affected when government funding was cut off in 1869, and the SPG took over the funding of half of Jamieson’s income. The debates and changes in funding must have caused uncertainty. In the 1840s and 50s the church had to scramble to find alternate sources of funding.<sup>110</sup> The SPG directed more funding to specific missions, but the church had to rely upon donations and income from the clergy reserves, which was uncertain because of the changes in government, and the fact that administration of the lands was completely controlled by the government. The church had to rely upon donations, which were often tenuous, especially in First Nations communities whose economy was restricted by the Department of Indian Affairs



### *Alliance with the Methodists*

The alliance of the Protestant churches is best described through the history of Bishop John Strachan. Near the beginning of his work for the Anglican church Strachan organized the religions of Upper Canada into three separate groups and placed them on a spectrum. “At one end he placed the Roman Catholics, and at the other a loosely defined

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<sup>109</sup> Westfall, *Two Worlds*, p. 108.

group of 'Protestant dissenters.'"<sup>111</sup> In the middle Strachan placed his own church, the United Church of England and Ireland. Strachan spent most of his early years as Bishop arguing against the Protestant dissenters. These included the Methodists, whom Strachan considered too extreme, too emotional, and too unstructured. The Anglican church believed redemption was a slow and gradual process. It needed virtue, moderation, and guidance which should be provided by responsible clergy. Strachan considered the Methodists overly emotional and poorly trained, they were "preachers who wandered through the colony, disrupting in the name of salvation the slow and careful work of redemption that his church was trying so hard to carry out."<sup>112</sup>

During this time period Strachan's ideas were probably shared by the Reverend Jamieson as well. Walpole Island First Nation had been visited by a number of Methodist missionaries, whom Jamieson did not look upon very favorably. The Methodist camp meetings which embodied the emotionalism Strachan hated were present throughout southern Ontario in the first half of the nineteenth century. Also relevant to Jamieson's perspective was Strachan's need for virtue, moderation, and guidance. These characteristics describe Jamieson quite well and certainly differ with the perspectives of the Methodists.

However, later in the nineteenth century the upheavals that affected the Anglican church brought it closer to the Methodists. After the separation of the church and state the Anglicans lost its special status that (they felt) elevated them above the other

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<sup>110</sup> Carrington, *The Anglican Church*, p. 76.

<sup>111</sup> Westfall, *Two Worlds*, p. 21.

denominations. At the same time Methodism had begun to rely less on the emotionalism of conversion, and was focusing on continuity in their congregations. Westfall wrote:

Many Methodists began to reassess the place of emotion and experience in their church, concluding that some emotion was fine, but that too much frustrated the work of conversion by making camp meetings into outlandish spectacles and hardening the souls of those who had become accustomed to revival techniques.<sup>113</sup>

In the mid nineteenth century Methodists traded the camp meetings for new churches, religious societies, and educational institutions. This “tempering of revivalism” combined with the upheavals of the Anglican church were the main impetus for the union of the two churches later in the nineteenth century.



### *Civilization and Christianization*

All of these changes certainly would have affected the perspectives of the Reverend Jamieson. The newness of the church in the first half of the nineteenth century would have caused uncertainty in Jamieson’s approach to the mission at Walpole Island. However, the philosophy and ideas of the Anglican church provided direction. To Bishop Strachan redemption was a slow and gradual process, and this philosophy was followed by Jamieson, who carefully took his time in establishing his mission. Jamieson’s perspectives were also influenced by ideas regarding the conversion of Aboriginal

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<sup>112</sup> Westfall, *Two Worlds*, p. 24.

<sup>113</sup> Westfall, *Two Worlds*, p. 67.

peoples. Christian missionary societies believed they had a “moral duty to aid in the process of development of these more primitive societies.” As the Anglican Church believed that ‘uncivilized’ peoples were capable of progressing to civilization, it was obligated to bring Christianity to the Native peoples in North America.

Anglican missionary societies had a dual purpose of civilization and Christianization, which served both the evangelical teachings of the missionary societies and the colonial interests of Great Britain. Jean Usher, in her study of the Victorian missionary William Duncan, wrote:

On the one hand, it [Church Missionary Society] felt that, together, the Christianity and civilization brought by the society anticipated the movements of colonization and prepared the aboriginal races in the best way possible for the coming of the white man. From the point of view of the aborigine, the society saw his future as doomed if he came into contact with Europeans.<sup>114</sup>

The view of Native peoples as ‘doomed’ is important because it stressed the Eurocentrism of the missionary societies. Usher described the perspective of Christian Missionaries in North America. The missionaries acknowledged the role the physical environment played in determining the condition of Aboriginal peoples, but “they had no romantic view of the people themselves.” Usher quoted a selection from *The Intelligencer*, the Church Missionary Society magazine that emphasized this point:

Old books may describe the simple pastoral life of the North American Indian, But we know that, on more accurate inspection the pleasant

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<sup>114</sup> Usher, *William Duncan*, p. 16.



imaginations shift into dark and horrible realities; and cruelty and cannibalism, and human sacrifice tell us too plainly that Heathenism is everywhere and always the same accursed thing.<sup>115</sup>

Most missionaries considered Native religions Pagan, and were generally revolted by the traditional way of life. This stressed the need for civilization and Christianization that evolved into the dual purpose of the missionary movement. As the next section will show this dual purpose worked well within British Indian policy.



### *The Department of Indian Affairs*

According to most sources<sup>116</sup> the British government's 'Indian policy,' though far from cohesive, fit well with the mandate and role of missionaries in British North America. David McNab described some of the philosophies behind the government's Indian Policy in his studies of Herman Merivale, permanent undersecretary for the Indian Office in the mid nineteenth century. According to McNab, "by the 1840's British Civil Servants, politicians, commentators and white settlers believed that the Native population did not fit into any future political or economic plans for the development of the British North American colonies."<sup>117</sup> In support of this assertion McNab quoted Merivale's views of Native peoples in 1841:

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<sup>115</sup> Usher, *William Duncan*, p. 14.

<sup>116</sup> For other valuable sources for the Department of Indian Affairs see Robert S. Allen *His Majesty's Indian Allies: British Indian Policy in the Defense of Canada, 1774-1815* (J. Kirk Howard, 1993) and L.S.F Upton, "The Origins of Canadian Indian Policy" *Journal of Canadian Studies* Vol. 8 No. 4

<sup>117</sup> David McNab, "Herman Merivale and Colonial Office Indian Policy in the Mid-Nineteenth Century" in *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* Vol. 1 No. 2 p. 281.

. . . they seemed possessed of higher moral elevation than any other uncivilized race of mankind, with less natural readiness and ingenuity than some, but greater depth and force of character; more Native generosity of spirit, and manliness of disposition; more of the religious element; and yet on the other hand, if not with less capacity for improvement, certainly less ready to receive it; a more thorough wildness of temperament; less curiosity; inferior excitability; greater reluctance to associate with civilized men; a more ingovernable impatience of control. And their primitive condition of hunters, and aversion from every other, greatly increases the difficulty of including them in the arrangements of a regular community.<sup>118</sup>

This quotation is similar to the citation from *The Intelligencer*, where Usher claimed missionaries emphasized heathenism, and the Indian Department stressed ‘a greater reluctance to associate with civilized men.’ Both quotations emphasized the perspective that Native peoples did not fit into the overall plans to settle the country.

In 1841 four alternatives had been suggested by the Indian Department to deal with the Indian question in British North America, “extermination, slavery, insulation, and amalgamation. As extermination and slavery had been ruled out by the humanitarian organizations,”<sup>119</sup> insulation and amalgamation were the preferred methods. This resulted in land reserved for Indians, and policies of amalgamation, later known as assimilation. Merivale wrote that amalgamation was the “only possible Euthanasia of savage communities.” He suggested that Indian lands be sold and the proceeds used for amalgamation policies. The Indian Act of 1844 supported this, but allocated reserves of

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<sup>118</sup> McNab, Herman Merivale, p. 281.

<sup>119</sup> McNab, Herman Merivale, p. 280.

only fifty acres of land per family, with land sold for the benefit of Indians at a very low profit, barely covering administrative costs.

Administration under Marivale was characterized as “perpetual compromises between principle and immediate exigency,”<sup>120</sup> with no real policies developing. Indian policy became a set of regional Indian policies guided by the principles of insulation and amalgamation. Insulation was emphasized through the creation of reserves, and amalgamation through the presence of missionaries, who were charged with Christianization of Native peoples, education, and usually promoted farming as well.

Douglas Leighton agreed with McNab’s analysis of Indian policy. In *The Development of Federal Indian Policy in Canada, 1840-1890* he traced the origin of the Indian department to the late eighteenth century and described its policies until the nineteenth century. He wrote:

Indians in their natural state were seen as having no place in such a society: The policy of ‘improving’ them so that they might easily assimilate white values became the official nineteenth - century attitude.<sup>121</sup>

According to Leighton the British and Canadian governments struggled with problems in implementing this policy. Indian agricultural communities were set up, but difficulties arose when “some Indian bands refused to take up agriculture, and when the Indian departments bureaucracy proved incapable of properly administering the

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<sup>120</sup> McNab, Herman Merivale, p. 297.

<sup>121</sup> Leighton, *The Development of Federal Indian Policy*, p. iii.

system.”<sup>122</sup> No real Indian policy developed, but the one constant goal of the department was assimilation, which had an immense influence upon Native peoples in North America.

One of the most comprehensive works on British Indian Policy is John Milloy’s *The Era of Civilization: British Policy for the Indians of Canada 1830-1860*. Milloy discussed the link between the missionization movement and the department of Indian Affairs noting that, “Religion was to have a place in London’s scheme of Indian affairs but its assigned role was to be subservient.”<sup>123</sup> “First strategie and only secondly, humanitarian”<sup>124</sup> was the stated Indian policy. Milloy quoted William Johnson’s (superintendent of Indian Affairs) position on integrating religion and the colonization process:

... instruction in religion and learning would create such a change in their (First Nations) manners and sentiments ... as to ... promote the safety, extend the settlements and increase the commerce of this country.<sup>125</sup>

Though subservient to Indian agents, missionaries were extremely important to Indian affairs. Milloy also quoted a policy document entitled “Plan for the future management of Indian Affairs, 1764,” which suggested:

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<sup>122</sup> Leighton, *The Development of Federal Indian Policy* p. iv.

<sup>123</sup> John Milloy, *The Era of Civilization: British Policy for the Indians of Canada, 1830-1860* (University of Oxford, unpublished PhD thesis, 1978) pp. 16-17.

<sup>124</sup> Milloy, *The Era of Civilization*, p. 16.

<sup>125</sup> Milloy, *The Era of Civilization*, p. 17.

That the Indian Superintendents, in addition to their other powers, direct the placement of missionaries who might be provided by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.<sup>126</sup>

By placing the missionaries in Aboriginal communities, the Indian Superintendents had an ally in the assimilation of Native peoples. However, if one returns to the history of the Anglican church discussed earlier in this chapter the relationship between Indian Affairs and the missionaries must have been tenuous. The relationship between the government of Upper Canada and the Anglican church must have had an impact on the missionaries in Aboriginal communities.



### *The Anglican Church and the Department of Indian Affairs*

The first part of this chapter discussed the history of the Anglican church in Upper Canada in the nineteenth century. This discussion focused on a number of upheavals in the church which led to questions of funding and the structure of the missions. These upheavals created uncertainty in the relationship between the Anglican church and the government, which would have reached the Department of Indian Affairs. This chapter has argued that Indian agents and missionaries worked together in the assimilation of Native peoples. But was this type of relationship possible after the upheavals in the church and changes following responsible government?

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<sup>126</sup> Milloy, *The Era of Civilization*, p. 17.

The relationship between missionaries and Indian agents was possible because of the importance and difficulty of the assimilation process. The Department of Indian Affairs needed the missionaries to provide education and an example of civilization. The church may have also relied on Indian Affairs as a source of funding when most other sources were shrinking or disappearing. Assimilation of Native peoples was the main strategy of Indian Affairs and incredibly important to the government of Upper Canada. Between 1842 and 1881 the population of Upper Canada grew from 487, 053 to 1, 923, 228.<sup>127</sup> All of these settlers needed land which was purchased from Native peoples through the land surrenders. In order to guarantee the safety of the settlers the relationship between Native and non Native peoples must be maintained. For the Department of Indian Affairs assimilation was the least expensive way to maintain the relationship, and became the guide for the department.

It is difficult to say exactly how the relationship between the Department of Indian Affairs and the missionaries influenced Jamieson, but their ideas and philosophies certainly must have guided his actions. It was mentioned earlier that the church's philosophy of virtue, moderation, and guidance had an immense influence on Jamieson and helped explain his missionary strategy in the community. Jamieson's missionary goal was provided by the idea of assimilation and civilization. These ideas are discussed in greater detail in chapter six, but their result was the creation of a school at Walpole island and an attempt to bring the community into mainstream Canadian society.

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<sup>127</sup> Westfall, *Two Worlds*, p. 10.



*The Reverend Andrew Jamieson*

Among the Jamieson Papers at the Huron College Archives there are a number of documents that detail the life of the Reverend Andrew Jamieson. Elizabeth Duncan Lee, great grand daughter of Jamieson wrote the following:

The Reverend Andrew Jamieson was born in Edinburgh, Scotland on 14 April 1814, a son of Robert Jamieson a baker, and his wife Marion Ewart. He is known to have earned an MA degree from the University Edinburgh. He was a passenger on the Triton for his voyage across the Atlantic, date unknown, but probably about 1835/36. Whether he came alone or with any members of his family has not been ascertained.<sup>129</sup>

Jamieson arrived in Toronto in 1842 and was assigned to Walpole Island by Bishop Strachan in 1845. There is no record of Jamieson's activities in the intervening years, but he arrived at Bkejwanong with his first wife, Lois Andrus, and three children in July of 1845.

Initially the family lived on the island, but moved to Algonac Michigan (then called Manchester) in 1860. Lois Andrus passed away in 1869 and Jamieson was married to his second wife, Margaret Courtenay in 1871, with whom he had a daughter named Jessie Louisa. Jamieson presided over St. George's Church, and later St. John's church, at Walpole Island from 1845 to 1885, and in 1869 he took over St. Andrews church in Algonac as well. St. George's and a school house on Walpole Island were "paid from the

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<sup>129</sup> Elizabeth Lee, "Andrew Jamieson" (Huron College Archives, Jamieson Papers)

annuity funds held in trust by the Indian department.”<sup>129</sup> Jamieson was paid one hundred pounds per annum from the Indian department, and also received a stipend from the SPG and St. Andrews church. He solicited donations from abroad for improvements to the church, and received donations from the community.

Jamieson’s early life is important to the understanding of the Jamieson papers. David A. Nock’s study of the Reverend E.F. Wilson emphasized the importance of the life histories, and asked why did people choose to become missionaries?<sup>130</sup> Nock pointed out that very few missionaries came from the middle or upper classes, and that some people may have become missionaries to elevate their class standing. This may have been the case with Jamieson as his father was a baker, and possibly of lower class standing. But Jamieson had also earned an MA degree at the University of Edinburgh, which may have also elevated his standing. It is difficult to say what may have motivated Jamieson to become a missionary. The Jesuit missionary du Ranquet joined the missions as was the practice in his family. Brother Jennessaux joined the Jesuits because he prayed to God that if an infection in his leg would spare his life he would dedicate himself to the missions. Whether Jamieson joined the missions out of family practice, or personal duty he seemed to come from the lower to middle classes and arrived in North America with his wife Lois and three children.

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<sup>129</sup> Keating, Letterbook, p. 22.

<sup>130</sup> David A. Nock, *A Victorian Missionary and Canadian Indian Policy: Cultural Synthesis vs Cultural Replacement* (Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1988) p. 11.





### *Jamieson's Early Years At Walpole Island*

There is little information in the Jamieson papers regarding his early years at Walpole Island other than letters written in 1857 and 1885 which detailed his recollections of these years. More information is available in the mission files collected by the Walpole Island Heritage Centre, and miscellaneous files among the Jamieson Papers. These files include Reverend Simpson Brigham's (Anglican missionary at Walpole Island after Jamieson's death) account of Jamieson's mission, and H.B. Williams' "Some Facts Regarding the Beginning of The Missionary Work on Walpole Island." From the Huron College Archives is "Spiritual Darkness in Ontario One Hundred Years Ago and How It Was Dissipated" by Reverend A.A. Trumper. Reverend Brigham and H.B. Williams were members of the Anglican church. Simpson claimed the Walpole Island mission "has accomplished endless good under Christ-like administration." The Trumper article claimed life was "viscious, indolent, and purposeless" without Christ, and that Jamieson's work on Walpole Island was "a revolution that was nothing less than a miracle."<sup>131</sup>

As Jennessaux's letter, described in the previous chapter, was a self portrait that emphasized the accomplishments of the Jesuits, the documents by the Anglicans emphasized the accomplishments of the Anglican mission at Walpole Island. After describing the Pagan nature of the Native peoples at Corinth, St. Paul, Trumper wrote:

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<sup>131</sup> Reverend A.A. Trumper, "Spiritual Darkness in Ontario One Hundred Years Ago And How it was Dissipated" (Huron College Archives, The Jamieson Papers) p. 1

And such were some of you, but . . . ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and the spirit of our God.<sup>132</sup>

Trumper was revolted by Paganism, but believed in the healing power of Christianity.

Trumper described Jamieson's appointment to the island as:

appalling challenge, and only one with a heart of fire for God, and relying solely on Jesus Christ and His Gospel could face such an apparently impossible situation.<sup>133</sup>

In the above Trumper's bias is plain. He considered Jamieson's appointment on the island an 'appalling challenge,' and only by relying upon the gospel could Jamieson succeed.

This resulted in a lopsided account of Jamieson's tenure at Walpole Island informed by the perspective of the Anglican church. Thus Trumper's article is very much a public transcript, or in the words of Scott, 'a self portrait of the dominant elites.'

After Trumper's bias is taken into account some valuable descriptive material remains. Trumper revealed that Jamieson left Walpole Island because of the death of two of his children and the illness of his wife "largely caused by the swampy, unhealthy nature of the land."<sup>134</sup> Elizabeth Lee wrote that Jamieson's eldest son from his first marriage became a doctor, but made no mention of the other two children. Also revealed is that Jamieson died from typhoid pneumonia, which was also not discussed in the other

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<sup>132</sup> Trumper, *Spiritual Darkness*, p. 1.

sources. The “unhealthy nature of the land” would have had a great affect on the family.

Jamieson wrote:

The parsonage on the island was built in 1844, one year before my arrival and by a great blunder, on the very edge of a swamp. . . the parsonage stands on one of the lowest spots, hence malaria during the summer and autumn was constantly around it.<sup>133</sup>

Jamieson also described his early days on the island, “Shortly after I pitched my tent here I was taken down with bilious fever and remained on the sick list for months. And long after, exposure to the North wind, or any extra exertion would bring on chills and fever.” July, August, and September were the most difficult months, often requiring “a smudge [for mosquitoes] at each side of the table while sitting at breakfast.”<sup>136</sup>

The first thing Jamieson attempted to do upon arriving at the island was to learn the language. In a letter describing the early days of the Walpole Island mission Jamieson wrote:

A number of Indians and Squaws came to look at us for as they could not speak English and I knew nothing of Indian and there being no interpreter at hand conversation was impossible. Most likely they came with kindly feelings to bid us welcome to their homes. . . On Sunday I went to the church and being the only white man on the island, I became my own factotum. I rang the bell and put the seats in order for the congregation. I

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<sup>133</sup> Trumper, *Spiritual Darkness*, p. 1.

<sup>134</sup> Trumper, *Spiritual Darkness*, p. 3.

<sup>135</sup> University of Western Ontario, Cronyn Memorial Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Huron (Hereafter CMA) The Jamieson Papers, Folders 78/7 (See Appendix Two, page 65).

remained there an hour or two and no Indian making his appearance I shut the door and went home. This thing I repeated for two or three more Sundays. I would open the church doors, ring the bell, and wait for a congregation that never came. I left the church and did not open it again for eighteen months.<sup>137</sup>

Upon reflection Jamieson ridiculed his simple thinking. Since there was a church he assumed there was a congregation, “but the Indians were all Pagans, thoroughly satisfied with their own beliefs and they did not care to leave their wigwams to listen to the white missionary.” An interpreter was hard to secure so he spent many days listening and studying the Anishnabeg language. He also traveled to Kettle Point First Nation and met an Anishnabe man that had attended a mission school in the United States. Jamieson persuaded the man to travel to Bkejwanong and teach him the language. Jamieson also tried to set an example of the civilized life with his immediate family on the island, and stepped lightly when encroaching on the affairs of the community.



### *Summary*

This chapter presented a brief outline of missionary societies, and the Indian department in the mid nineteenth century. The Anglican church experienced a number of upheavals in the nineteenth century, many of which would have had an immense influence on Jamieson. As demonstrated in the work of David McNab and Douglas Leighton, the Indian Department had no specific policies for dealing with Native peoples,

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<sup>136</sup> CMA, The Jamieson Papers, p. 65.

<sup>137</sup> Reverend James Miller, “Letter by Reverend Jamieson” p. 2

but followed a general policy of assimilation. This resulted in a partnership with the missionaries who also focused on the assimilation of Native peoples through education and conversion to Christianity. John Milloy emphasized the subservient position the missionaries had with Indian affairs, but also reinforced the link between the missions and Indian affairs.

This chapter also introduced the Reverend Andrew Jamieson, relying upon sources at the Walpole Island Heritage Centre, and the Huron College Archives. Jamieson arrived with his family at Walpole Island in 1845, but did not perform church services until 1847. In the beginning Jamieson did not encroach upon the affairs of the community, but learned the Ojibwa language. He lived on the island with his family until 1860, when they moved to Algonac, Michigan. Jamieson presided over the church and school at Walpole Island until his death in 1885.

The next chapter presents the analysis of resistance to the Anglican church utilizing the Jamieson Papers. It begins with an example from Jamieson's letters and reports and a short discussion of the methodology from chapter two. The analysis of the Jamieson papers is then organized into themes. There are a number of recurring themes in Jamieson's reports and letters. These include paganism, education, hunting, trapping, and agriculture. Each of these themes emphasize resistance to Jamieson and the Anglican church at Walpole Island.

### ***Chapter Five: The Jamieson Papers***

*Christian religion and the Western idea of history are inseparable and mutually self-supporting. To retrench the traditional concept of history at this point would mean to invalidate the justifications for conquering the Western Hemisphere. Americans in some manner will cling to the traditional idea that they suddenly came upon the a vacant land upon which they created the world's most affluent society. Not only is such an idea false, it is absurd. Yet without it both Western man and his religion stand naked before the world.*

Vine Deloria, *God is Red*

The preceding chapters introduced the thesis, the Walpole Island community, and the research methodology. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) was discussed briefly along with a short history of government Indian policies. Some life history of the Reverend Andrew Jamieson and his family was provided as context to his mission at Walpole Island First Nation. The following chapter concentrates on the analysis of the Jamieson Papers focusing on resistance to the Anglican church at Walpole Island. The Jamieson Papers include letters, and Reports to the SPG (beginning at 1859, and ending in 1885) which were written and copied by Jamieson. It is not known why he copied the reports, but it was probably for his records. These copies were later copied by Annie Gray and are now stored in the Cronyn Memorial Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Huron. Typed versions of these reports and letters were provided to the Walpole Island Heritage Centre and are included in Appendix Two.

There are almost two hundred pages of reports to the SPG written by Jamieson. Jamieson referred to them as quarterly reports, but they were only written once or twice in the year, usually after Christmas, and during the summer or fall. The reports begin in 1860 (which marked the beginning of support by the SPG) and end in 1885. There were

no reports for the years 1870-1872, possibly because of the death of Jamieson's wife Lois in 1869, and because in 1870 Jamieson was in England "collecting monie for the benefits of the Indians on Walpole Island, Canada."<sup>138</sup> The letters in the Jamieson Papers were written to Mrs. Gibbs, a longtime contributor to the Walpole Island mission, a priest in London, and on some letters the names had been removed. Unfortunately there are no letters in the collection before 1860. These were probably separated after the Jamieson's moved to Algonac, and were never copied by Annie Gray. The originals may be in existence somewhere, but being almost one hundred and fifty years old they have likely been lost or destroyed.

The first letter in the Jamieson Papers had no address or date, but was probably written in 1859. It included a brief description of the island and history of the Anglican mission. Jamieson began the letter with:

The Mission on Walpole Island has been in existence 18 years, having been opened in 1841. I was appointed to the Mission by the late Lord Metcalf on the 17th June 1845 and have thus been connected with it during a period of 14 years. Two missionaries had preceded me, but these gentlemen, owing to certain untoward circumstances, had met with no success in converting the natives.<sup>139</sup>

Here Jamieson mentioned Reverends Coleman and Carey, his predecessors at Walpole Island. The 'untoward circumstances' were discussed in chapter three, but were centered around a lack of an interpreter and, according to Keating, Carey's nervousness.

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<sup>138</sup> National Archives of Canada (hereafter NAC), MG. 17 B 1. United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Correspondence, 1700-1951. Huron, 1868-1874, D.40.

Jamieson's reports to the SPG were copied and kept with his letters. Jamieson began his reports by first addressing the SPG, and then providing descriptive material of the Walpole Island community. Jamieson's first report to the SPG was dated July 1861. It began with:

Rev. and Dear Sir, As the mission on Walpole Island has again been taken under the care of your venerable society it becomes my duty to send you the usual quarterly report. It gives me pleasure to inform you that the mission continues to be in a very satisfactory state. The day school is well attended and the church on Sundays is filled with a large attentive congregation.<sup>140</sup>

Like the first letter in the Jamieson Papers this report contained some descriptive material of the Walpole Island community, and a discussion of the history of the Anglican mission. Often the descriptions in the letters and the reports are similar, but on a few occasions the descriptions differ. These differences often emphasize resistance from the Walpole Island community. These differences will be discussed at length later in this chapter, but perhaps an example can emphasize this point.

The letter to Mrs. Gibbs for 1878 contains an account of a fire on the island. The church sexton, whose name was Noodin, lost his barn to fire. Noodin was Jamieson's assistant and was described as:

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<sup>139</sup> University of Western Ontario, Cronyn Memorial Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Huron (Hereafter CMA) The Jamieson Papers, Folders 78/7 (See Appendix Two, page 1).

<sup>140</sup> CMA. The Jamieson Papers, Folders 78/7 (See Appendix Two, page 5).



a fine fellow. He lives quite near the church and takes a great interest in it. He prides himself on ringing the bell, in keeping the building neat and tidy and asks nothing for his services. He is moreover one of our most industrious and well to do Indians.<sup>141</sup>

Jamieson then wrote that Noodin's barn was destroyed, and there was reason to believe it was the work of an incendiary. What is notable is the following discrepancy between Jamieson's personal letters and the report to the SPG dated 1878. In the letter to Mrs. Gibbs Jamieson wrote:

On Monday morning, or rather Tuesday morning last, at about two O' clock his barn all of its contents were burned to the ground. And what is worse I grieve to say that there is every reason to believe that it was the work of an incendiary. It has given us all a shock as nothing of the kind ever occurred here before.<sup>142</sup>

But in the report to the SPG Jamieson's description of the fire was as follows:

At first the fire was thought to be the work of an incendiary, but as arson is a crime unknown amongst us we now think it must have been in some way the result of accident. Noodin's neighbors are very kind and assisted him to extent of their ability.<sup>143</sup>

These two descriptions seem contradictory. In the letter to Mrs. Gibbs Jamieson wrote 'there is every reason to believe it is the work of an incendiary,' but in the report Jamieson claimed arson is a 'crime unknown' on the island. Jamieson must surely have remembered the burning of the Jesuit's church as he was living on the island at the time.

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<sup>141</sup> CMA. The Jamieson Papers, Folders 78/7 (See Appendix Two, page 43).

<sup>142</sup> CMA. The Jamieson Papers, Folders 78/7 (See Appendix Two, page 43).

It was common knowledge that Chief Petwegizhik burned the Jesuit church in an act of resistance in 1849, but Jamieson claimed arson is an unknown crime.

It is important to remember that Jamieson's reports and letters can be viewed as a public transcript, a self portrait of the Anglican mission at Bkejwanong designed to affirm the power of the church. It is a lopsided account of the island that denies resistance and publicly affirms the influence of the church in the community. Within the public transcript is the hidden transcript. The example of the burning of Noodin's church exposed the hidden transcript of resistance in the community. Jamieson claimed the burning of Noodin's church was accidental, but the contradiction with the letter, and the burning of the Jesuit church in 1844, suggest Jamieson was not entirely truthful about his account of the fire. This is an example of when the description in the public transcript differs from the practice in the community, and emphasized resistance in the community to Noodin, who worked for the Anglican church.

Vizenor's tools for research, pleasureable misreadings, and narrative chance can also be applied to the analysis of the Jamieson Papers. All documents have an element of chance. This chance relates directly to the interpretation of the researcher. The example of Noodin's fire emphasized narrative chance in the interpretation of resistance to the Anglican church. Other researchers may not have focused on resistance and would have missed the significance of Noodin's barn fire. Vizenor also suggested pleasureable misreadings to encourage interpretations based on positive aspects in Native

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<sup>143</sup> CMA. The Jamieson Papers, Folders 78/7 (See Appendix Two, page 44).

communities. In this example resistance is a positive aspect of the community and emphasized their power and self determination.

As with the heritage centre's publication, *Walpole Island: The Soul of Indian Territory*, the analysis of the Jamieson Papers will be organized according to themes. There are a number of recurring themes in the letters, and reports to the SPG. These include descriptions of Paganism, education, and farming. Each of these themes will be discussed with examples from the letters and reports, and other primary and secondary documents. The tools for research will also be applied to this discussion. Jamieson's reports and letters will be analyzed as a public transcript, the discussion focusing on the hidden transcript which emphasized resistance in the Walpole Island community. Vizenor's narrative chance will be utilized in the comparison of the Jamieson Papers to other historical sources.



### *Paganism*

Paganism was prominent on the island and it permeated Jamieson's reports and letters. Of the peoples of Walpole Island Jamieson wrote, "They acted on the well known Indian motto: Tis better to walk than run, better to sit than stand, better to be than sit."<sup>144</sup> The first letter in the Jamieson Papers contained a description of Paganism on the island that was quoted at the beginning of chapter one:

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<sup>144</sup> CMA. The Jamieson Papers, Folders 78/7 (See Appendix Two, page 1).

In the summer of 1845 the Walpole Islanders were all Pagans. The wanhunoo, the pagan dance, the tricks of the conjurors and various heathen ceremonies were in full swing. With the exception of a few small patches of corn, tilled but imperfectly they paid no attention to the cultivation of the soil. They had no oxen, no cows, the hoe was the only farming implement possessed. For food they depended mainly on hunting: they were strangers to steady and continuous labor, and they betook themselves to the chase only when impelled by hunger, and having obtained a supply of venison they would return to their wigwams, and as long as the supply lasted would enjoy themselves after their fashion in feasting, in dancing, and in drinking the firewater.<sup>145</sup>

This description is important because it stressed that traditional practices were prominent on the island in 1845. This was reinforced in a number of different sources. In *Moon of Wintertime* Grant wrote that in 1831 the “Ojibwas of the [Walpole Island] area had been given a choice of reservations, Sarnia for those that wished to be civilized, and Walpole Island for the others”<sup>146</sup> which enforced that peoples that went to Walpole Island in 1831 preferred traditional practices to Christianity. In 1847 the Jesuit missionary, du Ranquet, described Walpole Island as a sovereign and invincible nation. He wrote:

they considered themselves noble fragments, the model of the red race. Protestant ministers have tried without success; not a single individual has shown the least sign of submission. Drunkenness and other vices, which have given this island a sort of notoriety, are not the only obstacles. One would almost say the main one is sorcery. There are a good number who are sorcerers and conjurers by profession, but every chief is also a conjurer, in the same way that elsewhere spiritual and temporal power were once united. Their authority comes from the Great Spirit. This dogma, already well established among the Indians, has a special influence

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<sup>145</sup> CMA. The Jamieson Papers, Folders 78/7 (See Appendix Two, page 1).

<sup>146</sup> Grant, *Moon of Wintertime* p. 80.

among our islanders. They have their own feasts, their own sacrifices, their religious and national ceremonies, their mysteries; this is the source of their pride as a sovereign and invincible nation, as well as their incredible aversion to Christianity.<sup>147</sup>

Du Ranquet's description emphasized the importance of the Great Spirit to the peoples of Walpole Island, and their 'incredible aversion to Christianity.' Resistance to Christianity appeared to be entrenched in the community upon Jamieson's arrival, which is further emphasized in Jamieson's description of the Sabbath:

Formerly Sunday in their eyes was no better than any other day and hence they felt no scruple in pursuing their ordinary occupations on that holiday and from my own door I have times without number seen them fishing or ploughing, planting corn, or having a horse race, or what was still worse, sitting in groups by the river side enjoying a pagan jollification.<sup>148</sup>

Jamieson's description of the attendance at Sunday service also stressed aversion to Christianity:

At first the Indians were remarkably shy, and it was only after a long course of study and uniform friendship that I succeeded in gaining their attention. During the first year I had no congregation. The church bell was rung and regular hours for service appointed but only now and again an Indian would venture to church.<sup>149</sup>

These descriptions were from Jamieson's early letters and reinforced the observations of du Ranquet and others, that the Walpole Island community adamantly

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<sup>147</sup> Morrison, Upper Great lakes Settlement, p. 56.

<sup>148</sup> CMA. The Jamieson Papers, Folders 78/7 (See Appendix Two, page 2).

