

Unsettling:
How Euro-whiteness was portrayed to Indigenous school children as superior to
Indigeneity through the textual construction of the “Indian” in Missionary texts during the
1830s to 1845 in the Great Lakes Area.

By

Belinda Nicholson

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements of the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Native Studies

University of Manitoba

Winnipeg

Copyright © 2019 by Belinda Nicholson

Abstract

During the mid-1800s, a small influx of American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions missionaries set up in the areas of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota where the Anishinaabe people lived and travelled. A nuanced power dynamic existed between the missionaries and Indigenous populations, and it can be argued, neither the Indigenous community nor the missionaries regarded each other with the respect and deference each expected. During this time period, the missionaries endeavored to ‘educate’ any Anishinaabeg that was willing to participate. These missionaries wrote bilingual textbooks in Anishinaabemowin and English from which to instruct the Ojibwe children. Within these educational texts, a portrait is painted. One of heathens and the saved, of savages and the (Eurocentric) civilized, of Indigeneity and whiteness. This thesis will conduct an exploration of the textual construction of the ‘Indian’ in relation to the Euro-white in the 1830s to 1845 and how the missionaries portrayed Euro-whiteness to Anishinaabe and Métis school children as superior to Indigeneity through the use of the mission schools’ teaching materials.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my ever-supportive advisor, Dr. Cary Miller, and my committee Dr. Andrew Woolford and Dr. Niigaan Sinclair. Dr. Miller kindly guided me, sharing her expertise and time, taking me under her wing at the most critical moment. I will always be indebted to her for being both my advisor and Academic Auntie. Dr. Woolford has been my constant since I started my master's, knowing I had his continued support gave me the confidence to continue. His knowledge in all-things sociological has helped me so much during my editing process, I cannot imagine this journey without him. Dr. Sinclair's support and kind words are so appreciated and are much needed, especially in the often-critical world of academia. As well, his extensive knowledge of Anishinaabe culture helped me look more in-depth at various parts of my thesis. Each one of you has contributed significantly to my ability to continue with and finish my program. This has been an interesting journey, and your support has been instrumental to my success. Thank you all so much.

Thank you to my mentor Dr. Emma LaRocque. You have been many things to me, my Professor, my employer, my mentor, my school-family/Academic Auntie. Your continued kindness and guidance has meant the world to me. I could never have navigated all that I have the last few years of my life without you to turn to for support and kindness. Just knowing I can share all my thoughts with you good or bad, without fear of judgement provides such relief comfort. Thank you from the bottom of my heart.

I would also like to thank all of the Native Studies Professors and our office Administrative Assistants over the years (especially Brittany Bowman). Over the years your

teachings and kindness has always helped me feel at home and cared about, both on campus and off.

A huge thank you goes out to my friends and colleagues, from Native Studies, Sociology, Psychology, and Social Work. Your continued support, check-ins, writing dates, coffee dates, visits, pep talks, advice, messages, calls, and feedback meant the world to me, so thank you all. For brevity sake, I will simply say: you know who you are, and I love you all. A specific ‘shout-out’ to Emily Henderson, for sharing the same boat with me and being not only an incredible friend but stepping in time after time to help me remain organized, panic-free and properly formatted – you are the greatest.

Lastly, I would like to thank my family. My father, Lawrence Blair, who has been there for me on every front. My sister who is also my best friend, Barbee Blair and her little family (Ian and Brody). My extended family of Aunties and Uncles, who kept reminding me to stay on track. I would like to especially note my long-time partner Joseph Wandering Spirit who has been with me through better and for worse. I will love you forever my Baby. Finally, I want to thank my darling sons Deangelo, Davonte and Diondre Nicholson, and littles: Elisabeth and Aries Wandering Spirit. You five are my world, and everything I do, I do for you. I love you all more than words can say.

Dedication

I dedicate my thesis to my dearest Renate Eigenbrod, Teddy, my Auntie-Mommy, and Mommy.

To Renate Eigenbrod, you are the one who encouraged me to go into Native Studies as a major, to continue on to a master's and always reassured me I belonged. You meant so much to me, not only as my advisor but as my university-family. You pushed me higher, got me out of my comfort zone, challenged me to do things I never knew I could. The last time we spoke, we laughed so hard over our shared experience, I will always hold that memory so dear. I miss you more than you know. I know you must be grinning in your beautiful Renate-way, knowing I finally finished. I miss you, we all do.

To my Auntie-Mommy, Edith Sharon. After your baby sister, my Mom passed away, you stepped in and became a Mom to me, supported me in every way possible. Right until the end you were reminding me to keep writing, to graduate. One of the last things you said to me, was that we were connected on a spiritual level. I believe that with my whole heart and it helps to comfort every day when losing you begins to feel like too much. Thank you for everything, we did it.

Mommy, Brenda Lee, you are the driving force behind me. You were brilliant, and I know you could have achieved anything educationally that you set your mind to. I am here because of you, for you. I know what education meant to you and I hope this journey makes you proud. You are were my world and are my (and your grandchildren's') angel. As long as I'm living, my Mommy you'll be.

Lastly, Christopher Dwight Beaulieu, my Teddy, my son, I will love you forever.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	1
Acknowledgements	2
Dedication.....	4
Table of Contents.....	5
Introduction.....	7
American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.....	8
Literature Review and Theoretical Framework.....	12
Methodology.....	18
Organization of Thesis.....	21
Anticipated Relevance.....	23
Chapter One: Anishinaabe Society and Culture in the Mid-1800s.....	25
Anishinaabe Political Structure.....	26
Anishinaabe Cosmology and Ceremonies.....	30
Chapter Two: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions	37
List of ABCFM Missions in the Great Lakes and Surrounding Areas.....	50
Missionary Wives and Ojibwe Texts.....	53
Missionary Textbooks.....	56
The Métis Missionary Wives.....	56
Chapter Three: Exploring the Social Construct of Whiteness.....	81
Chapter Four: ABCFM Missionary Texts and Coded Messages.....	96

ABCFM Spelling Books and Coded Messages.....	99
Peter Parley's Geography.....	117
Promoting Whiteness, The Glory of America and the Motherland.....	121
Countering Pro-Whiteness with Indigeneity.....	132
ABCFM Spelling Books and Indigeneity.....	138
Conclusion.....	143
Summary of Findings.....	146
Significance of Findings.....	147
New Directions for Future Research.....	148
Bibliography.....	150

Introduction

During the mid-1800s, a small influx of American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions set up in areas of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota where the Anishinaabe (Ojibwe/Ojibeway/Ojibwe)¹ people lived and travelled. A nuanced power dynamic existed between the Missionaries, Euro-whites and Indigenous populations, while neither the Indigenous community nor the Missionaries regarded each other with the respect and deference each expected. During this time period, the Missionaries endeavored to ‘educate’ any Anishinaabeg that were willing to participate. These missionaries wrote bilingual textbooks in Anishinaabemowin and English from which to instruct the Ojibwe children. Within these educational texts, a portrait is painted: one of heathens and the saved, of savages and the (Eurocentric) civilized, of Indigeneity and whiteness. This thesis will conduct an exploration of the textual construction of the ‘Indian’ in relation to the Euro-white in the 1830s to 1845 and how the Missionaries portrayed Euro-whiteness to Anishinaabe and Métis school children as superior to Indigeneity through the use of Missionary teaching materials.²

¹ I will use the spelling Anishinaabe and Ojibwe as standardized spellings throughout my work. The numerous texts referenced therein have various spellings of these terms. As well it should be noted that, “Anishinaabe (plural, *Anishinaabeg*) is the Indigenous name for the peoples of the Three Fires Confederacy of the Western Great Lakes. This confederacy consisted of the Ojibwe (also known as Chippewa, Missisauga, Saulteurs, and Nipissings), the Bodewatomi (Potawatomi), and Odawa (Ottawa), Cary Miller, *Ogimaag: Anishinaabeg Leadership, 1760-1845*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010), 237.

² Throughout this thesis, words such as savage, civilized/civilization, heathen, mixed-bloods and the like, are used with an understanding of the inherent racism and offensiveness of such terms. To ensure visual continuity, the quotations around these words - indicating that they are not words used on behalf of the author, but to reflect the language and the belief system from period written about - will be implied. As well, although still a legal term in Canada, Indian is generally regarded as offensive. Therefore, Indian will also be used here with implied quotations to either

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions

In 1806, five Christian students studying at Andover Seminary in Newton, Massachusetts began discussions regarding their convictions that their “field is the world.”³ The students’ self-proclaimed goal became the offering of themselves as altruistic “missionaries to the heathen[s].”⁴ These five young men: Adoniram Judson, Samuel Nott, Samuel Newell, Gordon Hall, and Luther Rice, also known as “The Brethren,” were passionate about spreading God’s word. The organization ‘The Brethren’ started had secretive origins, they took coded notes, covertly added new members after vigilant screening and referred to this clandestine association as the ‘Society of Inquiry on the Subject of Foreign Missions.’ By 1810, the secret association had been ‘outed’ and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions – the ABCFM, began to publicly meet. Through their publication, the *Missionary Herald* (previously known as the *Panoplist*) the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions shared their missionary exploits with their fellow missionaries and potential funders.

In February 1812, “The Brethren” set out to British India with the desire to spread the word of God to the foreign ‘Godless’ people and nations. For this journey they brought along women, notably, the young wives of Adoniram Judson, Samuel Nott, and Samuel Newell - Ann

mirror historical terminology, or to reflect the white created pan-Indian caricature of Indigenous people used throughout history. Also see: *The White Man’s Indian* by Robert F. Berkhofer or *When the Other is Me* by Dr. Emma LaRocque.

³ Peggy Bendroth & Robin Duckworth, “*Of Faith and Courage: The History of the ABCFM; Origins*” (Boston, Massachusetts, Congregational Library & Archives, Omeka), 2011, para 1.

⁴ Bendroth, “*Of Faith and Courage*,” para 4.

Hasseltine Judson, Rosanna Nott, and Harriett Newell. The missionaries' wives played a prominent role in the development of the ABCFM missions.⁵ For example, some of the missionary wives contributed to the ABCFM proselytizing in other instrumental ways, such as translating educational texts to Anishinaabe to be taught at the mission schools.

By the 1820s, the ABCFM had missions around the world. Historian Clifton Phillips details an event outlined in the *Missionary Herald* that discussed how in 1820, James Garrett, an ABCFM printer, arrived in Ceylon and was refused entry by the British.⁶ Garrett was informed that "in the future Americans should stay at home in order to care for the heathen tribes on their own continent."⁷ Despite this curt reminder, the ABCFM and their missionaries were not oblivious to the optics of their many foreign missions, especially as they were deeply involved in Christianizing exploits back at home. An evangelical revival, the Second Great Awakening spurred the ABCFM to action and the missionaries amped up their efforts to spread Christianity back home and teach the locals in the "uncultivated wilderness."⁸

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was not the only group thinking about how to engage the local Indigenous populations. After the War of 1812, the idea

⁵ Bendroth, "*Of Faith and Courage*," para 1.

⁶ *Missionary Herald*, XVII (1821), 179; quoted in Clifton Jackson Phillips, "Protestant America and the Pagan World: The First Half Century of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1810-1860", (*Harvard University - East Asian Research Center*, Harvard University Press, 1969), 57.

⁷ Clifton Jackson Phillips, "Protestant America and the Pagan World: The First Half Century of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1810-1860", (*Harvard University - East Asian Research Center*, Harvard University Press, 1969), 57.

⁸ Phillips, "Protestant America and the Pagan World," 59.

of expansionism and Americanization was driving Euro-white re-settlement/incursion across the United States. Congress, in 1819, went so far as to allocate funds for missionaries to introduce Indigenous people to “the habits and arts of civilization.”⁹ Although Congress debated on the possibility of this attempted assimilation, missionaries were granted space to help civilize, Christianise and arguably, share what they perceived to be the superiority of the Euro-whites to the Indigenous people.¹⁰ By the 1830s, some of these missions had been established on the south side of Lake Superior in Anishinaabe territory. Although several ABCFM missionaries were forced out after only a few short years, other missions remained in the Great Lakes area for longer periods. These missions, such as the one at La Pointe, had schools and translated educational texts into the Ojibwe language in order to help facilitate teaching the local Indigenous people.¹¹ It was within these educational materials that the veneration of Europe and whiteness could be found, as the missionaries attempted to pass these Euro-centric messages to the Indigenous children who attended the missionary schools.

The missionaries sought to Christianise the community and educate its children. In theory, this education, “powered by uncompromising religious motivations,” would act to Americanize, civilize, and create a generation of assimilated Christians out of the local

⁹ Robert F. Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present*, (Vintage Books, 1979), 149.

¹⁰ Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian*, 150; Emma LaRocque, *When the Other Is Me Native Resistance Discourse, 1850-1990*, (University of Manitoba Press, 2014), 42; Francis Paul Prucha, *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984).

¹¹ Miller, *Ojimaag*, 185.

Anishinaabe/Métis population.¹² The children that these missionaries targeted to instruct included both Anishinaabe and Métis, although records show that the Métis students attended more regularly.¹³ The missionaries (and often their Métis wives) converted their texts into Anishinaabemowin, to make them more accessible for their students and to appease their fur trade fathers. There was a need for Indigenous languages to operate in the fur trade. The Traders had anticipated that their children would mature and later attain jobs in the fur trade. The hope was that the missions could assist their children in becoming skilled for the coveted fur trade positions. The Traders were even a part of financing the missions, with funding going towards the various locations. In one note in the *Missionary Herald*, Hall details to Green how one trader was subsidizing the mission,

We and the Board are under peculiar obligations to Mr. Warren for the many favors he has shown us, in various ways. He has made a donation to the mission of \$100, mostly in household furniture and provisions, including a cow, besides giving us the use of a part of his house, much to the inconvenience of himself and family, and furnishing us with fire-wood, cut and drawn, with garden vegetables and various other things, for our comfort and convenience.¹⁴

This seemingly mutually beneficial relationship was one of a few reasons that the ABCFM missions were set up on Anishinaabe territory. In the mission schools supported by many of the Traders, were educational textbooks used to teach the local children. These texts contained

¹² Keith R. Widder, *Battle for the Soul: Métis Children Encounter Evangelical Protestants at Mackinaw Mission, 1823-1837*, (Michigan State University Press, 1999), XIV; For continuity, the term Métis will be used as default, reflecting Keith Widder's use of the term.