<sup>149</sup> CMA. The Jamieson Papers, Folders 78/7 (See Appendix Two, page 1).

resisted Christianity during Jamieson's first years on the island. But discussion of paganism on the island permeated Jamieson's later reports and letters as well. In a much later report to the SPG dated 1880, Jamieson admitted that there were still Pagans on the island. He wrote:

There are it is true a good many pagans still on the island, but they are somewhat different from the Walpole Island pagans of 25 years ago. They cling indeed to their old beliefs, but they have no feathers in their hair or paint on their cheeks or war clubs or tomahawks in their hands. Their feasts and dances are less frequent than formerly. The influence of their Christian brethren is felt by them indirectly, for although they continue to stand aloof from a profession of Christianity and express a desire to die in the faith of their ancestors, they drink less than formerly, they abstain from work or idle amusement on Sunday and try to provide for their families with commendable industry.<sup>150</sup>

This passage is interesting as it is the first mention of pagans still on the island by Jamieson for a number of years, and their resistance to Christianity is still very strong. They 'express a desire to die in the faith of their ancestors.' Jamieson also described the bond between men and women on the island, which he considered part of paganism:

In their pagan state the Indians lived pretty much as they pleased and followed without compunction the devices and desires of their own hearts. Separation between man and his female companion was a matter of common occurrence. As the union entered into was easily contracted, it was easily broken up. The smallest trifle, such as incompatibility of temper, or mutual indifference, or the man being after another led to secession and finally to separation.<sup>151</sup>

This description is interesting because it reveals one of the problems of Christianization in Native communities. As civilization was part of the conversion process it was important for Jamieson to introduce Christian marriages on the island. Jamieson's quotation emphasized his dislike for Pagan marriages which easily led to separation. Jamieson described a Christian marriage on the island in the same report:

Sunday in the church I published banns of marriage of Jacob Seagull and bride. The case is interesting on this account. He is 84 years old, Ojibway and member of the church. She an aged Squaw, a Pottowatomi. They have lived till now Indian fashion but now wish to be married as Christians. It has been her scruples that prevented this before. During my long sojourn as Missionary I have married a great many and with few exceptions all are doing well and living together according to God's holy ordinance.<sup>152</sup>

This passage is notable in that Jacob Seagull's partner refused to be married in the Christian way. She resisted the Anglican church for most of her life which emphasized resistance from Native women on the island. It is also interesting that Jamieson used the word scruples to describe her resistance, which implies a well thought out, "ethical misgiving about what someone thinks is wrong."<sup>153</sup> This certainly emphasizes how important her resistance must have been to her.

A number of historians have discussed the relationship between Native women and Christian missionaries. Karen Anderson, in *Chain Her By One Foot* claimed that the Jesuits subjugated the power of Native women by introducing Christian marriages. Carol

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<sup>150</sup> CMA. The Jamieson Papers, Folders 78/7 (See Appendix Two, page 18).

<sup>151</sup> CMA. The Jamieson Papers, Folders 78/7 (See Appendix Two, page 19).

<sup>152</sup> CMA. The Jamieson Papers, Folders 78/7 (See Appendix Two, page 19).

<sup>153</sup> *Webster's New World Dictionary* (Zane Publishing)

Devens disagreed with Anderson claiming that Native women subverted the desires of missionaries by resisting Christianity.<sup>154</sup> Devens noted that in the nineteenth century Native women “were curiously absent from the record. They did not torch missionary homes or fulminate hostilities” as in the eighteenth century, and they seemed to keep their distance from the missionaries. Descriptions of Native women were absent from the Jamieson Papers as well. Devens noticed this absence in other historical documents of the nineteenth century. She wrote that the missionaries “focused their energies on wooing men into the fields. While they did not discount the value of female souls, it was the male conversions that brought the thrill of success.”<sup>155</sup>



### *Education*

Very little information about education through the Anglican church was included in the Jamieson Papers. This is notable as education is an important aspect of the assimilation process, and relates directly to the Anglican presence on the island. Chief Petwegizhik originally asked for “two eyes” so that the community could learn the ways of the Europeans. His request resulted in Christian missionaries being sent to the island, but Petwegizhik was not interested in Christianity. The Walpole Island community favored an Aboriginal school teacher to keep Christianity out of the class room, but Jamieson preferred a white schoolteacher. While discussing an increase in his pay in a letter to the Bishop in Toronto Jamieson revealed his dissatisfaction with the school:

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<sup>154</sup> Karen Anderson, *Chain Her By One Foot: The Subjugation of Native Women in Seventeenth Century new France* (Routledge, 1991).

<sup>155</sup> Devens, *Countering Colonization* p. 51.



Under these altered circumstances there will be money enough for an official school taught by a competent white person independent of all aid from the Indians. At present the state of things is unsatisfactory - the teacher is an Indian whose salary is paid partly by the Church Society and partly by the Indians. Indian teachers generally lack energy and perseverance. Indians have small annuities, it is hardly fair to ask them to pay anything. Among the Pottawatomies on the island the Methodist teacher is supported independently of the Indians.<sup>156</sup>

In the above Jamieson's dissatisfaction with the school is plain. Jamieson cited lack of 'energy and perseverance' which probably related to the lack of civilization and assimilation in the class room. According to Scott this element of resistance is the most explosive because Jamieson's dissatisfaction with the school teacher was discussed openly in the public document.

Jamieson also mentioned education on the island in a different letter dated the same year as the letter to the Bishop, but the content is much different. This letter was written to Mrs. Gibbs, and regarding education Jamieson wrote:

There is a very good school on the island taught by an Indian, a very steady and respectful person, who in great measure was educated by myself. He delights in teaching and many of his pupils have made respectable progress. Many of the youth read easily in the New Testament. Others write beautifully - good penmanship being easily acquired by the Indians and some are able to cast accounts with expertness and accuracy. A few also are acquainted with the general outline of geography and are

well up on the mountains, lakes, rivers, on the great divisions in the earth's surface, and all of them from the instruction given during the day school and especially at Sunday school are more or less acquainted with the elementary fundamental truths of Christianity.<sup>157</sup>

The two accounts from different letters seem contradictory, and like the example of Noodin's barn fire earlier in this chapter, they reveal a number of interesting points. The account of education from the letter to Mrs. Gibb can be used to emphasize the Christianization of the Walpole Island community, but when the first letter to the Bishop is taken into account it emphasized resistance to assimilation by the community. The letter to Mrs. Gibbs explained the pupils progress at the school. However Christianity was primarily taught at the Sunday school. Jamieson wrote, 'from the instruction from the day school, and especially at Sunday school' children are taught 'the fundamental truths of Christianity.' It was especially at the Sunday school that the children learned the fundamental truths about Christianity, which probably was not stressed by the Native school teacher, much to the dissatisfaction of Jamieson.

The report of 1878 included the last mention of education in the Jamieson Papers. Jamieson cited the poor attendance of the children as the reason assimilation was not stressed through education. He wrote:

The great drawback of all the Indian Reservations with regard to schools is the irregular attendance of the children. The parents generally exercise little or no control over their little ones and youngsters finding many

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<sup>156</sup> CMA. The Jamieson Papers, Folders 78/7 (See Appendix Two, page 4).

<sup>157</sup> CMA. The Jamieson Papers, Folders 78/7 (See Appendix Two, page 2).

inducements to carelessness in their attendance are either late in going to school or sometimes for a day or two together do not go at all to the great discouragement of the teacher.<sup>158</sup>

Jamieson recommended residential schools where the children live at the school to solve the problem. He cited the example of the Shingwauk home in Sault Saint Marie where children “will be fed, clothed, and educated, taught farming and other useful branches of industry.” as necessary in the education of Native peoples. Eventually a number of Walpole Island students were sent to the Shingwauk home.



### *Wanderings, Hunting, Trapping, and Agriculture*

In Jamieson’s report to the SPG for November 28, 1865 there is a description of hunting and trapping on the island:

At the present time there are but few Indians on the Island as most of them have gone away to their hunting grounds from which they will not return until a few days before Christmas when they will remain with me for two months and then move off again to their sugar camps. My congregations of course, at present are small consisting mainly of women and aged persons who are unable to leave the island. This is a peculiarity of the Indian missions in the remote part of Canada and will continue to be for years to come. Game indeed is becoming scarcer every year with the influx of emigrants and the clearing of the forest. But the Indian is willing to go further in search of it. At the present moment some of my people are away to the wilder parts of this part of Canada. Some have gone to the Maumi River. Ohio. And have crossed over into Michigan and are not far

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<sup>158</sup> CMA. The Jamieson Papers, Folders 78/7 (See Appendix Two, page 32).

away from the shores of lake Huron. This Indian as is well known is accustomed to a roving life from childhood. He is therefore at home while wandering in the woods and as he finds for his furs a good and ready market it would be too much to expect him to change his course of life and remain quiet in one spot.<sup>159</sup>

The descriptions of hunting and trapping make this worth quoting at length because it demonstrates Jamieson's acceptance of it. A sedentary lifestyle was one of the most important aspects of civilization. By giving up on that ideal Jamieson certainly gave up much of his goal of civilization and assimilation, which was part and parcel of the conversion process. A later report to the SPG, dated December 31, 1866 emphasized this point. Jamieson wrote:

Congregations of the past summer have not been so good. Many have left the island, some to hunting grounds, others as deck hands on steamers or chopping cordwood for the whites, this has thinned the congregation, I am afraid there will be much suffering between this and next September.<sup>160</sup>

The seasonal wanderings by the Walpole Island community certainly hurt Jamieson's chances of conversion. Jamieson promoted a sedentary lifestyle and tried to keep the community on the island as part of the civilization process. However, it appeared that most of the community ignored Jamieson and chose to continue hunting and trapping, and working on the mainland.

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<sup>159</sup> CMA. The Jamieson Papers, Folders 78/7 (See Appendix Two, page 15).

<sup>160</sup> CMA. The Jamieson Papers, Folders 78/7 (See Appendix Two, page 17).

Jamieson's discussion of farming is also interesting and related to resistance in the community. Native peoples on Walpole Island had practiced agriculture, including corn and other crops before missionaries arrived on the island,<sup>161</sup> but farming was used in addition to crafts, trapping and hunting. This was emphasized by the success of the Agricultural Fairs which were described by Jamieson in the report of 1878:

Our Agricultural Show came off on the 26th of September and was a decided improvement on preceding ones we have had annually for the past 5 years. At this last one the entries had been made in better time thus permitting greater order in the arrangement of the proceedings and giving the judges more time for examination and correctness in their decisions. The show of grain, roots, and fruit was better than formerly, though the cattle was somewhat inferior. The sweetgrass baskets, fancy and patched quilts, knitted socks and mittens, moccasins and canned fruit and loaf bread and butter made by the squaws was very good.<sup>162</sup>

The Agricultural Fair emphasized traditional elements of Native cultures. The grains, sweetgrass baskets and moccasins were much better than the cattle. Jamieson promoted farming and a sedentary lifestyle. He wrote:

They see that those of their numbers who still love the chase and depend upon it chiefly as their means of support have uncertain supplies and are poor and wretched when compared with their neighbors who work everyday and cultivate the soil.<sup>163</sup>

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<sup>161</sup> Van Wyck, *Harvests Yet to Reap*, p. 165.

<sup>162</sup> CMA. The Jamieson Papers, Folders 78/7 (See Appendix Two, page 37).

<sup>163</sup> CMA. The Jamieson Papers, Folders 78/7 (See Appendix Two, page 37).

But in the report for the following year Jamieson revealed that “The great rains of last season and the island very low almost level with the river did immense damage to the crops, a great portion of the tilled land under water.” Jamieson wrote that the corn crop was almost a complete failure which “also kept the Indians from church.”<sup>164</sup> It appeared that the Native peoples that embraced farming and the sedentary lifestyle had suffered by relying on farming as their main income. But those that continued hunting and trapping would have been less affected by the rains and the poor crops.

Sheila Van Wyck, in her study of agriculture on Walpole Island emphasized the precarious nature of agriculture in the reserve era. In a section entitled “From Horticulture to Agriculture” she explained the transformation of farming techniques from a mixed economy of hunting, trapping, and horticulture, to more of a reliance on agriculture. The reason for this transformation was the scarcity of game animals. She wrote:

... the hoe stick cultivation of small fields of Indian corn had long been part of their mixed subsistence economy; but hunting, fishing, and gathering were even more important before European settlement. By the late 1830s, however, these resources were in sharp decline and/or inaccessible to Indian people.<sup>165</sup>

Van Wyck further emphasized the challenges associated with the transition to agriculture which “required a very different commitment of time and energy than they were

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<sup>164</sup> CMA. The Jamieson Papers, Folders 78/7 (See Appendix Two, page 17).

<sup>165</sup> Van Wyck, *Harvests Yet to Reap*, p. 165.

accustomed to in the past. It was a difficult adjustment made in a changing political and economic climate.”<sup>166</sup> These ideas certainly reinforced the observations of Jamieson. The community was familiar with agriculture in a mixed economy, but relying solely on agriculture could leave to starvation and in Jamieson’s words “kept the Indians from church.”



*Nyha Mundoo oozhomoumur “God’s Money”*

In the report of 1874 Jamieson mentioned collecting the subscriptions for donations. According to Jamieson this was called *Nyha Mundoo oozhomoumur* which meant ‘God’s money.’ Jamieson did not receive Sunday collections as the “Indians have very small annuities” but he did take subscriptions every fall. The people in the congregation chose an amount to donate, and pay it at the Christmas mass. According to Jamieson most paid fifty or twenty five cents. The fall of 1874’s subscriptions were for eighty three dollars, of which Jamieson wrote:

This is a large sum certainly for these children of the forest, altho reclaimed from the wild wandering mode of life, are many of them poor, and when you remember that in redeeming their promise many of them will have to pinch themselves. You will see that such persons must value the privileges and that an evidence of their sincerity and love of the gospel they deny themselves in order to extend its blessings to others.<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>166</sup> Van Wyck, *Harvest Yet to Reap*, p. 166.

<sup>167</sup> HCA. The Jamieson Papers, Folders 78/7 (See Appendix Two, page 32).

Jamieson mentioned in a later report that "owing to fevers in the autumn" he did not manage to collect the entire subscription amount. It is also interesting to note that in 1864, 1865 and 1867 the subscription amount declined from eighteen dollars to twelve dollars and fifty cents. In 1878 Jamieson began giving out Christmas presents that were donated from friends in England. This appeared to increase the amount of donations. In 1878 there was forty dollars collected, then thirty two dollars in 1879. But after 1882 the subscriptions declined again. In a report for 1883 Jamieson did not state the amount given to the church, but merely said the "contributions have fallen off quite considerably." Jamieson mentioned subscriptions in a later report, which appears quite humorous when analyzed:

I met with an Indian, not very well off with some muskrat traps in his canoe. I asked him where he was going "I am off to the marsh to get a few rat skins as I wish to pay my promised subscription to the mission fund."<sup>168</sup>

This passage is amusing as it appeared that the person Jamieson met had simply used the subscription to the mission fund as an excuse for trapping. As shown in the previous section, Jamieson promoted agriculture on the island and the man probably knew that Jamieson preferred agriculture to hunting and trapping.

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<sup>168</sup> CMA. The Jamieson Papers, Folders 78/7 (See Appendix Two, page 50).



**Figure 1: Quantitative Information from Jamieson's Reports to the SPG**

	1862	1863	1864	1867	1872	1877	1878	1879	1881	1882	1884
Total Population	750	750	800	800	850	850	850	850	850	850	850
Church Members	400	400	400	350	400	400	400	400	400	400	450
Congregation Size	115	120	120	95	90	90	90	100	85	100	100
Communicants	90	80	90	70	55	57	55	56	56	80	80
Persons Confirmed	52	0	40	0	42	0	0	32	0	2	34
Baptism of Infants	25	19	14	5	20	18	19	14	21	14	17
Baptism of Adults	10	4	3	0	4	4	2	0	2	3	5
Marriages	0	0	3	2	4	3	2	0	2	2	2
Burials	4	16	5	2	12	10	14	0	18	11	0

The subscription amounts are included in a data table (Figure 1) and were taken from Jamieson's original reports to the SPG, which were microfilmed by the National Archives of Canada. In return for funding the missions, the SPG required quarterly reports and even sent out standard forms to be sent out and returned. One of these forms is reproduced in Figure 2, and included ten questions that needed to be answered by Jamieson. The questions ranged from "What is the extent in square miles of the Parish or Mission currently under your charge?" (No. 1) To "Have your quarterly Reports been sent regularly during the last year?" (No. 10) The forms also required the missionary to

Figure 2: Quarterly Report form (dated 1878) provided to the Reverend Andrew Jamieson by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. NAC MG17 B1. United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Correspondence, 1700-1951. Huron, 1874-1880, D. 42.

1677

REPORT OF THE REVEREND ANDREW JAMIESON  
 30 Spence Mills  
 850 St. Marguerite de Chippewa Falls  
 Wisconsin and Port Huron & Ottawa  
 Michigan

There is only one Church in the location  
 in Wisconsin. Average congregation is 150  
 by winter the attendance is smaller.  
 The average number of each Communion  
 during the year 55.

In the Church members but the service  
 is the same as in each Sunday in the  
 afternoon. Good Sunday Service is held at the  
 service of the children of the Missionary  
 Service class in the Church is all the first days  
 Communion administered four times  
 in the year

20 Chippewa      Sept 19  
 all paid      about - 21

14-

The following institutions have been  
 during the year: For System = 1000  
 French Protestant = 600  
 Superior of St. Charles & St. Joseph = 1000  
 Catholic & Missionary = 1200  
 2250

250 - Paid from the S. P. G.  
 from the Wisconsin Synod  
 & from the American Baptist

The Sunday & the Daily School  
 Thirty 16 boys & 14 girls  
 In the Sunday school, English  
 in the Daily School very often  
 the children the names of the children  
 the children are not in the church  
 the Church & a few of the  
 in the American

state the church members, congregation size, communicants (those that receive the communion), the number of baptisms, confirmations, the contributions collected, and others. This information is incredibly valuable to the discussion of the Jamieson Papers, as it lists quantitative figures on a yearly basis and helps track the progress of the mission. These figures are included in charts in Appendix Two, but a short discussion of church members and congregation size adds to the discussion of resistance in this chapter.

The most striking aspect of the quantitative data is the difference between church members and congregation size. Elizabeth Graham cited the 400 church members to emphasize Jamieson's missionary success at Walpole Island, but the congregation size (the number of people that attended the church) is much smaller, and Jamieson took the average congregation size for the year. If there were 850 people in the community, but an average of only 85 attended the church services (as in 1881) would the SPG have considered Jamieson's tenure on the island successful? As noted earlier in this chapter Jamieson blamed the small congregation size on the wanderings of the community, but part and parcel of conversion to Christianity was the need for civilization and a sedentary agricultural existence. The low congregation sizes reveal resistance to Jamieson's civilization policies, as the community followed their traditional pursuits of gathering and hunting, utilizing farming to supplement the mixed economy. This resistance questions Jamieson's success as a missionary.



## *Summary*

The preceding pages organized a discussion of resistance to Jamieson and the Anglican church around Paganism, education, wanderings, hunting and trapping, and agriculture. Resistance was emphasized by examples from Jamieson's letters and Reports, and by stressing Scott's hidden transcript of resistance. This was done through a close analysis of the letters and reports, and by discrepancies between the two, as in the examples of education on the island, and Noodin's barn fire. The theme of Paganism emphasized the presence of traditional peoples on the island throughout Jamieson's tenure. In his earlier reports and letters Jamieson remembered strong aversions to Christianity from the community. These aversions appeared to continue as Jamieson mentioned the presence of Pagans in reports as late as 1880.

The theme of education revealed resistance by showing Jamieson's dissatisfaction of the Native school teacher. From his letters and reports it appeared civilization and assimilation was not taught in the school. Jamieson recommended residential schools away from the community. By accepting hunting and trapping on the island Jamieson must have given up on his goals of civilization and a sedentary lifestyle. Jamieson's reports contained numerous accounts of the 'seasonal wanderings' of the community which he claimed affected the size of the congregations.

The last section of the chapter discussed the contributions and the church congregation figures Jamieson listed at the end of his reports. The contributions emphasized resistance as they were quite small and dropped considerably through Jamieson's tenure on the island. The congregation figures were also quite small, and stressed that only a small portion of the community attended Jamieson's church. Absent from the preceding chapter is the discussion of the conversion process, which follows in chapter six. This discussion focuses on the difficulty of measuring conversion to Christianity, and also contains examples of resistance in the community.

### ***Chapter Six: The Conversion Process***

*Also very salient was the realization that the number of available missionaries was inadequate to evangelize the entire world. Because of their intense belief in the need for the Gospel for all peoples, many evangelicals hoped for the conversion of the entire world in one generation or, more realistically, two or three generations.*

David Nock's *A Victorian Missionary and Canadian Indian Policy*

The previous chapter focused on an analysis of resistance to the Anglican church as revealed in Reverend Andrew Jamieson's letters and annual reports to SPG. One important aspect missing in this analysis was a discussion of the conversion process (from traditional beliefs to Christianity). It is important to note that many peoples of Walpole Island may have practiced both Christian and traditional religions. A number of quotations from the Jamieson Papers in the preceding chapter hinted at this issue. Jamieson described the Pagans on the island, "they have no feathers in their hair or paint on their cheeks or war clubs or tomahawks in their hands. Their feasts and dances are less than formerly." This alludes to the problem of describing Pagans on the island. They did not fit the 'savage' stereotype that Jamieson described in his early letters and reports. As a result the problem of measuring the conversion process questions the authenticity of Jamieson's conversions.



***"A Yes That Means No"***

In a chapter of *Moon of Wintertime* entitled "A Yes That Means No?" Grant looked at the response to Christianity by Native peoples and how they used it to shape

their lives. His examples are not conclusive, but raise a number of interesting questions. The first is the question of resistance. Grant claimed that “As Christianity became better known, resistance to it often hardened.”<sup>169</sup> He cited Walpole Island as an example of resistance and quoted Ojoaouanon’s (Oshawana’s) speech in the Ojibwa-Jesuit debate (discussed in chapter two) in 1844.

I, an Indian, know that the great spirit has given us all that we have: eyes to see, ears to hear, and a spirit to think of him and to understand the things he has created. I know that he is here, I know that he is elsewhere, that he is everywhere. I know that he sees us to the bottom of our hearts. I know that we ought to do his will. The Indian understands well these truths and many others; they are present to his spirit wherever he goes. It is not in books, my brother, that I have learned what I know. The great spirit has taught my elder, and my elder has spoken to me of what the great spirit had told him. I am happy to have had these teachings. I keep them in my heart and never will I renounce them.<sup>170</sup>

This reply, according to Grant emphasized the “traditionalists point of view,” and the experiences of the Jesuits at Walpole Island certainly stressed the hardening of resistance to Christianity, as five years after the debate the Jesuit church was burned to the ground. If resistance to Christianity hardened over time, as Grant had claimed, conversions would be more difficult for missionaries to attain. Grant also claimed that some replies to conversion closely followed European patterns “suggesting careful missionary coaching”

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<sup>169</sup> John Webster Grant, *Moon of Wintertime* p. 239

<sup>170</sup> John Webster Grant, *Moon of Wintertime* p. 240

while others took place in distinctively 'Indian' ways. These inconsistencies led Grant to question the versions of Christianity Native peoples were following.

Christianity demanded "its creed be accepted as true, and that all beliefs incompatible with it should be renounced as false."<sup>171</sup> According to Grant this set up standards of right and wrong that were much more strict than those associated with traditional Native religions. At Walpole Island, and many other Native communities, it is highly doubtful that these Christian standards were followed regarding the incorporation of traditional religions. Grant asked the question:

How genuine was the Christianity to which these Indians were converted? . . . if one looks honestly at the record one is nagged by the suspicion that what they [Native peoples] embraced was so different from Christianity as the missionaries understood it to be classified more properly as an imitation of its externals, or at best, neither quite Christian, nor quite traditional.<sup>172</sup>

James Axtell also recognized the difficulty of measuring the conversion process. In "Were Indian Conversions Bonifide?" Axtell admitted that "historians and ethnohistorians of both Protestant and Catholic missions have cast aspersions on the quantity, quality, and longevity of native conversions to intrusive religions."<sup>173</sup> Axtell cited the work of Cornelius Jaenen, David Blanchard, and Bruce Trigger and summed up

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<sup>171</sup> Grant, *Moon of Wintertime* p. 242

<sup>172</sup> Grant, *Moon of Wintertime* p. 246

<sup>173</sup> James Axtell, "Were Indian Conversions Bonifide?" *After Columbus: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (Oxford University Press, 1988) p. 101.



their claims by stating that not only was “the number of Indian conversions in the Northeast small, certainly much smaller than contemporary boasts would suggest, but many, perhaps most of them were not even made in good faith.”

Axtell also admitted that there were benefits to Christianity that may have encouraged Aboriginal peoples to convert. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries missionaries acknowledged that Native peoples expressed an interest in baptism “solely for the material advantages.” According to Axtell these people were known as “wheat-and-eel” Christians (after what they were called at the Hotel-Dieu in Quebec) and were “characterized as beggarly hypocrites who would grunt assent to the missionaries preachments as long as they were offered a pipe of tobacco, a nip of brandy, a new shirt, trading priviledges . . .”<sup>174</sup> Here Axtell quoted the disparaging remarks of frustrated missionaries, but he also used a quotation that emphasized resistance:

One Huron leader confounded his persistent but linguistically still novice priest even further by drawing out his verbal yes's (which were normally cut short) in a way that really meant “I will do nothing of the sort,” enabling the man to remain a “rebel soul” a quarter of a century after receiving baptism.<sup>175</sup>

As the previous examples from Axtell described compliance to Christianity for material gain, the above quotation focused on hidden resistance to Christianity. The drawn out yes's, which really meant no, allowed the Aboriginal person to secretly resist Christianity twenty five years after baptism.

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<sup>174</sup> Axtell, “Were Indian Conversions Bonifide?” p. 106.

These ideas raise many questions regarding the conversion process, and certainly shed new light on Jamieson's letters and reports. Were the Indian conversions to Christianity at Walpole Island Bonifide? In a letter to the editor of *The Churchman* R. J. Wilcox (a doctor that lived near Walpole Island) commented on the difficulties attaining European civilization on the island. In comments on the Walpole Island annual agricultural fair Wilcox wrote:

But the task of educating them [Walpole Island peoples] in the ways of civilized life was a work most difficult of accomplishment. It has in all parts of the United States, as well as in Canada been found an arduous undertaking, and considered by many an impossibility to make a steady and industrious citizen of an Indian. He may be taught our language and the use of most of our implements and utensils; but his instincts have ever led him to roam the forest, and his highest ambition, it once appeared, was to fashion a basket, or to decorate a moccasin. They have always been more disposed to follow the intemperate habits of their white brethren than their frugal and industrious ones; and drunkenness has always been their greatest curse.

The above is worth quoting at length because of its focus on the Walpole Island community. European civilization was considered an arduous task, which certainly emphasized the challenge for Jamieson at Walpole Island. Perhaps a few examples from Jamieson's reports to the SPG can illustrate the problems of measuring conversion at Bkejwanong.

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<sup>175</sup> Axtell, "Were Indian Conversions Bonifide?" p. 107.

In a report from the Jamieson Papers dated 1872 Jamieson described Kubzayevejiwin, an elderly woman from the island:

A few weeks since I had the great satisfaction of baptizing an aged squaw, the oldest woman in the tribe. She is upward of one hundred years of age and in full possession of all her faculties. When I first came to the Mission, now nearly thirty years ago she was an old woman. She was a pagan and strongly attached to the traditions of her ancestors. But notwithstanding she was much respected by all as a worthy of right character. . . Without the knowledge of anyone she had been greatly perplexed as regards the future of the right method of serving and pleasing the Great Spirit. She had lost her faith in Medicine Men, pagan feasts and sacrifices. In this state of uncertainty she had a dream and pagans, especially among the Indians attach great importance to dreams. The aged Squaw dreamed that she heard a voice telling her to arise and get rid of her perplexity and get to freedom and happiness.<sup>176</sup>

According to Jamieson Kubzayevejiwin went to the Anglican Catchiest and unburdened her mind. This eventually led to her baptism which created “quite a sensation at the time.” Jamieson noted a comment from a Christian member of the community that said, “the Indians believed that it was needless for her [Kubzayevejiwin ] to become a Christian. They thought it too late.”<sup>177</sup> This comment is notable because it appeared Kubzayevejiwin was not accepted among the Christian peoples in the community, and was not believed to have fully converted to Christianity. After spending most of her life following traditional spirituality it seems unlikely that Kubzayevejiwin would have

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<sup>176</sup> Reverend Andrew Jamieson, “The Jamieson Papers” p. 21

<sup>177</sup> Reverend Andrew Jamieson, “The Jamieson Papers” p. 22

completely abandoned these beliefs for Christianity. In this respect, according to Grant, Kubzayejiwin could be considered “neither quite Christian, nor quite traditional.”

This idea regarding conversion to Christianity was also emphasized in Jamieson’s report of 1877. Jamieson mentioned two baptisms in the community and described them as “pagan adult Indians.” They were Maiuakona, and Pakmizewi, sons of Pakumzewy, the “strongest pagan on the island.” Jamieson’s description of Maiuakona is interesting because, although a Pagan he was “a most respectable young man. He has always been steady and correct, a pattern of industry to all around him.”<sup>178</sup> This description seemed to blur the lines between Pagan and Christian. Jamieson wrote of Maiuakona:

Sometime ago he gave me the following account of himself. He said he had been baptized and always had a great respect for religion, but it was not until six years ago that given himself truly to God and it was on this wise. He and two Indian companions in the month of January had been down at Pelee Is. on Lake Erie. They were on a hunting expedition. The weather was piercing cold and the lake was full of ice. To their surprise the ice on which they had pitched their tent had broken off from the main body and was drifting toward the lake. Having no boat or canoe they knew they were prisoners on the field of ice. here they remained a day and a night floating here and there on the broad lake. They felt themselves in an evil case. He realized his position and gave himself to God. Fortunately the field of ice drifted toward the American shore, somewhere near Sandusky, Ohio. They reached terra firma in safety.<sup>179</sup>

It is interesting that Jamieson wrote, ‘ he had been baptized and always had a great respect for religion, but it was not until six years ago that given himself truly to God.’ He

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<sup>178</sup> Reverend Andrew Jamieson, “The Jamieson Papers” p. 61

<sup>179</sup> Reverend Andrew Jamieson, “The Jamieson Papers” p. 62

had been baptized, but did not fully convert to Christianity until the episode on Lake Erie. Along with the account of Kubzayevejiwin the baptism of Maiuakona seemed to emphasize the difficulty of measuring the conversion process. Maiuakona was baptized in his youth, but did not convert to Christianity until the episode on lake Erie The sincerity of Kubzayevejiwin's conversion was put into doubt by the comments from the Christian Indians quoted by Jamieson.



### *Syncretized Religions*

In most studies of the relationship between missionaries and Native peoples people are discussed as either Pagans or Christians. Elizabeth Graham, in *Medicine Man to Missionary* mentioned the number of baptisms in Aboriginal communities, assuming these peoples had fully converted to Christianity.<sup>180</sup> Devens study of resistance to missionaries from Native women relied upon a vast amount of primary sources, but also ignored the issues regarding the conversion process. Winona Stevenson discussed the conversion process in her study of the emergence of Native missionaries. Stevenson wrote that the Native missionary, Charles Pratt “syncretized Indigenous and European spirituality in the best interests of his peoples’ survival”<sup>181</sup> and emphasized the impact of Native catechists who “encouraged sedentary farming. . . and also partook in trapping, fishing, and hunting expeditions to supplement their own livelihoods.”<sup>182</sup>

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<sup>180</sup> Graham, Elizabeth, *Medicine Man to Missionary* p. 45

<sup>181</sup> Winona Stevenson, *The Church Missionary Society* p. iii

<sup>182</sup> Winona Stevenson, *The Church Missionary Society* p. 10

Grant's suspicion was that the Christianity being followed was merely an imitation of its externals, but according to Winona Stevenson it was more than that. She wrote that Askenootow 'syncretized Indigenous and European spirituality.' This takes Grant's suspicion a step further and suggests that Native peoples combined aspects of Christianity that strengthened their traditional culture. This idea was also suggested by Peter Kulchyski in "The Postmodern and the Paleolithic: Notes on Technology and the Native Community in the Far North" where he discussed the incorporation of "advanced southern technology" into the cultural life of northern peoples. Kulchyski argued that by utilizing all terrain vehicles, televisions, and computers, the traditional cultural life of the north was strengthened and not undermined. Native peoples in the north utilized all terrain vehicles to continue the gathering and hunting lifestyle. They did not allow television into the north until they were assured of a local broadcasting station, which emphasized teaching traditional Inuit culture.

By using Kulchyski's thesis, it can be argued that by incorporating Christianity into their lives many Native peoples of Walpole Island may have strengthened their cultural life without undermining their traditions. Elements of strength found in Christianity would be learning to read and write English, and access to Indian Affairs through Jamieson and the Anglican church. Grant also admitted that there were advantages to conversion:

Chiefs could find advantages in Christianity as they sought to consolidate their power and . . . the possibility of harnessing new sources of spiritual power through the rituals and ceremonies of Christianity or through the

uses of its sacred books. Even the fear inspired by a strange religion contributed to its fascination.<sup>183</sup>

Returning to the previous examples of Maiuakona and Kubzayevejiwin, we can ask if they could have incorporated elements of Christianity without undermining their traditional beliefs. Kubzayevejiwin would have had little problem continuing her traditional beliefs, except for comments from the Christian members of the community. Maiuakona's case is more complex, as it appeared that he eventually converted fully to Christianity after the incident on the ice on Lake Erie.



### *Summary*

This chapter dealt with the problems surrounding the conversion process. There are a number of descriptions of people in the Jamieson papers that blur the line between Pagan and Christian. Indeed, the distinction is often finely drawn. People that had been baptized may have continued their traditional practices, and people considered Pagan may have adapted aspects of Christianity. By incorporating the ideas of Winona Stevenson and Peter Kulchyski this chapter also attempted to show that Native peoples of Walpole Island could have incorporated Christianity with their traditional religions in order to strengthen their traditional culture. Advantages to incorporating both religions would have been greater access to Indian Affairs, learning to read and write English, and greater success in petitions to the government.

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<sup>183</sup> John Webster Grant, *Moon of Wintertime* p. 244

The final chapter presents a summary of the thesis drawing on the theme of resistance to assimilation, and conclusions made from the main points discussed in previous chapters. The main points from each chapter are briefly discussed, and the methodology is emphasized throughout. The conclusion also presents needs for further research, which focuses on the importance of Oral Histories, as well as early church documents from the community. The conclusion focuses on the importance of utilizing a wide variety of historical documents to provide context for the analysis of the Jamieson papers.



### ***Chapter Seven: Conclusions***

*At my second visit he was no better and he seemed troubled in mind. He told me he was afraid he was lost. I replied, "Surely not so bad as that," if his sins were great we had a great Saviour. I exhorted him to look away from himself and look to Jesus, the lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world. He said, "What shall I say to him?" I said, "Say in your heart, make me submissible to thy Will , and contented to bear what thou pleasest. Never lose sight of Jesus, he is your only helper now. Let your last thoughts be of him." He thanked me and said no more.*

CMA. The Jamieson Papers, Folders 78/7 (See Appendix Two, page 73).

The previous chapters introduced Walpole Island First Nation, Nin da waab jig, and the research materials utilized in this thesis. Chapter one provided the focus of an analysis of the Jamieson Papers, the letters and reports to the SPG by Reverend Andrew Jamieson, Anglican missionary to Walpole Island between 1845 and 1885. The thesis claimed that the Jamieson Papers revealed much resistance to the Anglican church, which refuted academic literature by John Webster Grant, and Elizabeth Graham who claimed the people of Walpole Island were converted to Christianity in the late nineteenth century. Resistance is important because it emphasized the power of First Nations communities in their opposition to assimilation policies. The examples of resistance quoted from the Jamieson Papers emphasized this power. Native peoples of Walpole Island did not accept Christianity without question. Many resisted the teachings of Christianity and held traditional spirituality as superior.

Chapter two introduced the interdisciplinary methodology used in the interpretation of the research materials. The ideas of Gerald Vizenor and James C. Scott have been repeated throughout this thesis, but both helped ameliorate the problems of

bias in the research materials, and my bias in the interpretation of the materials. Scott's discussions of resistance and the "public transcript" focused the analysis of resistance of the Jamieson Papers, and Vizenor's "pleasurable misreadings" and "narrative chance" helped introduce a First Nations perspective into the methodology. Winona Stevenson's analysis of her great grandfather's journals were used to help explain Vizenor's and Scott's methodologies. Unfortunately, the only oral histories utilized in the thesis come from the primary historical documents in the National Archives of Canada, and the Walpole Island Heritage Centre. Nin.da.waab.jig is pursuing a number of land claims and will not publish their oral histories until the land claims are settled.

Chapter three described Bkejwanong in the nineteenth century attempting to provide some context for the analysis of the research materials. This chapter relied upon descriptions of the island in the nineteenth century collected by Nin da waab jig. These included documents written by Keating, the first Indian Agent on the island, the Jesuit missionaries, Major Richardson, and the Methodist missionaries. These descriptions emphasized resistance to assimilation from the Walpole Island community. This context is important because the theme of resistance is applied to the writings of Jamieson. Chapter four discussed the history and policies of church missionary societies, and the Indian department in the nineteenth century. Jamieson was paid a salary by both of these institutions and their ideas had an immense affect upon him. The main idea shared by Indian affairs and the SPG was the assimilation of Native peoples, which was one of the main responsibilities for Jamieson. This chapter also described the life of Jamieson utilizing documents among the Jamieson Papers, and documents collected by Nin da

waab jig. This life history provided context to Jamieson's actions in the community, which helped in chapter five's analysis of the Jamieson Papers.



### *Themes of Resistance*

Jamieson's letters and reports to the SPG were analyzed according to themes. The most prominent themes were descriptions of paganism, education and farming. These themes emphasized resistance to Jamieson and Anglican church which revealed a powerful community that continued to resist the assimilation process into the late nineteenth century. The discussion of resistance was aided by the methodology discussed in chapter two. Scott's ideas helped define resistance and identify resistance hidden from view. Vizenor's ideas encouraged the comparisons between Jamieson's personal letters and his reports to the SPG, focusing on the narrative chance and elements of resistance in the documents.

Another idea connected to the analysis was the problem of measuring the conversion process. Chapter six cited a number of examples from the Jamieson Papers that added shades of gray to the otherwise black and white discussion of Pagan versus Christian. Winona Stevenson's work and Peter Kulchyski's thesis was valuable to the discussion by showing that Native peoples have incorporated aspects of the dominant culture and not only retain their traditional culture, but have used the dominant culture to strengthen their traditional culture. I certainly only touched upon this issue, and no methodology for a study of this kind was proposed. As Peter Kulchyski's study was

portrayed as “notes on technology” in the far north, chapter six was certainly just notes on the difficulties of measuring the conversion process.

The focus of this thesis was the Jamieson Papers, but many other historical documents were utilized to provide context. This context was very important to the analysis of the documents. Without an understanding of the Jesuit missionaries at Walpole Island it would have been impossible to note Jamieson’s remark regarding Noodin’s barn fire, which hinted at resistance to Noodin and the Anglican church. Keating’s Letterbooks helped understand the relationship between the early Anglican missionaries and the Native peoples of Walpole Island. Hopefully the Jamieson Papers will help Nin.da.waab.jig by providing context to other historical documents in their collection at the heritage center.



### *The Importance of Oral Histories and Needs for Further Research*

The absence of Oral Histories limit the depth of this thesis. Talking to people in the community would have added immensely to the discussion of resistance, and would have helped capture more of the feelings of the people. The Jamieson Papers provided wonderful descriptive material, but the thoughts and feelings of the community in the nineteenth century can only be revealed through the island’s oral histories. Interviews with Jamieson’s surviving family members would have also expanded the depth of this thesis. As mentioned in Appendix Two, Jamieson revealed very little personal information about himself in his letters and reports to the SPG. Jamieson’s reports are

public documents, written to his employer and many of his feelings were subjugated to enforce the perspectives of the Anglican church.

Collecting the Walpole Island communities oral histories is just one need for further research regarding this thesis. It would also be valuable to search for Jamieson's early letters from the island, and any other documented material that remains from St. George's parish and the early years of St. John's. Of immense value would be any baptismal or confirmation records that may be at St. John's church. There may also be baptismal certificates, or confirmation tickets held by people in the community which would add to the documented history of Walpole Island's missions. The research of the Walpole Island Heritage Centre also needs to be addressed in an analysis of the Jamieson Papers. The Heritage Centre suggested I focus on the Jamieson papers, but did not provide any direction to the analysis. It is important to outline the value of the Jamieson Papers to the Heritage Centre. This might involve an analysis of the Jamieson Papers focusing on areas for land claims, or perhaps a discussion of the historical material in the letters and reports.



### *A Learning Experience*

I have been a student of Native Studies for a number of years, but the challenge of writing an aspect of the history of a First Nation was one that I was not prepared for. The history of Walpole Island is incredibly complex. It contains many layers: creation stories, oral histories, documented events, cultural change, personal histories and reminiscences, anthropological studies. Then there are historical accounts from missionaries, Indian

Agents, traders, writers, travelers, explorers, each from their unique perspective. Attempting to connect these layers is nearly impossible, resulting in the need for focus. The letters and reports by the Reverend Jamieson appeared to simplify the task in this thesis by focusing on documents written by a non Native person. However, as Jamieson was an Ojibwa speaker that had lived on the island, and had obviously become close to the land and the people, his letters and reports were very difficult to analyze.

Was Jamieson primarily concerned with the civilization and Christianization of the community, even at the cost to their own traditions, cultures, and languages? Or did he ignore the need to civilize before Christianize, and give the community room to practice their traditions? These questions are difficult to answer, especially because of Jamieson's long tenure as missionary to Walpole Island. The answers may have changed at different times of his life. Tied into these questions is the focus on resistance to the Anglican church from the Walpole Island community. Resistance is an important theme in the history of Bkejwanong because it emphasizes the complexities, and the power of the community. These complexities can be a very humbling experience, and at some levels this thesis asked more questions than it provided answers.

At the very least this thesis managed to copy and analyze a piece of historical information that was missing from the documented history of Walpole Island First Nation. At most the analysis of resistance will be valuable to the community, and perhaps be utilized by other Native communities documenting their history through missionary sources. The thesis has been of value to me by stressing the complexity of studying, documenting, and attempting to understand Native cultures. In studying Native histories

there is much to learn, and the richness of Walpole Island's history makes this learning very rewarding.

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**Note:** The primary sources used in this paper were collected from special library collections, government files on microfiche, the National Archives of Canada, The Provincial Archives of Ontario, The Cronyn Memorial Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Huron, and the Walpole Island Heritage Center.

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*Notes on Terminology and Glossary of Terms*

In order to clarify the terms used in this thesis the following explanation of terminology is provided in addition to the glossary at the end of this section. In papers dealing with Native history most discussion of terminology has centered on the use of the terms Indian, or indian, or native, or Native, or Aboriginal and so on. Some authors have written that the term Indian is derogatory and scholars should use natives, or aboriginals. Other writers have claimed that Indian is the term used by most First Nations peoples and it should be used in the literature as well. Dan Smith's recent work on Aboriginal self-government followed this line of thought. He wrote:

People may choose to use phrases like First Nation or capitalize Native or Aboriginal as if they were proper nouns, not adjectives. But such language has no place in a book intended to make the already complex subject of aboriginal government as easy as possible to understand. I support the view of journalist and author Brian Maracle, who argues that the widespread media habit of referring to aboriginal people as Natives or Aboriginals -- or natives and aboriginals -- not only is debatable grammar, but makes a misleading hash of what are often very different groups of people. So when my Cree or Mohawk friends stop using the word Indian in their everyday conversation, then I'll stop using it in print.<sup>184</sup>

This thesis will generally follow the recommendation by the World Council of Indigenous Peoples and use the term "Aboriginal peoples" to refer to Native peoples in general. But in an attempt to avoid making a 'misleading hash' of very different groups

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<sup>184</sup> Dan Smith, *The Seventh Fire: The Struggle For Aboriginal Government* (Key Porter Books, 1993).

of people this thesis will also use the specific terms Anishnabeg (or Ojibwa), Odawa, and Potawatomi to refer to the individual groups.

Recently, historians have been using the term Anishnabeg in place of Ojibwa, or Chippewa to refer to the Aboriginal peoples around the great lakes and the Walpole Island area. Donald B. Smith wrote that Anishnabeg is the original term meaning “human beings” or “men par excellence,”<sup>185</sup> but the term is much more complex than that, and can be translated in a number of ways. The root of the word Anishnabeg can be translated to refer to male sexuality or libido.<sup>186</sup> Anishnabeg also relates to the Ojibwa Creation Stories where it has been translated as “from whence, lowered, the male of the species”<sup>187</sup> and refers to the essence of man. In the mid-nineteenth century William Warren (an Ojibwa historian) wrote, “As a race or a distinct people they denominate themselves A-wish-in-aub-ay” but he did not describe the translation of the word.<sup>188</sup>

The term Ojibwa has been used more extensively and it also has a number of complexities. Peter Jones wrote that Ojibwa meant “the puckered moccasin people.”<sup>189</sup> This was in reference to the traditional way in which the moccasins were sewn. The root “Ojib” can be literally translated to “puckered or drawn up” and the moccasin seam is puckered lengthways over the foot. William Warren disagreed with Jones. In *History of The Ojibway People* Warren claimed the reference to moccasins was just a convenient definition that Elders told non-Native peoples. According to Warren the actual translation

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<sup>185</sup> Donald B. Smith, *Sacred Feathers: The Reverend Peter Jones (Kahkewaquonaby) and the Missassauga Indian* (University of Toronto Press, 1987) p. 17.

<sup>186</sup> King, Cecil, Personal Communication, November 3, 1997.

<sup>187</sup> Edward Benton - Banai, *The Mishomis Book* (Red School House, 1988) p. 7.

of Ojibwa is “to roast till puckered up” and was in reference to the torture by fire of captives in wars.<sup>190</sup>

Most of the historical sources have used the name Walpole Island instead of Bkejwanong, but I have used both throughout this thesis. Bkejwanong is an important name because it reflects the language and history of the peoples of the island. The name Walpole is also important because it refers to the war poles that were prominent on the island and the relationship between Native and non Native peoples on the island. The use of the word Pagan to describe non Christians or traditional peoples was chosen for a number of reasons. Jamieson used the term Pagan in his reports and letters, and often capitalized the word. The term traditional spirituality is also used when referring to Native religions. Traditional spirituality was, of course, only considered Pagan by missionaries and Christians. The biblical understanding of Pagan simply meant “non Christian peoples,”<sup>191</sup> and the modern definition of Pagan is “a person who is not a Christian, Muslim, or a Jew.”<sup>192</sup>

This thesis followed the publications of the Walpole Island Heritage Centre and used “user friendly,”<sup>193</sup> non academic language wherever possible. Academic jargon, or words used only in academia were avoided, and when unavoidable explained in detail and included in the glossary. Non academic language is important because this thesis must

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<sup>188</sup> William W. Warren *History of The Ojibway People* (Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1984) p. 37.

<sup>189</sup> Jones, *History*, p. 164.

<sup>190</sup> Warren, *History*, p. 37.

<sup>191</sup> Reverend Jim Miller, Personal Communication, August 21, 1997.

<sup>192</sup> *Webster's New World College Dictionary on Power CD*.

<sup>193</sup> Nin da waab jig, “Community Profile” (<http://www.adamsheritage.on.ca/walpoleisland>).

remain accessible to both the Walpole Island community and academia. The following glossary will define some of the more complex or vague terminology used in this thesis.

### *Glossary of Terms*

**Anglican** A member of the Church of England, or any church in the Anglican communion.

**A Numiany** An Ojibwa term translated by Reverend Jamieson to “the prayer people” or “the people that pray.”

**Anishnabeg** Meaning “from whence lowered the male of the species” which refers the creation stories of the Ojibwa, Odawa, and Potawatomi peoples. In this thesis Anishnabeg refers generally to all three groups.

**Annuities** Yearly payments made to Aboriginal communities in exchange for tracts of land. Most Aboriginal communities received annuities for set period of time which was administered by the department of Indian Affairs.

**Assimilation** The cultural absorption of a minority group into the main cultural body. In this case the absorption of Aboriginal peoples into Eurocanadian society.

**Bkejwanong** The traditional name for Walpole Island which means “where the waters divide.”

**Black Robe** Term used by Native peoples to refer to the Jesuit missionaries (based on the robes they used to wear).

**Christian** A person professing a belief in Jesus as Christ or in the religion based on the teachings of Jesus.

**Communicants** The people in the congregation that accept the Holy Communion.

**Congregations** A group of people that assemble for church services.

**Critical identity** A term used by Arnold Krupat in *The Turn to the Native* to refer to the explanation of one's identity, or perspective, especially with reference to research and writing in Native Studies.

**Delgamuuk** The name of the person or house that sued the province of British Columbia over Aboriginal title. *Delgamuuk v. the Queen* recently resulted in a Supreme Court decision recognizing the validity of Aboriginal Oral Histories in the Canadian courts.

**Hidden transcript** A term used by James C. Scott to focus an examination of resistance. It is the part of the public transcript (see below) that focuses the specific site of resistance.

**Jesuit** A Roman Catholic order for men founded in 1534. Jesuit missionaries were one of the first to arrive in North America from Europe.

**Methodist** A Protestant Christian denomination founded in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century.

**Narrative chance** A term used by Gerald Vizenor to refer to the use of the imagination (chance) in interpreting historical documents.

**Nin.da.waab.jig** Means "those who seek to find" and is the name and philosophy behind the Walpole Island Heritage Centre.

**Oral histories** Aboriginal oral histories in this thesis refers to stories generations old that tell the histories of a certain Aboriginal group or community. Oral Histories are



different than Oral Tradition which refers to the process by which stories are told and passed down.

**Pagan** Eluding Christian norms. One of a nation or community which does not hold the true religion, or does not worship the true God; a heathen, as opposed to Christian or Jewish. The explanation arising out of villager, or rustic, has been shown to be chronologically and historically untenable.

**Paleoindians** A term used by anthropologists to refer to the ancestors of today's Aboriginal peoples.

**Pleasureable Misreadings** According to Gerald Vizenor it is an historical interpretation of Native history based on positive aspects rather than negative. It assumes that there is no correct interpretation or reading of history, but only misreadings.

**Public transcript** A term used by James C. Scott to focus an examination of resistance. It is the self portrait of the dominant elites as they would like themselves to be seen.

**Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG)** An outgrowth of the Church of England's Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the SPG was formed in 1701 to promote Christian teachings among the colonies of Britain.

**Subscriptions** Money donated to the church, which in the case of St. John's Anglican church at Walpole Island was first subscribed, and later paid to the church at the Christmas service.

**Troika** A Russian vehicle, especially a sleigh or carriage drawn by a specifically trained team of three horses abreast. In this thesis troika was used as an analogy to the importance of the fur traders, Indian agents, and missionaries to the assimilation process.

### *Appendix A: Quantitative Information from the Jamieson Papers*

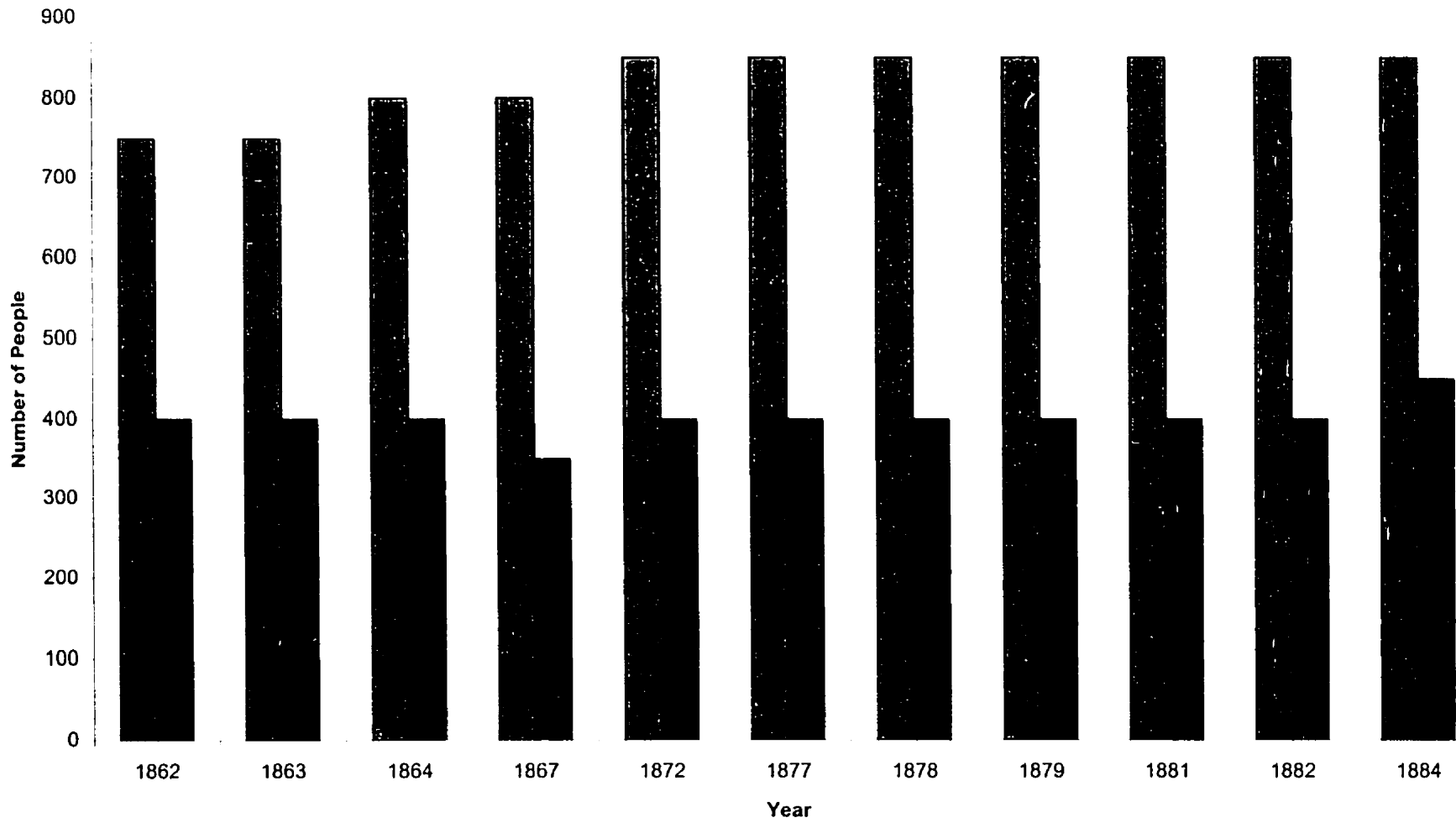
The quantitative information from Jamieson's annual reports to the SPG were introduced at the end of chapter five with a brief discussion of the population in the community, church members and congregation size. Jamieson was also required to list statistics for the number of communicants, persons confirmed, baptism of infants, baptism of adults, marriages, and burials (see chart on page 100). This information is charted on the following pages in an attempt to draw some conclusions about Jamieson's mission at Walpole Island. A close analysis of the figures reveals inaccuracies and the information tells more about Jamieson and the Anglican church than it does about the community.

Chart one shows the total population and church members at Walpole Island from 1862 to 1884. According to Jamieson the population remained relatively constant despite deaths and newcomers to the community. The number of church members also remained relatively constant at 400, except for a drop of 50 in 1867, which was not explained in the report to the SPG. Chart two shows congregation size, which was discussed previously in chapter five. When compared to the church members chart, the size of the congregations were quite small. According to Jamieson the small congregations were due to the wanderings of the community. As stated earlier in the thesis the wanderings emphasized resistance to Jamieson, as many people in the community rejected his teachings of civilization and a sedentary lifestyle.

Chart three is the number of communicants, or people that accepted the Holy Communion in the church services. Like the congregations size, these numbers are quite small when compared to the church members, and actually declined during the latter half of his tenure. Charts four and five illustrate confirmations and baptisms. These numbers are also quite small, and it is interesting that the number of baptisms (which fluctuate from year to year) did not influence the number of church members (which remained constant). This puts the accuracy of the church members information into doubt. The last chart is marriages at Walpole Island. Notable is the total number of marriages. In twenty-two years only twenty couples were married by Jamieson. This certainly emphasizes resistance to the church, and a reluctance to let Jamieson interfere in the family relationships on the island.

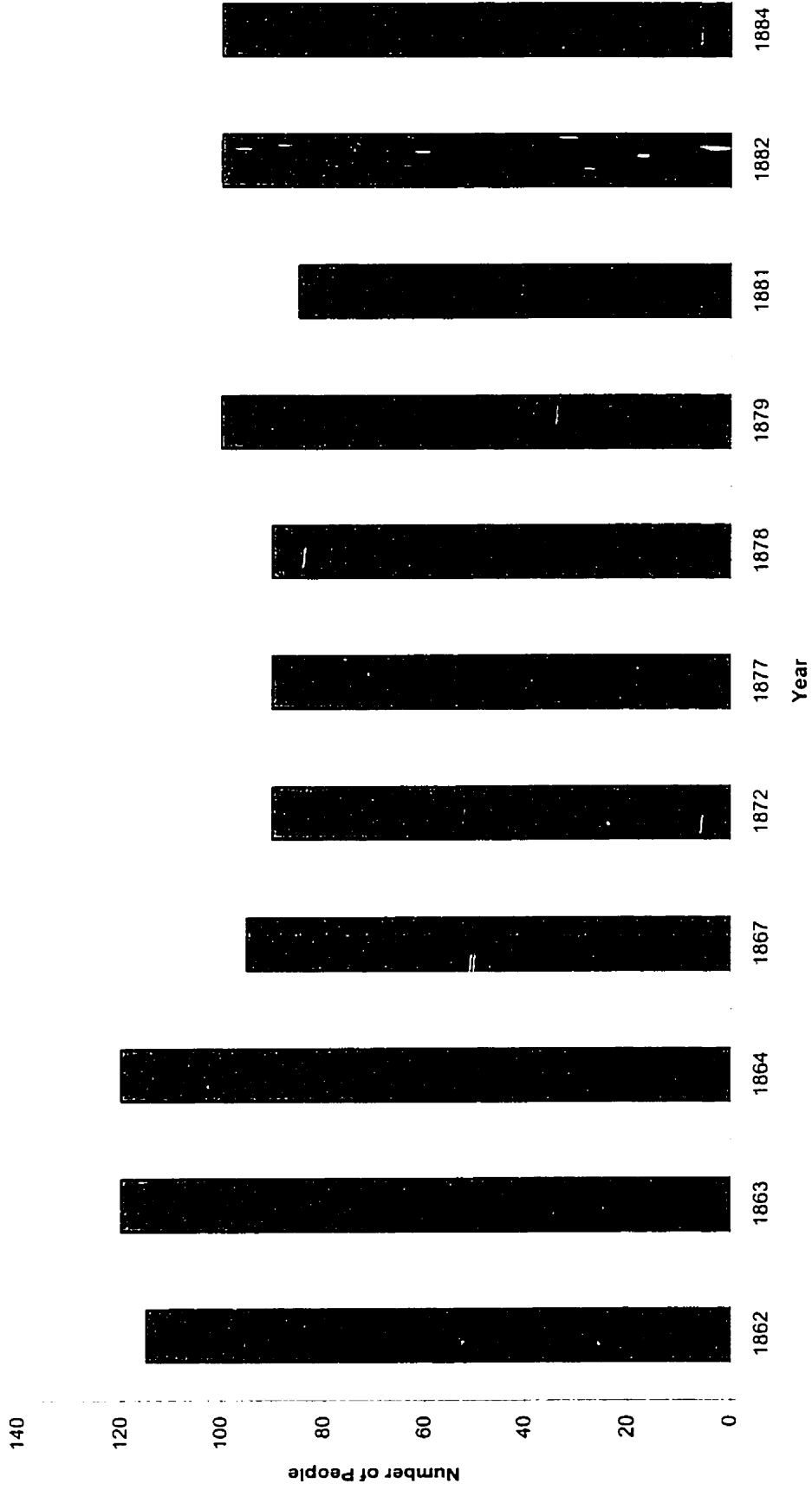
An analysis of the quantitative information presented in Jamieson's reports to the SPG reveals more information about Jamieson and the church than it does about the community. Conflicts between the number of church members and baptisms, and inaccurate population figures place doubts on the sincerity of Jamieson's information. Despite these shortcomings the figures provide some insight into the mission. The small congregation sizes emphasized resistance to Jamieson's civilization policies and a continuance of traditional means of livelihood. The small number of marriages also revealed resistance to Jamieson, emphasizing the importance of keeping family traditions outside of the church. A need for further research would be a comparison of different demographic data from the thousands of reports to the SPG submitted by missionaries in the nineteenth century. A close analysis of the data might show patterns in the missions, and perhaps reveal more resistance to the Anglican churches from Aboriginal peoples.

**Total Population and Church Members at Walpole Island First Nation, 1862-1884**



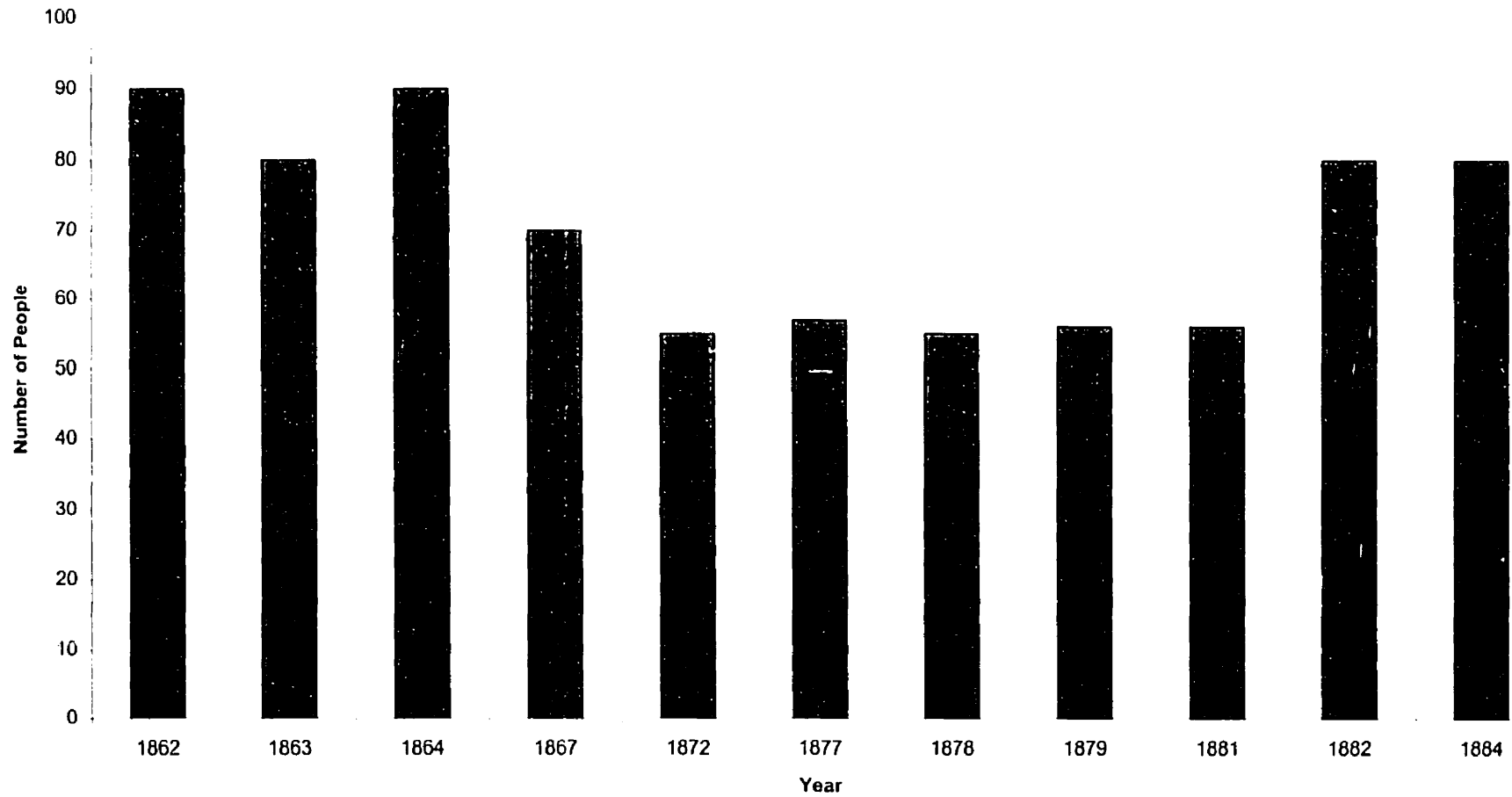
Source: NAC MG17 B1. United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Correspondence, 1700-1951. Huron.

**Congregation Size at Walpole Island First Nation, 1856-1884**



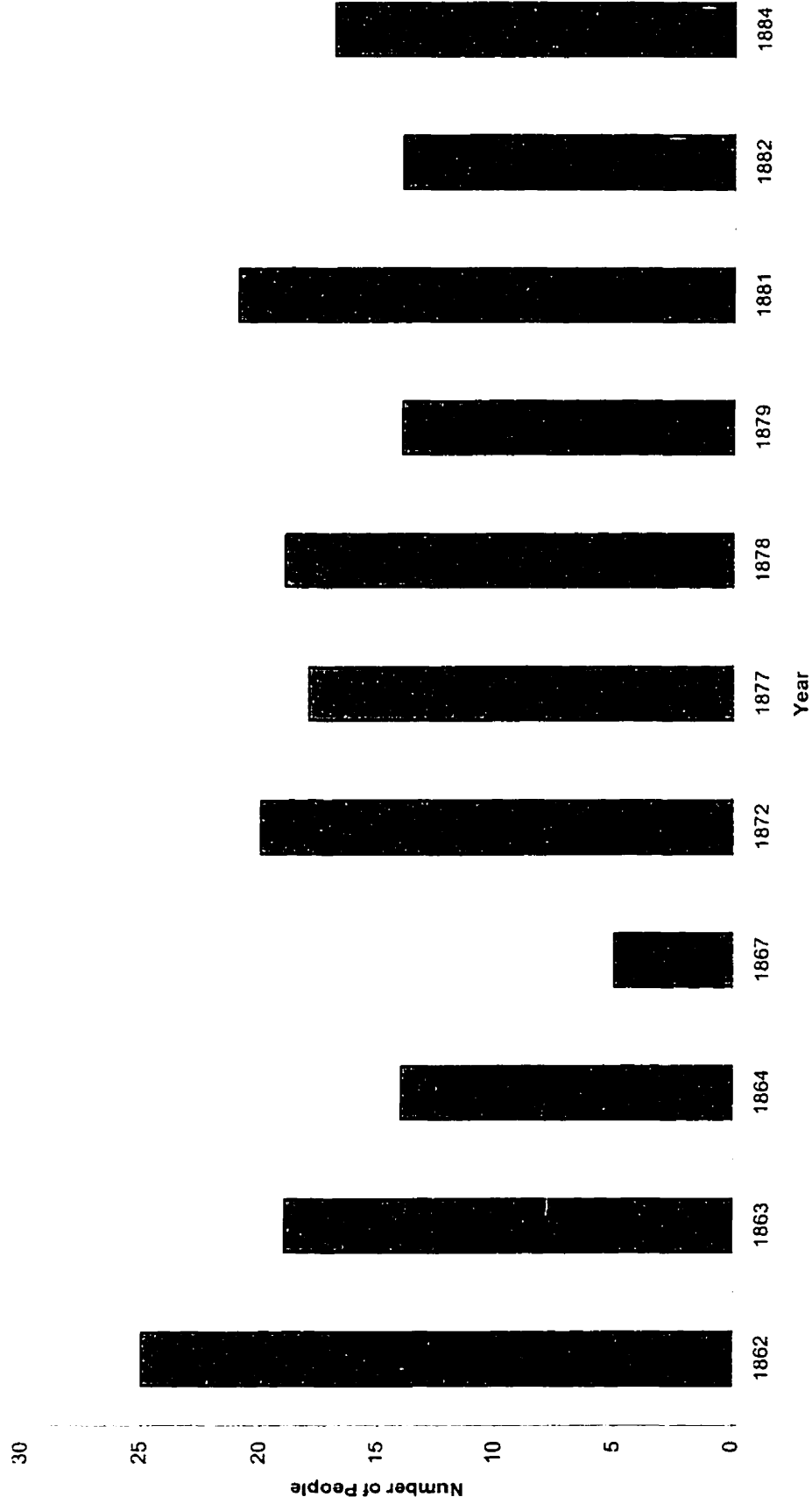
Source: NAC MG17 B1. United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Correspondence, 1700-1951. Huron.