¹³ Widder, *Battle for the Soul*, 22.

¹⁴ *Missionary Herald* vol. 28 1932, 292.

various educational messages, and other, subliminal messages. It is through these texts that Christian, Euro-centric values were espoused, and insidiously fed to the reader.

Literary Review and Theoretical Framework

To begin my thesis, an understanding of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions during 1810-1860, including their history and early mission objectives, is imperative. Clifton Jackson Phillips, a graduate of Harvard, previously held the position of professor emeritus of history at DePauw University from 1954 to 1984. Phillips' book (which was adapted directly from his dissertation), *Protestant America and the Pagan World*, is a highly methodical work, exploring the ABCFM and their missions.¹⁵ First written as his doctoral dissertation in 1954, his manuscript underwent very few changes before being published in 1969 as a book. Phillips provides background on the various ABCFM missions that allow the reader to look specifically at the American missions, and the education and/or interactions with the Indigenous/Anishinaabe people. This provides the context to understand the mentality behind the missionaries, and the ABCFM as a collective. This context can help to explain how and why these missionaries chose to leave home and live amongst the Anishinaabe people, what drove these individuals to a perceived lifetime dedicated to educating the pagan. Despite Phillips' exhaustive look at the history of the ABCFM, he does not critically address their history or education methods.

Keith Widder's work *Battle for the Soul* also looks at the education of Indian/Métis children, although Widder focuses mainly on Métis children at the Mackinaw Mission from 1823-1837. *Battle for the Soul* provides an in-depth analysis on the education of Indian children

¹⁵ Phillips, *Protestant America and the Pagan World*

by missionaries in the 1800s. Widder not only discusses how children were historically educated but he also provides some discussion on the ABCFM and the individuals running the missions as well. While Widder may lean on the extensive record provided by Phillips in an indirect manner, he does not mention him within his book. Widder's analysis on Métis children is quite thorough but could be expanded to include the impacts on Anishinaabe and other Indigenous children as well.

In order to fully explore the education of Indigenous children and the insidious Euro-focussed messages hidden within their textbooks, an understanding of the white-created 'Indian' and Euro/non-Euro, civilized versus savage binary is needed. This civilized/savage "master narrative" and the idea of whiteness seeped into the missionary's writings, their letters to the *Missionary Herald* and their educational texts.¹⁶ Dr. Emma LaRocque in her ground-breaking book, *When the Other is Me; Native Resistance Discourse 1850-1990*, identified the theory of the 'Indian' and 'Civ/Sav' (civilized/savage) distinction to probe Native-white relationships and the locus of power rooted in their interactions. The image of the Indian is a white creation, not of a real Indigenous person, but of a compilation of certain components Indigenous people and culture. Much of the imagery of the Indian leans on the Plains-Cree culture and creates caricatures of their cultural items and practices such as the headdress and Powwows. The image of the Indian has been used to ridicule, attack and ultimately dehumanize Indigenous people and nations. As LaRocque states, "the 'Indian' [is] an invention serving colonial purposes [and] is

¹⁶ Emma LaRocque, *When the Other Is Me Native Resistance Discourse, 1850-1990*. (University of Manitoba Press, 2014), 15.

perhaps one of the most distorted and dehumanized figures in White North American history, literature, and popular culture.”¹⁷

Partnered with the dehumanizing Indian image is the concept of the ‘Civ/Sav’ distinction. LaRocque states the Civ/Sav distinction “has been fashioned in terms of civilization confronting savagery [...], a super-myth that has provided the basis for the colonizer’s psychology and institutions.”¹⁸ LaRocque goes on to clarify that the “Civ/Sav” framework is “an ideological construction of self-confirming ‘evidence’ that Natives were savages who ‘inevitably’ had to yield to the superior powers of civilization as carried forward by Euro-Canadian civilizers.”¹⁹ As the ‘Civ/Sav’ dichotomy is played out on the pages of the ABCFM’s educational textbooks, the interactions between the whites and the Anishinaabe carried some of the same dynamics.

In a cultural juxtaposition to the Anishinaabe people, were the white missionaries. Whiteness and its supposed superiority have been used to justify incursion and subjugation of Indigenous people around the world since the time of Columbus. Defining whiteness and the effects of the theoretical and fallacious civilized/savage human hierarchy is critical to deconstructing its use in the missionary’s educational texts. Ruth Frankenberg is one of the pioneers in the field of whiteness studies and states that whiteness is a social construction that “refers to a set of locations that are historically, socially, politically, and culturally produced and, moreover, are intrinsically linked to unfolding relations of domination.”²⁰ The understanding of

¹⁷ LaRocque, *When the Other is Me*, 4.

¹⁸ Ibid., 4.

¹⁹ Ibid., 4 & 38.

²⁰ Ruth Frankenberg, *White Women, Race Matters the Social Construction of Whiteness*, (University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 6.

dominance and belief in cultural superiority can also be traced through author James Morris Blaut. In *The Colonizer's Model of the World*, Blaut discusses “modernization.”²¹ Blaut’s approach to the concept of modernization explains the European belief that their society was intrinsically superior and that all nations they encountered needed to be “civilized” into this modernist state.²² Blaut also looks at one of the pillars of whiteness, the idea that Europe holds an unending superiority over all other nations, with their ways, beliefs and collective nationhood remaining the epitome of civilization.

Another author who detailed colonizer/colonized interactions was Frantz Fanon. Throughout his career, he explored the imposition of racial disparity through euro-whites oppression of Black people.²³ Fanon, a Black psychiatrist and scholar from Martinique, wrote *Black Skin White Masks*, a largely “autotheoretical” text (a writing style which locates both oneself and the politics surrounding their existence) to examine how Blackness is created and upheld.²⁴ Fanon’s studies partly mirror Blaut’s by noting the colonizer/colonized dynamic, yet they differ in approach. Whereas Blaut details the Euro-centric sociological worldview that Europe is inherently superior and is the exporter of civilization to all other nations, Fanon details this relationship from the perspective of how it impacts the psyche of the non-white individual and community. Fanon examines how Black people are often ostracized in society, due to white

²¹ James Morris Blaut, *The Colonizer's Model of the World*, (The Guilford Press, 1993), 2.

²² Ibid., 2.

²³ Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*. Grove Press, 2008.

²⁴ Ibid; Stacey Young, *Changing the Wor(l)D: Discourse, Politics, and the Feminist Movement* (New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 1997).

people's prejudice, social segregation and dehumanization methods. Fanon's studies also target the psychological impact of racism aimed at the Black population. One of the roots of racism is the social construct of whiteness, and in order for whiteness (civilization) to exist it needs an antithesis: non-whiteness/blackness (or savagery). Blaut and Fanon approach the 'Civ/Sav' dichotomy from opposite macro/micro sides. Although both analyse the psychology of these dichotomies, Blaut largely explores the societal lens as opposed to Fanon's focus on an individual and community-level analysis.

Essayist Albert Memmi explored a different rationale for white superiority in his groundbreaking work, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*. Memmi posits that the idea of the Mother Land and the glorification of Europe were central to notions of white superiority. Analyzing the exaggerated image of Europe that the misplaced euro-white created, Memmi details how the colonizer, in attempting to remain in the oppressor position, dutifully recounts his far-away home as both glorious and highly civilized. The image the colonizer paints earns him the position of glowing representative, with only the most positive attributes of his homeland being discussed. With his arrogant declarations about the superiority of the euro-ways, lands, and culture, the colonizer is continually stating his dominance and superiority. The colonizer will even go so far as to speak badly about his colonized neighbor, just to keep his hegemony secure.

Memmi's theory differs from Blaut's modernization and his interpretation of the civilized versus savage. As inferred by his book title, Memmi also builds on the civilized/savage dichotomy and the idea of intrinsic Euro-hegemony. But Memmi shifts the focus from Europe being the purported transmitter of civilization. Memmi looks at the psychological impacts at a micro-level, as opposed to the macro-level analysis employed by Blaut. Memmi focuses on the

impact of civilization and colonization on the colonized, and, uniquely the colonizer. Published shortly after Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks*, Memmi's *The Colonizer and the Colonized* also builds on the psychological impacts on oppressed people, much like Fanon's discussion of the impact of a racist society on the Black population. While Fanon remains focused on Black/white relations, Memmi steps away from this racial dichotomy and opens up his discussion to all colonizer/colonized relationships. Memmi looks at the psychological impact on all members of a colonial society.

The gap in studies of whiteness and how it relates to Native people, and especially Indigenous youth in the early formative years of the United States of America, affects one's ability to understand how the insidious messages of whiteness were brought to Indigenous children at missionary schools. This thesis will build upon the ideas concerning whiteness expressed by these scholars, through demonstrating the way that they were delivered to Indigenous children in bilingual textbooks and fill the gap of how pro-whiteness messages were brought to American Indians in the early 19th century.

The aforementioned authors collectively have provided the theoretical language and framework to be utilized when looking at previous white and Indigenous interactions. Although these theorists were not born before or during the Antebellum period, their theories can be used in hindsight, to deconstruct how the Euro-white missionaries spread pro-whiteness messages to the Indigenous pupils in the mid-1800s. The gap in studies of whiteness and how it relates to Native people, and especially Indigenous youth in the early formative years of the United States of America, affects one's ability to understand how the insidious messages of whiteness were brought to Indigenous children at missionary schools. This thesis will build upon the ideas

concerning whiteness expressed by these scholars, through demonstrating the way that they were delivered to Indigenous children in bilingual textbooks and fill the gap of how pro-whiteness messages were brought to the Great Lakes Indigenous people in the early 19th century.

Methodology

One methodology that was employed for this project is a qualitative, ethnohistorical research paradigm. To address the texts from the 1800s time period, generally written by Euro-whites about Indigenous people, ethnohistory is the best fit for an in-depth analysis that ‘reads between the lines’ to reveal the experiences of peoples who do not have a written historical tradition. Ethnohistory, as a methodology, brings together what is considered “traditional” historical accounts, with ethnological studies and the nations’ historical accounts as well (oral stories and cosmologies). The “challenge of ethnohistory” is to bring together these components of historical data and interpret them through an ethnographic lens “to construct a fuller picture of the past.”²⁵ This union creates “scholarly offspring who bear the diachronic dimensions of history and the synchronic sensitivity of ethnology.”²⁶ The ethnohistorical approach allows me to read historical documents within their cultural context in order to provide a more accurate account.

The ethnohistorical lens analyses both the Euro-white written books and the gendered (female) components brought in through translation of these educational texts. I posit that the Euro-white message was both negative and destructive, but that there were some bridges

²⁵ Raymond J. DeMallie, “‘These Have No Ears’: Narrative and the Ethnohistorical Method,” *Ethnohistory* 40, no. 4 (1993): 515–38, 516.

²⁶ James Axtell. “Ethnohistory: An Historian's Viewpoint.” *Ethnohistory*, vol. 26, no. 1, 1979, pp. 1–13. JSTOR, 2.

between cultures built due to the presence of Anishinaabe/Métis women in these spaces and their work in translating English into Anishinaabemowin. This lens will allow for a more critical analysis of how Indigenous women injected a small amount of Indigeneity into the textual spaces of the ABCFM missions, providing a modest counterbalance to the incessant white supremacist narratives.

The method of data collection and interpretation employed for my project was deductive reasoning. Deductive reasoning “is the kind of reasoning in which, roughly, the truth of the input propositions (the premises) logically guarantees the truth of the output proposition (the conclusion), provided that no mistake has been made in the reasoning. The premises may be propositions that the reasoner believes or assumptions that the reasoner is exploring.”²⁷ Due to my previous knowledge of the social construct of whiteness and how it operates in North American society, I hypothesized that early interactions with missionaries could have included the perpetuation of pro-white messages that would have been steadily increasing as more whites were arriving, moving and taking up space on Indigenous lands. My utilization of deductive reasoning was to work through the data after the hypothesis and to deduce if my initial assumption was correct. Through having a hypothesis to narrow the analysis and by using this narrowed focus to test the hypothesis, deductive reasoning was the most appropriate research paradigm to use for my thesis.

I also have introduced a Critical Whiteness Studies (CWS) frame to analyse my research. This framework was coupled with the deductive reasoning research method. Through my previous associations with CWS, I could formulate that due to the invasiveness and

²⁷ Joshua Schechter, “Deductive Reasoning,” ed. Hal Pashler, *The Encyclopedia of the Mind*, 2013, 1.

pervasiveness of settler colonialism and whiteness, that presumably, previous interactions of white missionaries and Indigenous children through education likely held a pro-white bias. Critical Whiteness Studies is a collection of concepts best used for deconstructing what whiteness is and how to address the inherent belief of supremacy and privileges within. In order to analyse and review texts created in the 1800s, a theoretical language must be applied. That theoretical language can be found in CWS and is applied retroactively to understand the dynamics at play between races in America during the Antebellum time period. One such component of Critical Whiteness Studies is the idea that whiteness is the norm or the default and all non-white people are the 'other.'²⁸ This Othering of non-white people can be noted when looking at the missionaries and their interactions with the Anishinaabe people. Much of the CWS framework is outlined by a psychoanalytical lens, thus giving the ability to search the ABCFM texts for whiteness coded within the pages of their educational texts, while also exploring the mindset behind these messages.