**Number of Communicants at Walpole Island First Nation, 1862-1884**



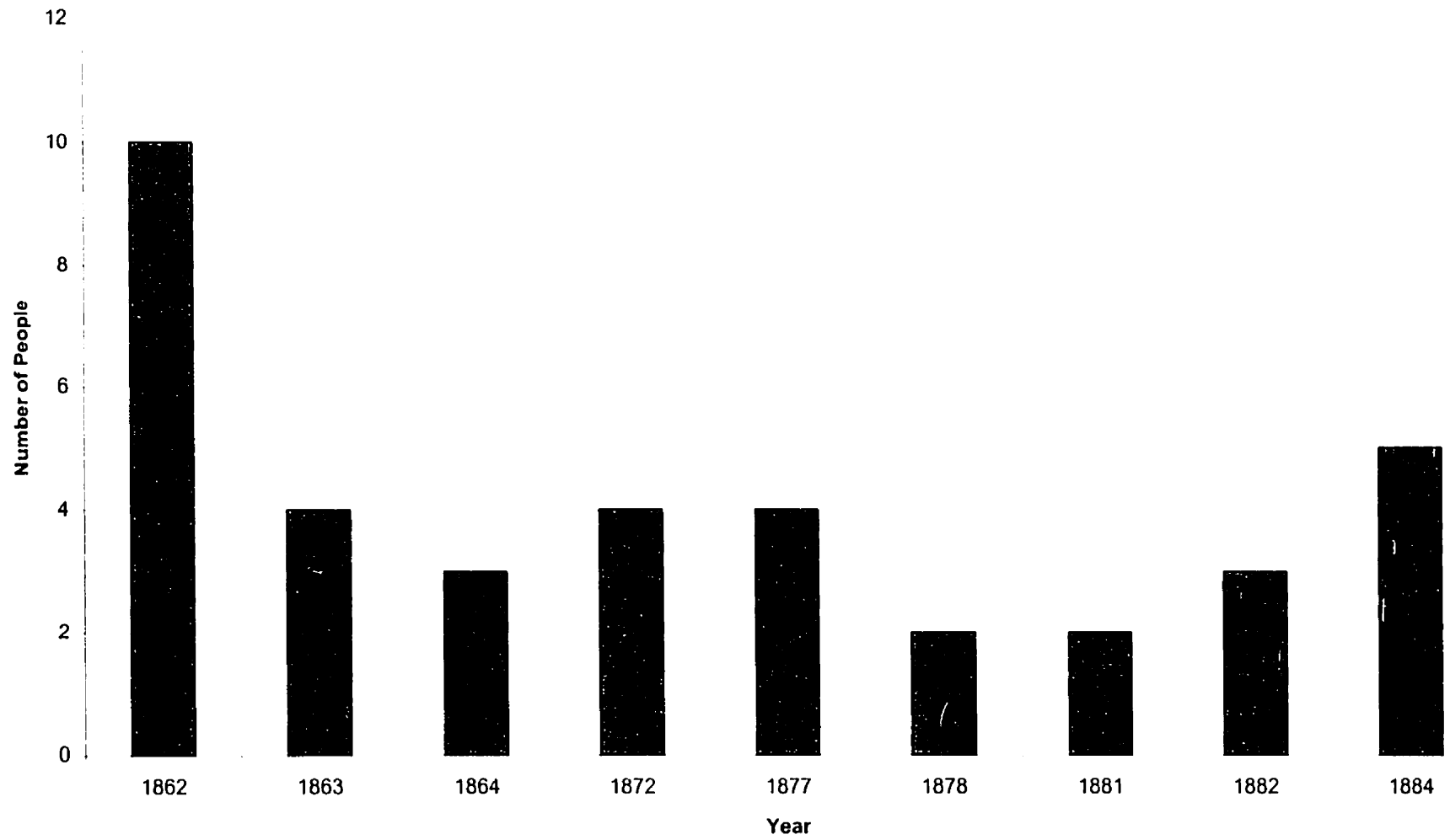
Source: NAC MG17 B1. United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Correspondence, 1700-1951. Huron.

**Baptism of Infants at Walpole Island First Nation, 1856-1884**



Source: NAC MG17 B1. United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Correspondence, 1700-1951. Huron.

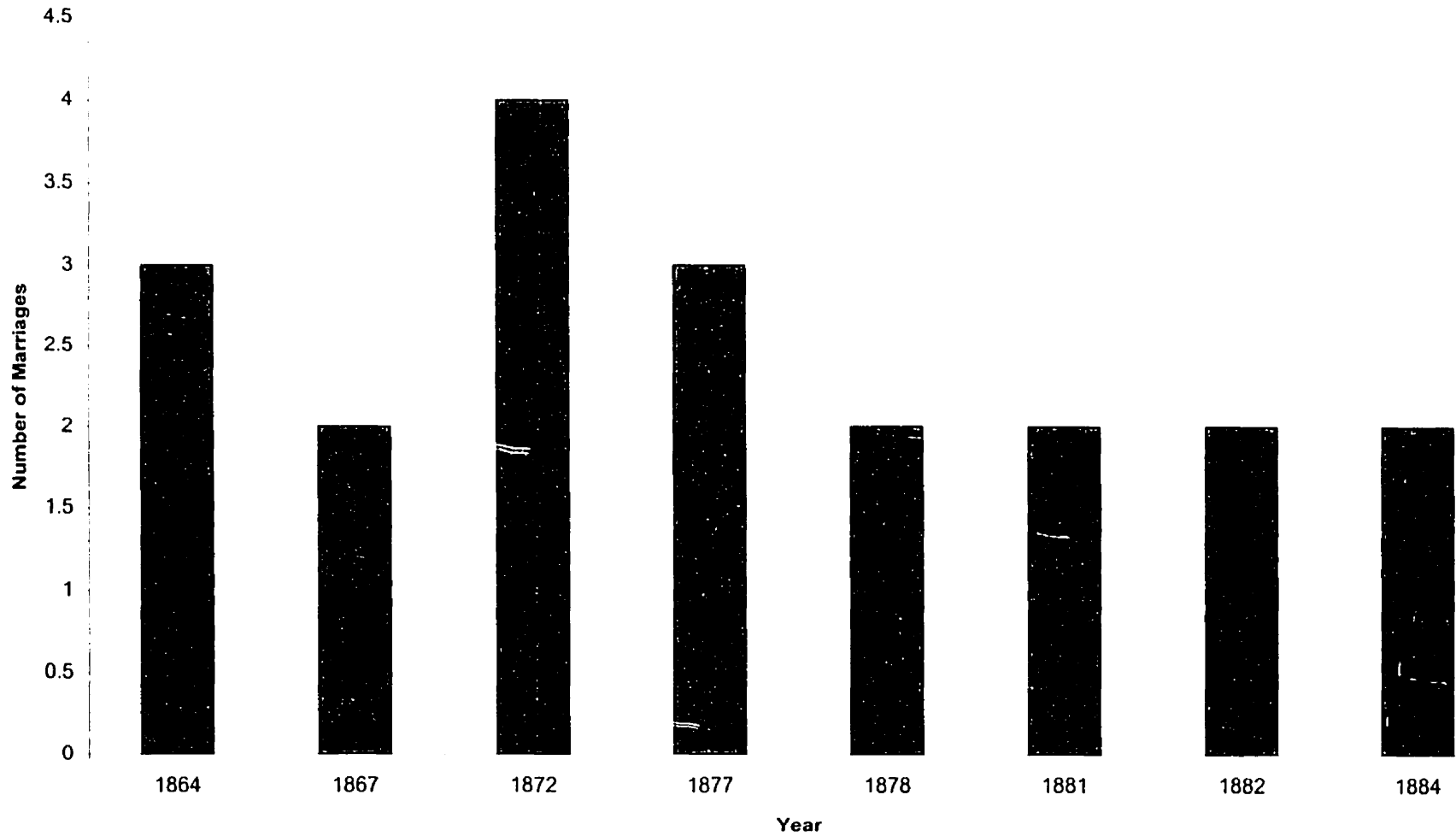
**Baptism of Adults at Walpole Island First Nation, 1862-1884**



Source: NAC MG17 B1. United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Correspondence, 1700-1951. Huron.



**Marriages at Walpole Island First Nation, 1862-1884**



Source: NAC MG17 B1. United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Correspondence, 1700-1951. Huron.

### *Appendix B: Transcriptions of the Jamieson Papers*

Appendix two includes typed copies of the Jamieson Papers, the originals of which are held at the Cronyn Memorial Archives of the University of Western Ontario in London. The Walpole Island Heritage Centre had not collected the Jamieson Papers, and they hoped the letters and reports would add to their documented history of Walpole Island. The Jamieson Papers add much to the documentary sources, but from the bias of a missionary working for both the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG), and the Department of Indian Affairs. Once Jamieson's bias is addressed there are very useful descriptions of the Walpole Island community between 1859 and 1885. This introduction will briefly discuss some of the accounts, and the complete transcript of the letters and reports follows.<sup>1</sup>

The first report to the SPG was written in 1859. It is one of the most important reports as it included Jamieson's reminiscences of his early years on the island. Jamieson arrived at Walpole Island in the summer of 1845, and this report in 1859 is the first written account of his mission that survived. The first thing the reader notices is the derogatory language used by Jamieson to refer to the Native peoples. He called them lazy and apathetic, pagans "in the degradation of barbarism." However, it is important to remember the perspectives held by missionaries (see chapter three). Missionaries considered Christianity complete and true, and all other religions false, which led to their disparagement. It also important to look at the terminology with 19<sup>th</sup> century eyes. Words

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<sup>1</sup> Note that I have typed the letters and reports exactly as they had been copied. Spelling errors, which are very few, were left in, and at some points there are variances in the chronology.

like squaw have taken on derogatory meanings in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, but Jamieson referred to his wife as “the white squaw” and obviously did not consider it a negative term.

Quarterly reports to the SPG followed from 1860 to 1862, and resumed in 1865. These reports include the quotations discussed in the education section of chapter five, and more useful descriptions of the island. The first church on the island is discussed at length, as well as the congregations in the church. The report for 1862 includes a very sad description of a small pox outbreak, in which 30 people had died. Jamieson’s reaction to the outbreak is confusing, and very much emphasizes his perspective as a Christian missionary. While he closed down the church and school and attended to the sick and dying, Jamieson seemed detached from it all and wrote, “The visitation (small pox) has been followed by much good spiritually. Our congregations on Sundays were never larger ...”<sup>2</sup> This quotation seems harsh after so many people in the community passed away, but it is important to remember that it was written in a public document to the SPG. The Anglican church expected Jamieson to take every advantage and use it to further the Christianization of the community, even the deaths from small pox.

The report for 1865 included descriptions of hunting and trapping which Jamieson referred to as the “wanderings” of the community. Also discussed was the exodus of a group of Walpole Islanders to Kansas. The reports continue until 1869 with valuable descriptions of the Indian councils, and some early work on land claims.<sup>3</sup> In these reports Jamieson’s interest in the parish seem to lapse, and there is much repetitive material. He wrote, “It would have been of great pleasure to be able to send to the society something

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<sup>2</sup> See page 13 of this appendix.

<sup>3</sup> See page 21 of this appendix.

new and interesting, but this is out of my power. On this Mission as on Missions of an older date, the history of a month is the history of a year.”<sup>4</sup>

After 1869 there is a break in the reports until 1873, which is explained by the death of Jamieson’s wife Lois Andrus and a trip to Europe. The report for 1873 announced the consecration of the new St. John’s parish on Walpole Island, and described the congregations. Reports that followed were dominated by descriptions of the Agricultural fairs, the new church, and the account of Kubzayeveyuwin’s baptism at the age of one hundred. Also included in these later reports are a number of letters written by Jamieson, most of which are to Mrs. Gibb a great benefactor of the church. These letters include descriptive material about the Walpole Island community including the account of Noodin’s barn fire discussed in chapter five.

The reports for 1879 include descriptions of the Indian councils, and a debate about the payment of annuities, which emphasized the problem of band membership in the community. According to Jamieson the annuities were the result of a treaty made in 1827 that guaranteed three thousand dollars annually. In 1827 this resulted in payments of four dollars for four hundred and forty people, but as the population increased the annuities decreased. This made some people in the community angry and in 1878 an Indian agent was sent to Walpole Island to attend hearings and decide whom should receive annuities. Jamieson repeated some of the testimony at the hearings, which contains valuable descriptive material. As an example Jamieson described the testimony of “an aged squaw named Guunhwawhulinezera”:

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<sup>4</sup> See page 18 of this appendix.

Her daughter had married a Pottowatomi and she was afraid that in consequence she and her children would lose their interest in the annuity. Whilst addressing the agent she took out of a bag a scarlet colored coat which had been worn by her father, an Indian brave who had seen much service during the war of 1812-1814. She also produced a medal which had been given to him for courage and good conduct.<sup>5</sup>

According to Jamieson the matter of the annuities was solved the following year. The same report also showed Jamieson's dissatisfaction with not being able to secure funding for a physician on the island, which seemed to be the result of a lack of funding from the Department of Indian Affairs.

The last reports beginning around 1881 and ending in 1885 are very short and reveal little new information. In 1881 Jamieson was sixty-seven years old, and must have been considering retirement. At the beginning of his report for 1884, he thanked God that he was permitted to reach the close of another year.<sup>6</sup> Jamieson also seemed despondent as his report described the failure of the crops, the "falling off" of the contributions to the church, and sickness on the island.<sup>7</sup> The tone in these later reports is certainly much different than that of the early reports, but it is difficult to tell what he is really feeling. This is the major drawback of the Jamieson Papers. Because the letters and reports were public documents it is exceedingly difficult to fathom Jamieson's character. On the one hand he was a devout missionary and followed the beliefs of the church. But on the other hand Jamieson spoke Ojibwa and did have some understanding of the ceremonies, and

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<sup>5</sup> See page 52 of this appendix.

<sup>6</sup> See page 72 of this appendix.

<sup>7</sup> See page 73 of this appendix.

respect for the Aboriginal people (even the Pagans) of Walpole Island. In a letter dated 1879 Jamieson stated the following:

It is singular that we find nothing amongst them like profanity. There are no words in their vocabulary favoring the formation of terms as oaths or profound swearing. They have indeed such words as cheat, liar, and thief, murderer, fool, coward, drone, drunkard, babble, but no stronger term. The Indians of course have their weak points, but the practice of profane swearing is not among them, the more bitter and reproachful word they use is "Mudgevonmost – Anglice" bad dog.

Jamieson's reports are filled with small accounts that describe the good characteristics of the Walpole Island community. However, most of the descriptions stressed the heathen nature of the community, and seemed to be emphasized to show their need of conversion. Jamieson's true feelings of the community are impossible to say, but he certainly felt a fondness for his work on the island, and spent part of his later years reminiscing about his early years on the island. Perhaps it was the early years on the island that he favored before the death of his first wife in 1869. The tone of the reports certainly change after 1870 and Jamieson's writing became more somber and despondent. Unfortunately Jamieson's feelings are impossible to judge, but his descriptions of the community are very useful and should add new insights into the documentary history of Walpole Island First Nation.

*Report to the Lord Bishop, probably 1859*

The Mission on Walpole Island has been in existence eighteen years, having been opened in 1841. I was appointed to the Mission by the late Lord Metcalf on the 17<sup>th</sup>. June 1845 and have thus been connected with it during a period of 14 years. Two missionaries had preceded me, but these gentlemen, owing to certain untoward circumstances, had met with no success in converting the natives.

In the summer of 1845 the Walpole Islanders were all pagans. The wanhuvnoo, the pagan dance, the tricks of the conjurors and various heathen ceremonies were in full swing. With the exception of a few small patches of corn, tilled but imperfectly, they paid no attention to the cultivation of the soil. They had no oxen, no cows, the hoe was the only farming implement possessed. For food they depended mainly upon hunting; they were strangers to steady and continuous labour and they betook themselves to the chase only when impelled by hunger and having obtained a supply of venison they would return to their wigwams as long as the supply lasted would enjoy themselves after their fashion in feasting, in dancing, and in drinking the firewater.

They acted on the well known Indian motto: - 'Tis better to walk than run; better to stand than walk; better to sit than stand; better to be than sit.' It would be difficult to conceive of a more dissipated, poor miserable set of beings than these Islanders were in 1845. I well recall the feeling of despondency which came over me when I first saw my present Parishoners. Strong faith was necessary to enable one to believe that order could be educed from such chaos, out of such degraded and superstitious people, children could be raised up to Abraham.

At first the Indians were remarkably shy and it was only after a long course of study and uniform friendship that I succeeded in gaining their attention. during the first year I had no congregation. The church bell was rung and regular hours for service appointed but only now and again an Indian would venture to church. At length in July, 1846, two were baptized, a little after a year of my arrival. These I call the first fruits of Walpole Island. They are still living, both holding fast to their profession. Thos. Buckwheat has been of great service to me in bringing into Christianity the brethren of the tribe. Up to the present time I have baptized 214 Indians. There has indeed been no sudden rush to success, but a gradual and steady increase. The Sunday congregations are excellent and it is delightful to witness their quiet and becoming deportment during Divine Service. The change in the condition of these Indians is obviously very great. Formerly Sunday in their eyes was no better than any other day and hence they felt no scruple in pursuing their ordinary occupations on that holy day and from my own door I have times without number seen them fishing or ploughing, planting corn, having a horse race, or what was still worse, sitting in groups by the riverside enjoying a pagan jollification. Now, all this, I am happy to say is changed. The Sunday is honoured and kept as a Christian Sabbath and the majority of the Islanders would be shocked to see any of their brethren handle the plough or the hoe or their favorite weapon, the rifle.

Many of them dress neatly and all of them come to church in a quiet and orderly manner and many of them, I have reason to believe, understand, appreciate and are influenced by the saving doctrines of the gospel. Their progress in temporal matters has been marked and decided. No band in Canada West, considering the time they have been under the care of the Missionaries have made greater progress in habits of industry and self-reliance. I send you now the subjoined extract from the report of the commissioner appointed by the Government to visit the several Indian stations throughout Canada. The produce raised by the Indians on Walpole Island in the last year (1857) was as follows - p.55. Such is the testimony of the Commissioners who have been on the spot. In 1845 oxen, cows, sheep, and farming implements of any kind, hoes excepted, were unknown among the Indians of Walpole Is.

As on many other Missions I have been not only Missionary preaching to the people the glad tidings of salvation. I have been obliged to act in the capacity of physician - setting limbs, Interpreting, in short making myself useful in a variety of ways.

There is a very good school on the Is. Taught by an Indian, a very steady and respectable person, who in great measure was educated by myself. He delights in teaching and many of his pupils have made respectable progress. Many of the Youth read easily in the New Testament. Others write beautifully - Good penmanship being easily acquired by the Indians. And some are able to cast accounts with an expertness and accuracy. A few also are acquainted with the general outline of geography and are well up in the mountains, lakes and rivers, on the great divisions of the earth's surface, and all of them, from the instruction given during the day school and especially at Sunday school are more or less acquainted with the elementary fundamental truths of Christianity.

All from the age of 25 and upwards are unable to read and yet those of them who have joined the Church are familiar with the Prayer Book and make the responses devoutly and intelligently. Their knowledge of it was acquired in this way: While giving instruction to the young converts I encouraged them to commit portions of them Litany to memory and thus they were enabled to do by my reading them over and order again to them. By this message they became acquainted with the confession, Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Ten Commandments, Most of the Psalms in metre and Hymns. My plan was to read the Hymn one line by line verse by verse and never to go up to a second verse until the first had been thoroughly mastered. The constant reading of the same lines, dozens of times over at a sitting was often irksome, but my labor was repaid by the slow but sure proficiency of my pupils and on witnessing their delight when they had mastered another psalm or hymn. They would say "This is beautiful, now this is ours together. When in church or when alone, when in sickness we can think of these lines and become wise and happy." Among the Psalms the 23<sup>rd</sup> and 51<sup>st</sup> are special favorites with our Indians. Also they are very fond of the morning and evening hymns. The prayer book in use here is the translation made by Dr. O'Meara. The Indians and Church at large owe a debt of gratitude to him for his able and faithful translation of the Liturgy and New Testament, both of which are used here and are highly valued. It would have pleased the Dr and I am sure it would have been some recompense to him for his labour to have heard our Indians exclaim when I first read to them some Psalm or hymn for the first



time. "How sweet that: How very comforting! How much like God." The Dr. paid us a visit two or three years ago and preached to large and attentive congregations. He is an immense favorite here and goes by the name chzabpeche Almus hinaubamora - Anglice - The Man who speaks Indian thoroughly.

The improvement in the temporal condition has been most marked and decided. In 1845 they were immersed in the degradation of barbarism. They worshipped and offered sacrifices to evil spirits, practiced witchcraft, were polygamous, neither knew nor observed the Sabbath, gave themselves entirely to intemperance and were lazy and apathetic. Now the reverse is the picture. The majority have been Christianized and the remainder, though still Pagan, have been influenced indirectly by the good examples around them and are now more orderly, more industrious and less dissipated than before and are likely at no distant day if the ministrations of the gospel be kept up amongst them to be reclaimed from paganism and converted also.

The Indians have made considerable advance in the social scale. They have a decided aptitude for the mechanical trades. Many of them are rough carpenters and blacksmiths. Some of them are competent to build a house, or execute the interior or paneled work in a manner which would do credit to a professional tradesman.

On most of the mission stations in the country a medical man is attached whose services are paid by Govt. or there may be one living in the neighborhood whose services can easily be procured. On Walpole Is. No physician. Hence from the first I have been obliged to advise and administer medicine, or when the disease seemed to dangerous for my limited skill, to get a Dr. from the States on my own responsibility. Smallpox - deadly foe of Indian - visited the Is twice during my residence. All who were attacked with it died, but its progress was arrested by timely vaccination. Nearly 300 natives were vaccinated by my wife. Christians, pagans, conjurers, old and young flocked to the Mission House to obtain the remedy and although several years have passed away since, they often express gratitude to the white squaw. Much of my attention has been given to the acquirement of the language. On my arrival I knew nothing of it, but now I converse in it easily and it is no small pleasure to be able to talk to my people, to convince them to reprove and then encourage them, without the intervention of an interpreter. This power, of course was not acquired without labour. I have given my days and nights to the study of Chippewa and often in the early part of my career would remain in their wigwams, seated at their meals, watching them and listening to their accent and consideration. Nor do I regret this. I can now speak to them in their own tongue the riches of Christ.

*Report To The Lord Bishop, August 3, 1860*

*Rev. Andrew Jamieson writing to the Lord Bishop says:* I am sending a circular received from Quebec which says that the Imperial Grant of 80 pounds is withdrawn from me I am to be paid the same amount from some other fund and from the recommendation of the commission on Indian Affairs the grant must be for life. Under these altered circumstances there will be money enough for an official school taught by a competent white person independent of all aid from the Indians. At present the state of things is unsatisfactory. The teacher is an Indian whose salary is paid partly by the Church Society and partly by the Indians.

Indians teachers generally lack energy and perseverance. Indians have small annuities, it is hardly fair to ask them to pay anything. Among the Pottawatomies on the Is the Methodist teacher is supported independently of Indians.

From you Lordship's remarks to me last June respecting the benevolent intentions of the New England Society in regard to Walpole Island I have no doubt but that we shall be able to accomplish what we desire and that a bright future is before us. I have already mentioned to the Indians your Lordships efforts on their behalf and that there was a strong probability of their ultimate success.

I am aware, my Lord that your time and thoughts are fully occupied with other portions of this Diocese and with other important matters connected with it. I should not therefore have obtruded myself upon your attention, at present, had I not deemed it my duty to forward the enclosed for your perusal that your Lordship may be guided accordingly. I remain, yours faithfully, Andrew Jamieson.

*Quarterly Report, July 1861*

Rev and dear Sir, As the mission on Walpole Is has again been taken under the care of your venerable society, it becomes my duty to send you the usual Quarterly Report. It gives me pleasure to inform you that the Mission continues to be in a very satisfactory state. The day school is well attended and the church on Sundays is filled with a large and attentive congregation. In truth I am happy to be able to state that at no period in the history of this Mission has the state of things been more promising than at present. Paganism is rapidly on the decline, the majority of the Indians now being on this side of Xianity. A great and beneficial change has taken place amongst them - so much so that were a person who had visited them 12 or 14 years ago to visit them now he would scarcely recognize them as the same people, so great has been the change in their habits and appearance. Under the benign influence of the gospel the improvident has been made careful, the drunkard sober, the impure chaste, and the vengeful meek and forgiving. The Indians place a high value on the services of the church and from the summer months viz (from the middle of April till the middle of October, when they are all on the island, they are most regular in their attendance on the means of grace and some of them are becoming acquainted in a remarkable degree with the Prayer Book and the Bible. I shall never forget the agreeable surprise I felt sometime since when listening to one of my people giving an account of the Saviour: birth, life and death and resurrection to one of his fellow Indians. The case was this: I was preparing a candidate for baptism and having given the amount of instruction which I deemed necessary at the time. I asked an Indian who was present to tell our friend something of the blessed Jesus. He did so and he spoke at great length. Beginning at the Saviour's birth he spoke of his Baptism as the River Jordan - of his useful life - mentioning some of the wonderful works which he did. He spoke of his death, his wonderful resurrection, his Ascension and his present Intercession for us. He spoke at great length on these points and with such accuracy that I was greatly surprised and I could not help thinking that were it possible for the Gospel Narrative to be lost in the world that the main points in it could be gathered from the lips of this unlettered Indian. This Indian whose name is Thos Buckwheat is about fifty years of age. I baptized him 15 years ago. He is the first fruits of Walpole Island having been the first to leave Paganism for Christianity. He is an exemplary and consistent Christian and is much respected by all who know him both white and Indians.

We are now busily engaged in repairing the church which was falling into a rather rickety condition. The church was erected in 1844, the year before my arrival here, but as the ground on which it stands is very low and damp the posts on which it rests had become rotten and the walls were getting out of the perpendicular. As no aid was to be looked for from the government. I set out through Canada West on a begging tour last Autumn and succeeded in getting funds sufficient for the thorough repairs of the building. The carpenters are now at work. The carpenters are now at work and in a few days the work of renovation will be completed. I remain Rev and Dear Sir, Yours very truly  
Andrew Jamieson.

To the Secretary for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 79 Pall Mall, London, England. A true copy of the original, A.J. Rev and Dear Sir. The day of the month admonishes me that it is time I was preparing to forward to you my Quarterly Report. Two or three extracts from my Missionary Journal will give you some idea of my life among the Indians.

July 3, Wametegozhunee called this morning and requested that I draw up his will. He has a small amount of property and he and his wife are somewhat in years. Wametegozhunee was anxious that the little he did possess should after his decease go to the rightful heirs. This incident apparently trifling in itself is not without interest. The making of a will in a formal manner is a new thing amongst Indians and as a proof of advancing civilization. It is customary among the Pagans when a man dies possessed of property such as horses, traps, rifles or other things for the near relatives of the deceased to the exclusion of all others to step in and claim everything, leaving the widow and children entirely destitute. A most barbarous practice and yet one which I have seen carried out on different occasions. I have felt it to be my duty to teach them better things and I am happy to say that more correct sentiments on this point and a more humane practice are beginning to obtain amongst them. An Indian called and requested me to use my influence to counteract the machinations of one of the old conjurors on the Island. A friend of this Indian was lying very ill and the usual remedies resorted to on such cases having failed they came to the conclusion that the sick one was bewitched. Superstitious notions are common amongst the Indians as amongst all ignorant people.

Thos Buckwheat brought in a letter which he had received from a relative residing at Mannitowanning, he wished me to read it to him. He had asked the schoolmaster (an Indian) to read it for him, but he was unable to do so as the letter, although written in Ojibway was in the French Orthography and the schoolmaster, being ignorant of French, could make nothing of it. I was thankful that it was in my power to read the letter to Buckwheat and tell him the news of his distant friend.

My knowledge of the Indian gives me great advantages. Not only are the services in the church and my visits to the Island more interesting from my speaking the language, but it is of benefit to me in other ways. It brings me acquainted in a great degree with the inner life. I am acquainted of their domestic histories and thus can enter more readily into their joys and sorrows. The Indians are very fond of corresponding with their friends at a distance and as the middle aged amongst them are unable to write many of them come to me to do the needful for them and in that way I unavoidably become acquainted with much that is interesting to them. I often find myself writing to Indians in other parts of Canada. Michigan, Ohio, Mississippi. There is a large band of Ottawas (formerly resident in Ohio) settled there who were removed hither by the American Government 27 yrs ago. The Ottawas have many relatives living on Walpole Is.

Aug 12. The Bishop who has been on a confirmation tour arrived here agreeable to appointment accompanied by Rev Messrs. Salter v Armstrong and Mr. Talfond Supt. Of Indian Affairs. The Bishop landed at half past eleven o' clock at Algonac, a village on the mainland, immediately opposite the Is and about a mile and a half from the Indian

church. The weather was impropitious indeed it was the most disagreeable day we have had this summer, for it began to rain at daybreak, wind and rain continued without intermission all day. I had grave misgivings about his Lordship's being able to fulfill his appointment for it seemed to be expecting too much to ask the Bishop to get into an open boat and cross the river without the slightest shelter from the rain. After waiting in the rain for a lull in the storm we got into our boat and steered for the Island. To our agreeable surprise we found the Indians present in the church although we were more than an hour behind our time. The services were conducted in Indian and 53 Indians, the most of them adults were confirmed who were addressed by the Bishop in a kind, simple and affectionate manner. The Bishop, as well as the other gentlemen who were present expressed themselves much gratified at the pleasing spectacle they had witnessed and all agreed that the quick and devout deportment of the candidates and the whole congregation was very remarkable.

After bidding the Indians an affectionate farewell, the Bishop and his friends left, wind and rain notwithstanding got into the boats and in due time were landed safely on the Michigan shore with a woebegone appearance because thoroughly wet and finding relief only in a quick change of clothes. I hope that the next time his Lordship visits us we may have better weather, for this is the second time we have met him in a storm.

Exposure at his time of life must be attended with risk, but the Bishop encountered it cheerfully and unflinchingly. He sets us all indeed a noble example and shows us all that in the performance of duty he does not expect more from the youngest of his clergy than he is perfectly willing to do himself. As a matter of curiosity I give you a list of the candidates for confirmation - List followed and an acknowledgement of note of the 25<sup>th</sup>

*Report Dated: December 17, 1861*

My Lord, In sending you my yearly report I may mention as the first topic of interest the extensive repairs that have been made on our Indian church. The church is not an old one, having been built in 1844 about 18 years ago, but as it stands on low ground and was placed from necessity on wooden posts, instead of a stone foundation it showed prematurely symptoms of decay. The posts had rotted and the walls were getting out of the perpendicular. An appeal was made to the charitable and benevolent and I am glad to say with such a measure of success that the church has been finished, it looks almost like a new one, whilst the interior has been furnished with new sittings and has been very much improved every way. Besides, we have had lately bestowed upon us by a kind English Lady a beautiful communion service. The cup is now in the hands of the engraver to get the monogram engraved thereon and will be finished in a day or so. We expect to have it in time for our Christmas Communion. The next point of interest is the Confirmation held on the 1st by your Lordship in August last when 52 Indians, chiefly adults were received into full communion with the church by the laying of hands. But perhaps I need not dwell on this, as I have already sent a full account of it to the society on Sept. last. I would simply mention as an interesting fact that at the Communion immediately succeeding your Lordship's visit no less than 64 Indians were present, the largest number of communicants we have ever had at one time

During the past summer our congregations have been large and very attentive. Many of the listeners I am happy to say give pleasing evidence that they are growing in all virtue and godliness of living. I have been anxious of late to improve the character of our day school by having an efficient whiteman take the place of our present schoolmaster who is an Indian. He is a young lad, steady and correct enough, but he lacks some of the qualifications essential to a schoolmaster's success. It will be difficult I am afraid to get such a person as we need, for properly qualified persons are deterred from coming here by the lowness of the salary by the loneliness of the Island. Indians being the only inhabitants and the bad reputation on it has as being the favorite abode of fever and ague.

Early in September last I placed two of our boys in the Industrial Institution near Brantford which is under the Superintendence of the Rev A Malla. I had previously written to Mr. Malla who had kindly promised to receive them and do what he could for them. I was delighted with my visit to the institution everything seemed so nicely managed and the children so tidily dressed, quiet and happy. I visited the boys school taught by Mr. Griffith, who has been a teacher amongst the Indians for ten years. I was suggested to examine the classes. I did so and found them in Reading, Arith. and Goeg. I was surprised and gratified at the extent and accuracy of their knowledge is also at the readiness which they answered questions put to them. There are at present at the Institution 44 boys and 19 girls. They meet and are taught in separate buildings. They boys by Mr. Griffith the girls by an intelligent young woman whose name I did not learn. I saw them all at supper and a more happy and contented band of youngsters I am sure could not be found. Mr. Nelles I believe contemplates making additions to the buildings

so that if possible he may be able to accommodate 120 pupils. Two of our Is boys are there and from what I saw and heard I was so favourably impressed that I could not help wishing that instead of two boys, that I had three times that number under the fostering care of the Institution. . . are convinced that in the cultivation of the soil lies their only hope of livelihood. They are sensible owing to the influx of the white settlers every year and supplies from this source are less and less and their hunting grounds getting narrower and not to be relied upon.

The Indians cannot get rid of the idea that probably they may be removed from their present settlements and sent somewhere farther North. This feeling of uneasiness and anxiety has always been amongst them. at all events it has been so since my acquaintance with them, but latterly I have observed more of this than usual. Nor is this restlessness and anxiety difficult to be accounted for. Many of their brethren and relatives have during the last twenty-five years have been removed from the Plains of Ohio away far beyond the Western Bank of the Mississippi and a report was quite current a few months since that Canada West Indians were to be sent to red River west of lake Superior and a few days since I saw a leading Chief who told me that he was on his way to the different bands of his Red Brethren throughout the Province to rouse them to united action and to induce them to jointly sign a strong memorial to be sent to parties in England interested in the welfare of the Aborigines. They are well aware that the management of their concerns has been recently been transferred from Imperial to Provincial Authority and it may be the knowledge of this fact which has given rise to the certain uneasiness. I have endeavored to quiet their fears and to reassure them by telling them that the Canadian, no less than the Imperial Government would consult their interests and promote their welfare. I am persuaded that Christian England can never cease to take an interest in the American Indian. England the friend of the poor and the oppressed. England has been doing and still is doing much for the sable sons of Africa. I am proud of her for doing so and feel thankful that she is willing to do so much for that downtrodden race. But have no the Red men of America likewise claims upon her sympathies. Once they were the sole Lords of the American Soil. In our wars upon this continent they have been faithful allies. Their blood has been shed and flowed freely with ours. Travel the length and breadth of Canada West and you will scarcely find an Indian of middle age whose uncles or fathers have not been engaged in supporting the honour of our glorious old Flag. Many Indians on the Island had relatives who dies in battle. One loyal old man dies a few years ago whose body was scarred with wounds. Another old man still survives who was with Tecumseh, the great Indian warrior when he fell mortally wounded at the battle of the Thames. I am sure that the Christians of England will not forget them if now weak and feeble, still an interesting race with warm and grateful hearts under their red skins. What is still more they have immortal souls for which Christ died.

Although not properly perhaps, coming within my sphere as a missionary to the Indians, I may mention that in Sept last in company with Rev. David Armstrong, the zealous and successful missionary of Moose. I visited several interesting settlements of whites, amongst whom is a large number of churchmen who unfortunately are not blessed with the ministrations of the church. We held service at each place which were attended

by willing and attentive audiences. "Come over and help us," was their strong and earnest cry. They are most anxious for a clergyman and although among others of the new parts of the country they are not yet blessed with much of this worlds goods, yet they evinsed willingness to exert themselves in the utmost to secure the services of a clergyman, and from what they pledged themselves to do I am strongly of opinion that if assistance could be given to these people for 3 or 4 years, that afterwards the services of the church might be kept up by themselves independently of aid from abroad. The field is an inviting one and it will be a pity if it can not be occupied. Mailed at baby's Point, Thurs Dec 19, 1861.

I have the honour to be, A. J.



*Report Dated: July 17, 1862*

My Lord: I am happy to inform your Lordship that we have at length obtained a white person, Henry Bourne as schoolmaster on the Island and I fondly hope that under his management the school will be in a more thriving condition than formerly. He came to me highly recommended and being exemplary in conduct, of an agreeable temper and active habits, most punctual in discharge of duties I cannot but hope for the possibility of the future.

Since my report Small pox that dread disease enemy of the Red man has been on the island. It made its appearance in February and did not die out until the beginning of May. It proved fatal to many of whom 30 died. Probably if proper precaution had been taken at first the scourge might have been kept or at least kept within narrower limits, but unhappily it was doing its deadly work a week or two before anyone suspected its presence. The measles had been in the neighborhood for a month or six weeks before and being of a very mild form caused no uneasiness. When the first person was seized with Small pox it was thought simply to be a . . . and thus breathing the bad air for hours together in a crowded wigwam they inhaled infection and carried it to their homes. The disease as might be expected spread rapidly and made its appearance at different points at once. It was a gloomy time. I was alone in the midst of a loathsome and fatal disease. The medical man in the neighborhood declined to assist me alleging that if he did so he would displease his patrons. The white man kept aloof once the Island had become stricken with the plague. But my trust was in God and I resolved to try and do my duty and leave consequences in the hands of Him that can guide them. my wife encouraged me in my work, often telling me that she had no fears of the disease and that she felt perfectly safe under the protection of the Almighty. Through the kindness of a few friends I was supplied with many comforts needed for the afflicted. Afterwards when these were exhausted government came to my aid and kindly authorized me to furnish the poor Indians with whatever was necessary. But for this aid many more must have died, not from disease, only from starvation.

I deemed it prudent to close the services in the church, shut up the school and to stop the prayer meeting in order to keep the Indians as isolated and as much apart as possible believing that this was the most speedy and effectual method of getting the disease to die out.

The church and the school house remained closed for two months. For five or six weeks I was constantly among the sick and dying. The season of the year was rather unfavorable particularly for locomotion. The island is as well known is low and swampy and the Indian houses are scattered here and there on spots of rising ground. Consequently in the middle of March when the snow begins to melt and the frost leave the ground, moving about is anything but pleasant. One has to wade as well as walk. Often I have found myself wading above the knees in passing from one Indian camp to another, and at night on returning to rest I have laid down on a sleepless pillow, with aching limbs and an aching heart. The wonder is that I escaped uninjured. The poor

Indians were panic stricken. It was great difficulty that we could get anyone to bury the dead and with my own hands I have helped put them in the coffin.

The majority of the Indian wigwams have but one apartment and that not very comfortable. One then can easily imagine how uncomfortable the patients as well as the other inmates must have been. Yet in one such wigwam which I visited, the grandmother, an old woman of 70 had just been buried, the mother of 45 was lying dead on the floor, and a son and a daughter of the ages of 22 and 24 respectively were lying under the influence of this horrid disease. In another house I found no less than seven on their backs in one small apartment. Wonderful to say, all of these recovered. One day in particular I shall never forget. I had been travelling from one wigwam to another. Wet weary, and hungry I came to a house where a middle aged woman had died and was being prepared for burial. The family was just sitting down to a meal prepared in the Indian style.

As I have never been in the habit of eating with them they did not, of course ask me to partake and few persons could have had any desire to eat at all. Such a time in that room where lay the body of the deceased squaw, but suffering as I was from hunger, fatigue, and wet and from a chilly sensation which began creeping over me I put my scruples in my pocket and quietly whispered that I too was hungry and must have something to eat. The frugal meal was willingly placed before me and I can truly say that never did I partake of a meal with greater thankfulness or one that did me more good. My meal finished the Indians and myself walked out and carried the poor woman to her last resting place. She had been a worthy Christian and in that solitude and over her lonely grave I read in Ojibway the beautiful prayers of the church. This was only Thursday afternoon. On the next Sunday following I was in the same neighborhood, and to my regrets two of these three Indians were taken down with the same dread disease. One of them, a particularly interesting case, did not belong to the Island band. A young man of 25 who spoke English well and had been a member of the Methodist Society and had been employed by them as teacher and interpreter among the Pottowatomies. I spoke encouragingly to him but he seemed to refuse to be comforted. He said, "this is my last sickness, I shall never rise from the bed and what is worse a heavy load is on my conscience. I must die and I cannot meet my maker as I am." Our missionary has left us and I cannot do what I would like to do." He told me the woman living with him for months was not his wife, "I know this is wrong and I would gladly rectify it, but our missionary is not near. I spoke to him a little more fully and having explained very briefly the nature, the importance and the sacred character of matrimony I told him that if they both were willing that under the circumstances that then and there, provided that they both solemnly promised to me that if God spared their lives they would come to the church and be married before men, that by reading the marriage service now and pledging themselves the one to the other they would be married before God, but they must come to the church to be married before men. They agreed to do so and I married them. perhaps in doing so I did wrong, but I pitied the poor people and I thought the consequences extraordinary. It was the first of the kind that I ever did and most likely it will be the last. The poor Indian at all events was much relieved. He died about a week or so afterwards. I had several interviews with him and he appeared to be a true penitent.

His wife also took the disease but she recovered. Mortality would have been greater but the majority of the Indians had been vaccinated. My wife vaccinated 280 of them several years ago. It did me good when visiting them and asking them if they had been vaccinated to hear one and another reply "yes," and pointing to their arms say "we are all right, arms well marked, your squaw did it."

The visitation has been followed by much good spiritually. Our congregations on Sundays never were larger and our prayer meetings likewise well attended. During summer we had two services and our first communion after re-opening of church was a most solemn and interesting season and was attended by many devout and willing worshippers. We have a promising Sunday School throughout the summer months we have two services on Sunday with a short interruption between them.

In the evening the Indians have prayer meetings among themselves which are presided over by 3 Indians of approved piety and intelligence - persons of influence among them. These have their different beats and watch over the best interests of the their Brethren living therein and in this way I have found them to be most useful auxiliaries. These lead the devotion of the little circle and often address it. Their addresses consisting for the most part of what they have heard me say either in public or in private.

A friend of mine who has much intercourse with the Indians happened to be present one evening when the exhorter took for his subject the Serpent in the Wilderness. He was surprised at the amount of Bible information the exhorter displayed and asked him how he, unable to read, managed to pick it up. "I listen to the missionary and have often heard him talk of the same Serpent and tell us that as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness even so had the son of man to be lifted up. I often visit the missionary and ask him to tell me what is in that great book so that I may tell my brethren - pointing to his forehead - "what once gets in here does not easily get out."

Another exhorter called upon me not long since asking to be told more about Jonah, for he said "I am much interested in his history and I mean to speak about him and his next meeting Thursday night."

The following incident that occurred in church on Sunday last illustrating the primitive manners of Indians will remind you I am on Indian territory and not on English ground. One Indian, looked up to by all his brethren as a pattern of temperance and industry went to Detroit to sell furs. He reached home in a state of drunkenness. Some laughed but the majority were amazed and grieved for he was loved and respected. I took an early opportunity to call upon him. I expressed my regard at what occurred and gave him some suitable advice. He was humble and penitent and hoped that in future he would be more on his guard. I said as many of the Indians were sad on his account and many of the younger ones were perplexed at his conduct. I would recommend him to make a public confession of his fault. I had not authority to insist on this, but as a friend I advised him to do it for his own sake and especially for the cause of Christ. He made no reply but simply thanked me for calling. He was not at church for some time afterward, he felt so ashamed and mortified. On last Sunday he was present and asked if he might be

permitted to say a few words at the close of service. I told him he might be able to do so. He rose up quietly, made a humble confession of his fault - expressed a hope that he might never so sin again and prayed that the good spirit might keep him in the good way. There was a breathless silence in the congregation and I have reason to think that a good impression was left on the hearts of all. Poor fellow, I believe him to be a sincere Christian. A love of fire water is the besetting sin of the Indian, yet this was only the second offence of this kind in his case during the long period of his years.

During the past summer service on Sunday in church. In afternoon service at other parts of Island, for those Indians could not get to church.

Extent of Mission: 30 square miles, Total Pop: 750, church members 400, Communicants 60, I ch 1sc. All poor Indians, a few cultivating land. Stipend 200. Missionary Andrew Jamieson - 46 - Educated in Scotland and Canada.

1864 cougn 180com 90 confirmed 40

**Report November 28, 1865**

As the time for the sending of my annual report has arrived I shall together with it send the following statement in which I shall be able to give a more particular and detailed account of the state of things in the mission. At present time there are but a few Indians on the island as most of them have gone away to their hunting grounds from which they will not return till within a few days before Christmas when they will remain with me for two months and then move off again to their sugar camps. My congregations of course, at present are small, consisting chiefly of women and aged persons who are unable to leave the island. This is a peculiarity of Indian missions in the remote part of Canada and will continue to be so for years to come. Game indeed is becoming scarcer every year with the influx of emigrants and the clearing up of the forest. But the Indian is willing to go further in search of it. At the present moment some of my people are away to the wilder parts of this part of Canada. Some have gone to the Mawmi river, Ohio, and others have crossed over into Michigan and are not far from the shores of Lake Huron. The Indians as is well known has become accustomed to a roving life, from childhood he is therefore at home while wandering in the woods and as he finds for his furs a good and ready market, it would be too much to expect him to change his course of life and remain quiet in one spot.

It is a comfort however to know that in their wanderings they do not forget what they have learned on the Island, the truth which they have heard at home in the little Indian church they carry with them and I have reason to know that the majority of them remain in their camps on Sundays and spend part of the sacred day in religious exercises and particularly in singing hymns and sacred music the Indians are very fond of and on entering a wigwam of Christian Indians on a Sunday you will generally find them with a hymn book and a note book of music before them.

A few years ago by the assistance of the church society we had the greater part of the morning and evening service, with a large number of Psalms and Hymns bound together making a book of neat small and portable size. The Christian Indian prizes the little volume and the hunter would as soon forget his rifle or tomahawk as forget his tiny volume of prayers and hymns. It is *vade mecum* his travelling companion on leaving for his hunting grounds. He invariably takes it with him and judging on his return from the well thumbed appearance it must have been in daily use.

Our Indians generally sing well and many of them use music books and understand the power and value of the different notes. I was amused a few years ago at an involuntary compliment paid to our Indian singing.

The first white teacher employed on the island had some knowledge of music and he promised to instruct our humble choir in singing. On a certain evening the teacher and I agreed to meet the Indian singers at one of their houses. On coming near to the house we heard them singing. The teacher was surprised and on entering his surprise was still greater when he saw them with their notebooks before them all singing intelligently and

in harmony. Said he, "I cannot teach these Indians music for they already know more about it than I do."

The monotony of our Indian life was somewhat disturbed last July by the Exodus of 40 of our people to the Western banks of the Mississippi River U.S. they moved on to Kansas whither many of their relatives had emigrated or rather had been forced to emigrate from Ohio many years ago.

Great inducements had been held out to our people by their Kansas friends. They were told that they would receive larger annuities and 80 acres of land each on their coming into their territory. Time will tell whether these will be realized. One of our best Indians, Thos Buckwheat went with them. He was the first fruits of Walpole Island Mission I baptized him 20 years ago and during that long period he had been my firm friend, my right hand man, a trusty counsellor, an earnest minded Christian and was of great use to me in my intercourse with his people. I miss him much, but I am very glad to say from a letter which I lately received that he and his family have decided to return.

Two weeks more and the Indians will all be back again and I am already looking forward with interest to Xmas day when Holy Communion will be administered. I hope it may prove as pleasing and profitable a season as last Xmas did. On that occasion the church was crowded and 53 of these children of the wilderness partook of the Holy Sacrament. The scene was a very solemn one and as I looked upon them in church all quiet and orderly and prepared, as far as man could judge appearances, to take a willing, intelligent and devout part in the exercises of the day. As I looked upon them and contrasted their present condition with what it was 20 years ago, before, when they were in heathen darkness, ignorant pagans, serving diverse lusts and pleasures, I could not help but think of the words of the Inspired Missionary "Such were some of ye, but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified but ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus and by the Spirit of our God." I thought of these words and I have adapted them as applicable to the congregation before which I stood. For amongst the holy band of communicants on that day were two men who in their pagan state had even killed his man and embraced his hands in his brothers blood (in one of their Bachanalian revels). These two Indians have been many years members of the church, they are amongst the most quiet and exemplary of my people and are very much respected. Their savage nature has been tamed "They are clothed and are in their right mind." 31 December 1865

*Report December 31, 1866*

My Lord: Your visit during the summer was of great service and for weeks afterwards several Indians spoke feelingly of the kindness of the white Christians in thus looking after their welfare. For the first communion after the visit Confirmation was well attended and all recently confirmed animated by a right spirit.

Congregations of the past summer have not been so good. Many have left the island, some to hunting grounds, others as deck hands on steamers or chopping cordwood for the whites, this has thinned the congregation. I am afraid there will be much suffering between this and next September.

Since June I visited the Indians of Sarnia Reserve, a settlement 26 miles north of Walpole Is once a month regularly and spent Sunday amongst them at the request of the aged chief Wawaerosh, a fine old man, much attached to the church. He and his son took tea with your Lordship at the Sarnia parsonage in february.

The Fenian excitement of June reached our quiet retreat and the Indians, with their accustomed loyalty turned out and offered their services to the government as Walpole Island is very near the American shore it was looked upon as an exposed point and in obedience to orders the Indians kept up a daily and nightly patrol for 2 weeks. They could not understand the cause of the trouble and why Fenians should wish to molest them when the great mother the Queen and the President of the U.S. were in friendship with each other. Fenianism to them is a very wicked and foolish affair. This however may be explained by the appearance of the whooping cough on the island and the failure of crops driving many of the Indians elsewhere. It shows itself early in summer and the Indian is naturally anxious to preserve their children from exposure many of them stayed away from the church. They dread disease and call it the bad cough, and mortality has been great 30 children having died of it.

The great rains of last season and the Island very low almost level with the river did immense damage to the crops, a great portion of the tilled land was more or less under water.

Indian corn, the staple crop here was almost a complete failure. This also kept the Indians from church

*Report for December 31, 1867*

My Lord. The near approach of the commencement of a new year reminds me of my duty and that my annual report to the venerable S P G will be expected. It would have been of great pleasure to be able to send to the society something new and interesting, but this is out of my power. On this Mission as on Missions of an older date, the history of a month is the history of a year. Things move so quietly and so much in the ordinary way that there seems to be a lack of material for an interesting report.

In the early history of the mission when my people were in the pagan state or when they were beginning to open their eyes to a sense of their real condition and when one and another left their old ways, come forward for baptism and prayed to be able to walk in newness of life, there were not wanting topics for an interesting report. There are it is true a good many pagans still on the Island but they are somewhat different from the Walpole Island pagans of 25 years ago. They cling indeed to their old beliefs, but they have no feathers in their hair or paint on their cheeks or war clubs or tomahawks in their hands. Their feasts and dances are less frequent than formerly. Their influence of their Christian Brethren is felt by them indirectly, for although they continue to stand aloof from a profession of Christianity and express a desire to die in the faith of their ancestors, they drink less than formerly, they abstain from work or idle amusement, on Sunday they try to provide for their families with commendable industry.

My congregations of the past year have been very good and . . . understanding of the divine truth, a growth in grace and a greater appreciation of their privileges as Christians. I have lately been delivering lectures on the life and character of Moses, as also on the history of the Israelites, with their murmurings and their journeyings in the wilderness. They expressed a wish that I should tell them all I knew of that wonderful people and how at last they got into the promised land. They like such histories.

The Saviour's have a great charm for them and I have seen them in tears when listening for the first time to the story of Joseph. Our congregation has lately lost one of its most valued members - a young man of 26 years. He was an excellent character . . . he died after a long illness which he bore with Christian fortitude and resignation. I administered the Holy Communion to him on the day before he died and was much edified by the expression of his hopes as a Christian. His trust was entirely in Jesus. December 31, 1867, I remain My Lord Yours most faithfully, Andrew Jamieson.



*Report December 26, 1868*

As we are rapidly approaching the close of the year I shall as in duty bound send you my yearly report to the SPG. Nothing of unusual interest had occurred since I last wrote to the Society. The services of the church have been kept up with unfailling regularity and the Indians I am happy to say seem to take a growing interest in them. and at those times when the Holy Communion is administered they have gladly availed themselves of the privilege of partaking of the emblem of Christ's broken body and shed blood and seemed to do so intelligently, believing and devoutly. The Sunday service is in a very promising condition and the day school under the teacher whose services I have lately secured shows signs of new life and improvement.

Towards the end of October we were favoured with a visit from two of my clerical brethren, the Rev Messrs Salter, and Wilson. The former Rural Dean of the County, the latter a gentleman recently from England (and grandson of the late Bishop of Calcutta) and who is now missionary to the Indians at Samia and Kettle Point. Availing myself of their presence we had services in church and after prayers and addresses of a simple and interesting character were delivered to the natives the visitors expressed their pleasure with the number and appearance of the congregation also with the Indian singing.

In their Pagan state the Indians lived pretty much as they pleased and followed without compunction the devices and desires of their own hearts. Separation between man and his female companion was a matter of common occurrence. As their union entered was easily contracted, it was easily broken up. The smallest rifle, such as incompatibility of temper, or mutual indifference or the man being after another led to secession and finally to separation.

Sunday in the church I published the banns of marriage of Jacob Seagull and bride. The case is interesting on this account. He is 84 years old, Ojibway and member of the church. She, an aged Squaw a Pottowatomie. They have lived till now in the Indian fashion but now wish to be married as Christians. It has been her scruples that prevented this before. During my long sojourn as Missionary I have married a great many and with few exceptions all are doing well and living together according to God's holy ordinance.

In temporal matters the Walpole Islanders continue to improve. In addition to other livestock they have taken lately to rearing sheep. They say, "When can't get venison we'll have mutton and fleece we can sell in exchange for clothing."

In the beginning of August the Arch deacon of Toronto in his official capacity wished to visit the Indian stations on Lake Huron in the diocese of Toronto and at his urgent request I accompanied him as his interpreter. We visited garden River, Little Current, Sheanidan, and Mametowaning. At Garden River we met the Indians in Council and had a long conference with the chiefs. On Sunday I preached in the Indian church and assisted the Rev Dr. O'Meara (to whom we are indebted for the prayer book and the

New Testament in the Indian tongue) in administering the Holy Communion to a goodly number of devout communicants Mr. Chance, the Missionary at Garden River was not at home, being absent at the time in England. But Mrs. Chance who is devoted to the Mission work gave us much interesting information concerning the Indians and their work. Both Mr. and Mrs. Chance have laboured faithfully for the benefit of the Red man and they evidently live in the affection of the people. The Indians in this locality have been beset with great difficulties but I trust that these will soon be removed and their future will be a bright one.

At Manetowaning Shewanedan and Little Current Mr. Sim's Mission field we met the Indians in Council and had a long conference with them, the Archdeacon addressing them and I acting as interpreter. I preached several times at Little Current and it was truly gratifying to witness the attention and eager interest of the listeners.

As the steamer disappointed us we were detained here a few days longer than we expected to have been and not to be idle I spent part of the time in visiting the Indian wigwams talking and praying with inmates. I was received most kindly by them all and on the morning of the day we left several Indians met us as we were going to the dock and gave us small mementos in the shape of little baskets made of sweet grass and expressed a strong wish that we would visit them again. Mr. Simms is a hard working missionary and few could be found able and willing to take his place. In the acquirement of the language he has made wonderful progress. Mrs. S and he are much beloved by the Indians and they are devoted to their interests.

*Report December 31, 1869*

My Lord. The season of the year reminds me that it is time to send my annual report to the SPG. I am thankful that by the blessing of a kind Providence my health has been excellent during the past year and that consequently I have been able to perform my ministerial duties with comfort and regularity.

Our Indian congregations continue good and they evidently appreciate their Christian privileges for on their return after a short absence they seem to have a fresh relish for the worship and the teaching of the sanctuary. Often I have heard one and another of them say on their return from their wanderings, "we missed the church, I wish it were Sunday for I am hungry for the word."

I baptized Chaumer, a leading man among the Pottowatomi. He had long withstood the truth and seemed wedded to the superstitions of his ancestors. He with his wife and family are now members of the church, regular in attendance on the means of grace and of a teachable disposition. When baptized he brought to me his old pagan drum, his idols and medicine pouch to be disposed as I thought proper, saying that he willingly parted with them all, he was done with them forever and henceforth he would cast in his lot with the praying ones "Uhnnumeanjy" as Indians call Christians.

When Pagans embrace Christianity they always bring to the missionary the articles which they used to hold in veneration and this is looked upon as evidence of their sincerity for they regard these things reverently and cling to them to the last, these loved things of their old superstitions. In the early days we always burnt them publicly in the presence of Indians, but Chaumie's I put in a bag with a few stones and sank it in the bed of River St. Clair.

A deputation of our Indians from our Island went to Ottawa on business of importance to their tribe. I accompanied them. the members of the government to whom they were introduced were much pleased with their intelligence appearance and exemplary deportment. Some of our young men have quite a turn for business. During the past year frequent councils have been held by the Indians to take into importance of urging upon gov't claims they believe they had on 2 or 3 small islands on Lake Erie not far from the mouth of the Detroit River. In the past few days Gov't has acknowledged the rightfulness of these claims and the Islands are to be sold for the benefit of the Indians. 25 or 15 years ago the Indian councils I attended were very different in character to the ones I have attended of late years. Then there was smoking, confusion, and often much drunkenness. Now, although the smoking continues the proceedings in council are marked by a wonderful degree of quiet, order, and decorum. Then it was necessary for me to do all the writing, take down the speeches as they were delivered and finally put them in a proper shape for the eye of the Governor General. Now I am present simply as a spectator. The Indians do their own writing and draw up memorials to the government themselves whilst I simply affix my name to the document as a witness that they have been drawn up in full council. These facts seemingly unimportant are given by me as an

evidence of progress, a proof that altho the great majority of the Indians are still very ignorant, a few of their number have been benefited and that the efforts to improve them have not been in vain. Certainly such a degree of improvement I scarcely dared to hope for when I first saw those Indians in 1845. Original of the above sent to the SPG by AJ per the Lord Bishop of Huron. [see chart in appendix two]

*Report of January 3, 1873 from letter sent to Rev. Bullock*

I am thankful to be able to say that the church which was in progress of erection when I last had the pleasure of writing to you has been completed. The church was finished the end of May and consecrated July 10, 1872 by the Lord Bishop of Huron, who made a special visit to the island for opening the church and confirming such Indians as had been preparing for confirmation. It was a day to be remembered on Walpole Island owing to the intense heat and to pressing engagements of the Bishop the early hour of 9a.m. was appointed for service to begin. Some feared that few Indians could be got together at that time of day and one native missionary from a neighboring band said few of his Brethren would be present. But I knew my Indians and I am happy to say that long before the hour fixed for prayers the Indians might be seen standing together in groups at different points and others emerging from woods behind and winding their way to the church on the beach. The church which seats 300 persons was filled at the appointed hour. Prayers were read by myself and assisted by Reverend J Jacobs a Native missionary that laboured among the Indians at Samia. The Bishop did not preach a regular sermon, but spoke to the Indians in a plain affectionate manner, he told them that the church in which they were assembled for the 1<sup>st</sup> time was now set apart from a secular use and devoted exclusively to the worship of the most High God, that on entering within its walls they ought to remember that God was there and that anything like irreverence or inattention was out of place and sinful - and that as the church had been built with money obtained from the mother country, they ought to feel very grateful to their brother churchmen in England for providing them with such a handsome and commodious place of worship.

The right of confirmation was administered to 42 members of the Tribe, 8 more tickets had been issued, but the holders lived at too great a distance to be able to reach the church in time.

The Bishop was very happy in his address to the confirmed. The Indians listened with the deepest attention to the wise and loving counsels which fell from his lips and which were faithfully interpreted by Rev. H.P. Chase, a native missionary who had been ordained a Deacon a few years ago in the old church on the Island.

**Report Dated Oct. 8, 1872**

The 2<sup>nd</sup> Annual Agricultural Fair was held on the island on the 8<sup>th</sup> October. A decided improvement on the 1<sup>st</sup> and you may have some idea of what it was from a letter enclosed by an American Gentleman who was present at the Fair. The letter appeared in "The Churchman" a paper devoted to the interest of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U.S. printed at Hartford Connecticut.

In this report I have to report the death of my good and faithful friend Thos. Buckwheat, our 1<sup>st</sup> convert and first person baptized on this mission. And was therefore called by me the 1<sup>st</sup> fruits of Walpole Island. He was emphatically a good man, an Israelite indeed in whom there was no guile. For 24 years my right hand, my counsellor, and very useful to me under God in bringing his brethren from Paganism to Christianity. He left the Island a few years ago for the southern part of Kansas, where the Ottawa's reside, several of whom were near relations of his. He continued to be very useful in his new sphere, and 2 years ago I had a letter from the Bishop of Kansas in which he wrote in the kindest terms of Buckwheat and said that he was doing good work amongst the red men in the Indian Territory. I received a letter from a native the other day, informing me of my friend's death and as it was written with such touching simplicity and gives such a truthful account of the character of my departed brother at the risk of being tedious I transcribe it in full and send it to you "literatum and verbatim."

*Ottawa Reserve, Indian Territory, Kansas*

*Reverend Andrew Jamieson,*

*Dear Brother. I am sorry to inform you that Brother Thomas Buckwheat has gone to rest forever with our father in heaven. We buried his body yesterday evening and all his brothers and sisters were present to accompany his body to the grave. Brother James Wind said prayers and preached the funeral sermon. Everybody very nearly felt grief to lose our good elder brother. It is a great felt grief to us. he encouraged us to love our God and Saviour while he lived, pointing to us to our God and Saviour Jesus Christ when he see anyone going astray he was always ready to do what Jesus required him to do, to help his brother or sister. He died a good death, never lost his senses. He told his brothers and sisters that were present before he died he was ready to go. God had called him to go now and live forever. He died happy, his pain did not trouble him. He prayed for us on his sick bed in fact he prayed to the last. I cannot tell you how he loved those that were left behind, but the love of God was in him. Well brother you will please tell his Brethren up there and also his relations concerning his death. He was so faithful to his master that you hardly miss him while he lived if any were sick but what he be there ready to help the sick and needy. This is all, good-bye to you, brother, please write. Fearing that I have passed to long upon your patience, William Hurr.*

*Letter to Rev. W. Bullock*

The history of a month, as it were being the history of a year. Indians steadily engaged in the cultivating their small plots of ground. They are becoming more and more aware that a livelihood and support for their families must be obtained by tilling their land instead of by hunting and fishing as in the olden time.

The services have been well attended during the year and their demeanor most becoming and devout. As a proof to their attachment to the church and their appreciation of its benefits they have purchased a Bell, which cost 41 and weighing 411 pounds, and placed it in the belfry of the building. They are greatly pleased with it, it has such a rich and pleasing sound. As the Indians live apart and several of them at a distance of 3 or 4 miles from the church and as time pieces are a rarity amongst them, a good bell was needed to tell them the hour and call them to church - they are now punctual in their attendance.

When a bell was first talked of I had strange doubts of their ability to get one. I told them it was out of the question to expect such a thing from England - they had already built a church for us - they must now help themselves.

They thought long and anxiously and concluded a Bell they needed and a Bell they must have - accordingly they resolved upon having a tea meeting in the Council House on the 11<sup>th</sup> of February, admission 40 cents - never attempted before - my hopes of success not sanguine - but I offered no opposition.

The night was most propitious, the moon full, unclouded. The River a mile wide, spanned by an ice bridge strong and solid, an easy access to the island from all quarters. Whites from Michigan and Canada availed themselves of the opportunity of seeing an Indian tea meeting, a novelty even here.

The natives acquitted themselves most creditably. The tables placed in decent fashion, knives, forks and plates arranged properly, a plentiful supply of bread, butter and tea, wild turkey, and venison.

The result financially was most gratifying, but still only half of what was needed for our purpose. After the whites had left, the Indians remained and put down their marks for sums of \_\_ Nearly all paid and in July we had 41 to purchase - a noble effort. Many were poor and of all the Indian bands in Canada West their government annuity the smallest. I value our church bell for two reasons. It shows how the Indians love their church and how they appreciate the kindness of their brother churchmen in England.

In my last letter I mentioned that we had the promise of a font for our new church. This promise has been fulfilled for we received the font in the latter part of July. It is of stone, neat, beautiful, and appropriate. Apathetic as the Indians are supposed to be they were struck with its beauty, it gives such a finished appearance to all around and is so

different from the ordinary basin or bowl which we had always used on baptismal occasions. The font was a gift from a lady in Devonshire who has been a most beautiful benefactor to this mission.

A few weeks since I had the great satisfaction of baptizing an aged squaw, the oldest woman in the tribe. She is upward of one hundred years of age and in full possession of all her faculties. When I first came to the Mission, now nearly 30 years ago she was an old woman. She was a pagan and strongly attached to the traditions of her ancestors, but notwithstanding she was much respected by all of us a worthy of right character. I had frequently conversed with her and endeavored to draw her attention to the superior claims of Christianity, but she clung to Paganism. You may guess my surprise therefore when I first learned that my aged friend was a candidate for baptism. Kubzayeveyuwin, the name of the old woman, had been for a long time thinking about the future and her confidence in the "old way" had been greatly weakened. Without the knowledge of anyone she had been greatly perplexed as regards the future and the right method of serving and pleasing the Great Spirit. She had lost her faith in Medicine Men, Pagan feasts and sacrifices. In this state of uncertainty she had a dream and pagans especially among the Indian attach great importance to dreams. The aged squaw dreamed that she heard a voice telling her to arise and get rid of her perplexity and get to freedom and happiness. She asked, "what can I do?" "Become a Christian, join the Xstians and believe as they do" was the answer. She replied, "I am ignorant and know nothing." "Go," said the voice to one of the leaders of the congregation and ask him what you should do and he will tell thee."

The centenarian did so, she went to the Catechist and unburdened her mind and thus in due time led to her baptism. I was very much pleased and surprised at her judicious and sensible remark and her reasons for embracing the Xstian faith. Her baptism made quite a sensation at the time. This may perhaps seem an incident too trifling and silly to be inserted in my report, but I have inserted for a purpose, that you may know the Indians as they really are, that you may have some insight into their character. The dream at any rate led her to the catechist, brought her to the church and eventually to Xtianity.

Many of her Christian neighbors thought her case a hopeless one, that having lived so long in Paganism and been so many years indifferent to the claims of Xtianity - the Great spirit would not deign to receive her, but their doubts were removed when reminded of the fullness and freeness of the Gospel Salvation.

P.S. Geo. Maggs said that the Indians believed that it was needless for her to become a Christian. They thought it too late.



*Report December 29, 1874*

The approach of another Christmas reminds me that I should be preparing my annual report and as the sanitary condition of a people is of first importance I begin by saying my Islanders are all in enjoyment of excellent health; but in August, Sept, Oct. there was much sickness amongst them and several of them were carried off the island being very low and swampy, bilious, remittent fevers mostly prevail in the Autumnal months. Nipping frost is eagerly looked forwards to. Miasma source of the disease is killed by the sharp cold. Several, dear to me have been taken away, Mary Wansaing, elderly squaw died in Oct. She was very useful among the people, sincere, devout, and always in her place at church, most abundant at charities in he humble way, a widow who maintained herself by her own exertions - the orphan and distressed found shelter . . . blessing of him who was ready to perish surely fell on Mary Wansaing. She had very enlightened views, strong and simple faith in Christ - patient and resigned. Reading to her the order for the visitation of the sick I spoke of the duty of resignation and submitting ourselves wholly to God's will. She said, "I am trying to do so and if the Lord of life and death referred the matter of my recovery to me, I should humbly refer it back again." She dies in the faith, regretted by all.