Through the direction and assistance of an expert in the field, Anishinaabe Ethnohistorian Dr. Cary Miller, I was guided to archival texts via her personal archival records that included educational textbooks from the 1800s, used in the mission schools. I reviewed the few books that were available and settled on two that were in English. As the other books were solely in Anishinaabemowin, I focussed on a copy of Peter Parley's Geography, exclusively in English and the *Ojibue Spelling Book*, which was half English and half Anishinaabemowin. Copies of the Missionary Herald were also referenced, found listed upon online databases which endeavoured

²⁸ Emma LaRocque, *When the Other Is Me Native Resistance Discourse, 1850-1990*. (University of Manitoba Press, 2014), 23.

to protect the journals by digitizing them and also again, within Dr. Miller's records. Throughout my thesis, I utilized a few missionary journals, a couple of which had been published, and recorded by historical societies such as the Minnesota Historical Society (MHS). Ultimately, several of my sources were salvaged and carefully digitized by historical groups such as the MHS and through passionate Ethnohistorians such as Dr. Cary Miller. As I read the various texts, I coded themes of Indigeneity and whiteness. As certain threads emerged as more predominant, I began to cross-reference with Anishinaabe customs to understand how incongruent the two sets of cultural norms were. In due course, various threads were pulled, coded and organized by topic in order to present the data in clear data sets to support the hypothesis.

For this project, I have blended ethnohistorical, and CWS research paradigms, and applied them to journal articles, books, written accounts, and archival documents. As many of the texts I have engaged with were primarily written by non-Indigenous people, I will have to 'read against the grain' to find voices of Early nineteenth-century Indigenous people.

Organization of Thesis

My thesis begins with my introduction, where I outline a breakdown of my topics: who are the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, detailing some messages of whiteness and how this message was delivered. I provide a brief discussion in which I analyse the data and what research approaches I utilize. I also include a literary review and theoretical framework that looks at previous researchers that I build upon when writing my thesis while exploring the anticipated relevance of my conclusions.

In chapter one, I begin to analyse who the Great Lakes Anishinaabe people were. I focus on the 1830s to mid 1840s, termed the ‘Antebellum’ time period and the cultural dynamic specific to those years will be detailed. There is a contextualization of how the Anishinaabe people ran their communities and families. As well, the importance of Ojibwe ceremonies and religion will be discussed to illuminate how intertwined Anishinaabe cosmology and their day-to-day existence was.

In chapter two I define who the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) were. This includes, how ABCFM was created, their origins and history. There will be an examination of the various missions and missionaries in the Great Lakes area that was under the ABCFM umbrella and the missionary’s interactions with the Ojibwe people. A cursory inquiry into the missionary wives that translated these texts will also be conducted.

Throughout chapter three there is a probe into the concept of whiteness, and how scholars have defined Euro-hegemony during the last couple hundred years. There is an investigation on how concepts such as ‘modernization’ and Euro-centrism have helped to create a society built on white supremacy. Lastly, I would like to consider how the veneration of Europe, or the “Motherland” vis a vis Albert Memmi’s conceptual framework in *The Colonizer and the Colonized* and how this romanticized imagery was conveyed through educational texts. It is important to show how whiteness and Euro-predominance was presented to Indigenous youth via missionaries as this is one of the first platforms for entrenching white ideals into North American society.

In chapter four there is an analysis of educational texts used to teach Anishinaabe/Métis children in ABCFM Missions in the Great Lakes area. This chapter focuses on how these texts

were used to portray the concept of whiteness or ‘Euro-whiteness’ to the Native people and especially Indigenous children. Quotes were taken directly from the ABCFM literary texts and will be used as examples of the pro-white rhetoric disseminated to the Anishinaabe community.

The conclusion will present a summary of my findings. I explore how the missionary’s textbooks were not simply used for educating children, they were used to share pro-white messages as well. I will discuss the positives derived from the missionary wives’ translations and how that small counter-balance of Indigeneity is important. I explore the conclusions drawn from my data. Lastly, I will identify future areas of study that could further explore how whiteness was introduced into Indigenous communities.

Anticipated Relevance

As movements promoting racial awareness and equality have been gaining recognition, it is increasingly important to identify how and why whiteness became embedded in society. White people appear to be engaging information of their inherent privilege that non-white people have known for decades. This information provides a base from which privileges inherent to whiteness can be challenged, and societal changes to occur.

Since time immemorial North America lands have been settled by Indigenous populations, therefore it stands to reason that Indigenous nations and their culture have been impeded upon during Euro-white incursion and colonization. The various groups of whites that came into the Great Lakes area all had wide-ranging impacts on the Anishinaabe people. The missionaries’ impact was even more prominent due to their proximity and their approach to engaging the Indigenous youth. Throughout the research conducted here, there can be exposure

to the intentions of the missionaries in their efforts of culturally assimilating and thereby Christianizing the Great Lakes Ojibwe. These attempts at Christianization were not simply to introduce the Anishinaabe people to the Christian God but also acted to suppress and dispense with Ojibwe culture and religion. This thesis uncovers the various methods used to circulate pro-white messages throughout society. By deconstructing how the ABCFM relayed pro-white messages within their mission schools' textbooks, a better understanding of why these messages were included and how they impacted the local Anishinaabe population can be found.

An exploration of the ABCFM textbooks has uncovered a veneration of Europe and the image portrayed by Euro-whites in the 1800s. The missionary's educational books disclose what aspects of Euro-whiteness missionaries considered most important to impress on the minds of Indigenous children. As little research currently exists on this topic, this thesis will add to the field of Native Studies by demonstrating examples in which the missionary's texts conveyed the supposed 'superiority' of whiteness and European-ness versus the 'savagery' of Indigeneity. It is also important to note that these educational texts were translated to Anishinaabemowin, so the students were able to have the messages communicated to them in their own language. This was done through concerted efforts of the ABCFM missionaries and their wives (some of whom were Métis) to make educating the Indigenous students easier. The exploration of how Euro-centric views were delivered to children via educational texts is crucial to understand the negative impacts transmitted to the Indigenous students through education by their white teachers and missionary textbooks.

Chapter One: Anishinaabe Society and Culture in the Mid-1800s

The Anishinaabe people of the Great Lakes area are collectively referred to as Anishinaabe, Chippewa or Ojibwa/Ojibwe. Anishinaabe nations were complex societies, with various social protocols that helped reinforce and align inter-community dynamics. These communities practiced customs that honored the spirits they lived amongst to create a reciprocal relationship for positive personal and communal benefits. Anishinaabe people were “governed by three councils – the women, the warriors (sometimes termed young men or braves in American accounts), and the old men (sometimes termed headmen, or chiefs) – and an ogimaa [.]”²⁹ The ogimaag utilized a cosmological energy called Maanidoo to help them by enhancing their authority. Manidoo connected the communities, people and the other beings/entities around them, creating an interconnected web of reverence, respect, interdependence, and appreciation that governed interactions. Gifting was another part of Ojibwa culture that acted to not only build relationships and reinforce them but to share the materials and items needed within and outside these communities. Ceremonies were also used as a central part of Anishinaabe culture. Ceremonies helped connect Anishinaabe people with the other beings (non-human) and could be used for divination, dream interpretation and even healing (among other purposes). These cultural and spiritual practices were often misunderstood by outsiders and especially by the missionaries holding a Euro-centric worldview. The ABCFM missionaries held the concept of

²⁹ Cary Miller, *Ogimaag: Anishinaabeg Leadership, 1760-1845* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010), 2.

civilization in high regard, but civilization reflected an American or European Christian worldview, and that worldview excluded all other spiritual paths to Creator.

Anishinaabe Political Structures

The Anishinaabe people of the Great Lakes area had a sophisticated political system that allowed them to have their various inter-community groups represented, as fairly as possible. One leader that featured prominently in Anishinaabe culture was the ogimaa. In Historian Dr. Cary Miller's book *Ogimaag*, she furthers the discussion on the concept of the Anishinaabeg political structure and gives details about the role of the ogimaa. The ogimaa was a hereditary leader and the term referred specifically to that role. Generally, Europeans or Americans did not understand the distinction between the types of Anishinaabe leaders and condensed all terms into one, chief:

The Anishinaabeg used different words for hereditary and charismatic leaders [...] The Anishinaabeg term *ogimaa* (plural *ogimaag*) referred to hereditary leaders. Headman and elders were called *gichi-anishinaabeg*. The term for a war leader was *mayosewinini* (plural, *mayosewininiwag*), and a Midewiwin member of a high degree was called a *gechi-midewid* (plural, *gechi-midewijig*). When *chief* became the general term that Europeans used for any individual in any tribe or culture group who exercised influence, it masked the rich variety of leadership structures developed by the original peoples of North America.³⁰

The ogimaag were principled and operated in a manner to support and benefit their community while dealing with everyday concerns.³¹ The ogimaag ensured they clarified who they spoke for, "sometimes even expressing that they did not necessarily share the views of those

³⁰ Miller, *Ogimaag*, 73

³¹ Ibid., 2-3

who had asked for their concerns to be voiced.”³² The individuals holding the positions of ogimaag were not just figureheads, but

they possessed forms of authority in their own right. Such authority arose from two sources, an inherited or hereditary claim and a charismatic religious claim. Regardless of the origin of the chief’s authority he (and occasionally she) had earned the trust of the people and thus the right to lead through demonstrated results.³³

Ogimaag did not make their decisions independently. Guided by a council and manidoo, “the ogimaag seldom made decisions without consulting the gichi-anishinaabeg of each family lineage. These men formed a governing council the ogimaag called together to ‘discuss every transaction relative to their hunting, to their making war or peace, and to all their public concerns.’”³⁴ Through their connections to manidoo and consultations with the council, Anishinaabe ogimaag were instrumental to the core of the Anishinaabe political and social system and ensuring all people were represented.

Land and resources also played a central role in Anishinaabe life. Historically, there was a shift in the Anishinaabe population with some Ojibwe groups travelling over to the Great Lakes area. Upon arrival “they did not continue to wander aimlessly. Instead, they followed a semi-nomadic pattern of returning to seasonal camps year after year.”³⁵ The colonial view of the noble savage trope: the Native population not believing in any sort of “land claims and territorial

³² Miller, *Ogimaag*, 2.

³³ Ibid., 2.

³⁴ Miller, *Ogimaag*, 105-106; Carver, *Travels through the Interior*, 259-260, quoted in Miller, *Ogimaag*, 105-106.

³⁵ Miller, *Ogimaag*, 93.

boundaries” falls short when looking at the reality of Anishinaabe land beliefs.³⁶ The Great Lakes Ojibwe “did indeed recognize territorial boundaries and organized methods for ensuring that the usage of lands within those boundaries did not cause internal strife.”³⁷ In fact, their respect for the land boundaries was so crucial that the punishment for violating these terms could involve death.³⁸

Through the increasing numbers of Euro-whites and Americans pushing the concept of land sales around the 1830s, the Anishinaabe began to grow concerned.

[T]he Ojibwe were not simply concerned over land sales, real though that apprehension was. They were also struggling to understand Euro-American philosophical and legal conceptions of land - its nature and its abilities. It was quite evident that the Ojibwe that their allies held ideas completely unlike their own. They did not accept Euro-American ideas on land ownership and land alienation, and frequently affirmed the correctness of their own understanding. ‘[T]he soil belong to those He placed upon it,’ they asserted.³⁹

Through this concern of land sale or theft, the Ojibwe population grew wary of the non-Native people. Their customs of managing land and resources had previously been safeguarded through the use of community managers such as the *ogimaa* or councils. Their focus for sharing the land was purposeful, with consequences for transgressors, but the arriving non-Indigenous people did not share the same doctrine.

Along with the various displacements of the Anishinaabe populations due to the approaching Americans, there was also a shift in the number of Ojibwe people. These

³⁶ Miller, *Ogimaag* 93.

³⁷ Ibid., 93.

³⁸ Ibid., 96.

³⁹ Rebecca Kugel, *To Be the Main Leaders of Our People: A History of Minnesota Ojibwe Politics, 1825-1898* (East Lansing, Mich.: Michigan State University Press, 1998), 25.

fluctuations over time would become even more significant, as more non-Indigenous people arrived and pushed the Indigenous nations even further away from their homelands and traditional spaces. In her essay, “Ethnocide in the Schoolhouse: Missionary Efforts to Educate Indian Youth in Pre-Reservation Wisconsin,” Suzanne Elizabeth Moranian discusses the population changes due to the shifting groups of people in the Eastern United States,

Before the Black Hawk War, the lands of Wisconsin belonged to the Indians. When the war ended in 1832, however, Wisconsin received an influx of settlers from the East and abroad. The white population skyrocketed from less than 4,000 to over 300,000 between 1830 and 1850, while Indian population declined.⁴⁰

Throughout these dramatic population shifts of an all Indigenous Wisconsin, to a Wisconsin with more whites than Native people, missionaries were involved. During the mid-19th century there was an influx of missionaries coming to teach the local populations, with conversion being a central objective, “[d]uring the pre-reservation years, 1820-1850, various missionaries came to Wisconsin to convert the tribes and instruct Indian youth.”⁴¹ Although not directly, the missionary’s religious zeal to spread the word of God often helped assist the United States government in their forceful population shifts. These “missionaries, who wanted to tame the heathens, performed a vital function for the government. They acted as the vanguard of the approaching white civilization; they were early buffers between Indians and whites.”⁴² Despite

⁴⁰ Suzanne Elizabeth Moranian, “Ethnocide in the Schoolhouse: Missionary Efforts to Educate Indian Youth in Pre-Reservation Wisconsin,” *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* 64, no. 4 (1981): 242–60.