Our junior chief Warden James Naudio also died at 30 years old. He was sober and industrious. Given the first prize for the best canoe at the Agricultural Show. He died two weeks later of inflammation on the lungs. He took at deep interest in church matters and was beginning to be very useful amongst his people. I feel his loss very much.

Also Nuhgannubruhurry, the Gov't interpreter for many years, a well educated and intelligent Indian who improved his mind by reading and before his last illness had been acting as clerk in an establishment a few miles from the island. Whisky was there in abundance and love of ardent spirits, the weak point of the Indian, led him astray. His health gave way last winter. He gave up his situation and came home. He did not belong to our Communion but I visited him taking things needful and drawing his attention to things belonging to his peace. In Spring he left for his old home among his own band in a different part of Canada. In Sept. he wrote he was no better and would like to try a trip to England or Florida but was too poor. In Nov. he returned to the island. I called upon him in his humble cabin. I found him much wasted. Seeing me he was much moved, deeply affected and in tears - a rare thing for an Indian. He was glad and thankful to see me once more, having been forsaken by his old friends and said that if I would receive him he would, to use his old language, thankfully give himself up to the church . . . invited all to come, his mission on earth was to seek and save the lost." I had him moved to the mainland where he received medical assistance and comforts but he lived just three weeks. On his last day he sent for me. I asked him on paper (his hearing was gone) if all was well. He wrote that all was peace, he had made his confession and through the merits of the Saviour he hoped the best. After prayer he thanked me but wished to be alone. That night he died, 37 years of age, son of Pulazhego, and Ojibway chief living near Amherstbourg, respected by whites far and near for his sense of honor and probity.

Our Agricultural show was held on Oct. 7. The people were imbued with feelings of emulation and independence. They had 29 entries for horses. 94 for grain, 65 for fruit and vegetables, and 34 for Domestic manufacturers.

The church on Xmas day was beautifully decorated with evergreens and well filled with willing worshippers. A large number came forward for Communion and Indians that day paid in their promised subscriptions to the Mission Fund of the Diocese amounting to 10. It ought to have been 19 but the Autumn sickness had crippled so many unable to pay, and others that had promised were dead - some others headless of promise made (Report sent to Re. Bullock directed as the Bishop unwell and going South).

### *Four Letters*

These 4 letters should have been inserted 4 pages back: In a letter to Mr. Pellew 28 July 1873 Rev. A.J. tells him a font purchased by money kindly sent by Mrs. Tyrrel has at last been placed in the church. It is of stone, neat and beautiful, appropriate but free from ornamentation as we could not afford that in these expensive times. It was purchased for me by the rev. W.S Darling, Holy Trinity, Toronto whose views on church matters I believe in accord with your own and whose cultivated taste qualifies him to make the proper selection for me.

It should have been here weeks ago but the maker had forgotten the shipping directions, hence it lay a long time idle in his work shop. It came last Thursday and is now in its place in the church. Two Indian children were baptized yesterday introduced to the congregation of Christ's flock who will always be known as the first baptized with the waters of baptism from the new Font.

I write tomorrow to Troy for a bell as I am now in possession of means wherewith to make the purchase. The bell will weigh 400 pounds and will cost probably reckoning the freight and putting it in the tower about 42 stg. It will please you to learn that this money was raised by the Indians themselves. . .

A letter to Mrs. Tyrrel July 28, 1873 thanking her for the liberal gift of 10 stg. For a Font telling all the particulars, also about the bell and adding Indians exclaim: Keche onesheshher cempechequan kandge: it is very nice, it is beautiful - giving account of expenditure.

Also same date to Miss Mackenzie Harvant, England, who sent 5 19s 6d: thanking her and telling of the Font, Bell same as report.

Algonac, Sept. 23, 1872. My dear March. Yours of 19<sup>th</sup> with enclosures was received by me today and many thanks for the same. In addition to the \$250 as the cost of my trip to England, I neglected to mention several items of expense which I unavoidable incurred in connection with our church fund - printing 2 circulars (the first set not being likes altogether by my friends) also procuring photographs of several Indians, an Indian legend put into rhyme of several hundred lines by Rev Mr. Patterson, late of Strathroy, which was got up to especially for my use and for which I paid him. Besides I must mention recent necessary repairs on the old parsonage where the schoolmaster resides which I think ought to be paid out of my commission.

1. trip to England \$250
2. Two sets of circulars 15.48
3. Photos of Indians 12.00
4. Indian Legend 10.00
5. Repairs on parsonage 35.00

This amount may be paid in such sums and at such times as suit your convenience for I have almost despaired of getting anything at all, but of course the sooner I get it the better it will be for me.

Some of my friends have wondered why I did not pay myself while collecting, but this was impossible. For on reaching England by the advice of Rev. Mr. Bullock of the S.P.G. a special fund was opened for Walpole Island and the subscriptions and donations for our church were sent there so I did not touch a shilling of the money until the amount sought for was collected and sent after to me to this country. Thanking you for the interest you have taken in my care, Rev. A.J.

*To Rev. T.W. Bullock S.P.G*

My dear Sir,

We were favoured with an interesting visit from our esteemed Diocesan on the 9<sup>th</sup> inst. And as it is now fresh in my mind I cannot do better than send you a fresh account of it.

His Lordship came for the purpose of confirmation and as 3 years had almost lapsed since he had been here before, the visit was looked forward to by my people and myself with the most pleasing anticipations. We had known of the intending visit in early May so we had an abundance of time for the preparations of candidates.

On the day appointed the Bishop accompanied by the very Rev. Dean Boomer . . . landed at Algonac, a small village on the American side opposite Walpole Island. We crossed the river in a sail boat and found a number of the natives on the beach awaiting our arrival. The church wardens meeting the Bishop welcomed him to the island and led the way to the vestry.

The services began at a quarter past one. Prayers were read by myself in the vernacular after which the candidates were called forward and giving up their tickets knelt down, when the Bishop laying his hands upon their heads invoked the Divine blessing upon them.

then followed an excellent practical address which was well interpreted by Mr. Jacobs, a resident interpreter on the island.

The number of candidates was 38 and although a few others to whom tickets had been given were not with us I had reason to be thankful that so many came forward to receive the Apostolic rite. Our near neighbors, the citizens of the Great Republic I must inform you were on that very day in the midst of their national rejoicings. When excursions, festivities, and fireworks are the amusements of the hour. I know that in times past the Indians had been in the habit of crossing the river to join in these excitements, or to witness them. I fear that they might have done so on this resent occasion. But my fears were disappointed and my hopes more than realized for the church was filled with willing and attentive worshippers.

After a brief interval a missionary meeting was opened when the Bishop and his . . . to bring the means of grace back to those within reach of those who were now destitute of them.

When the speaking was over a subscription list was opened for all who felt willing to contribute to the Mission fund. No less than \$83 equal to 16 stg was subscribed on the spot and I have no doubt that the greater portion of this will be realized. This is a large sum certainly for these children of the forest, although reclaimed from the wild wandering mode of life, are many of them poor, and you remember that in

redeeming their promise many of them will have to pinch themselves. You will see that such persons will value their privileges and that an evidence of their sincerity and love of the gospel they deny themselves in order to extend its blessing to others. On the whole it was a most interesting meeting, as much so as any I ever attended and my satisfaction in the midst of it and at its close was one of the pleasing awards of past anxiety and toil.

The Bishop's visit has done us much good. What a pity it could not be repeated at least once a year. But idle regret! For how could he or anyone else with a church population of 107931 scattered over 144 townships be expected to come to any parish more. He has not the time even if he had the wish to gratify us in this respect with the cares and duties connected therewith.

An interesting even in connection with the Ojibway Indians will come off on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of August. The Shingwauk home as it is called in the Diocese of Algoma is to be opened at that time. the Bishop of Huron has been invited to open it. The home is for the reception and training of Indian youth. The children will be fed clothed and educated, taught farming and other useful branches of industry. The great drawback of all the Indian Reservations with regard to schools is the irregular attendance of the children. The parents generally exercise little or no control over their little ones and youngsters, finding many inducements to carelessness in their attendance are either late in going to school or sometimes for a day or two together do not go at all to the great discouragement of the teacher.

At the home all of this will be avoided as the children will be removed from their parents and be constantly under the eye of the Superintendent and as they will be fed and clothed and made comfortable otherwise, must necessarily advance in learning and in preparedness for the active duties of life.

The Rev. E.F. Wilson, a grandson of the late Bishop of Calcutta, of that name Superintends the home. He takes a great interest in the red man and is doing his best to elevate his condition and I have no doubt we will hear good tidings from him by and by.

Before I close I must touch upon another topic. In the extract from my last letter printed in the Society is Report for last year it stated that the Indians paid their promised subscriptions to the Mission fund amounting to 10. In justice to my people I am glad to say that after my report was forwarded that several redeemed their pledges which brought the sum up to nearly 14 stg or \$67.03.

*Report July 1, 1876*

As I have not written to the Society since his Lordship the Bishop of Huron was here now nearly a year ago I shall now send you a few particulars relating to the mission under my care. The islanders I am happy to say continue to improve and are becoming more and more weaned from their roving habits of former days. With the exception of a few weeks in the Autumn they are for the most part on their small farms and are aware that it is only by continuous and persevering industry they can expect a living for themselves and families. They see that those of their numbers that still love the chase and depend upon it chiefly as their means of support have uncertain supplies and are poor and wretched compared with their neighbors who work everyday and cultivate the soil. Love of strong drink has been the weak point of the Indian and has hither been a great hindrance in the way of his improvement.

This however I trust will not trouble us as formerly, if good laws and heavy penalties can put down the evil.

By a recent enactment any tavern keeper or liquor dealer selling whiskey to an Indian is liable to a heavy fine and imprisonment and any Indian found intoxicated can be placed in the lock-up until he is sober and then on refusal to give the name of the party who gave him the liquor (always reluctant to do so) he can be detained in prison until he does - such a law shows the good will of the government and if it can be put in force and not remain a dead letter - the Indian will be protected against himself and his progress and advancement be more sure and satisfactory. At a full council held on Monday last, when the best and most advanced Indians were present the different clauses of the Indian bill read over and discussed those especially bearing on intoxicants met their hearty approval the leading men openly expressing their thankfulness for the wise action on the part of the government on their behalf, for although painfully aware of the existence of intemperance among their people, into its evil effects they have felt themselves powerless to suppress it.

Services are well attended no doubt Indians love them. Poor as they are they contribute liberally. Last Xmas day they gave \$72 or 14 for missions in the diocese and lately 8 for certain improvements in the church edifice - prizing the privileges they enjoy.

A few deaths have occurred amongst us since I last wrote. I may mention the names of one or two with a few interesting particulars. The 1<sup>st</sup> in order of time was Petawtwo, a young woman of 18 yrs. She was weakly for a long time and then consumption set in - a disease that carries off many Indians. Her mother dies of it 2 years before. Petawtwo was of a gentle trustful nature and religiously disposed. She quietly resigned herself to the will of God and bore her great suffering patiently. She loved the church prayers and put her whole trust in Salvation in the merits of Her Redeemer seemed thankful and much comforted with administration of the communion. An elderly Indian Pawtatisen had taken her into his house, tended carefully by wife and daughters -

A Christian act. He is well to do (as an Indian) and has a large heart - the 7<sup>th</sup> person he has this taken under his roof, nursed and cared for. When pagan he was the most successful hunter in his tribe, and now a Christian the most successful farmer and yields to none in his attachment to the church - ever ready to help in every good word and work. I have made particular mention of the kindness of the Indian of his deeds of charity (and this notice of him I know will never meet his eye) because some have charged the Indians with coldness, apathy, and indifference towards the suffering of their brethren. Of course as amongst the whites, there may be instances of heartlessness and cruelty but as a general thing, as I have known them, they are kind and attentive to their sick and afflicted and will pass days and nights by the bedside of a sick relative.



*Report January 9, 1877*

My dear Mr. Bullock

The season of the year reminds me that I ought to be sending you the usual report but nothing of special interest has occurred amongst us since I last wrote to you.

The church services I am happy to say continue to be well attended and our seasons of communion are looked forward to with interest and are enjoyed when they come by numbers of faithful and devout communicants. And it is not only by their attendance at church, but by their sacrifices of time and money which they cheerfully make for the cause of Christ that we see the value that they put on their religious privileges. In June last of their own accord they proposed to make certain improvements in the interior of the church which required an outlay of \$50 to be paid the end of September - but fever broke out among them during sultry heat of August and September. I feared they would not be in condition to carry out their designs and improvements would not be carried out. There was some delay, but the promised amount was handed in - the last dollar paid November 1<sup>st</sup>. Remembering it is hard for them to get their bare necessities of life, it shows their love for the gospel real and practical. We had an interesting time at Christmas. The Indians made the preparations, cleaning the church and decorating it with evergreens. Certain parties told them the decorations were needless, uncalled for that there was nothing in the word of God to sanction them. one of the Indians replied that he was a poor Indian, but he could read and he had read in the Gospels that the multitude took branches of the trees and even their own garments and spread them in the way when their Lord and Master was passing - that Jesus found no fault but commended them for so doing and in my opinion our Saviour would not be displeased at our humble efforts to adorn this church at this particular time." The fault finder silenced, said no more, seemed surprised and abashed at the reply of the Indian. They pay great regard to Christmas and no matter what they are doing leave all and with wives and children return to the island. The church was crowded and we had many communicants. After service I distributed amongst them many articles of clothing sent them by a kind friend of the mission. Greenbird, an intelligent layman made a short address - then a hymn and the benediction - a delightful day on Walpole Island.

In Oct. our annual Agricultural show came off with a good display of products of the soil and articles of domestic manufacture.

About 18 was distributed a prizes money coming from friends in England and in this country. An account of the fair was sent to the Donners. They were pleased and promised prizes another year. One friend present said, "This is very different from what I witnessed years ago when I was present with you at a Pagan dog feast." Thank God, all that is past, never to return.

Yesterday I called upon one of our most devoted Indian women . . . for many years she has been an earnest and faithful disciple. About 50 years of age, far gone in

consumption, I found her in a very weak state, but glad and thankful to see me. I read to her and made some remarks I thought appropriate to her case, directed her to the Saviour as the lamb slain to take away the sins of the world - spoke of him as the way, the truth and the life and her only helper in this her time of need. She bowed assent and said to Him she was looking and on him she was resting. She bore her sufferings most patiently. She cannot last long and we will miss her much for she was an exemplary Christian when well in her place at church and poor as she was always ready with her contribution for the cause of Christ. (sent to the SPG 1877 (nearly a true copy of the original, A.J.)

The mission continues to prosper. The Indians are quiet and industrious, regular in attendance regular in attendance at church and appreciate their privileges.

A few weeks ago I had the great pleasure of baptizing two pagan adult Indians, 21 and 26 years of age, Maduhua, and Zuirpp sons of Pakmizewy, the strongest Pagan on the island. This is the old man to whom I alluded to in my letter of July as paying untoward respect to Sunday through the influence of a dream which he had. Miduakona the elder brother is a most respectable young man. He as always been steady and correct, a pattern on industry to all around him and now that he has cast in his lot with us and become a decided Christian I trust that his example will have a good influence upon others and especially on his parents, teaching them to give up their superstitions and to look to Jesus as their only Saviour as indeed the way the truth and the life. I am glad to notice among my people a growing intelligence and an enlightened attachment to the teaching of the church. One of the Indians (Kichfumthehorte) some time ago was conversing with a white man who happened to be strolling through the island.

Among other things the stranger asked my Indian friend if he was a member of the church and if he had been baptized. The Indian answered in the affirmative. For my part said the white man, I have never been baptized, nor do I see the need of baptism. I pay my debts, I don't drink, I try to do what is right and I think I shall be all right at last. "Well," replied the Indian, "I don't know much and am scarcely able to talk with such as you but do you believe the bible? Do you think it is the word of god?" "Certainly I do" said the stranger. "Well," replied George "I am very much surprised at you. Didn't the Saviour say to one of old 'Verily verily I say unto you, unless a man be born of water and of the spirit he cannot see the Kingdom of God.' These words I have often heard in church. They are words of the Saviour and when the Saviour speaks I am satisfied. It is not for me to cavil or complain, but simply to obey." The caviller made no response to the Indian, probably surprised at the answer or ashamed of his own folly in troubling him with questions. It was too bad in anyone thus to try and unsettle the faith of the Red man.

At another time the Indians were at a loss for a place convenient for the issue of Indian moneys which are payable every half year. The amount to each Indian per anum is nearly 1 stg. The weather was wet and disagreeable and the school house seemed too small for the purpose. "Why" said one of the Indians, "ask the missionary to let us have the church for the distribution of the money." "That would not do" said Greenbird, I for one would not like to ask the missionary, I am sure he would not consent to it. The church is not the place for money payments. It would be unseemly especially since there

is so much haggling and grumbling about the payment of debt. Did not the great black coat man (meaning the Bishop) tell us when he consecrated the church that it was a house dedicated to God and set apart for sacred purposes? You have forgotten perhaps what the Saviour did?" "What was that?" asked another. "Why we are told on one occasion when he entered the temple and saw the money changers there buying and selling he looked upon them with anger and taking a whip of cords he drove them out of the temple, saying this was no place for them and adding 'my father's house is a House of Prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves - a church is not a place for crowds to come in and receive payments."

There may not be much in these remarks, but I am writing of Indians, not of white men, besides they afford pleasing evidence that the Indians remember and understand what they hear and are able when necessary to make proper and useful application of it.

Our congregations are good. Prayers listened to devoutly and attentively and the responses made heartily as they should be. Communion season highly prized and a goodly number of communicants for the most part, earnest, consistent, humble minded Christians gladly avail themselves of the privilege thus afforded them. singing in church good and much admired. Indians have sweet voices, love music, and . . . of our choir at tea meetings and other similar gatherings for which they will gladly pay their travelling expenses and give them something handsome besides. Our singers are anxious to excel and to encourage them in this we have succeeded in securing the aid of a competent teacher who will give them lessons on the organ so that in due time with the blessing of God we hope to have not only voice but in instrumental music as well.

Our Agricultural show came off on the 26<sup>th</sup> Sept. and was a decided improvement on preceding ones we have had annually for the past five years. At this last one the entries have been made in better time thus permitting greater order in the arrangement of the proceedings and giving the judges more time for examination and correctness in their decisions. The show of grain and roots and fruit was better than formerly though the cattle was somewhat inferior. The Sweetgrass baskets, fancy and patched quilts, knitted socks and mittens, moccasins, canned fruit and loaf bread and butter made by the squaws was very good. The judges were persons from the mainland who expressed themselves as surprised and pleased with the exhibition and pronounced it quite a respectable affair.

For myself I am thankful to Almighty God for what I saw around me. Those who are acquainted with Indian character and habits will fully understand the difficulty of bringing them up to the point. Inertia is great amongst them. They are naturally indisposed to continuous exertion, and to settle down as farmers is most repugnant to their tastes. In my early days in this mission they were a horde of wanderers, remaining for a short time on the island and then for the rest of the year roaming about from place to place. When I talked to them and endeavored to point out a more excellent way, when I told them that farming was more profitable than hunting and that they must come to this at last as from the influx of whites their hunting grounds were getting every year more and more circumscribed. They would listen with respect but their old habits prevailed. If I pointed out to them the superior comforts of the white man of the farmers in their own

neighborhood of their abundance of food and their cozy homes where they and their children were sheltered from the rain and storm and the cold of winter - they would smile and say, "All you say is true, but we are Indians, we have liberty and independence and if we own only a few blankets and halters - we are content - we are free and can follow our bent by moving without difficulty from place to place.

Many of our number still love to roam, but it is for shorter periods than formerly. The best of our population remain on the island and draw their support from the tilling of the soil. The ancient wigwam made entirely of bark with a smoky blanket for a door has disappeared and the people live in log houses i.e. houses made of logs. Some of these are very comfortable and the inmates tidy and cleanly in their ways. When I first thought of going amongst them I was told that to gain their good will it would be necessary to adapt myself to their habits and eat muskrat soup with them. but this I never did. For years I never took a meal with them. my theory, rightly or wrongly has been that a missionary living in the midst of an uncivilized race must try to bring the people up to his level and not go down to theirs. Nor has my conduct in this respect ever given offence. Of late years however I have often lived with some of them and found everything is nice and agreeable as in any common farm house in the neighborhood. One of my church wardens Chas. Noodin, a Pottowatomie, drove me in his wagon in summer to my afternoon appointments and sometimes before starting he would invite me to dine with him. This invitation I thankfully complied with when his worthy Squaw would receive us kindly and give us excellent tea and beautiful light bread with butter, sweet enough and pure enough for anyone and all placed on a table covered with a beautiful white tablecloth. The above details are homely and familiar and may seem below the dignity of a letter to the SPG, but they have been put down here as linking to them the past the present condition of these children of the Forest. They have promised this year 12 in aid of Diocesan Mission to be paid on Xmas day.

Utchuttuhmoorie one of our people when going on a hunting expedition on the 1<sup>st</sup> of November called and asked when the subscription was due. "On Christmas day" was my reply. "Please God," said he "I shall return before that and pay what I promised and from what I know of him he will keep his word.

In a letter to Mrs. Gibb, Como A.J. says: your interesting letter to the Indians reached my last night, too late for Xmas but I shall read it next Sunday to the assembled worshippers. Greenbird, one of our young men, made some introductory remarks in harmony with the spirit of your written address which had you heard them I am sure would have . . . never expected anything from them, nothing but love of Jesus could have prompted these kind acts and that the chief and only reward she looked for is that they should try in an humble way to copy the life of Jesus and follow in the steps of his most blessed life. The remarks were listened to with deep attention. they will be prepared next Sunday for your interesting letter and hear directly from yourself.

As usual the box was opened in the church a few days before Christmas in the presence of the church warden and vestrymen only; when the names of the parties to whom presents were to be given were affixed so that on Christmas day the distribution

might be made easily with discrimination. The apportionment of the gifts I have always left to the vestry as I wished to avoid even the appearance of partiality on my own part. When, however any doubt arose as to the propriety of a gift in any case reference was made to me and the matter left to my decision. I must say that the judges were anxious to make a fair distribution and they did so only to the most needy and deserving. They took nothing for themselves and but very little for their families. The pictures or illustrations from scripture were much prized. By some they are kept with care in their trunk, by others they are put up on the wall inside the dwellings. As the pictures were being handed to me to put the recipients name upon them I was amused to hear the remarks of the Indians. "This," said one "represents the return of the prodigal - see his father falling on his knees and kissing him." Said another, "This represents the Saviour driving the money changers from the temple. *Makuhdouchouwlyee* (meaning the missionary preached on that subject lately)" This talk interested me not a little as it gave me pleasing proof that my people understand and remember what they heard.

I had spoken to them on the above subject very recently. It was a sermon from bishop Oxendon's book on the gospel for the 1<sup>st</sup> Sunday in advent (Matt 21 2-13). It was given to them, of course in their own vernacular and was listened to at the time with deep interest. The good Bishop's sermons are just the thing for the Indians, so simple and so very full of Scripture. I often take one of them for my Sunday sermon for I find I cannot be too simple in my address to them - yet such simplicity is often difficult.

On Christmas day the church was literally crowded and a large number came forward for communion. Many of them I trust earnest and believing souls. After communion the subscriptions of the Diocesan Mission Fund were paid in. the Indians who paid coming to me one by one - giving the amounts they promised and which were placed by me on the altar. The amount them given was \$40. All however, who promised did not pay because they did not have the money, but may be given some Sunday or soon afterwards. But even \$40 is not so small a sum when we consider what these people are. One Indian as I was going toward the boat for home came running to me and said, "here's half a dollar which my wife promised to the Mission Fund." It was pleasing to see the cheerfulness with which it was given and all that did give so did readily readily of their free will.

The church as full and the music excellent. A young white woman who is giving music lessons to a few of our Indians played on the organ. The teacher told me that her pupils are making encouraging progress. We therefore hope that in time, in the musical department at least, we shall be independent. Already our Indians understand music, can read the notes and have done so for years but their music has been entirely vocal we now trust that bye and bye we shall have instrumental as well. Last of all the box was opened and the contents distributed amongst the grateful recipients, as each article was taken up, the name marked upon it was called out and the party came up to the chancel rail and received the gift and I need scarcely say to you there were many happy faces and glad hearts in the church that day.

*Letter to Rev. Thos. Bullock (1878)*

The Mission continues to prosper as usual. The Indians are quiet and orderly and engaged in cultivating their fields. On Sundays they attend church and enter heartily in the services of the Sanctuary.

The only subject of new and special interest amongst us has been the sending of two delegates to the Diocesan Synod which met in London, Ontario on the 18<sup>th</sup> June last. The Indian congregation had never sent delegates before as I doubted their willingness to pay their expenses as well as the ability of persons chosen by them to understand the sayings and doings of the Synod. But as the Indians at our vestry meeting in April expressed a desire to send two of their number and as they promised to defray the expense of the journeys and of three days residence at the place of meetings. I readily yielded to their wishes. Now that the Synod is over I am not sorry that they went, for although they could not possibly understand all that was going on in the Synod they were much struck with the large attendance both of Clergy and of laity and pleased by the hearty interest taken in the proceedings by all present.

The church services of the first day were exceedingly interesting to them for we had prayers in the chapter house, followed by a sermon and the ordination of 18 young men, eight of whom were raised to the priesthood and ten to the Diaconate. Moreover my two natives had devout satisfaction in partaking of the Holy Communion with so many of their fellow churchmen all members of the same hose of Faith.

They are now at home, full of what they have seen and heard and there can be no doubt that their attendance at the Synod will have a most happy influence. It will show the Indians that they are not isolated, that they are not alone, but that they are connected with a large and influential body of fellow churchmen, holding the same faith and sharing the same hopes with themselves.

Since my last letter death has taken a few of our number. Among them was a young woman, Louisa Solomon, a very interesting squaw, sweet tempered and intelligent, our best singer and most regular in attendance at church and at communion. She was quite resigned and submissive to her Heavenly Father's will, took her sickness patiently, I trust she now rests in Jesus.

Sheshebe, or Johny Cake is another that has been taken from us. The chief point of interest in his case is that he was one of the two who first came forward for baptism on Walpole Island, the other was Thos. Buckwheat who died a few years ago. These were the first to leave Paganism for Christianity. They were both brought into Christ's flock on the same day in July 1846. Lovely in their lives and at death their hearts were not divided. Waganegunnaly or Yellowsnake is another that has left us for the other world. He was a good man and assisted me very much by acting in the capacity of a catechist, or more properly speaking as an Exhorter among his people to faith and good works. He died as he had lived, a humble believer in Jesus.

*August 16, 1878 Part of a letter to Mrs. Gibb*

This sexton of ours is a fine fellow. He lives quite near the church and takes a great interest in it. He prides himself on ringing the bell, in keeping the building neat and tidy and asks nothing of his services. He is moreover one of our most industrious and well to do Indians. On Monday night or on Tuesday morning last, at about two o'clock his barn and all of its contents were burned to the ground. And what is worse I grieve to say that there is every reason to believe it is the work of an incendiary. It has given us all a shock as nothing of the kind ever occurred here before. One of our young men lost an interesting child by sunstroke a few weeks ago. On hearing of his affliction I went to his wigwam and found him by the lifeless body of his boy, with a prayer book in his hand. It was his only child and he felt the stroke deeply, but he was calm and resigned and was evidently supported by strength from above. He is one of our most intelligent Indians and can read and write well. I shall close by telling you the following incident - Steamboat excursions to Walpole Island during the summer are very common and I am sorry to say that Sunday excursions from Detroit, a city of Michigan are not infrequent.

These Sunday excursions are chiefly German and others who do not appreciate the sacredness of the day. A few Sundays ago a party from Detroit came to the island and among others a young man wished to buy some cherries, but the Indians refused to sell. He tried one and another of them, but met with a like refusal. He then went to the church and as service was over he asked the sexton to show him over the building. The sexton did so and he expressed himself very much pleased. "Now," said he, "why would not the Indians sell me some cherries?" "Don't you know?" said the Sexton "that this is Sunday and we are forbidden to buy and sell on that day?"

Tomorrow the Grand Council of the Ojibwa Nation which meets only once in four years opens at the Indian reserve 30 miles north of this. It will be in session three days. Indians from all parts of the country will be there and various matters of importance to themselves will be discussed.

Thanks to the mild, just, and paternal character of the government, the Indians meet here in peace and friendly relationship with their white neighbors. Having no grievances to complain of, certainly a very happy state of things, very different from what obtains, or from what has at least very lately obtained in other parts of this continent. I am yours faithfully, AJ

*Letter to the SPG 1878*

I am happy to be able to state that the Indians are well, and doing well, that the church services are well attended on Sundays and at other times, that throughout the week they are industrious, working steadily on their small farms and leading quiet and orderly lives.

As the past summer was very warm and the lands around here are low and swampy there was a good deal of fever amongst us in August and September, chiefly of the low and intermittent type. Such as is common in marshy districts. In several cases the fever did not leave until the appearance of first frost.

Diphtheria too, in a malignant form visited us, but fortunately it confined itself to one family, consisting of six persons, the parents and four children, but here it worked fatally, for it carried off all the children in a very short time. it was a new disease to the Indians and as the medical attendant warned them of its contagious character, they were somewhat frightened and prudently kept away, and thus, under Kind Providence, it disappeared from the midst of us.

(Here follow the account of the young Indian and the death of his interesting child, also the account of Noodin, the sexton and burning of his barn - same as related in letter to Mrs. Gibb - A.A.G.) At first the fire was thought to have been the work of an incendiary, but as Arson is a crime unknown amongst us we now think that it must have been in some way the result of accident. Noodin's neighbors are very Kind and assisted him to the extent of their ability.

Our Annual Agricultural Show came off on the 25<sup>th</sup> Sept. and was on the whole very creditable to the Natives. The judges, white persons from the mainland, expressed themselves as well pleased with the show of cattle, grains, roots, domestic manufactures. These shows we have had since 1872, and they are evidently doing good by encouraging the people to Cultivate their lands more diligently and effectively.

A few friends in England gave us 10 s10 a year as prize money. To this the Indians themselves purpose adding as much more by the payment of one sixpence each out of their annuity. They will do this without difficulty as they now know the benefit of such exhibitions and are taking a growing interest in them.

Among the persons present in the show grounds I was greatly surprised to see a trader with sewing machines. He came there in the hope of selling them. It was on his part a mere mercantile adventure, as something of the kind had been in use here before. He sold two of them. He evidently Knew he was not amongst white people for he was somewhat lenient with them selling machines on time and agreeing to take payment in easy installments. I consider this purchase as a fresh advance and a pleasing evidence of steady progress among the people.



The condition of these islanders has been wonderfully improved and sometimes it seems difficult to believe that at one time within my own memory they were wandering children of the forest yet such is the fact. They owe everything to Christianity and its teachings. Some say that civilization must proceed and prepare the way for Christianity, my experience I confess has been the reverse of this. In his Pagan state and attached to his old superstitions nothing can be done with the Indian. He continues to lead a wandering, listless, and good for nothing existence. The best advice is lost upon him. His mode of life he considers to be the best for him. From the first he is on the whole as well if not better off than his White Brother, but the moment that he resigns himself to the teachings of the Bible and rises up to the beginnings of a new life, he is pliant and teachable and willingly follows where Christianity leads him.

At the present moment our most thrifty, industrious and successful farmers are baptized persons and those who take the deepest interest in the Church. There are, it is true Pagans amongst us still, some of whom are industrious, but they have been, and continue to be, influenced indirectly by the example and conditions of their Christian neighbors. It is pleasing to know that the teachings of the Church are not lost upon them and that the truths which they hear on Sunday influence them throughout the week.

I may notice a few incidents illustrative of this. A party of Indians when at a distance from their homes were asked by some whites to get up a dance and go through some of their Pagan practices. They politely declined and though bribed by the offer of whiskey - no trifling temptation to the average Red man they steadily refused, saying that they had given up these things when they embraced Christianity.

Steamboat excursions to Walpole Island during summer are very common and I am sorry to say that "Sunday Excursions" from Detroit, a city in Michigan U.S. are not infrequent. These Sunday excursionists are chiefly Germans and others who do not appreciate the sacredness of the day. In the month of July some pleasure seekers came from Detroit. Some of them wished to buy some cherries, but the Natives refuse to sell, although they gave them a supply for nothing. They tried one and another of them, but met with a like refusal. When service was over and went to church and asked the sexton to show them over the building. They were much surprised and said, "We thought we were beyond the range of Civilization, but it seems we are still in the midst of it for here we are in a beautiful church with stain glassed windows and a stone font." On leaving, they asked the sexton why the Indians would not sell cherries, "don't you know," said he "that if it is Sunday and that it is Sunday and we are forbidden and sell on this day?"

. . . promised to be with us and we hoped that their presence and addresses would stir us up and do us good. But on the day of the meeting it was very stormy and the looked for assistance did not come. Rather disheartened and dreading a failure, I entered the church. I said to Wazormepinnasheh (Greenbird) one of our chief men that I was sorry that our friends were not here. "Oh" said he, "this is of no consequence. You are here we shall do well enough." This was quite unexpected and very encouraging and I valued it not so much as a compliment to myself, but rather as a proof that their interest in the missionary cause or their liberality in giving was not dependent on seeing new

faces or hearing strange voices, or in stirring appeals, but was the result of a correct sense of duty. The meeting was a good one and the sum of \$9 was contributed to the Diocesan Missions.

*From the letter to Mrs. Gibb, March 1879*

March is surely going out like a lamb for we could scarcely desire at this season of the year. at least, a more lovely and more beautiful morning. Time flies and we will soon be at the end of lent.

It just seems like yesterday since I was explaining on Ash Wednesday the meaning of Lent to my people and also the best way of improving it.

It was a stormy day and the congregation was very small and attentive.

On the following Sunday my these was the Saviour's temptation in the Wilderness. In preaching to my people I always aim at the greatest clearness and simplicity. In getting up my simple discourses I have had great help from a little book designed for children called, "Precept Upon Precept." I find that we cannot be too simple for the Indians and that we must be at some pains to come down to his level, there must be in his case precept upon precept, here a little and there a little for his instruction. The general language of the bible, simple as it is, is above his capacity, its doctrines too deep and even the parables too difficult. He needs to have them more simplified to lift him a little nearer to the Divine Book.

On the first Sunday in Lent on the Saviour's temptation in the Wilderness, I told them that there were three great temptations mentioned in the Bible. The first, at the beginning of the World when the Devil invaded Eden; the second when this bad being was permitted to try the faith of Job when he assailed our Lord, Himself, in the Wilderness.

That in the first of these Mudge Munedoo, as they call the Devil, was too successful - in the second only partially so, but that in the third he failed, for our Lord came out of it stainless and unharmed. They listened most attentively, I trust that the lessons which were drawn from it have done them good not only at this particular season but they will be of benefit to them throughout the rest of their pilgrimage.

Yesterday I gave them a history and character of Judas, a prominent figure in the last suffering days of our Saviour. They were exceedingly attentive and the interest manifested was exceedingly pleasant.

Since my last letter one of our number, an aged Indian . . . 97 years of age hale and hearty, however until within a short time of his death. He was a pensioner, having been actively engaged in the war of 1812. He left Paganism about twenty years ago and was very regular in his attendance at church. He had a regular commitment and all together a good specimen of a nice old man.

Early in Feb. we had a tea meeting in the old Council House. The Indians gathered up for the purpose of raising money to purchase lumber wherewith to fence their

burying ground. As it was a beautiful night and the ice bridge strong and safe there was a large gathering of whites and Indians and financially it was a success.

You will be sorry to hear that the good Bishop of Huron is ill. May his health be speedily restored for has been very active and energetic and has done a great deal for the church during the short period of his Episcopate. Our Diocese has given a bishop, or rather a Bishop - elect to our brother churchmen of Toronto. For some time past there have been unhappy divisions amongst them, but let us hope that now having unanimously Archdeacon Sweatman as their Chief Pastor, in future there will be more harmony and good feeling amongst them for many years.

I see by late papers Prependay Bullock late secretary of the SPG has gone to his rest. He had excited himself lately in preparing for the late Pan Anglican Council. When the Council was over he was allowed six months to rest, but it came too late, for he died the other day. He will be greatly missed. I shall miss him too, being myself a missionary connected with the SPG, for I had corresponded with him for many years.

Your kind letter to the Indians of the 14<sup>th</sup> July although reaching me long after the Christmas box had been opened and its contents distributed was read in church to the Indians next Sunday after receiving it. The Indians were most pleased and not likely to soon forget the kindness of the daughter of Mesquakegramashei.

*December 29, 1979 My Dear Sir*

I am thankful to be able to report progress to tell you the Indians are industrious, working steadily on their little farms and anxious to follow in the White Man's ways depending little on hunting but much upon the cultivation of the soil. At the same time continuing to take a lively interest in the church.

Our Congregations are good, our seasons for Communion looked forward to with joy, a goodly number of communicants religiously and devoutly disposed come to take most comfort at the Sacrament.

On Tuesday Oct. 28 we had a confirmation on the day before I had been with the Bishop in the township of Moore 18 miles from our island assisting in Confirmation Service there. The weather was stormy and as the wind was raging with great violence I somewhat fidgety and not a little nervous about the appointment for the morning, and at midnight while in bed as I listened to the howling of the wind I made up my mind that we could not reach the island church. Towards morning however, there was a slight lull. At 1 pm we entered the boat, the wind still raging and the river a mile wide, very rough and as someone remarking that it was a pity that his Lordship should be out in such weather. The Bishop replied, "This is as nothing, I have crossed the ocean thirty times." Our Bishop certainly roughs it well, and in the discharge of his duty sets and example of zeal and energy, promptitude and punctuality to the youngest of his clergy.

On landing near the church we had no reason to regret the effort we had made to keep our appointment for we found the church open and filled with worshippers. After prayer and bringing the candidates, 32 in number, were called forward and been placed and standing in order before the Bishop he laid his hands upon their heads and implored the Divine blessing upon them, giving them good council, encouraging them to persevere and be faithful unto the end. The services were most impressive and the candidates seemed to realize the meaning and the importance of what they were doing.

We had been preparing for the confirmation during the summer as I had reason to hope that all who went forward to receive this Apostilic Rite, did so intelligently, prayerfully, and with sincere desire ever hereafter to walk in God's ways and in obedience to his commandments.

The confirmation being ended we had a missionary meeting when stormy addresses were made by several speakers. A subscription list was then opened in aid of the Diocesan Mission Fund and the Indians here called on to put their names down for any amount they felt themselves willing and able to pay. \$75 or about 15 stg was subscribed to be paid on Xmas day. Two or three promising two Dollars, some one dollar, the majority 25 cts, and others less than that.

we have no collectors but the subscribers if ready on the day appointed come up to me while standing within the chancel rails and place their money in my hands. They

look upon it as offered for God's service and it is called. Myha Mundoo oozhormoumuv,  
- God's money.

Xmas day has passed and I am happy to say the services were well attended. The church was really decorated. Every place was occupied, additional seats brought into the aisle to accommodate the people, after prayers and a short sermon, suitable to the day, Communion was administered to the Communicants. At the same time the subscriptions to the Mission Fund were willingly and devoutly paid in. The services ended, a box full of articles of clothing with a number of pictures, beautiful illustrations of certain part of Scripture was opened and distributed to the most needy and deserving. The box was sent by a Christian lady who takes a great interest in the mission who has for the last eight years past and has gladdened in a similar was the hearts of my people. The Xmas last passed will long be remembered among us as a season most joyous and refreshing. (In his letter to Mrs. Gibbs AJ mentions besides pictorial illustrations sent in the box - seeds with directions for planting, and cuttings of the grape vines which were given to the most enterprising with directions for preserving the. Trusting that bye and bye good grapes will be on the island as Wild grapes grow there in abundance - also presents for Mrs. Jamieson and little Jessie. Church Teachers manual for himself, and "food Words" for Mrs. Cameron. He gives her items that may be of service in her Missionary Meeting. Island pop. 850, 400 belonging to the church, remained Methodist with a few R. Catholics and Pagans. 80 Ch. Communicants - average at communion 56 no offeratory on Sundays - people too poor, one grand contribution throughout the year for the Diocesan Mission Fund, wishing them to understand and realize that giving to the cause of Christ is a part of religious worship - that to be a good Christian they must according to their ability assist in the work of the church. Many do realize this giving two instances; "One poor Squaw, nearly blind, who gets a scanty living by making brooms and mats, and from whom I feel ashamed to take anything gave 50cts afraid of offending her I did take it."

"I met an Indian, not very well off with some muskrat traps in his canoe, I asked him where he was going. 'I am going to the marsh to get a few rat skins as I wish to pay my promised subscription to the Mission Fund' we have occasional contributions at other times. In Sept. the congregation sent six dollars to a neighboring Indian Mission to help pay for repairs on a church that had been damaged in a tornado July last. I have also in my hand a hundred and twenty dollars as a fund for repairing the church. This money has been raised amongst the Indians themselves during the last two years by tea meetings on the island in the Winter and by picnics during the Summer. The church will be painted in the Spring"

December 29, 1979 continued

The Indians just now are uneasy about their annuity money. This money arises from the sale of Lands which they had surrendered to the Crown and amounts to \$3,000 per Annum. This after deducting small allowances to the chief and three counsellors leaves about \$4 each for the Indians (six hundred only of the Indians on the island receive annuities). The youngest receiving as much as the oldest member of the Tribe - a child a

day old being entitled to as much as a man of four score years. In 1827 a Treaty was made in which a certain amount of money was guaranteed every year to the Indians in this part of Canada for payments of lands ceded to the Crown. The Indians included in this Treaty were 440 and the money was to be paid to them and their descendants.

Now to understand the nature and origin of the present trouble it is proper to mention that out of the Indians on the island at the present time, a large proportion are of American descent. Indians from the . . . These Indians had been invited to come to the Island and they gladly accepted the invitation as the Walpole Islanders were relations by consanguinity and as they did not wish to leave this part of the country for the Far West whither the American Gov't wishing to remove them, on their arrival they were kindly received and in a short time agreeable to Indian custom, were adopted as members of the Band, and as such were looked upon as entitled to all the rights and privileges of the Indians born on British soil and as a matter of fact did enjoy the same. These emigrants and their children did receive an equal share in the yearly payments as well as all the benefits arising from their connection with England.

But the old Chiefs under whose regime the state of things began have all passed away and the young Indians of the present day, more enlightened than their ancestors, and looking more carefully after their material interests are dissatisfied and are determined to reverse the policies of their Fathers for as they say to adhere to the strict terms of the Treaty (thus our population is divided at this moment into Treaty and non Treaty Indians). They urge that, in receiving the newcomers from the US, and especially in giving them an equal share in the annuities their old chiefs and forefathers had acted *Ultra Vires*, had ignored the provisions of Treaty which limited the payment to such only that were included in the original 440.

Of course if the results prove unfavorable to the claim of the "strangers" it will be a great loss to some of them. the aged and infirm especially will feel in Keenly. But as for the rest, time will be the great consoler and I have always told them that the erasure of their names from the paylists, even if it should take place, need not be a great calamity for that a little more industry and a stricter economy on their part, a few more potatoes or ears of maize put in the ground would easily make up for the loss.

Another circumstance which no doubt has much to do with the present movement is jealousy on the part of the Treaty Indians. Of the two sections, the non Treaty Indians generally are more intelligent and enterprising, they are more industrious and better off and on this account have more influence and authority on the island. This has given offense and has contributed to strengthen the desire for a change.

Some may think that this difficulty might have been settled sooner, but there were difficulties in the way. Since the arrival of these Mazuyqezeje (strangers) as they are called by the natives many years had passed away and intermarriage of the Ojibways with the Pottowatomies or Ottawas, of who there are many on the island, had been more or less frequent. It seemed also a hardship to cut off from the annuity parties who had shared in it for the long period of fifty years. Moreover it was hoped that the dissatisfaction

would gradually die away and that after a while all would settle down into their former state of contentment.

But matters grew worse and latterly the agitation became so troublesome as to attract the serious notice of the government and the local agent was instructed to call the Indians together and examine them under oath as to their antecedents - viz. when and where born? Their nationality? When their parents came to the island and their relation if any to the Treaty Indians? The examination lasted three long days. The agent I am happy to say spoke most favorably of the manner in which the evidence was given. He was most struck with the strong desire on the part of almost everyone to tell the truth, however strongly that truth might operate to his prejudice.

The testimony then obtained has been forwarded to Ottawa and a formal decision may be expected very soon which I trust will bring peace and satisfaction to the children of the forest. As the examination proceeded, several touching incidents occurred. Amongst others I may mention the testimony of a blind Indian who told his story with great candour and truthfulness, also that of an aged squaw named Guunuhwawhulinezera much respected in her tribe. Her daughter had married a Pottowatomi and she was afraid that in consequence she and her children would lose their interest in the annuity. Whilst addressing the agent she took out of a bag a scarlet colored coat which had been worn by her father, an Indian brave who had seen much service during the War of 1812-14. She also produced a medal which had been given to him for courage and good conduct.

These she had kept and would continue to keep, she said, with jealous care. She thought that in remembrance of the soldiers merits the interest of her child and grandchildren would be protected. Her statement was taken down and appended to her testimony.

My dear sir, I confess that I am much disappointed at the failure of our application for medical aid when necessary on Walpole Island, and I was much surprised to learn that in the opinion of the department there was not enough sickness among the Indians there to justify the expense of a Dr's service amongst them. the accounts sent in semi-annually for funeral furnishings might, I should think, lead to a different conclusion. As payment for such furnishings one storekeeper here lately received \$71 and this at \$4 per head, the allowance granted by the Indian Council represents at least seventeen deaths during the previous six months - a large mortality surely for a population of 600 Chippewas. Of the Pottowatomies I do not speak as they are not under my pastoral care, but the deaths amongst them must be more or less numerous every year. Walpole Island is low and swampy at certain seasons particularly in August September October. Ague, dysentery's and fever of a low type are common. Last October Diptheria visited us and carried off in a few days four children in one family and recently four young men in the prime of life died. After a brief illness of pleurisy and inflammation of the lungs. Can it be right and proper that Sarnia with a population of 400 and Kettle Point with a population of 150 should each enjoy the services of a medical man, while Walpole Island with its 800 Indians is left to shift for itself, to depend upon the nostrums of the natives or on the scanty medical knowledge and limited means of the missionary. Such is and has been the



condition of these islanders because there has been no cry for help let it not be supposed that they are all in vigorous health and singularly free from all them various ills that flesh is heir to.

As regards Dr. David, whose name has been mentioned in Canada, although living for convenience in the US he is in good practice, he is a British subject and a graduate of one of our Canadian Colleges. He has been for years very kind to our Indians and has often assisted gratuitously and living as he does only one mile from the island, he is more easily accessible to the Indians than any medical man in Canada.

For these reasons I have respectfully recommended Dr. David to the notice of the department and urged the importance of securing his services. But as these under the circumstances cannot be had, I have nothing further to do, it only remains that we wait patiently, in the hope that by and bye some way may be opened up which medical skill and attention can in some measure be extended to these Indians.

*Ottawa March 12, 1879 to AJ, from Indian Affairs*

Reverend and Dear Sir. I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter in the 1<sup>st</sup> in which you expressed disappointment at the failure of the application for medical aid, when necessary in Walpole Island. I have also to express my surprise at the interpretation put on the letter to Mr. Watson on this subject. The letter to him merely intimated an opinion that there did not appear to be such an amount of sickness upon Walpole Island as would warrant the department in appointing a medical officer to the Band who occupy it.

I am under the impression that I informed you when I had the pleasure of meeting you in Ottawa that the department would not object to the payment of medical bills passed by the Indian Council and certified by medical men rendering them - to be composed of charges at the lowest rates charged the poorest class of white people. This is the practice followed in connection with the medical expenses incurred on account of the Sarnia and Kettle Point bands and many others to which you refer and I can see no objection whatever to a similar system being pursued as regards the Indians on Walpole Island. In conclusion it is almost unnecessary to say that such bills should in the ordinary course be forwarded to the Superintendent at Sarnia for payment. Believe me Reverend and Dear Sir, Yours very truly S. Van Roushnet, Deputy Superintendent general of Indian Affairs.

*Letter to Reverend Tucker, 28<sup>th</sup> June 7<sup>th</sup> July*

when I last had the pleasure of writing to you my people were in a state of uncertainty regarding their annuities, the feeling of uncertainty still remains as the Indian department has come to no decision on the matter. At any rate if any decision has been arrived at yet, it has not yet been made known to the parties concerned.

Meanwhile I am happy to say that all is quietness on the island and the natives, the Treaty and non Treaty Indians are all peacefully following their ordinary pursuits, cultivating their little farms and endeavoring to provide for themselves and families. A few weeks ago I received into the congregation of Christ's flock Alexes Baptiste and his family. He had been a Roman Catholic having been baptized in that faith in his infancy. But as there are no Romanist services on the island and being anxious to place himself within the means of grace he made up his mind to cast in his lot with our people. It was an affecting sight to see him, his wife and children standing at the chancel rail and expressing their desire to place themselves for the future under the care of the church.

Our church for which we are indebted to Kind Christians in England has just been repainted and it seems to look better than ever. The money for this purpose was raised by the Indians themselves. Of course the money 25 stg was not raised all at once, but was the result of persevering effort continued during two or three years. They take a pride in the church building and they wished to see it look nice and having the appearance befitting a temple consecrated to the service of God.

The natives are slowly but surely improving, as an evidence among other things I may mention the interesting fact that several young women of the tribe are now at service amongst the whites on the mainland and are working with credit to themselves and satisfaction to their employers. They are neat and tidy in their own persons and tend to keep things about them neat and tidy also. They are found to be useful, not only in the rougher parts of the household work, but in the lighter department of sewing and knitting. A friend of mine who has an Indian girl as her maid of all work speaks kindly of her Abigail; says that she is honest and truthful, ready and willing in the performance of her duties and sews well on the sewing machine. Indeed she is quite enthusiastic on the abilities of her Indian girl. She prefers her to many white girls she has seen because she is quiet and unassuming, puts on no airs and knows her proper place and keeps it, which is not always the case with servants in this western world of ours. I have one of these Red Children in my own family and she gives great satisfaction.

You will sorry to learn the Reverend E.F. Wilson, the painstaking, conscientious principal of the Shingwauk Home, Sault Saint marie Ontario, has been obliged to go to England to recruit. His health gave way in the midst of his arduous duties. He contemplated at one time spending his summer months in new Brunswick, but his physicians advised him to go immediately to England as the most likely means of recovering his health. We feel his absence very much. We all pray that his health may be

restored, his valuable life spared to be a blessing to his friends and to the Indians in this part of the world. The young Indians who have been under his care speak most respectfully and reverentially of him and earnestly wish for his return bye and bye.

Several of the Shingwauk pupils are on Walpole Island and their improved appearance every day says much for Mr. Wilson and the culture he has bestowed upon them. one of the lads is a tin smith, the other a carpenter and a third is a school teacher amongst his people and a fourth a very promising lad will, providence permitting prepare for the duties of the Holy Ministry. Apropos of the above I may mention that the Indian as a people are naturally civil and polite. Even in their Pagan state they have great respect for old age and for those whom they look upon as their superiors.

During conversation and when listening to statements very distasteful to them and which they do not believe they will not unduly interrupt the speaker, but will listen patiently to the end and then they will quietly but firmly express their dissent and their reasons for the same.

It is singular that we find nothing amongst them like profanity. There are no words in their vocabulary favoring the formation of terms as oaths or profane swearing. They have indeed such words as cheat, liar, and thief, murderer, fool, coward, drone, drunkard, babble, but no stronger term. The Indians of course have their weak points, but the practice of profane swearing is not one of them. the more bitter and reproachful word they use is "Mudgevonemost - Anglice" bad dog. A.J.

*Report December 29, 1881*

I am glad to inform you we have succeeded in building a new schoolhouse. It will be opened for use on Monday next. I am most thankful as the old building was old and rickety and most uncomfortable for the children.

The above is the last sentence of my last letter to the SPG, 31<sup>st</sup> Dec. 1880.

Population - 850, 400 Anglicans, 2 confirmed, 18 baptized. Perhaps the last I will send. A.J.

*December 28, 1880 Letter to Mrs. Gibbs*

My dear Mrs. Gibbs, Your kind and welcome letter with enclosure to the Indians was duly received but I thought I would wait until after Christmas before I answered it. Your time must be so fully occupied in keeping up your correspondence with friends in Canada and England and with your own household concerns that I do not wonder that you may have very little time for writing to us of Walpole Island, but I can assure you that your letters are highly prized whenever they do come.

We had a delightful day on Christmas. The weather was fine and the roads excellent. The church was crowded, literally crowded so much that seats taken from the old Council House were placed in the aisle to accommodate the people. The church was beautifully decorated, not exactly in the way it is done among the whites, but it was tastefully adorned with evergreens. It was a work of pleasure to the Natives who think a great deal of the birthday of the Saviour and they did their best. After prayers we had holy communion and a large number came forward to partake in the sacred feast. The most of them I trust with a lively, intelligent, and a devout sense of what they were doing and with a sincere desire to do honor to their Redeemer and to receive fresh supplies of grace to go on in newness of life.

One aged squaw who could with difficulty hobble along was amongst the number. She showed her earnestness and zeal, for she lives a long way from the church. The choir was full and Polly Nawoosavaan, an Indian girl presided at the organ. The singing as usual was good and the Hymns were suitable to the day.

The service being ended I reminded them that the annual contributions to the Diocesan Mission Fund were now due and that I would receive such who were prepared to give them. A goodly number came up the chancel rail and gave me their money. *Leghamunedoo ooshole awmun* as they sometimes call it because it is dedicated to the cause of missions. Some have a dollar, others half a dollar and the majority 25 cts. \$38.50 was thus received by me. Twenty-five dollars are still due, as some were not just ready but I am almost sure to get the whole of it within two or three Sundays. These subscriptions were promised as long ago as the 12<sup>th</sup> August, when Bishop Alford, and the Missionary Agent held a Missionary meeting on the island and I think it says something for the honesty and good feeling of these people, that poor as many of them are, they remembered these pledges and saved a portion of their little earnings to pay what they had promised.

I was much struck with the conduct of one or two of them. the first was that of a young Indians, a married man having a wife and three children. At the missionary meeting he subscribed five dollars. At the time I thought it a large sum for him, too large indeed for his means. This man was taken down in September with Malarial Fever and at one time was so low that his life was despaired of. I visited him, prayed with him, and administered the sacrament. He recovered, but for a long time was unable to work or do

anything for the support of his family. Accordingly I did not expect that he would be able to redeem his promises and under the circumstances I could not have blamed him if he had not done so, as it is folly to expect impossibilities. You may therefore expect my surprise when I saw him coming up with the others and when he gave me \$3 saying at the same time he would pay the remainder by and by I replied that he need not do so as he had given enough. His wife came and insisted upon giving her dollar, and here is another incident of a somewhat similar kind. A Squaw who has become a widow since the meeting in August, not only paid her own subscription of one dollar, but also a dollar promised by her deceased husband. I said I would rather not take that, but she insisted upon it, saying she was only carrying out the wishes of her late companion so to please the worthy woman I did as she desired.

Next in order came the distribution of the presents. But before issuing them I gave your letter to Chief Greenbird, who was at my side to read to my people. He read it to them in the vernacular and he did it well. As he was reading there was a great stillness in the church and all listened eagerly to what you had to say, for your name, *Natanskwhewauyeezaid Shaugun anekequa Anglice* - the kind English Lady, is now a household word among them.

The different articles were then given to the parties that were called up and whose names were labeled upon them. a short time before the church wardens and vestry men had, in my presence, opened the box and gave me the names of the persons who at this time were to partake in your bounty - the names were written on a piece of paper and pinned to the article. The selection of the parties to be thus favored I have always left to their decision to prevent jealousy and avoid the appearance of partiality on my part. And I must say that I have never had any reason to find fault with their judgment as they have always seemed to act with discrimination and fairness. All of course, cannot receive but it is an understood thing amongst them that those who do not get this year will be the recipients another year, Providence permitting.

When the distribution was made, one of the Indians, the oldest one present . . . asked permission to make a few remarks. I assented; he rose up and addressed the audience briefly. He spoke of your kindness to them all and of your persevering and wonderful goodness in sending them box after box of good and useful things for a number of years. He said that nothing but the love of God in the heart could prompt to such action and keep it up so long. That the lady who sent these things did so because they belonged to the church and were trying to serve the same master that she loved and served. Let us not disappoint her, but let us live and act as she would have us do. Thus ended a Christmas day long to be remembered on Walpole Island.

Since I last wrote to you we have lost one of our best members. He was an Indian whose name was Pentawsin (the dawn of light). He was an elderly man being 74 years of age. In his younger days he had been the most expert and successful hunter in his tribe and latterly he was the most industrious farmer on the island. I baptized him 28 years ago and ever since he has been a faithful and consistent member of the church. Seldom away from his place at service and ever ready with his contribution for church purposes and a

few years ago he gave me \$15 towards the purchase of a church bell. He was ill about six weeks. His sufferings at times were great but he took his sickness patiently. He knew on whom he had believed and his end was peace. Mrs. J. and Jessie thank you for the presents ourselves. Mrs. J. values the book on the Olive cover from Jerusalem. Tidden's sermons I prize very much and Jessie is first reading Susie Grant and thanks you for it. The Hymns for little children she reads with delight and is often singing them. we thank you for your kind invitation to come and possibly if we are well we shall do ourselves the honor and pleasure of visiting you next summer.

With kind regards to yourself and Mr. Gibb in which Mrs. J and Jessie join me. I remain Yours Faithfully, A. Jamieson. P.S. The matter between the Treaty and non Treaty Indians which I think I referred to in one of my letters has not yet been settled by the government. I gave the parcel to mrs. C and she thanks you very much.

January 25, 1881

Population 850, 400 Anglican church, congregation average 150, not so good in winter. Communicants 80, at each communion 56 morning service - afternoons at other parts of the island, services all holy days, communion 4 times per year, Baptisms 23, 19 children and 4 adults, Marriages 2, burials 18 . . .

June 29, 1881

Some of the most enterprising have fields of wheat, but the wheat crop I am sorry to say is not very promising having been injured greatly by the winter frost. Indeed, in many places it will be a complete failure. The church services are well attended and the children come willingly to the Sunday service and all are quiet, orderly, and attentive. The attendance is larger than last year and this is owing to the attraction of the new school house which is so much more comfortable than the old rickety building which we used to occupy.

On Easter Sunday the church services were unusually interesting and a large number came forward to Holy Communion. On the Monday following we had our usual meeting for the election of church wardens and vestry men and also a delegate to the Synod. The young man chosen as delegate is an intelligent person - at the time appointed, viz. the 21<sup>st</sup> of June, he was present at the Synod and was most punctual, regular in his attendance in the sittings. He was most favorably impressed with what he saw and heard and since his return has been telling his friends and neighbors of the pleasure and profit derived from the annual council of the church.

I am sorry to say that we are about to lose one of our most valued members of our choir. She is a young woman of about 24 years. She has been very ill for some time past and is dying of consumption, that great enemy of the Indians. Her life on earth will soon be ended. When in health she was regular in her attendance at church and having a good voice and a nice ear, she was one of our best singers. She will be much missed. in my visits to her I have been much struck by her quiet and meek submission to the divine will.



There is no murmuring or complaining. She takes her sickness patiently. She is fully aware of her condition and is calmly waiting for the great change. During my last visit she spoke freely of her state and prospects. She told me that she was looking to Jesus and resting in Him. As I looked upon her weak and wasted by disease and heard her calm confession of Faith in Christ in the midst of much bodily suffering I could not help thinking of the words of the apostle, "O Death where is thy sting?" In her case it had been entirely taken away.

There are many instances of strong and simple faith among these poor people. Not long since, an Indian, one of the most useful members of the church and who has been of great service to me in my missionary efforts called on my one morning a little after day break. I was somewhat surprised at so early a call, but he explained the matter briefly. He had just come, he said, from a wigwam where a young squaw, his son's sister-in-law was suffering from malarial fever, for several hours she had been in a state of stupor. The poor sufferer had long wished to unite herself with the A Numiany (prayer people) as Christians are called on the island, but she had been hindered or kept back by her mother who is a Pagan and is strongly attached to the old superstitions. My friend was most anxious for the spiritual welfare of the young woman and as he sat in the cabin in sympathy with the family he offered up a silent prayer . . . and that before she died she might be baptized and leave the world a Christian.

This wish, or prayer, as he called it, was in his heart the whole night, when to his great joy and surprise the sufferer returned to consciousness and seeing my friend there expressed her desire to see the Missionary that she might receive baptism and be united to the church.

Without delay, I went to the house and found the young woman quite rational after a few questions, which were promptly and satisfactorily answered, baptized her and admitted her into the congregation of the church. She seemed much relieved, but fell back in short time to a state of unconsciousness. She was in a long time in a weakly state, till in a few weeks she recovered, but with the total loss of sight. My early visitor has more than once alluded to the wonderful answer to prayer. I reminded him that God was revealed to us as "Hearer of Prayer" and that we were told in Holy Writ that the effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much. My friend was surprised at the time and has not got over it yet.

The Institution at Sault Saint Marie has already been a great blessing to us and in the future it is likely to be more so. The children return very much improved. There is a marked contrast between the youngsters that have never been away from the island and those who have been under the care and teachings of the Rev. E.F. Wilson at the "Shingwauk Home" and all as might be expected in favor of the latter. Their neatness and tidiness and sprightly intelligence speaks favorably of the good times they have had.

On Friday last ten boys from the island left for the Shingwauk home. The Rev. Wilson who takes an active and intelligent interest in the welfare of the red Man evidently enjoys the confidence and love of the Indian youth, for although the home is

many miles distant close by the waters of lake Superior and Indian children, like others are strongly attached to their relations and friends, they leave all without regret and place themselves in his care and superintendence. This home will be of great benefit to the Indians for not only they learn while there to read and write and cast accounts, but they gradually acquire habits of order, neatness, and industry, which will be a blessing to themselves and also to others when they have finished the curriculum and returned to their home to mingle once more with the members of their tribe.

One of the pupils of the institution died a few weeks ago while at his home on the island. He was a very intelligent lad, a brother to the young Indian that accompanied Mr. Wilson on a trip to England. His grandmother with whom he had lived was a devout member of the church and had always shown him a Godly example. In the days of health he had given his heart to Jesus. He died of consumption. He suffered patiently, and died in peace.

A short time ago I was much pleased at receiving a cheque from Sault Saint Marie. The letter containing it informing me that this money was partly contributed by the Indian boys and showed in my opinion so much thoughtfulness and affection for the memory of their companion that I read the letter on the following Sunday to my congregation and many present seemed to be deeply touched by it. The Indian after all is not so different from the white man, Christianity softens and refines the rudest natures and why should not the Red Man under its benign influence grow wiser and better.

In the United States a striking change is about to take place in the treatment of the Indians. In the future it is proposed to train Indian young men for the Indian service. Already I am told that the brother of Bright Eyes, and Indian Chief has been made clerk of the Indian department, and by and by if he be found competent, will be made an Indian Agent. It is the intention to fill a number of subordinate places in the Indian Agencies with Indian men - a move in the right direction.

In this Diocese Indians are found capable of filling positions of responsibility. We have four clergymen, Native Indians in active service amongst us and one of these is doing duty most acceptably among the whites.

*Report, No Date*

The Annual Missionary meeting on Walpole Island was held yesterday and as your correspondent had the privilege of being present on the occasion I now send you a brief account of it. Among the notabilities present was the Lord bishop of the Diocese and Mrs. Heltmuth, Miss Clinton, Prince. Of Heltsmuth Lady's College, our Missionary Agent, the Rev. F W Campbell and Mrs. Campbell, the Sec. Treasurer of the Diocese, E Baynes Reed Esq. And Mrs. Reed, and the Rev. Jacobs. The deputation left London on the evening of the 13<sup>th</sup> for Sarnia where they remained overnight and taking the boat next morning reached Algoma, a small village opposite Walpole Island. Here they were met with the Rev. Mr. Jamieson, the missionary in charge who led the way to his Parsonage where we received a most hearty welcome. After dinner, which that's to Mrs. J's culinary skill was all that could be wished for we proceeded to the island. In less than half an hour we were all in the church which is a quiet looking edifice standing near the beach and having been recently repainted has a most beautiful and picturesque appearance. As we entered we found but few Indians present, although the hour of meeting had actually arrived, but, bye and bye, they came dropping in til the number amounted between 80 and 90. At first it was intended that the meeting should be entirely of a Missionary Character, but as two persons were anxious for confirmation, the one, the elders daughter of the chief, the other a prominent member of a Pottowatomie Tribe, the Bishop opened the service by requesting the Rev. Mr. Jamieson read the confirmation preface preparatory to administering the Apostilic Rite, and thus introducing these two persons into full communion with the church.

After the laying on of hands and the prayers on behalf of the Candidates the Bishop addressed them in his happy manner and I trust they will ever keep in memory of his wise and fatherly councils

the missionary meeting proper now commenced by the Choir singing, "From Greenland's Icy Mountains." Short and spirited addresses interspersed with singing were made by Campbell and Reed, and also by the Bishop (which were ably interpreted by the Rev Mr. Jacobs and his brother Andrew Jacobs). The Indians, quiet and attentive were intensely interested in the remarks of the speakers. Allusion was made by his Lordship to the establishment of a Western University the success of which matter he had very near his heart and after explaining the advantages of such an institution to the Diocese at large and also to the Indians some of whom might in time to come wish to avail themselves of its privileges. Said he would be happy to receive donations towards the object from any present who might be willing to give them.

the subscriptions to the Mission Fund and to the university were now taken up and some surprise was felt also as much joy at the announcement of the result viz. 65 dollars to the former fund, and 45 dollars to the latter. To be paid on or before Xmas day (and the writer is happy to say that judging from the past these subscriptions will be punctually

paid). These, it is true, are simply subscriptions, but they are pledges of payment which, judging from the past of these people will be most punctually redeemed.

The Bishop now pronounced the benediction and the meeting closed. Then the Indians one by one came up and paid their respects to his Lordship, and Mrs. Heltsnuth by shaking them heartily by the hand. Thus ended a day long to be remembered by these children of the forest. The missionary deputation re-crossed the river and after partaking of a refreshment left by the steamer for Detroit highly delighted by their visit and wishing continued prosperity to the mission on Walpole Island.

*SPG Letter No Date Actually Dec. 24, 1882*

The season of the year admonishes me that it is time I am sending you the latest news from Walpole Island. It is a time of general health with us and the mission continues to prosper. The church services are well attended and seem to be appreciated. I am glad also to be able to state that the Indians are very quiet now and the agitation arising from the talk of readjustment of the annuities and the cutting off of a large number of the Chippewas from their accustomed share in these moneys (a matter ahead referred to vide the mission field April 12, 1880) has died away. The distribution of the half yearly payment continues as before, unchanged and the old state of things is not to be disturbed. It is true that there has been no official announcements to this effect, but from reliable sources I have learned that the government considers the non Treaty Indians, or the Indians from the US having been invited to their island by their relations in Canada and formally adopted into their band, and are fully entitled to all the rights and privileges consequent on such adoption and should be treated as bonafide members of the tribe and insasmuch as during the long period of 50 or 60 years which has elapsed since the American Indians came over here, intermarriages had taken place between the Walpole Islanders and the immigrants. It is felt that it would be difficult in many cases to determine who were Treaty and who were non Treaty Indians and therefore a *laissez faire* policy is the easiest and best. The population is quiet and contented and we can only hope that the present calm will be real and lasting.

Our people are all within us. at this season of the year the absentees return. Indeed for the past two weeks they have been coming back from their wanderings. Some of them had been cutting cordwood in the white settlements others had been away in the woods near Windsor being *Mbuhuywmony* employing time making brooms, baskets, and axe handles, which they carried to Detroit and sold there. Others had been engaged in hunting Deer in the forest in Ohio or Michigan, wherever they had been during the past few weeks, the kept temporary place of Sojourn and made their way to the island to keep Christmas at their own homes.

This has been the custom for years. On Thursday 22<sup>nd</sup> December they commenced decorating the church and though not done perhaps with the same church taste and correct as in some parishes the decorations were becoming and with the aid of mottoes similar to the two which were in the box made a good impression on the beholder.