⁴¹ Moranian, “Ethnocide in the Schoolhouse,” 242.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 246-247.

these geographical and population shifts, the Anishinaabe of the mid-1800s continued to practice their ceremonies that formed the basis of their traditional religious beliefs.

Anishinaabe Cosmology and Ceremonies

The communal nature of the Anishinaabe culture was built upon the idea of reciprocity and often focused on the Anishinaabe's cosmological concept of 'Manidoo'. The term Manidoo refers to a highly spiritual concept of life/energy, which has no English translation. Manidoo remains core to the Anishinaabe social system and features predominantly in Anishinaabe religion. In Miller's book *Ogimaag*, she furthers the discussion on the concept of the Ojibwe's Maanidoog. Miller, along with quotations from Elder Basil Johnston, defines manidoo and deconstructs some of the beliefs surrounding this energy force,

the concept of manidoo (or Manitou, plural manidoog) lies at the center of Anishinaabeg religious understanding yet cannot be directly defined in English. Historically non-Indigenous have attempted to translate manidoo to mean "spirit" but Elder Basil Johnston "notes that this interpretation of manidoog distorts what the Anishinaabe people express with this term." Basil Johnston defines manidoo as 'spiritual, mystical, supernatural, godlike, or spirit like, quiddy, essence. It is in these other senses that the term is often used and is to be understood, not just in the context of Manitou beings. Manitou refers to realities other than the physical ones of rock, fire, water, air, wood and flesh – to the unseen realities of individual beings and places and events that are beyond human understanding but are still clearly real.'⁴³

Therefore, interacting with the sacred manidoog is instrumental for Anishinaabe people, especially those looking towards political or social clout. As Miller states:

The Anishinaabeg understood themselves to be part of a populous world in which the spiritual definition of personhood extended far beyond the human sphere to animals, birds, plants, natural forces, and all manner of life. These manidoog entities each had important and special gifts that helped them to survive. They share these gifts with humanity on a reciprocal basis developed through personal relationships initiated in dreams and visions. Such relationships were considered so important to survival that an

⁴³ Miller, *Ogimaag*, 7

individual who failed to form ties with at least one manidoo could hardly be regarded within the community as an adult, let alone as an individual of power. Thus interaction with the sacred was a necessary and expected ingredient of living for even the least politically important person in the community, and much more so for those who claimed to be able to help others.⁴⁴

Consequently, in order to gain any significant social standing in Ojibwe society, one would have to be aligned with one, or more, manidoo to gain the guidance and power needed for them to be able to provide leadership or governance.

The Manidoog were not the only religious component that centered importantly in the Anishinaabeg cosmology. Ceremonies also played a central role in how the Indigenous people incorporated their faith into their day to day life. Gifting was a ceremony that not only occurred in basically every religious gathering that the Anishinaabe people held but also was a stand-alone ceremony in itself.

Gifting was an integral part of Anishinaabe communities and culture. Gifting builds on the concept of reciprocity and creates an interwoven-ness, mirroring the generosity that Gichi-Manidoo shared with the nations on Turtle Island. Anishinaabe utilized gift-giving to build, establish and re-connect with already established relationships. Gifting began when,

the creator Gichi-Manidoo made the universe, ‘that one’ imbued the manidoog beings and forces [...] with immortality, virtue, and wisdom and implanted them, to various degrees, into beings and objects. Gichi-Manidoo had a vivid vision of the universe, which ‘that one’ brought into being. This act is the ultimate selfless gift, a use of the creator’s power purely to benefit others, and a gift so awesome that it can never be fully reciprocated. In honor of this first gift all beings in creation emulate the selfless sharing of Gichi-Manidoo.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Miller, *Ogimaag*, 9

⁴⁵ Miller, *Ogimaag*, 21

Through gifting, people, communities, and nations emulate Gichi-Manidoo and his generosity: “in this system of obligatory sharing, the types and amounts of goods exchanged were significant. The accumulation of goods for its own sake was considered to be immoral.”⁴⁶ The Ojibwe people believed that “the giving of poor gifts or the accumulation of goods at the expense of others would result in ill health and poor hunting. Sincere generosity would be rewarded with ‘prestige and supernatural blessings.’”⁴⁷ This helped spread the wealth between the various Ojibwe people and created a society where altruism was rewarded, both socially and spiritually. Giveaways or gifting held a central place in Ojibwe society, but gifting could include more than just the giving of items. The gifting paradigm included self-philanthropy as well.

Another element of Ojibwe life which reflects how intricately Anishinaabe spirituality and overall culture was intertwined was the practice of the Midewiwin. The Midewiwin society, a medicine lodge was found extensively across Anishinaabe lands with many of the “tribes of the Algonkian linguistic division [engaging in] the traditions and practices pertaining to the Midē’wiwin, [the] Society of the Midē’[was] [...] popularly designated as the ‘Grand Medicine Society.’”⁴⁸ The Midewiwin lodge was an important part of Anishinaabe religion and the practitioners were held in high esteem among their communities. Midewiwin, also called “the Midē’, the Jes’sakkīd’, or the Wâbēnō’” was written about by various missionary and traders with their practitioners being referred to as “sorcerer or juggler[s].”⁴⁹ Midewiwin called

⁴⁶ Pettipas, *Severing the Ties that Bind*, 55.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 55.

⁴⁸ Walter James Hoffman, *The Midē’wiwin: Or, “Grand Medicine Society” of the Ojibwa* (Honolulu, HI: University Press of The Pacific, 2005), 151.

⁴⁹ Hoffman, *The Midē’wiwin*, 151.

powerful community members to its practice and “[m]any if not all village leaders were also members of the Midewiwin.”⁵⁰ Miller explains how,

The Midewiwin also had a political dimension. Midewiwin ceremonies united Anishinaabeg communities. The largest gatherings of the Anishinaabe year in the spring and fall included Midewiwin ceremonies. All leaders, from the headmen of the small winter encampments often numbering no more than six families to those claiming chieftainship over one or more bands, were members of this society.⁵¹

A high degree member of Midewiwin held a special role in Ojibwe society and was called a “gechi-midewid (plural, gechi-midewijig).”⁵² Ojibwe society recognized the religious power behind these gechi-midewid and looked for their knowledge regarding community matters.

The Midewiwin practice was said to have been gifted from Nanabozho, as after his birth the, “Ojibwa culture hero [helped] to create a new earth.” The Anishinaabe,

[l]earned of the birth of the first people, and how their descendants had been taught many things by Nanabozho so that they would be able to survive. They learned of the power of visions and dreams by which they could communicate with the manidoog or spirits, and they learned to pay respect to their animal brethren with whom they shared their existence. Among the most important of Nanabozho's gifts to the Anishinaabeg was the institution of the Midewiwin, since practitioners were promised a long life if they followed its teachings and precepts as taught by the Mide elders.⁵³

⁵⁰ Miller, *Ogimaag*, 11.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 73.

⁵³ Michael Angel, *Preserving the Sacred: Historical Perspectives on the Ojibwa Midewiwin* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2002), 4.

With the Midewiwin perpetuating Anishinaabe religion in the communities, its practices began to draw the ire of the local missionaries, who found all religion outside of their Protestant Christianity to be pagan.

The Midewiwin came to exemplify "Indian Religion" to many nineteenth-century Euro-Americans. As a result of their selective emphasis on particular rituals, taken out of the broader context, the Midewiwin symbolized to Euro-Americans all that was strange, savage, evil, and potentially dangerous in Aboriginal people who had not become "civilized" and Christianized. Mide "priests," as they were normally portrayed in word and pictures by Euro-American observers, became the ultimate 'other.'⁵⁴

The continued practice of Midewiwin meant Anishinaabe people were not turning to Christianity as the missionaries hoped they would. The missionaries found any pagan practice repellant but seemed to find Midewiwin particularly treacherous or evil. It was due to this view of Midewiwin as bad or evil that the need for secrecy came about.

Midewiwin has been well known for its use of secrecy among its members. Converted Ojibwe and Indigenous missionaries such as George Copway explained the Midewiwin to outsiders in the "blackest possible terms" to encourage people away from Anishinaabe Traditionalism and towards Christianity.⁵⁵ Because of this, the Anishinaabe Traditionalist community invested,

renewed efforts on the part of Mide practitioners to keep their rituals and beliefs secret, in order to actively oppose the efforts of Christian missionaries. Of course, members of the Anishinaabeg were reluctant to share their visions with anyone, and the Ojibwa were particularly noted for being suspicious of strangers until they were certain that the newcomers could be trusted.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Angel, *Preserving the Sacred*, 6.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 13.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 15.

This reaction to the threat of outsiders further pushed the sharing of Midewiwin practices underground and away from judgmental outsiders. Midewiwin continued to be practiced, even after missionary contact.

The Midewiwin brought together many different aspects of Anishinaabe religion and culture. Midewiwin is not simply a religious practice, but instead deeply entrenched in the Anishinaabe world. Midewiwin focusses on a few key components where “manidoog and visions play an important role in providing the Anishinaabeg with blessings or powers to live a long life.”⁵⁷ Within the Midewiwin ceremonies, sharing of the origin stories are central, with “Mide elders [reciting them] during each Midewiwin ceremony. The origin narratives and, indeed, the larger cycle of narratives of which they form a part, together with the rituals of the Midewiwin, provide the means by which the Ojibwa can live ‘the good life to the fullest.’”⁵⁸ As living life to the fullest, or ‘Mino-Bimaadiziwin - the way of a good life’ was extraordinarily important in Anishinaabe culture, Midewiwin could help bring its practitioners and community closer to this aspiration.⁵⁹ Midewiwin, although just one part of Anishinaabe religion, was indeed different from other religious ceremonies and held a unique role both culturally and spiritually,

the Midewiwin was an integral part of Ojibwa cosmology [and] played a different role from that of Jiisakiiwin or the Waabanowiwin ceremonies with which it is often compared. All three provided their practitioners with special powers, which were widely used in Ojibwa society. However, within the Midewiwin, these special powers were gained as part of a process that also taught them the meaning of life and death, their place

⁵⁷ Angel, *Preserving the Sacred*, 47.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 47.

⁵⁹ D’Arcy Rheault, *Anishinaabe Mino-Bimaadiziwin - The Way of a Good Life* (Peterborough, Ontario: Debwewin Press, 1999), ix.

in the universe, and the origins of the Ojibwa people. In other words, it was more than just another ceremony, for it provided an institutional setting for the teaching of the world view (religious beliefs) of the Ojibwa people.⁶⁰

With the Midewiwin lodge providing the space and structure for the most sacred of the Anishinaabe religious customs, this ceremony acted both as a means to heal the community and teach the community. Midewiwin was just one of many ceremonies that displayed the deep spiritual beliefs of the Great Lakes Anishinaabe. These ceremonies demonstrated that the missionaries' belief that all religions that are not Christian, are not civilized, was deeply flawed and Eurocentric.

What is important to note when reflecting on ceremonies and Ojibwe culture in the 1800s is the education that was gained through these experiences, along with pride of one's nation was irreplaceable. Anishinaabe communities celebrated a culture that included ceremony, respect of children, Elders, manidoo and other-Beings and gifting, to honor others and ultimately, Creator. Anishinaabe ceremonies engaged with rigorous protocols which created kinship ties and spread resources among the communities and people. When looking at how the missionaries would describe the Anishinaabe religion and culture, in order to advance their pro-white beliefs, there is a large disconnect from Eurocentric myth to actuality.

⁶⁰ Angel, *Preserving the Sacred*, 47-48.

Chapter Two: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions



61

“Youth of both sexes... renouncing the comforts of civilized society, bidding farewell to father and mother, to sisters and brethren, encountering the toils, sufferings and self-denials, of a missionary life; the dangers of sickly and untried climate ... that they may redeem miserable pagans from pollution and ruin.”

Henry Davis, in a sermon delivered before the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Boston 1816.⁶²

⁶¹ John Gast, *American Progress*, 1872

⁶² Henry Davis, a sermon delivered before the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Boston 1816, 30 as quoted in Phillips, 291-292

When exploring the hidden messages written into the American Board for Foreign Missions' (ABCFM) educational texts, it is important to examine what the ABCFM is and who are the missionaries within this association. These missionaries and their wives, who interacted with and taught Indigenous children in the Great Lakes area missions, came from a position of both religious fanaticism and belief in Christian superiority. Understanding the positionality of these educators can provide a basis from which to understand how, and why, pro-whiteness messages ended up in children's school books.

Prior to the 1730s, secularism among the British inhabitants of the lower half of Turtle Island was on the rise, with dampening attitudes towards religion. During the 1730s to 1740s, the British North American colonies saw an increase in the number of traveling missionaries.⁶³ This period of religious resurgence became known as the First Great Awakening. "The First Great Awakening influenced political and social thought, transforming the religious and social life of the colonies before the American Revolution."⁶⁴

During the late 1700s another religious revival occurred in Great Britain and America. Known as the Evangelical revival in Great Britain, in America, it was called the Second Great Awakening. The Second Great Awakening "was a series of revivals, in which American society experienced an outpouring of religious concern, a flowering of spiritual sentiment, a vast

⁶³ Clifton Jackson Phillips, *Protestant America and the Pagan World: The First Half Century of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1810-1860*. (Cambridge, Mass, 1969), 4.