On Saturday the church wardens and the vestry and myself opened the box as we had always done and labeled the pieces preparatory to distribution - i.e. they gave me the names of the parties who were to be supplied and I wrote these on a slip of paper which I pinned to the article to expedite business as well as prevent any feeling of jealousy or suspicion that I am influenced by favoritism in the distribution of the presents. My coadjutors, I am happy to say generally make a fair and judicious selection.

The next day, Christmas, with its hallowed associations came, the day looked forward to with interest when the Indians, note the tones of the sweet sounding bell and get ready for church. Numbers of them come flocking to the service and the church warden, anticipating a larger congregation than usual had thoughtfully placed additional seats in the aisle. The church was crowded and literally filled its utmost capacity.

After prayers and sermon the Holy Communion was celebrated and a large number of both sexes came forward and partook in the elements of our Saviour's broken body and shed blood.

It was a season of refreshing and I trust a day long to be remembered for good by the natives of Walpole Island. The sacred service over the people came up with their payments to the mission fund and it is most pleasing to witness the cheerfulness and alacrity with which they came to me as I stood within the chancel rails. I received their offerings. The sum subscribed on July last at the Missionary meeting was something near \$70. ON Christmas day they paid "53 and I have no doubt that when two Sundays have passed the whole, or nearly the whole will be paid in. it is a marvel to me that they are so liberal in giving for on the exception of a few who are pretty well off the great majority are really poor. My explanation is they love the church and value their privilege and they prepare themselves beforehand, days, perhaps weeks, to have their 25 cts, 50 cts, and \$1 ready for the Mission Fund.

Two incidents pleased me very much. One man and his wife, four years ago had subscribed to this fund, but had failed to redeem their pledge. The husband was taken ill and one day while visiting him I read the story of Zaccheus. He was deeply interested in it and desired me to mark the place in his New Testament so that his son might read it to them again. Said he, "Zaccheus' conversion must have been a genuine one when he was willing to restore four fold if he had defrauded anyone." "No doubt," I replied, "he was earnest and sincere and intended fully to lead a new life." He was silent for a time, at length he said, "I failed to pay what I promised to aid the Missionary cause. I am sorry now, but as soon as I am able I shall make it all right." No more was said on the matter, the conversation turned to other points.

He recovered but I heard nothing more of the fulfillment of his promise and three years had elapsed since the conversation referred to. for myself I never alluded to it. You may guess my surprise when standing at the chancel rails with others who were giving me their money he told me his wife and he standing together that he would give me now, not only what they had subscribed last summer at our last missionary meeting, but also the amount promised three years ago never paid.

His conduct struck me very much and I took it as evidence that the good spirit was at work. It was a matter of conscience for I believed that no human being had spoken to him on the subject.

The second is that of an Indian living many miles from this. He had been present at the July meeting when the Missionary pledge had been given and he had subscribed

\$2.00. I saw his name on the list, but I confess that I had misgivings as to the payment of it, for I had a very slight acquaintance of the man and it is only at very rare intervals that he came to our island. As the Indians were handing in their subscriptions, the chief asked me if such one from Pelee Island had promised any aid. I said that he had, "well, here it is,. He sent it to me by Post the other day." It was thankfully received. "Well done thought I, for Punzazhegvoney, as my Pelee Island friend was called, "he is a man of his word."

The sacred feast over two Pagan Adults were admitted into the church by Baptism. It was an interesting service. The parties baptized were a mother and her son. The husband still remains united to the old superstitions. They had taken the step amidst difficulties which showed the sincerity of their purpose. Perhaps by and by he will follow their example and become a disciple of Jesus.

I am glad to perceive a growing willingness on the part of my people to work for the church. They have been anxious for some time to have chandeliers for the church and accordingly they set about to obtain the means of getting them. for this purpose a social was held in the old council house a few weeks ago, which was numerously attended and the sum \$52 was realized, and then the wished for article were obtained. I find it good to keep them working. It leads them to take an interest in the church and to wish for prosperity. Walpole island Mission Dec. 24 1882.

Dec. 29, 1882

My dear Mrs. Gibb. Christmas day has passed and I now sit down to send you the latest news from the mission. The box reached its destination on Saturday forenoon and as usual through the kindness of the forwarders by rail and steamer came to us free of expense. The Indians as we expected (the absentees I mean) returned from their wanderings. Everyday last week they were coming home and they continued to arrive until late on Saturday night, no matter where they may be, in Ohio, in the interior of Michigan, on the shores of lake Huron, at the proper time they pull up their stakes and direct their course homewards. As the Jews found their way to Jerusalem, so my people find their way to Walpole Island. On Wednesday the 20<sup>th</sup> the interior of the church was thoroughly cleaned and next day the work of decoration commenced. The Indians worked well and with them it was evidently a labor of love. They pride themselves with their place of worship and no wonder for outside of the large towns it is one of the finest churches in the Diocese and they are anxious that it continue to be a gem in its way. Apropos of the above a few weeks ago the Senior Church warden, wishing to take me by surprise had placed in the vestry without my knowledge a nice wardrobe for the safe and convenient keeping of clerical robes and communion plate. It cost \$14 and had been paid for by the Indians out of moneys that they had collected at one of their socials. This of course may seem a small affair but it was an act of their own free will and without any hint or suggestion from me, it is significant. It shows the direction of the current and that they are not indifferent or forgetful of their duty.

On Sunday immediately after morning prayer and just before the Sermon standing in the chancel I read your kind and most Christian letter to the Indians. They listened with breathless attention. I know they appreciate your kindness and I trust that many of them remembered you in the prayers at communion the next day.

On Monday, at an early hour, they flocked to the church in such numbers that extra seats had to be placed in the aisle and the church was filled to overflowing with willing and attentive worshippers. No less than 70 persons came forward and partook of the Holy Communion, many of them, I trust (perhaps all of them) intelligently, devoutly, and believingly. The payment of the subscriptions to the Diocesan mission Fund was made at the same time and with the usual liberality. It was most pleasing to see the willingness with which they gave their money into the Treasury of the Lord, Verily God was with us as a truth.

In the afternoon the box was opened and the presents with the names of the recipients labeled thereon were distributed among the people. In the issue of the articles I availed myself as usual, of the assistance of the vestry, allowing them to name the parties to whom gifts were to be given, thereby keeping myself clear of any imputation of unfairness or partiality. The distribution of these presents is always one of my most pleasant duties and I am sure that the parties thus benefited must have grateful feelings toward their Christian kind hearted donors. For my own part I always look forward to the arrival of the box with pleasure and receive it with thankfulness. I feel that it strengthens my hands and adds very much to my influence in the mission.

Our island has lately been visited by a party of Indians eight in number from the north west. They were passing through Detroit en route for Washington to see the President and lay their grievances before him. On reaching Detroit they heard of Walpole Island and being Ojibways belonging to the same tribe and speaking the same language as my people they came and received a hearty welcome. They have been here about six weeks and the people have collected com, beans, potatoes, and pork for their support.

These strangers are Pagans and dress in the old Indian style; they are tall fine looking men. On the first Sunday after their arrival they came to church accompanied by our chief. They sat immediately in front of me, and as I saw their painted faces, their heads bedecked with feathers, and wearing the ornaments of the ancient Indian I thought of the bygone days when 38 years ago my own parishoners were bedecked in similar fashion. They were very quiet and seemingly attentive, but they did not rise or kneel with the rest of the congregation . . . to the authorities on both sides of the line. I had a long chat with these Indians and have done some writing for them. they complain of ill-treatment, that their reservations encroached upon, that the promise made to them by Government agents have not been kept. They are now on their way to Washington to try to obtain redress. It is the story of the wolf and the lamb and these children of the forest have been learning by sad experience by those who ought to know better that might is right.



I am glad to learn that some of the Christians and enlightened philanthropists in the United States are now moving on behalf of the Indian. . . of the wrongs suffered by the Red men on the Indian Reservations of the upper Missouri, the very place where our visitors came from. Mr. W said that he had visited these reservations last summer and that he could bear witness to the capacity of the Indians for civilization and religion as seen in the schools and missions connected with them, but that he lamented the uncertainty of all this effort in consequence of the constant encroachments on their reservations by the whites and the bad faith of the government agents. A profound impression was produced by the simple and eloquent story of the speaker and it made the blood tingle in many a cheek to hear the old story told over again of that wretched work that had been going on for a hundred years and which had cost the American government \$500,000,00 for Indian wars, while north of the Canada line there has not been enough warring with Indians to cost one dollar. Mrs. J sends her hearty thanks for your nice present . . . Yours thankfully, AJ, written and sent to the SPG and Mrs. Gibb Dec. 29, 1882.

*Walpole Island Mission August 9, 1883*

My Dear Sir. Although this is now an old mission and there is consequently much sameness in its everyday history. I shall nevertheless send you a few lines informing you of our present condition and prosperity.

The crops are not as good as they have been in former years, but this is owing to the bad weather of the past three months, a constant succession of cold rains in May, June, and July, has been unfavorable to the farming interest, especially in this neighborhood. Our island is very low and many parts of it, owing to the frequent and heavy rains are now under water. Maize, the staple crop with us is likely to be very poor and many of my people, I fear will find it hard enough to pull through the coming winter, but their courage is good and I trust that their fears will be disappointed and their hopes more than realized.

The church services I am happy to say continue to be well attended. Our Sunday service goes on as usual. The Bible class especially is in a very promising condition. It is cheering to witness the interest taken in this class by the adult Indians and their willingness to come and read in the New testament and in the prayer book. In the Sunday school the lessons and readings are in English. In the bible class they are in the vernacular as many of the adults cannot read English, or do so with difficulty, and having a good supply of prayer books and New Testaments in the Ojibway tongue, I am able to meet their wants.

We had a visit this summer from *Emun-ganbouch*, the great Indian Missionary into the West. I had heard much of this good man and had read several of his letters in the church papers of the USA. Fifteen years ago he was here accompanied by three or four Indians lately rescued from Paganism. They came to see our people to learn the ways of our red Brethren, like themselves who had been in heathen darkness, but were now in the enjoyment of the light and liberty of the gospel day. Their stay was short and not being home at the time I lost the pleasure of making their acquaintance.

I was glad therefore when *Emun-ganbouch* paid us another visit and I had the pleasure of shaking hands with him on Walpole Island. My Indian friend is a Native of Canada and was born near Rive Lake, Ontario. He is a near relative of Rev. HP Chase who was in England a few years ago. *Emun-ganbouch* is a man of note among his people. For more than thirty years he has been a faithful, heroic missionary, devoted to the task of Christianizing his people. He was well known and esteemed by the late Bishop Kemper and enjoys the confidence and friendship of Bishop Whipple, the warm and tired friend of the Indian race.

In the dreadful massacre of 1862, a time which the settlers in Minnesota never can forget, when the Indians, goaded by their wrongs, rose up against their oppressors, *Emun-ganbouch* by his timely warnings saved many a white man's life and by his influence helped to check the red man's ferocity. His coming to the island was soon noised abroad

and in every wigwam there was joy and gladness. On the next day (Sunday) the church was filled with worshippers. Prayers were said by myself and my Indian friend preached. I need scarcely say that the audience was attentive for both the manner and matter of the preacher's Sermon were worthy of attention and many had come from a distance to see the great Ojibway missionary and listen to his words.

At evening service the same order was observed. Prayers were read and my preached holding the people entranced for two hours, telling them chiefly of his experiences and giving an account of the progress of Christianity amongst the Aborigines in the West. Amongst the good things he gave us the history of his name: "I received my name from my grandfather. I believe the name of the ancients each had some meaning. When I was a boy my grandfather, the chief of the tribe had lost all of his sons. I was taken sick and he was very anxious about me. He gave a great feast in the presence of the people announced the name I bear. *Emun-ganbouch* which means "One that stands before his people." It seemed to me that it had a prophetic meaning as I have for years stood by my people preaching and trying to guide them in the right way."

In connection with the above I may mention that among the Pagan Indians the giving of a name to a child is a matter of some importance. At such a time the parents make a feast and invite all of the old people to come and eat at their wigwams. A portion of the meat is offered as a burnt sacrifice. During the time this is burning, the giver of the name makes a prayer to the God to whom he is about to dedicate the child and at the close proclaims what it is to be. Some such ceremony must have been observed *Emun - ganbouch* got his name.

*December 30, 1884*

December 27, 1883

To W.W. Tucker, A.M. Mt dear Sir, by the kind providence of God, I have been permitted to reach the close of another year. Christmas with its Hallowed associations is now over, but I hope that the devout feelings stirred up within us will remain to do us good, rousing our dormant energies and leaving us to devote ourselves, soul and body to the service of our dear Redeemer.

Tuesday being a very pleasant day, and a day moreover to which the Indians regard as peculiarly sacred, they turned out in great numbers and filled the church to overflowing.

Services began at 11AM, a large number of the devoutly disposed came forward to the Holy Communion, of the Body, and Blood, of our Saviour of Christ judging from their highest demeanor and their deep attention to the Exhortation I trust that they were trying to remember His exceeding great love and dying for them and the innumerable benefits which by his Blood Shedding he obtained for them and that they were inwardly resolving carefully to walk in His footsteps and to service him in true Holiness and Righteousness all the days of their life.

The contributions to the Mission Fund were are usual at this time brought to me as I was standing in the chancel area. These I regret to say have fallen off considerably being only one half of what they were last year. But this is not to be wondered at when I mention the fact that owing to the great and infrequent rains in the month of May and June the Indians were unable to plant until a much later period than usual and that what they did plant was cut off by the early frosts in September. So that many of them are now living on very short allowance. As one instance out of many, I may mention the case of an Indian who after the rains had ceased and the ground had become partially dry, planted some maize and two acres of beans. He fondly expected to have a paying crop, but his hopes were destroyed by the untimely frost.

The natives, however, are not given to idle complaining. They are hopeful and buoyant under adverse circumstances and when spoken to on their misfortunes and unpleasant prospects answered cheerily "if one thing fails we must try another; we can make brooms, baskets and axe handles." The marvel to me is that they are able to give anything, but the religious element is strong within them as was easily seen from the readiness with which they came forward to pay their promised subscriptions.

There has been lately an unusual amount of sickness on the island especially amongst children. Dyptheria, the terror of parents carried away several. A very malignant type has been in Detroit all Autumn. Our people with their families often go there to dispose of their petty wares, and their children take it and carry it back to the island.

On its appearance here, I warned the people of the danger and kept the families apart and tries to localize the distemper so the disease has disappeared. But it was most contagious. I caught it myself and other members of my family were afflicted by it. Thanks to a Kind Providence we are now all well.

One or two changes have taken place on the island. We have a new schoolmaster. He has been teaching since Oct. 1st and the change so far has been for the better. He seems to be doing well and the children are very fond of him.

We have also a new agent, appointed by the government who lives near the island. The agent who preceded him lived at a distance and had two or three or even four reserves under his care. Walpole Island accordingly had but little of their attention being visited by them only twice or thrice during the year. Under the new regime the Agent has narrower limits and his jurisdiction is confined to the island. He is thus frequently among the Indians and in case of difficulty or trouble of any kind is at hand with his advice and authority. One thing in particular, he will be better able than his predecessor to watch the doings of the liquor dealers and possible put an end to their selling whiskey to the Indians.

We have also, as you are aware, a new Bishop. I was unable to be present at his consecration, but I rejoice that he has become Bishop of Huron. He is in the prime of life, active and energetic, and of a warm and affectionate nature.

About eighteen years ago, he and I traveled together on a missionary tour in this Diocese. We were together two weeks. In our travels we passed through some rough experiences in the wild parts of the Diocese. He felt at that time, and I have no doubt feels still a deep interest in the red Man. One morning we were told that a poor Indian was alone in the woods away from his brethren and that a visit might do him some good. My young companion expressed a wish to see him. Accordingly we went and found the Indian solitary and lone seemingly not in good health. He was surprised to see us, and, of course, was pleased when I addressed him in the Vernacular. After a short interview and prayer we left him leaving him a little money for . . . he sold us.

My friend left the Diocese and went to Montreal where for many years he filled a high position in the church. For years we did not see each other, and on his election to the Bishopry of Huron I wondered if my friend had forgotten old times. I am glad to say that he is not for on meeting him lately he exclaimed, "Ah, my old friend. Do you recollect our journeyings together? Do you recollect so and so? Do you recollect that awful night at?" He is a most excellent person and his missionary experiences in the infancy of the Diocese cannot possible do him harm. A faithful copy of the original AJ

December 26, 1883

A letter to Mrs. Gibb contains same as that to Mr. Tucker with the following added; I thank you very much for the nice present. "The rector in Parochia" is just the

thing for me. I value it much and will find it very useful. I have an American book of a similar kind called "Vade Mecum" but is not so large nor has it so many beautiful prayers suitable for different occasions. The comforter is just what I need when crossing the river in the Winter months. The socks too, will keep my warm and dry and that is one of the great secrets of health. They are wonderfully well knitted for an old lady of 80. Please thank our Swiss friend for me. I will often think of her kindness. Mrs. J likes her book very much, and sends her thanks. Jessie Louise is delighted with "Flatiron and Farthings" and has read it through already and most likely will give it several perusals still. The parcel from Mrs. Cameron will be sent to her at first opportunity. She lives about nine miles from this.

*Part of letter, December 31, 1884.*

Our services on Xmas day as usual were well attended. The Indians having lately returned to their homes seem to have a renewed relish for the privileges of God's house. At the administration of the Holy Communion a large number came forward to renew their vows and partake of the emblems. It was a most refreshing season and I trust profitable to many souls. During the past summer and the early part of Autumn the services were well attended.

I have been giving lecture on Scripture Biography which have been very well received. The life of St. John (Disciple whom Jesus loved) had peculiar charms for them. I said the loveliness of this character appeared to grow brighter as he grew older and that they need not be surprised to learn that in his extreme old age when unable to travel or preach he used to be carried to the church, where he again and again spoke to the people in these few short words, "Little children, love one another." And, on being asked why he always dwelt on the same subject "because it is the Lord's command and if this be done it is sufficient."

The lecture on the family at Bethany was also much liked. As I spoke of this happy home - the blessed household which Jesus often favored and dignified with his presence - of Mary and Martha, their peculiar traits of character, they are much interested and often when I spoke of the heavy sorrow which afterwards fell upon the family circle in the sickness and death of their beloved brother Lazarus, and that after the sickness, death and burial, Jesus himself appeared, my audience was deeply moved.

Continued in book two.

Continued from Book 1 Dec. 31 1884

I proceeded still further and described the quiet walk of Jesus, Mary and Martha to the tomb, accompanied by friends and relatives and the Divine voice of the master called the dead man to arise and quit the tomb, who instantly obeyed, came forth and stood before them in full vigor of health and strength in the congregation there was the deepest silence. The subject was intensely interesting to them and they felt that God was amongst us as a truth.

Early in October last I was present at the opening of a church at Kettle point, an Indian Reserve on the shores of lake Huron. There had been a band of Ojibways at this place from time immemorial. Forty years ago I visited these Indians and they were then in state of Paganism. I went to their settlement in quest of an interpreter and schoolmaster to aid me in my work on Walpole Island. It was many miles distant from Walpole, a time when railways were turnpike roads in Canada. Part of the going was on horseback and the remained on foot through an unbroken forest. Having never been in this locality before I lost my way but found shelter for the night in a lonely cabin put up by a recently arrived

immigrant. Next day toward evening I reached the Indian encampment footsore and weary and found a Native who agreed to return with me to my own mission. This person had been taken by some benevolent person to Massachusetts and educated there. Upon returning to his people he had relapsed into their ways.

The name given to him at Baptism was Geo. Whitefield after the great preacher. He remained with me two years and from him I learned the language. I was thankful when he promised to go home with me. I remained at Kettle Point a short time and had a friendly interview with the Shawunnoo, an old man of one hundred years. He and his friends were wedded to the customs and beliefs of their forefathers.

Two or three years afterwards I visited them. I told them I would be glad to meet them as I had good news to tell them.

they came together and standing at the door of the chief's tent told them the old simple story of the cross. They listened with respectful attention, but they were not then inclined to receive the gospel, so I departed.

My next visit was made when I appeared among them to open the new church. The change that had come over them was great. Old Shawunnoo had been long dead with others of his day and generation and the children and grandchildren were now civilized and christianized and enjoying the ministrations of the gospel under the teaching of the missionaries of the church. The rev's and John Jacobs, a Native preacher. His Indian name Kuhqvmenun who has been laboring amongst them for many years. The new church recently opened is a neat churchly looking edifice and reflects great credit on the taste as well as the zeal of my clerical brother. At the opening the church was filled and although there were three soirees, morning, afternoon, and evening the attendance and the attention continued good throughout. I was glad to renew my acquaintance with the few who remembered my visits in the time long ago and it was interesting to hear them compare notes between the past and the present.

The Indians at Kettle Point are thankful and I may almost say proud of their little church and they are anxious to have everything neat and tidy around it,

we have lately lost by death one of our oldest and most successful missionaries to the Indians the Venerable Archdeacon Nelles who was connected with Indian work for upwards of fifty years. He was stationed amongst the Tuscaroras near Brantford, Ontario. He was buried close by the Mohawk church, the oldest church building, I believe in Canada West.



*Report and Letter to Mrs. Gibb August 4, 1884*

As our good Bishop has just left us after confirming a number of the Natives, a brief account of his visit may be interesting to you. The time appointed for the confirmation service was 11AM on Wednesday. His Lordship accompanied by Mrs. Baldwin in a boat procured on the Michigan side of the river landed on the beach very near the church. Here they were met by the church wardens who kindly received them and led the way to the Vestry.

The day was delightful and as this was the Bishop's first visit to the island and all were anxious to look on the face of the new Chief Pastor of the Diocese, the Indians were on the grounds in great numbers, the church was crowded.

After singing and a few prayers in Ojibway the confirmation service began and 24 candidates ten male, and 14 female, neatly dressed and apparently serious and devout came forward to partake in the blessings connected with the solemn and Apostilic rite.

When the Bishop addressed the candidates the greatest stillness prevailed.

All listened to his wise and good counsels with deep attention, and I trust the good impression left by them will long abide with us, quickening our Spiritual life and helping us to remain steadfast and immovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord.

After the address we all engaged for a few moments in silent prayer. Then the Bishop, after the manner of the Apostles, laid his hands upon the heads of each of the candidates with the usual prayers for the Divine Blessing and Confirmation cards were given by his Lordship to all confirmed - a new thing in this Diocese, and this, in my humble opinion is a decided improvement as the parties will keep them and will thus be reminded that the vows of God are upon them.

After an intermission the annual Missionary meeting was held. After prayers and singing, our Bishop gave us an excellent address interpreted by Mr. Chase a Native Missionary from Muncney. The Bishop, as we all know was a host in himself and was listened to with pleasure and profit. \$68 was promised to the Mission Fund.

On Saturday the 26<sup>th</sup> we had a short and pleasing visit from the Rev'd E.F. Wilson, Sault Saint Marie. He is principal of the Shingwauk and Wawanosh House for Indian children and is doing a good work for these children of the forest. He came to us on the steam yacht, a mission boat which was given to the Bishop of Algoma for missionary purposes on Lake Superior.

Mr. Wilson remained until Sunday at 1PM, he preached for us in the Ojibway tongue, with great ease and fluency, and his sermon was appreciated by large

congregations. On the same day he preached to the Indians at the Sarnia Reserve 26 miles north at 7PM.

Recently we met with a great loss with the death of one of our most promising Indians, industrious, intelligent, worthy member of the church. For several years he was one of my best men, he fell a victim of consumption. Some time ago he gave me the following account of himself. He said he had been baptized and always had a great respect for religion, but it was not until six years ago he had given himself truly to God and it was on this wise, he and two Indian companions in the month of January had been down at Pele Island on Lake Erie. They were on a hunting expedition. The weather was piercing cold and the Lake was full of ice. To their surprise the ice on which they had pitched their tent had broken off from the main body and was drifting towards the Lake. Having no boat or canoe they knew they were prisoners on the field of ice. Here they remained a day and a night floating here and there on the broad lake. They felt themselves in an evil case. He realized his position and gave himself to God. Fortunately the field of ice drifted towards the American shore somewhere near Sandusky, Ohio. They reached Terra Firma in safety.

That was the turning point in that young man's history. From that time, God helping him, he resolved to try so to pass through things temporal as not to lose the things eternal. His last sickness came upon him three weeks ago. I called and prayed with him and at the time we hoped that he might still recover, but it was ordered otherwise.

At my second visit he was no better and he seemed troubled in mind. He told me he was afraid he was lost. I replied, "Surely not so bad as that," if his sins were great we had a great Saviour. I exhorted him to look away from himself and look to Jesus, the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world. He said, "What shall I say to him?" I said, "Say in your heart blessed Jesus, forgive me all that is past. Cleanse and purify my heart, make me submissible to thy Will, and contented to bear what thou pleasest. Never lose sight of Jesus, he is your only helper now. Let your last thoughts be of Him." He thanked me and said no more.

Two days afterwards I saw him, he was then suffering from a paroxysm of coughing. When that was over he beckoned me with a smile to come near. I leaned close towards him as he could speak only in a whisper. Said, he, ". . ." p. 236

*Letter to Mrs. Ayre Nov. 14, 1884*

My Dear Madame, Your kind letter of march 9<sup>th</sup> was received only a short time ago. I am glad to learn from it that mine acknowledging your timely aid and valuable to the mission reached you in safety.

I have just returned from the island where I have been witnessing the semi annual payment to the Indians. These payments are interest arising from the sale of lands surrendered years ago to the Crown. The money is distributed equally amongst them, the youngest child receiving as much as the oldest member of the Tribe, generally it amounts to two dollars to each person or four dollars per anum. I am always expected to be present at the issue and to sign my name as a witness showing that the payments have been duly made and that no one has been overlooked.

At one time the Indians received yearly presents as well as annuities. The presents were in the shape of blankets, Broadcloths, Beads, Brass Kettles, powder and shot and vermilion. These "presents" were from the Home Government and were at first given in the early part of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century to secure to the good will of the Indians in our war with the French.

These presents were continued until the year 1845, when they were gradually withdrawn and ceased in 1850.

The Indians of course missed them very much and felt sore at their withdrawal, but they have got over it now and they know from experience that I have time and time again told them that industry and thrift on their part, that the planting of a little more maize, and the putting in a few more potatoes would more than make up for the loss of "Megewaumur" or presents.

Payday is a great time among them. on Tuesday and Wednesday the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> of November the natives were all on the church grounds. The old men smoking, the young men engaged in different athletic sports, in racing, leaping, or in playing baseball, but ready to leave when their names were called to go to the Council House and receive their allowance from the Agent. They were all quiet, orderly, and well behaved, so different than what they were in the olden time, when they drank the fire - water without stint and without shame.

On the grounds were several tents where crackers and eatables of different kinds could be procured, also tea and coffee at a reasonable price. The Government agent with a friend of his and myself went into one of the tents and ordered our dinner. It was a nice tent occupied by one of the Island women. We sat down at the table, which was covered with a white cloth and we had a plain, but nice dinner with nothing to offend the most fastidious taste. I recollect when the owner of the tent was a poor pagan. She formerly lived in a bark wigwam where the inmates lived in a most primitive style, taking soup out

of one common dish and strangers to the use of knives and forks, plates cups and saucers. She has now a comfortable house, plainly but comfortably furnished living with her two daughters and her grandson, who carries on her little farm. Her husband in his lifetime had been one of the best hunters of the tribe and after he became a Christian, one of our most industrious farmers.

As might be expected our most active and successful hunters have commonly been our most industrious farmers.

The Indians I am glad to say continue regular in their attendance at church, our congregations have been excellent throughout the summer. Lately I have been delivering a course of lectures on Scripture Biography. They have been much interested in them. I felt that I had my audience with me. The stillness sometimes would be so great that you could have almost heard a pin drop on the floor.

One of my late lectures was on the family at Bethany with whom our blessed father was so intimate. When speaking of the different traits in the characters of Mary and Martha they were all attention and when touching on the sickness, death, and wonderful resurrection of Lazarus there was a most solemn stillness in the church.

On the 5<sup>th</sup> October I was at Kettle Point an Indian Reservation on the shores of lake Huron. A church has recently been erected there. It was opened for the divine service on a Thursday, and I was invited to preach in it on the following Sunday. It is a neat edifice and most churchly in appearance and reflects great credit on the missionary Rev'd John Jacobs, himself one of the Aborigines. I enjoyed my visit to Kettle Point very much. Thirty - six years ago I visited the Point, but at that time there was no church and no likelihood of there being one.

Some of the elderly people recollect that visit and were much rejoiced to see me once more. They had all left Paganism for the quiet wholesome and life giving truths of Christianity. (Fac simile of a letter written to Mrs. Eyre, Kings Hill Dinsley, Gloucestershire England, Dated Nov. 14, 1884.)

To the above I added words of thankfulness to those Christians who have assisted this mission at any time. A.J.

*Reverend Andrew Jamieson's Early Life on Walpole Island  
(unfortunately the latter half of the letter is missing).*

My Dear Mr. Viday,

I acknowledge with hearty thanks the receipt of a cheque for 10. It will be of great use to me in my mission and as I am at discrimination in my charities - giving only to the most needy - it will last me a long time. many thanks to the kind donor, your Aunt, for sending such large and timely assistance. I shall write to her immediately.

The "Guardian" comes to me regularly and without interruption every number has been received. Thanks for your continued kindness.

You say that you have often felt that you should like to learn who has been with me through my solitary work among these strange people and whether I had any relatives or friends to remind me that I was a white man. Now I fear that you are under some misapprehension as regards my present position and that you fancy I am cut off from the society of white men.

This is not the case. I am at present living on the mainland in Algonac, a very small village inhabited by whites one mile from the church on the island.

In 1845 when appointed to this mission I lived on the island amongst the Indians in a parsonage erected by the government. I lived on the island till 1860 when owing to continued sickness and death in my family with the permission of the Bishop I moved to my present place of residence.

The parsonage on the island was built in 1844, one year before my arrival and by a great blunder, on the very edge of a swamp. I ought to mention that the whole of the surrounding country in this western district of many miles is low and flat.

Walpole island is very low and is almost on a level with the river and full of Swamps and marshes.

The parsonage stands on one of the lowest spots, hence malaria during the summer and autumn was constantly around it.

Shortly after I pitched my tent here I was taken down with bilious fever and remained on the sick list for months. And long after, exposure to the North wind, or any extra exertion would bring on chills and fever. But, thank God, that is a thing of the past, as I am now in robust health and have been so for many years. I am now acclimated.

During our stay on the island we always dreaded July, August and September, the sickly months of the year and rejoiced to feel the first frosts in October and November.

In July and the following months, at sunset we always moved to the upper rooms to escape the malaria, which if it did reach us would do so in so diluted a form as to be comparatively harmless.

At the same time every cranny in the rooms we occupied was filled up to prevent the ingress of mosquitoes which during the hot season was moving about in swarms.

The windows of course were open, but covered with netting to keep out the intruders.

Often at such times we were obliged to have a smudge at each side of the table while sitting at breakfast. Our island was often called Mosquito Point. Moreover we had other visitors from the swamp in the shape of snakes of different kinds. I have frequently killed them in our parlour.

The copperhead and the rattlesnake are on the island. Of these I have killed several and on one occasion, my daughter, a child of 13 years killed a rattle snake with eight rattles within three feet of our door.

In my walks through the island I have at different times jumped aside warned by the rattle to keep out of harms way.

I have been married twice. The first Mrs. Jamieson, the wife of my youth, faithful and affectionate, lived with me on the island. Of our seven children three of them were born there. Four only of my children from the first marriage survive. These were all out, years ago in the world for themselves and are living in Detroit, a city of 120,000 inhabitants 50 miles distant.

One of my sons is a medical man with a good paying practice. Another is a cashier in one of the City banks, the youngest is a book keeper.

My daughter is in the same city teaching the young idea how to shoot. My children were educated by myself on Walpole Island.

My two daughters after receiving all the tuition I could give them went to a respectable church school near New York to finish their education.

The proprietress of the school through the kindness of the first Bishop of Toronto offered to take them and fit them for governess and wait for her pay till they were able to earn.

Having finished their course my daughters went to the South in 1860 where high salaries were given to teachers (before the Civil War)

Mary, the eldest went to Florida, her sister Martha went to South Carolina.

As my dear wife's health was failing I sent for my eldest daughter from Florida, but poor thing, she dies shortly after her return.

Meanwhile the Civil War broke out and as a natural consequence all intercourse between North and South was at an end.

My daughter was in South Carolina and could not get home nor could we get any tidings from her.

Eighteen months after the war broke out I went as far as Washington en route for South Carolina in quest of my child. But when I reached the Capitol and saw the Secretary of War, Stanton, he would not permit me to go any further.

The Alabama and Confederate Cruiser had just come out and our American cousins were annoyed at our Britishers thinking we had something to do with the villainous vessel. At all events I was not allowed to go down. I returned home to my lovely wife and for two years we heard nothing of Martha.

A short time however before the collapse of the rebellion to our great joy our missing one returned. On her way home she was detained a week at Richmond, and then before passing the lines had to take an oath of allegiance to the Northern Government.

A short time afterwards her mother who had long been in a declining state died. We missed her much. The Indians missed her for she had been as a mother to them. she had been with them through two visitations of the small pox and had with her own hands vaccinated 28 of them. they will never forget her. They followed her in great numbers to the grave.

The period between 1845 and 1885 was the heroic age of this mission. That was the time when patience, self denial and resolution, prayerful determination and faith were especially needful. At that time I often realized my solitude and missed the companionship of my peers amongst the whites and was pretty much in the condition in which you mistakingly suppose me to be.

At that time there were no clergymen near me and only a few scattered settlers on the mainland, but 40 years of emigration and improvement have changed all that. a large white population is now around me. The City of Detroit, which we can reach in four hours and which had only 15,000 souls when I first saw it has now a population of 120,000. Walpole Island itself is in the Deanery of Lambton of which I am the Rural Dean and we Brethren meet occasionally for mutual counsel and encouragement. Nor have I during my long sojourn here been without the sympathy and correspondence of dear relatives.

The rest of this letter unfortunately lost. A.a.g.