⁶⁴ Mehmet Ali Doğan, "American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) and 'Nominal Christians': Elias Riggs (1810-1901) and American Missionary Activities in the Ottoman Empire" (Dissertation, 1993), 19.

mobilization of people, and unparalleled growth in church membership”⁶⁵ Mainly Presbyterian and Congregationalist, their religious excitement was “responsible for so much of the organized benevolence [...], throughout the next century”⁶⁶ Benevolence generally refers to the idea of kindness, spreading goodwill among others. But during the antebellum period, Christian benevolence, or “disinterested benevolence” a term Samuel Hopkins coined, referred to another concept – the idea of self-sacrifice and fanatical submissiveness to God.⁶⁷ Hopkins declared,

He who has a new heart, and universal disinterested benevolence will be a friend to God. [...] [S]o every degree of self-love, [...] is in its own nature opposed to the love required in the divine law; and, therefore, is in its nature, and in every degree of it, sin, being contrary to true holiness. Though he sees not the least evidence... that God loves him and designs to save him. [...] The benevolent Christian does rejoice, independent of his own interest; [...] as is necessary to promote the greatest common good; and that self-love which is contrary to this, is enmity to the greatest good of the public, [...] and, therefore, enmity against God.⁶⁸

This idea of Christian benevolence drove the missionaries to approach teaching and Christianizing all non-Christians with a supposedly selfless and interminable spirit. Their religious approach was extreme but continued to rise in popularity. Through this altruistic paradigm, the Second Great Awakening continued to spread across America.

⁶⁵ Doğan, “American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) and ‘Nominal Christians’”, 19.

⁶⁶ Berkhofer, *White Man’s Indian*, 1.

⁶⁷ Note from *Disinterested Benevolence: An American Debate Over the Nature of Christian Love*, 367.

⁶⁸ Samuel Hopkins, *The Works of Samuel Hopkins, D.D, In Three Volumes*, vol. 1 (Boston: Doctrinal Tract and Book Society, 1854), 237-238, 389 & 395.

The concept of self-sacrifice was so embedded in the missionary mindset that the occasional occurrence of an early death happening to a fellow missionary did not deter them. Conceivably, it could be argued that these sacrifices even helped to continue the wave of religious fervour,

early martyrdom came to several of the American Board's first representatives overseas, and the accounts of their lives and tragic deaths reinforced the popular conviction of missionary sainthood. The pious biographies compiled to satisfy public curiosity about such personalities and augment evangelical zeal strikingly reveal the introspective habits and religious intensity of New England youth affected by the Second Great Awakening.⁶⁹

This martyrdom truly demonstrated the epitome of Christian benevolence and faith. Despite the inherent danger of travelling to places unknown, and giving oneself wholly to their religion, these protestant movements did not scare the American youth but rather drew them in. Through the Second Great Awakening and further revivals, thousands embraced or renewed their faith in Christianity. This benevolence also created a boost for missionaries and extra funds for the missionaries to expand their reach.

The Second Great Awakening also encouraged the creation of new missions, both foreign and domestic. These missions, "provided a convenient outlet for, as well as gained an important dynamic from, the tremendous release of evangelical energies accompanying this radical readjustment of American religious life."⁷⁰ With the numbers of Christian followers on the rise, there was also a boom in Christian organizations. During the early late 1700s and early 1800s,

⁶⁹ Clifton Jackson Phillips, *Protestant America and the Pagan World: The First Half Century of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1810-1860*. (Cambridge, Mass, 1969), 294.

⁷⁰ Phillips, *Protestant America and the Pagan World*, 5.

the religious waves of Christian and (disinterested) benevolence inspired protestants to spread the gospel both abroad and at home. The Christian Protestants increasingly formed missionary groups, due the “rise to a surge of religious fervor that stirred regenerate Protestants to organize to bring the “light and love” of the Gospels to unenlightened peoples the world over. [...] This duty extended not only to heathens of far-lands, but to North American Indians as well. Evangelicals moved quickly to reach those souls.”⁷¹

By 1787, The American Society for Propagating the Gospel Among the Indians and Others In North America was legitimized and granted legal status, “through an act of the Massachusetts legislature.”⁷² The New York Missionary Society, “the first interdenominational missionary organization,” was founded shortly thereafter, in 1796.⁷³ The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was created in 1810 and, following suit, The Baptist Board of Foreign Missions in 1814. After a few years the Baptists also created their organization, the Missionary Society of the American Methodist Episcopal Church, and joined the ranks of the various Protestant Missionary groups.⁷⁴ As these organizations grew, they began sending out their members to preach and convert nations all around the world, including ‘at home’ in America.

⁷¹ Carol Devens, *Countering Colonization: Native American Women and Great Lakes Missions, 1630 - 1900* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1992). 45.

⁷² Oliver Wendell Elsbree, ed., *Rise of the Missionary Spirit in America, 1790-1815* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 2013), 49.

⁷³ Devens, *Countering Colonialization*, 46.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 46.

Early in the 19th century, ‘The Brethren’ (Adoniram Judson, Samuel Nott, Samuel Newell, Gordon Hall, and Luther Rice) were moved by the mounting Protestant re-awakening.⁷⁵ The five young men shared their passion to spread Christianity to the non-believers with one another and began to strategize on how to achieve this goal.⁷⁶ The Brethren,

met often to talk about the state of the world and their part in it, to pray for the world’s peoples and nations. One day they were walking in the fields near Williamstown, discussing and praying when a storm suddenly broke. They took refuge from it in the lee of a haystack. As the rain fell they continued their discussions and prayer. When the storm was over, they made their way back to their college rooms. But something had been changed within their hearts. While meeting at the haystack they had resolved to become America’s first foreign missionaries. ‘We can do it if we will’ became their cry.⁷⁷

This event came to be known as the Haystack Prayer Meeting and was a catalyst in thrusting The Brethren from being studious bible college scholars, to inspired travelling missionaries, ready to take on the world.

The confidence that The Brethren displayed came not only from their belief that they were good Christian men but from the concept of white supremacy or whiteness. Christianity, “centered [the] white subject who discerns moral deficiency, salvific absence and the Eternal States after death.”⁷⁸ This placement of Euro-whites as the center of all things civilized and

⁷⁵ William E. Strong, *Story of the American Board: An Account of the First Hundred Years of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1910), 7-9

⁷⁶ Wilbert R. Shenk, “The 1845 Organic Sin Debate: Slavery, Sin, and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.” In *North American Missions, 1810-1914: Theology, Theory and Policy*, ed., 86-115.

⁷⁷ Fred Field Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses*. (Boston: American Board of Commissioners For Foreign Missions, 1959), 6.

⁷⁸ Willie James Jennings, *The Christian Imagination: Theology and the Origins of Race* (New Haven, Conn; London: Yale University Press, 2010), 143.

salvific, created large racial divides. Despite Christianity focussing on loving others and the Bible declaring: “This is my commandment, that you love one another as I have loved you,” Christianity has always demonstrated racial hierarchal levels.⁷⁹ These hierarchies have always played out on a cultural level, with non-Christians (and often non-Euro-whites) being deemed Heathens or savages. The social construct of whiteness provided the idea that white religion, culture, and race was more civilized; especially as opposed to other (non-white) nations. White Christians had asserted themselves into “a God-position, vis-à-vis decisions of eternal significance.”⁸⁰ Therefore, Christianity and whiteness work conjointly, “Christian superiority may have birthed white supremacy [...] we have white supremacy propelling the project of Christian superiority into the mission fields.”⁸¹ Whiteness provided the missionaries the egotism individually and as a collective to travel the world, spreading the word of God.

Spurred by the Second Great Awakening and with their Christian benevolence aimed not only at overseas but at the local populations, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions increased their missionary efforts in America. As the missionaries began to build their missions, during the “pioneer era [...] it was perhaps natural to apotheosize the foreign evangelist as the ideal life of piety; for it was he who seemed to carry out most completely the theological commitments of New England Calvinism.”⁸² The missionary’s choice of

⁷⁹ John 15:12, *Holy Bible: English Standard Version*. (Wheaton, Ill.: Crossway Bibles, 2001).

⁸⁰ Jennings, *The Christian Imagination*, 143.

⁸¹ Jeannine Hill Fletcher, “Marginal Notes: Women and the Other ‘Others’ in the Theology of Religions,” in *The Past, Present, and Future of Theologies of Interreligious Dialogue*, ed. Terrence Merrigan and John Friday (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 154.

⁸² Phillips, 295.

communities to missionize did not come from just their faith alone. Requests came in from traders operating in the Fur Trade who wrote letters to the organization published in the *Missionary Herald*.

The missionaries did not arrive in the Great Lakes area based solely on religious motivations, “it was the traders in the field who actually influenced Indian attitudes and conducted relations with the missionaries. Frequently these agents requested missionaries to found schools at their headquarters to educate their children and their relatives’ offspring.”⁸³ This self-assertiveness of the traders to reach out by letter to the missionaries was also due to the fact that as racial attitudes in the US hardened in the 19th century, they had encountered increased difficulty in finding spaces for their Métis children in the Eastern boarding schools. As of 1812, the only schools in the area were “located on the fringes of the area, in Mackinac or St. Louise.”⁸⁴

The traders and some of the Indigenous parents “extended the region’s tradition of valuing the acquisition of languages by urging their children to learn English, as a first step in personal diplomacy and acculturation” or more importantly equipping the children to become fur traders and interpreters.⁸⁵ Despite some of the parents’ excitement to have their children learn English, the non-Indigenous parents still desired their children to learn Indigenous languages. This fact was due to the belief that Native languages would help facilitate their careers in the trade and build a fur-trading network with the local Indigenous population. Unfortunately,

⁸³ Miller, *Ogimaag*, 186-187; Berkhofer, *White Man’s Indian*, 97.

⁸⁴ Murphy, 211.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 211; Miller, 187.

initially, the mission schools were English only. Language education was only one reason, among other educationally and politically related motives that encouraged some of the trader's families to reach out to the missionaries. Other reasons included wanting the children to be raised Protestant, that education would improve the ability of sons to climb the ranks in the fur trade when working and daughters to be deemed genteel enough to marry into the "upper echelons" of trade society.⁸⁶

Periodically invited out by letter to the trading posts, missionaries spread to the more remote 'North-West' areas of America to start missions and educate the local children. The missionaries possessed motives regarding what they came to teach the children and many of these motives were firmly seated in Euro-centrism. Some of the missionary's goals for their mission school were to teach the children the basics, such as reading, writing, geography, spelling and the English language. The missionaries focused on the white-ideals of gender, such as teaching the girls how to attend to the home and the boys farming or a trade such as blacksmithing.⁸⁷ The main educational goal of the missionaries, however, was to Christianize and thereby civilize the Indigenous children.⁸⁸ From the perspective of the protestant missionaries, conversion to Christianity was more complex than simply changing the students' religious beliefs. Christianity came paired with the xenophobic ideas of assimilation and civilization.

⁸⁶ Miller, *Ogimaag*, 187.

⁸⁷ Suzanne Elizabeth Moranian, "Ethnocide in the Schoolhouse: Missionary Efforts to Educate Indian Youth in Pre-Reservation Wisconsin," *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* 64, no. 4 (1981): 242–60, 253.

⁸⁸ Widder, *Battle for the Soul*, 274.

The idea of assimilation was a powerful catalyst to the ABCFM's desire to educate the Indigenous population. Euro-Christian superiority and Indian removal to make way for 'progress' was a common theme during the Antebellum period, when missionaries and politicians found multiple reasons why "Indian assimilation" was imperative for the growth and success of America, and, in their opinion - was also to benefit the Native people.⁸⁹ By the mid-1800s the American government was looking at ways to 'civilize' the local Native populations and decided to set aside a fund for this purpose. The Indian Civilization Fund Act was passed on March 3rd, 1819 and made provisions "for the civilization of the Indian tribes adjoining the frontier settlements."⁹⁰ The Civilization act set aside \$10,000 annually for the president to utilize as he chooses, with a focus on "employing capable persons of good moral character, to instruct them in the mode of Agriculture suited to their situation, and for teaching their children and Reading Writing, and arithmetic."⁹¹ The fund was not applied directly by the government but instead was sent to benevolent religious societies that could civilize via Christianity. This further encouraged the missionary's attempts at 'civilization' as more funds became available. The ABCFM was encouraged and emboldened by the government and both the public and private financial support they gained during this push for assimilation. As a result, the ABCFM missionaries continued with their method of educating their Indigenous pupils.

⁸⁹ John M. Rhea, John M Rhea, *A Field of Their Own: Women and American Indian History, 1830-1941* (Norman University of Oklahoma Press, 2016), 28.

⁹⁰ Prucha, *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 151.

⁹¹ Prucha, *The Great Father*, 151.

Another prevailing motivator for the ABCFM missionaries' educational objectives was the concept of 'civilization.'⁹² Heavily situated in a nationalistic worldview, civilization was believed to be the Indians salvation from themselves and their 'faulty' belief system. The ABCFM "officially represented its mission as one that would liberate [Indians] from their heathenish enslavement by supplying the basic necessities of 'civilized' existence."⁹³ This goal was not only seen as an imperative for education, but civilization was believed to be a part of conversion, and Christianity itself. A common argument at the time was that the

office of the gospel is to bring the heathen nations to be, in these respects, such as Christian nations are; to put every people under heaven on the highest platform of civilization and religion, of art and science, of learning, prosperity, and usefulness of happiness and social advancement. [...] We cannot too highly prize the influence of Christianity in promoting true civilization. We contend that a true Civilization cannot exist apart from Christianity.⁹⁴

This religious credence formed the base of the ABCFM civilization efforts. Christianity and civilization went hand in hand. Without Christianity, civilization, and similarly assimilation, could not occur. This focus on civilizing the savage became part of the missionary's educational ethos and was taught throughout their various Anishinaabe mission schools.

Despite some traders facilitating the missionaries settling in the Great Lakes area, not all traders were supportive of the missionaries' presence. The missionaries were aware that some of

⁹² The term 'civilization' is highly subjective, racist and Euro-centric. For simplicity sake, the quotes surrounding 'civilization' will be implied after this point, in order to provide more visual simplicity throughout the text.

⁹³ Amanda Moulder, *Cherokee Practice, Missionary Intentions: Literacy Learning among Early Nineteenth Century Cherokee Women*, 82.

⁹⁴ Baptist Missionary Magazine: "Influence of Missions on the Temporal Condition of the Heathen" (Vol. XXIX, No. 4, 1849), quoted in Berkhofer, *Salvation and the Savage*, 8.

the Indigenous people, as well as the Catholic traders did not want their presence. Some “Indians and mixed-ancestry people [...] in the western Great Lakes region had been skeptical about missionaries and government agents sent to teach them Euro-American culture and economic practices, rejecting the outsiders’ ethnocentrism and insistence on religious and economic change.”⁹⁵ There was conflict between the traders and missionaries, both financially speaking and otherwise. The missionaries’ goal of educating the local Indigenous population “destroyed the effectiveness of the charge system employed by the traders, for a literate Indian could check the ledger’s fingers.”⁹⁶ Another pressing concern for the traders was their ability to sell alcohol. Missionaries were vocal antagonists of ‘spirits’ and preached on the virtue of abstinence from drinking liquor, calling it “Satan’s highest agent.”⁹⁷ This angered many traders, “who frequently employed their influence to oppose plans of the missionaries.”⁹⁸ Despite this opposition, by the mid-1800s missionaries would travel to the Great Lakes area for the direct purpose of educating and converting the local population. In the 1830s, the most predominant group of missionaries making the trip to set up in the Great Lakes was the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, a collection of passionate protestants (mainly Presbyterians and Congregationalists) who were determined to Christianize the local people.

⁹⁵ Lucy Eldersveld Murphy, *Great Lakes Creoles: A French-Indian Community on the Northern Borderlands, Prairie Du Chien, 1750-1860* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 213.

⁹⁶ Berkhofer, *The White Man’s Indian*, 97-98.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 98.

⁹⁸ Communication J. Kerr to E. Swift, August 31st, 1835; H. Bradley to E. Swift, June 16, 1837, quoted in Berkhofer, *The White Man’s Indian*, 98.

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions were not the only ones thinking about how to engage the local Indigenous populations. After the War of 1812, the United States was more prepared for expansion into the Anishinaabe territories of Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan. The concept of Americanization and civilization also drove Euro-white re-settlement/incursion across the United States. President James Monroe's concerns about reinforcing the border between Canada and the United States on the Western side also played a role, as the tribes of the western Great Lakes had sided with the British during the war. In an act of congressional racism, the United States Congress debated on the possibility of this attempted assimilation. Missionaries were granted funding and space to help 'civilize,' Christianise and arguably, educate Indigenous people concerning the 'superiority' of the Euro-whites to the Indigenous people.⁹⁹

By the 1830s, some of these missions had been established in the Great Lakes area in Ojibwe territory. Although several ABCFM missionaries were forced out after only about five years, a few missions remained in the Great Lakes area for longer periods. These missions, such as the one at La Pointe, had schools and even translated educational texts into the Ojibwe language to help facilitate teaching the local Indigenous people.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ Ibid 150, Emma LaRocque, *When the Other Is Me Native Resistance Discourse, 1850-1990*. (University of Manitoba Press, 2014), 42; See also Francis Paul Prucha: *The Great Father*.

¹⁰⁰ Miller, *Ogimaag*, 217.



*THE AMERICAN FUR Company post at Fond du Lac,
as it appeared in 1826*

101

List of ABCFM Missions in the Great Lakes and Surrounding Areas

- Mackinaw Mission (Mackinaw Island and Northern Michigan)
- Green Bay mission (Michigan Territory at Green Bay)
- Ojibwe mission (Michigan Territory/Wisconsin Territory/Minnesota Territory/
Wisconsin)
 - La Pointe
 - Odanah

¹⁰¹ Roy Hoover, “‘To Stand Alone in the Wilderness’: Edmund F. Ely Missionary,” *Minnesota History* 49, no. 7 (1985): 272.

- Yellow Lake
- Pokegama Lake
- Sandy Lake
- Fond du Lac
- Red Lake¹⁰²

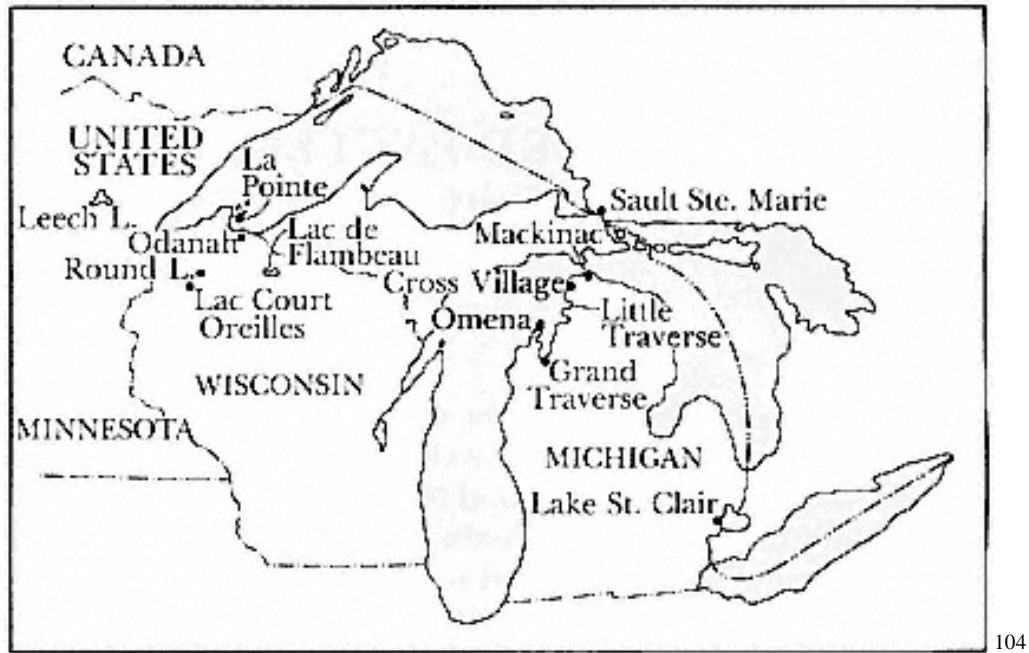
One of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions' most prominent initiatives was to spread Christianity to all non-Christians, a category in which they included Catholic Anishinaabe and non-Anishinaabe people including many fur traders and Anishinaabe traditionalists in territories that would later become Wisconsin, Michigan, and Minnesota. By 1830, ABCFM missionary Frederick Ayer was setting up a school at La Pointe. Sherman Hall, William T. Boutwell, and Edmund Ely soon followed suit setting up Missions in the western Great Lakes area through 1831 to 1833, respectively.¹⁰³ When looking at these four missionaries, only Frederick Ayer and Sherman Hall were married prior to them establishing missions out west. The other two, Edmund Ely and William Boutwell, both married local women educated at Reverend William Ferry's Mackinaw Mission School in Michigan.

During this period the region south and west of Lake Superior was predominantly populated by Indigenous people and had not yet been ceded to the US via treaties. The ABCFM

¹⁰² American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Missionary Herald at Home and Abroad*, Volumes 26 to 41

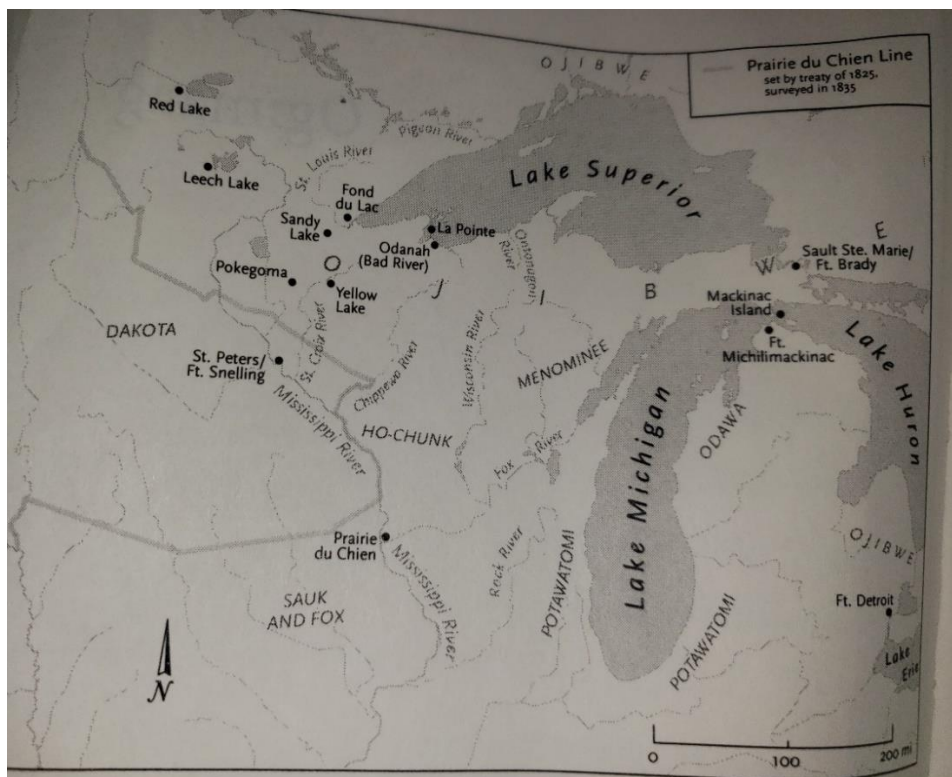
¹⁰³ Widder, *Battle for the Soul*, 21.

Missionaries perceived this population of Catholic and non-Christian Indians and Métis fur traders as in need of ‘saving’ and set out to convert as many ‘lost souls’ as they could.



104

¹⁰⁴ Devens, *Countering Colonialization*, 70



105

Missionary Wives and Ojibwe Texts

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions focused on more than just providing education for their populace when creating their missions in the Great Lakes area. The missionary's intentions were mainly to Christianize and civilize their Indigenous pupils. One of the ways the ABCFM attempted to make education more accessible was reaching their Indigenous students by converting texts into the Ojibwe language. These texts were often translated by the Métis wives of the ABCFM missionaries. In the Great Lakes area, Catherine Ely (née Goulais and Bissell Goulais) and Hester Boutwell (née Crooks), the wives of William Boutwell and Edmund Ely, were instrumental in translating the ABCFM books to Anishinaabe. These two women demonstrate how their success in retaining their Indigeneity created an

¹⁰⁵ Miller, frontispiece

intriguing after-effect in the children's educational texts. Through Hester and Catherine processing and helping render these readers, messages of Indigeneity can be found woven throughout them.

Initially, the mission's educational texts could only be found written in English. In the missionary's communication journal, the *Missionary Herald*, the state of Indian education and lack of Ojibwe resources was noted,

Mr. Ayer, on first entering the Ojibwa country in the summer of 1830, opened a small school at La Pointe which has been continued most of the time since and taught subsequently by Mr. Hall or Mr. Boutwell. The number of pupils has varied, owing to the unsettled state of the Indians, and their indifference on the subject of education, from twelve to twenty-five or thirty. As there were no books in the Ojibwa language, it has been necessary to instruct them orally and in elementary books in English.¹⁰⁶

But by December 1833 the *Missionary Herald* had exciting news. "A book has been prepared and printed in the Ojibwa language, containing elementary lessons in spelling and reading, with select portions of scripture and a few hymns, amounting to 72 pages; of which 500 copies were printed. Other books for the schools, and religious tracts, will, it is hoped, be prepared without much delay."¹⁰⁷

By 1835 the missionaries had decided to split the converting of the education texts between them, in order to speed up the process of getting books translated for their Ojibwe students,

[a]nother object was to divide the labors of preparing books, so that each one might do something effectual in this department and not one tread on the ground of another. We agreed that it was expedient to revise and enlarge the spelling-book. It is to be enlarged, at least one half, in reading and spelling lessons, and to be ready for the press in the spring. The work of revising and enlarging the spelling-book is assigned to Mr. Boutwell

¹⁰⁶ *Missionary Herald* vol. XXIX Dec. 1833, 468.

¹⁰⁷ *Missionary Herald* vol. XXIX Dec. 1833, 468.

and myself. Mr. Ayer is to prepare a manual adapted to the religious instruction of children, composed of scripture extracts and scripture history, with questions and illustrations. Mr. Boutwell has translated the "Child's Picture Defining and Reading Book" which he is to revise during the winter. These books together with Jones' Ojibwa Hymns, translated into our orthography, we hope to have in readiness to print in the spring. We hope, also, to do something towards collecting and arranging a vocabulary and preparing some materials for a grammar.¹⁰⁸

It was during these periods that Boutwell's wife Hester would have assisted her husband in translating. Despite the wives' role in the translations, their mission journals the ABCFM owned *Missionary Herald*, would generally not strive to give credit for the missionaries' wives assistance in the translating process. The *Missionary Herald* was a text used specifically amongst the ABCFM preachers and their missions to share Christianising successes, share stories that may entice readers to send funds to further assist in the civilizing process or to keep secluded missionaries connected via letters and stories.

The success of the translations was evident, because by 1836 there was additional Ojibwe translated educational texts being printed for the various ABCFM mission schools.

¹⁰⁸ *Missionary Herald* vol XXXI, Mar. 1835, 119-120

Missionary Textbooks

<i>Ojibue Spelling Book</i>, 1833	72 pages	500 copies
<i>Ojibue Spelling Book</i> (2nd. ed.) 1836	107 pages	500 copies
Old Testament Stories and Natural History, 1836	72 pages	500 copies
Gallaudett's Picture, Reading, and Defining Book and New Testament Stories, 1836	124 pages	500 copies
Ojibue Hymns, by Peter Jones, written in the orthography of Mr. Pickering, 1836	40 pages	500 copies
Six Cards - Alphabet and short syllables, 1836		500 copies

109

This successful printing was replicated again the next year in 1837, with 500 more copies of each text being printed. During the mid-1830s and onwards, large amounts of these Ojibwe translated educational texts were printed and sent to the mission schools. As the missionaries received these books to teach their students, two underlying themes emerged. The more prevalent statements of the white Christian's religious and lifestyle ideals, and the more subtle response of the Métis wives, through interspersed Indigenous-reflected phrases.

The Métis Missionary Wives

One of the missionary wives, Hester Crooks, was born to an Indigenous mother and white, Scottish father, Ramsay Crooks, the head officer of the American Fur Company in the

¹⁰⁹ Missionary Herald vol. XXXII, Jan 1836, 269.

Great Lakes region. Hester's father, Ramsay Crooks was born in Scotland on January 2nd, 1787. On April 25th, 1803, Margaret Ramsay, Ramsay Crooks now widowed mother, immigrated to Canada with Ramsay and his four siblings.¹¹⁰ By 1810, Crooks had joined the Pacific Fur Company owned by the German-American real estate and Fur Trade mogul, John Jacob Astor. It was during Crooks engagement with the American Fur Company, that he met the "half-breed Ojibway Woman" Abanokue, and from their union, Hester Crooks was born.¹¹¹ Unfortunately, little else has been written discussing the Ojibwe mother of Hester Crooks. Hester Crooks was "[b]orn on Drummond Island, Lake Huron, May 30, 1817."¹¹²

Hester was described as "a woman of tall and commanding figure, her black hair and eyes indicating her Indian origin. She was a fluent conversationalist and careful and tidy in her personal appearance."¹¹³ Ramsay Crooks is credited with giving Hester "a superior education at Mackinaw Mission," and it is noted that he "took an affectionate interest in his daughter and her family and visited them in later years."¹¹⁴ Crooks and his son-in-law Boutwell even exchanged correspondence throughout the years as evidenced in Boutwell's letter of complaints about the

¹¹⁰ Le Roy and Scott Eckberg, *Fur Traders, Trappers, and Mountain Men of the Upper Missouri* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 7.

¹¹¹ William Henry Carman Folsom, *Fifty Years in the Northwest: With an Introduction and Appendix Containing Reminiscences, Incidents, and Notes*, ed. E. E. Edwards (1888; repr., Pioneer Press Company, 2011), 276.

¹¹² Folsom, *Fifty Years in the Northwest*, 276.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 276.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*; LeRoy and Eckberg, *Fur Traders, Trappers, and Mountain Men of the Upper Missouri*, 11.

Indian-trader relationships.¹¹⁵ In 1825, Hester started attending the Mission School in Mackinac (or Michilmackinack), Michigan, which was founded and run by the Reverend William Montague Ferry and Mrs. Amanda Ferry. The school officially named the Mackinaw Mission School for Native American and Métis Children, was created in October 1823 and brought many Indigenous children together to be educated.

116



After Hester Crooks' education at Mackinaw mission, she took on a teaching role educating the younger students at the Mackinaw mission, and later in 1833 taught at Chippewa

¹¹⁵ American Fur Company Papers, Letter 2321, quoted in Harold Hickerson and William T. Boutwell, "William T. Boutwell of the American Board and the Pillager Chippewa: The History of a Failure," *Ethnohistory* 12, no. 1 (1965), 9.

¹¹⁶ Mackinac Island Michigan Old Mission House Antique Postcard (J22136) - Mary L. Martin Ltd. Postcards.

Mission in Yellow Lake, Minnesota, in the St Croix Valley. The school at Chippewa Mission was founded by Reverend Fred Ayres and Mrs. Elizabeth Ayres and many of the attendees were Métis.¹¹⁷ While Hester taught and acted as an interpreter for the Chippewa Mission School (she was fluent in French, English, and Ojibwe), she received a marriage proposal from William Boutwell.¹¹⁸

William Thurston Boutwell was born on February 4th, 1803, in Lyndeborough, New Hampshire.¹¹⁹ William attended Hancock and Exeter Academies to prepare for college and later was educated at Dartmouth College and Andover Theological Seminary, graduating from Dartmouth in 1828 and Andover in 1831.¹²⁰ As a youth Boutwell believed “that if one possessed the spirit of Christ his greatest happiness would be in trying to do good to others.”¹²¹ This belief spurred him to a life dedicated to Christianity. In his final year at Andover Seminary, Boutwell’s plans to preach at among the white settlers changed. A clergyman named Dr. Cornelius, spoke to the young men in class. He made an impassioned plea to encourage individuals to become missionaries to the Ojibwe of the Lake Superior region instead. One of Boutwell’s classmates,

¹¹⁸ William Thurston Boutwell, *Memoir of Mr. Boutwell* (Minnesota Historical Society, 1834), 12-14.

¹¹⁹ Edward D. Neill and William T. Boutwell, *Memoir of William T. Boutwell: The First Christian Minister Resident among the Indians of Minnesota* (Pioneer Press Publishing Company, 1892), 7.

¹²⁰ Claire Lynch, “William Thurston Boutwell and the Chippewas,” *Journal of Presbyterian History* (1962-1985) 58, no. 3 (1980): 239–53, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23328173>, 240.

¹²¹ Neill and Boutwell, *Memoir of William T. Boutwell*, 7

Sherman Hall, spoke up and volunteered to take on this seemingly perilous pilgrimage. Feeling conflicted, Boutwell agonized, turning to his journal with his thoughts,

Obstacle after obstacle rose — a strange people; an unwritten language to learn; a cold, rigorous climate; to turn my back on civilization and bury myself amid paganism. How could I? I wept and prayed, but no relief came till God opened my eyes to see that I could do nothing for his glory nor for the good of my fellow men without him. It was now I would go wherever he would open the way and lead.¹²²

The next morning Boutwell shared his decision with Hall, and after notifying his parents, began the steps to become a missionary to the Great Lakes Anishinaabe.

This change in life path from minister for the whites to evangelist for the Ojibwe people brought Boutwell's focus towards his perceived need for a wife. Before Boutwell's journey to Yellow Lake, he commented in his journal on August 27th, 1834 on the idea of marrying, "the idea of attempting to keep house alone, do my own cooking, washing and mending, sustain a school, with the care of providing and building, not to mention the exposure of my character among a people so licentious and destitute of virtue, all seemed to demand that I should have a wife."¹²³ Boutwell's proposal came after he passed through Yellow Lake to visit Mr. Ayer and noted the young Hester teaching and interpreting. Upon his arrival at the Mission School, and after seeing the young woman, Boutwell later wrote that Hester was "just what I needed and [I] told her my purpose. She consented."¹²⁴

¹²² Neill and Boutwell, *Memoir of William T. Boutwell*, 7.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 26.

¹²⁴ Boutwell, *Memoir of Mr. Boutwell*, 12-14.

William Boutwell and Hester Crooks married on September 11th 1834, at Fond du Lac. Boutwell noted in his journal that Mr. Ely lent him a nice suit (as his was in tatters) and at the evening wedding ceremony “there was an entertainment and the refreshments consisted of tea and doughnuts, which had been prepared by the wives of some of the voyageurs.”¹²⁵ The honeymoon started arduously for the couple who, the next morning, quickly headed off into Anishinaabe territory. Boutwell explains how “on the wedding night our bridal coach the ground and our dwelling a tent, we left for Leech Lake.”¹²⁶ During the long and strenuous journey of forty-three days through the ‘wilderness,’ the couple was exposed to a range of harsh weather and geographical conditions. Through all of these obstacles, William commended his young bride on her resilience writing in his journal, “my dear Hester, like a true heart, followed me through mud and water, half-leg deep, to the place where the canoe is put into the portage path.”¹²⁷ By October 9th, 1834, the newlywed couple arrived at Leech Lake. Upon their arrival, William Boutwell triumphantly penned, “after a voyage of forty-three days, exposed to wind, rain and snow, [...] God has blessed me and my dear wife with health, and in safety and mercy brought us to our field of labor.”¹²⁸ Boutwell and the newly married Hester (Crooks) Boutwell set up their mission at Leech Lake, after careful deliberation with the local Ojibwe people.¹²⁹

¹²⁵ Neill and Boutwell, *Memoir of William T. Boutwell*, 27.

¹²⁶ Boutwell, *Memoir of Mr. Boutwell*, 12-14

¹²⁷ Boutwell and Neill, *Memoir of William T. Boutwell*, 28

¹²⁸ Ibid., 28

¹²⁹ Kugel, *To Be the Main Leaders of Our People*, 31

These mindful negotiations did not promise smooth sailing for the couple. Over the years that Hester and William Boutwell were living in the Leech Lake area, they encountered many issues with the local Indigenous population. This was due to their continued misunderstanding of Anishinaabe culture and misapplication of Ojibwe protocols.¹³⁰ Although, Hester built some positive relationships with the Indigenous women, taking “charge of the Indian girls [at La Pointe], teaching them to read, write, knit and sew. The Indian women seemed grateful to her for her services, but there was no evidence that the Ojibways gave much thought of her kinship with them when they tormented her husband, nor did she feel very safe with them.”¹³¹ William, on the other hand, bucked common customs and railed against the Ojibwe’s culture although he behaved better than many of his missionary colleagues. Even though initially, Boutwell engaged some of the Anishinaabe conventions and thus built a little trust among the local Ojibwe population, over time his continued failures and perceived selfishness raised the ire of the community leaders. One early summer 1835 some of the issues held by the Anishinaabe were brought to Boutwell’s attention,

Boutwell asked the Elder Brother to have the chiefs come to his cabin where he could explain his situation, and to have them express their opinion. The chief Indian speaker, Maji Bagowi, touched on three themes: First; that Boutwell had contributed little or nothing to the material well-being of the Pillagers. He and the traders were not only rich, but rich at the expense of the Indians. Second; he had used village lands for personal ends, acting in direct contradiction to their principles of ownership, only communal ownership was recognized. Third; he had built a house on land for his own use, and by so doing represented a threat to the hegemony to the people. Gabowi expressed the feeling of the young men, who bitterly opposed the intruder.¹³²

¹³⁰ Kugel, *To Be the Main Leaders of Our People*, 34.

¹³¹ Lynch, *William Boutwell and the Chippewas*, 248.

¹³² *Ibid.*, *Chippewas*, 247.

Boutwell listened to these concerns, but initially did little to ease the tension. Coming from a Euro-centric lens, Boutwell may have felt that his house and use of items was all within his rights. But, by the following spring Boutwell began to share some tobacco and wild rice in an attempt to utilize the Anishinaabe custom of gift-giving to ask the community to stop chasing his cattle. Despite Boutwell not fully understanding the cultural significance behind Ojibwe gift-giving, he applied this practice to show respect to his Anishinaabe neighbors and to deescalate the increasingly bad community relations.¹³³

At one point in the relationship between William Boutwell and the Ojibwe people, their affiliation had degenerated so badly that “[i]n the fall of 1836, while Boutwell was preparing his men to go on a fishing trip, forty Indians went to his house, threatening to kill his cattle.”¹³⁴ Again Boutwell would engage in community gift-giving in an attempt to help rebuild the relationship with the his Anishinaabe neighbors. Boutwell placed before them sixty pounds of sugar, sixty pounds of flour, eighty plugs of tobacco, a bushel of potatoes, and half-a-bushel of turnips.”¹³⁵ In response the Ojibwe men stated,

I will give you a few hints what you must do if you stay here this winter. You must never say anything to our children or young men if they strike or injure your cattle, not even the youngest. ... If you want to stay here peaceably, I will advise you what to do. ... When your provisions come, you ought to give us a feast of something that we don't always have, and tell the young men it is to pay them for the fish you get out of the lake. And when your tobacco comes, you ought to give it to the men. And your clothing that is sent to you, you should give it to the children that are poor. You don't do us any good at all by

¹³³ Lynch, *William Boutwell and the Chippewas*, 247.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 247.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

being here; but the traders bring us goods, and therefore the Indians are determined that you shall not stay another year.¹³⁶

Through these increasing contentious cultural missteps, the Ojibwe people were “reassess[ing] their relationship with the missionaries.”¹³⁷ This shift occurred because initially, many of the missionary relationships seemed to start off with mutual understandings. But, over time the “missionaries’ antisocial behavior came as a great shock to the Ojibwe, especially after the relationship had seemingly begun so well.”¹³⁸ Despite these community discussions and clearly outlined instructions, Boutwell still hesitated to fully engage in the Anishinaabe customs of reciprocity, further causing rifts and alienating possible students or converts at Leech Lake.

In 1838, for various reasons, William Boutwell with his wife Hester and their children moved from Leech Lake to the Pokegama Mission to replace missionary Frederick Ayer who was transferred. Boutwell responded to these requests for assistance at his new location by further demonstrating his lack of understanding of the Ojibwe culture,

Boutwell adopted a new plan during the nine years he spent at Pokegama. When anyone came begging, he was given an ax, shown the woodpile, and told: ‘If you choose to smoke and sleep all summer, you may begin the winter and get nothing. I have planted, howed, and dug potatoes with my own hands till I am tired, and if you will not raise them for your selves, you shan't eat them.’¹³⁹

¹³⁶ Ibid., 247-248.

¹³⁷ Kugel, *To Be the Main Leaders of Our People*, 44.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 44.

¹³⁹ Letter to Sibley, March 1838, Holcombe, quoted in, Lynch, *William Thurston Boutwell and the Chippewas*, 248.

Despite William Boutwell's controversial and culturally-ignorant policy, which would have created continuing issues in his relationships with the Ojibwe people in Pokegama, the Boutwell's remained in the area for almost ten years. Over time, more concerns began to mount for the missionary couple. According to a letter William Boutwell wrote to Henry Hastings Sibley, Boutwell felt that with,

[the] Sioux-Ojibway attacks, raids and counter-attacks, Pokegama was dangerously exposed, and this fact caused a dispersion of the natives. Although conditions at Pokegama were much better than at Leech Lake, by 1846 the disastrous effect of liquor convinced Boutwell and other missionaries that they could no longer exert much influence on the Indians. [Boutwell] felt it was his duty to ask for a dismissal from the service of the Board in a field where he had worked fifteen years.¹⁴⁰

By summer 1847, Hester and William Boutwell and their children, "sons William, aged five, and Rodney, three, and daughter Kate, aged eight months old" left their home in Pokegama.¹⁴¹ In June, the couple and their children arrived in Stillwater, Minnesota in the St. Croix Valley where William Boutwell continued his evangelist work.

Boutwell's skill in sermon work can be questioned as Hester was known for getting up and storming out of the Church if she did not like her husband's sermon.¹⁴² While living in Stillwater, MN, Hester had three more children. Within six months of living in the St. Croix Valley, they had a daughter, Hester Elvira, January 2nd, 1848. Later, they had another son "Basil Ernest, born 16 November 1850, [who] lived only nine months, and the Boutwell's last child,

¹⁴⁰ Lynch, *William Boutwell and the Chippewas*, 249.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 249.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 250.

Cornelius Lyman, [who] was born 22 November 1852.”¹⁴³ Two of the couple’s children lived with and were subsequently adopted by William’s childless brother and his wife. William Boutwell told the story of the children’s adoption with the Stillwater Messenger newspaper,

In 1840, at the urgent solicitation of my aged parents, and with the consent of the A.B.C.F.M., I revisited New England, where I remained a few weeks, accompanied by my wife and three children. As we were about to return my oldest brother said to me, ‘I wish you would give me that boy.’ His wife at the same time chimed in, ‘I wish you would give me that girl.’ At first the thought was not for a moment to be entertained. ‘We will adopt, educate, and do by and for them as our own.’ So said my brother and his wife. Our children were very dear to us, but the thought of taking them back into pagan night was not a pleasant one. The mother at length consented to part with her son, being influenced perhaps by the presence of an infant of 5 months in her arms. The promise then made was faithfully fulfilled, and we never had occasion to regret the result.¹⁴⁴

The couple may have only seen their daughter Antoinette once thereafter, on a visit to New Hampshire in 1852. The Boutwell’s son Ramsay (named for Hester’s father), showed up at his father’s door in 1889. William shared the tale of this joyful reunion, “[o]ne day a stranger knocked at my door, and being admitted remarked that he knew my brother Clark at Nashua, N.H. I inquired his name when he rose and said, ‘Father have you forgotten Ramsay, your son?’ I was dumbfounded. Could I be expected to recognize in the gray-whiskered man of 52 years the boy whom I had last seen at 15? It was a joyful meeting.”¹⁴⁵

This heartwarming reunification took place without Ramsay’s mother Hester. After nine children and nineteen years of marriage Hester Crooks Boutwell died young, at 36 years old, on

¹⁴³ Ibid., 250.

¹⁴⁴ Brent Peterson, “William Boutwell and the Reunion,” *Stillwater Historian*, 1910, para 8.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., para 7.

October 15th, 1853.¹⁴⁶ William Boutwell quickly remarried and it was postulated that it was his “wish to have a mother's care for his five young children, [so this desire] induced Boutwell to marry Mary Ann Bergen of Lancaster, New Hampshire, eleven months later, on 26 September 1854.”¹⁴⁷ The couple had no children together and William Boutwell’s second wife Mary Ann passed away fourteen years later in 1868, so “Kate, his oldest daughter, came with her husband, Edwin Jones, of Hudson, Wisconsin, to care for her father”¹⁴⁸ William Boutwell, after battling an illness for three years, died at eighty-seven. On October 13, 1890, the St. Paul Daily Globe reported that “[t]he funeral of Rev. William T. Boutwell will be held at 2 o'clock today from the residence in Stillwater town[ship], and the remains will be interred in the little plot opposite the house, beside the graves of deceased's two wives.”¹⁴⁹

The Boutwell’s story left a lingering legacy, in the area and beyond, and upon William’s death both the press and local ministers paid tribute to the evangelical work carried out by Mr. and Mrs. Boutwell. Hester and Williams’s daughter Kate and her husband Edward even chose to remain in the area after her father’s death, eventually leaving their farm to her son, Sterling, and wife Anna upon Kate’s death in 1909.¹⁵⁰

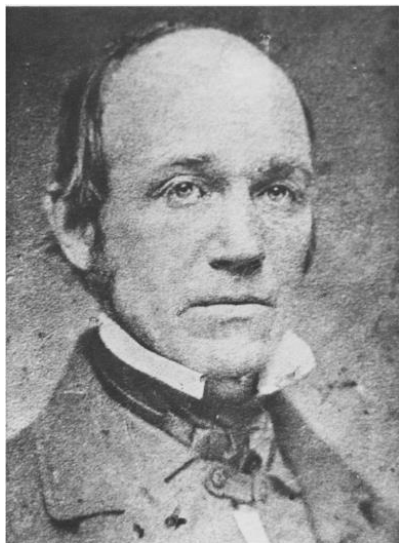
¹⁴⁶ Lynch, *William Boutwell and the Chippewas* ynch, 250

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 250.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Elizabeth B. Erickson, “The Boutwell Cemetery,” *Minnesota Genealogist* 1, no. 2 (1970).

¹⁵⁰ Erickson, “The Boutwell Cemetery.”



EDMUND F. ELY, probably about 1850

151

CATHARINE GOULAIS ELY, about 1865



152

Another Métis missionary wife was Catherine Goulais, later renamed, Catherine Bissell Goulais. Born to an Indigenous mother and white fur-trade father, Goulais' mother was listed as a Chippewa woman.¹⁵³ As with Hester Boutwell (Crooks), little else was written about Bissell Goulais' mother, other than the occasional note in historical texts. One such mention was in the journal of Edmond F. Ely, stating that Catherine was the daughter of a French-Canadian voyageur named Joseph Goulais and an Ojibwe woman named Josette Grant.¹⁵⁴ The Grant

¹⁵¹ Roy Hoover, "‘To Stand Alone in the Wilderness’: Edmund F. Ely Missionary", *Minnesota History* 49, no. 7 (1985): 265–80, 267.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 274.

¹⁵³ Marla De Rosa, "Letters from the Mackinaw Mission School," *The New England Quarterly* 83, no. 4 (December 2010): 705–18, 711.

¹⁵⁴ Edmund F. Ely, *The Ojibwe Journals of Edmund F. Ely, 1833 - 1849*, ed. Theresa M. Schenck (University of Nebraska, 2012), 162.

family was well known in the fur trade business and had various familial ties. It was also noted that Grant had given birth to Catherine in 1817.¹⁵⁵ The impact on Goulais from having an Indigenous mother may have been limited due to her boarding school experience and therefore, the loss of her mother at a young age. Despite the Mackinaw Mission school's Christianising goal, the school itself provided a backdrop of Indigeneity with the many Native children and teachers all living in the same space. At the very least, Catherine gained some knowledge of her mother tongue through her upbringing and education, although it could be argued how well she spoke Anishinaabemowin.

Catherine Goulais was born on November 25th, 1817 in Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan.¹⁵⁶ Just like Hester Crooks, she was educated in the Mackinaw mission school. By 1824, Catharine was boarding at Mackinaw Island in Michigan.¹⁵⁷ It was during this time she acquired the name Bissell. Catherine Goulais' education was partly funded by and named after Josiah Bissell Jr. from Rochester, New York. It was common for individuals to act as beneficiaries and sponsor Indian and Métis children at the mission schools:

As part of their attempt to Americanize both Métis and Indian full blood children, the Ferry's gave them English names. [...] [W]hen Catherine Bissell Ely filled out her "Life memoranda" for the American Board she simply made this entry after name: 'Catharine. The name of my father is Goulais. My mission name was C. Bissell. [...] Most mission names came from eastern benefactors who contributed up to \$30 per year for the privilege of renaming and supporting a Native child.'¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁵ Marla De Rosa, "Letters from the Mackinaw Mission School," 711.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 710.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 710.

¹⁵⁸ Widder, *The Battle for the Soul*, 108.

After graduating from the mission school, on August 30th, 1835, Catharine Bissell Goulais married missionary Edmund Ely at La Pointe, Wisconsin.¹⁵⁹

Almost two years after his arrival on Lake Superior, Ely met the woman who was to become his wife. Catherine Goulais was only seventeen when she arrived at La Pointe on June 30, 1835, sent as a helper in the missionary endeavor. The daughter of a French voyageur and an Ojibwe woman identified as Josette Grant, she had been raised at the Mackinac mission school since she was eight and given the surname of a prominent donor to the ABCFM, Josiah Bissell of Rochester, New York. It was their common dedication to the Christian cause that drew the young people together and sustained them throughout their marriage.¹⁶⁰

Edmund Ely's journal revealed little about his thoughts regarding his young soon-to-be significant other before their marriage. Catherine was scarcely mentioned by Ely in his diary before they wed. Ely first wrote about Catherine on June 30th, 1835, simply stating she had recently arrived from Mackinaw mission and that she, "Speak Chippeway [sic]." ¹⁶¹

The newlyweds continued to live in the schoolhouse at Fond du Lac where Ely has previously taught after their marriage, but, in preparation for their future children, "Ely decided to build separate living quarters so that they could move out of the schoolhouse." ¹⁶² This proved to be a much more complex operation than Ely first imagined, as his stubbornness and Eurocentric beliefs created discord with the Anishinaabe people.

Coincidentally, as Edmund Ely's Eurocentric worldview caused upheaval with the local Ojibwe population, there were two individuals vying to become ogimaa at Fond Du Lac at the

¹⁵⁹ Miller, *Ogimaag*, 7 & 191.

¹⁶⁰ Ely, *The Ojibwe Journals of Edmund F. Ely*, xviii.

¹⁶¹ Ely, *The Ojibwe Journals of Edmund F. Ely, 1833 - 1849*, 162.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, xviii.

same time. If Ely had gained any understanding of the culture or situation occurring around him, especially how the sharing of land and resources was governed politically, he could have influenced the outcome by “exert[ing] significant influence in this situation. Yet, his obliviousness repeatedly worked against him”¹⁶³

Ely and his wife Catherine ended up at Fond du Lac in 1834 where they opened up their mission. This was not their original destination as,

Ely intended to return to the station he had operated the previous year at Yellow Lake, circumstances altered his plans. When he arrived at Fond du Lac, a letter awaited him from his patron William Aitkin, regional manager of the American Fur Company, warning him not to continue into the interior that year. High waters had created a severe shortage of wild rice, on which traders and missionaries as well as Native people were dependent for winter food. Aitkin advised Ely to remain at Fond du Lac on the shore of Lake Superior, where access to fish offset the scarcity of rice.¹⁶⁴

At the time of Mr. and Mrs. Ely’s unforeseen location change for their mission settlement; another change was occurring in the local Anishinaabe community. Zhingob, the community ogimaa had passed away, leaving two men as possible replacements for the hereditary leader. One man, Maangozid was Zhingob’s son in law, held hereditary rights but in a nearby community and had several brothers that could claim ogimaa before him.

The most fundamental grounds for Ojibwe chieftainship in nearly all cases was patrilineal descent from a chiefly lineage. Maangozid descended from an ancient line of chiefs going back over a century and regarded as one of his prized possessions a birch bark scroll that recorded his august family tree. His family also demonstrated charismatic authority through specialized contact with the manidoog, which they likewise passed down through the family.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶³ Miller, *Ogimaag*, 203.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 190.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 188.

Maangozid had married Zhingob's daughter Wemitigoozhiikwe, which was, at the time, Zhingob's only child. Later in life, Zhingob "exercised his chiefly privilege to take a second wife, and she gave birth to a son, Nindipens. At the time of Zhingob's death in 1835, Nindipens had only barely reached adulthood and apparently had not yet served in any official capacity."¹⁶⁶ Maangozid also held the position of a gechi-midewid, and arguably even more important was his position as 'medal chief'.¹⁶⁷ For the Anishinaabe in the Great Lakes area, being granted an American or European medal, "gave the individual the additional distinction of speaking on behalf of the power who bestowed the medal."¹⁶⁸ As Maangozid was gifted a medal from American dignitary Lewis Cass in 1820 "for rendering assistance to Cass's expedition" this gave Maangozid even more credibility in his wife's community.¹⁶⁹ This American medal, combined with his various other sources of authority, made Maangozid a politically prominent person and someone from whom the community could gain guidance.

Despite his age and lack of experience, Nindipens was the son of Zhingob and, in theory, the next ogimaa. But with Maangozid's experience, lineage, role as Zhingob's son-in-law, and highly coveted United States government medal, his claim to become ogimaa rivaled Nindipens. The timing for this conflict was unfortunate for Maangozid, with "criticism of the United States"

¹⁶⁶ Miller, *Ogimaag*, 189.

¹⁶⁷ Miller, 195.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 198.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 189; Kugel, *To Be the Main Leaders of Our People*, 20.

leaving him “vulnerable as community opinion shifted away from this alliance.”¹⁷⁰ Conversely, with Edmund Ely coming into the community to build, Nindipens had a subject which could prove his inexperience would not hinder his ability to become ogimaa, “Nindipens astutely chose the right issue at the right time to stake his claim.”¹⁷¹

The main issue at hand regarding Edmund Ely was that he wanted to build on Anishinaabe lands while using Anishinaabe lumber but did not seem concerned about asking permission or honoring the Anishinaabe customs. Initially upon the Ely’s decision to move to Fond du Lac, Pierre Cotte,

offered to build him a one-room schoolhouse. The generosity of [...] intermediaries meant that Ely did not initially have to negotiate directly with the Ojibwe for food, shelter, or land for the mission. These circumstances also left Ely oblivious to the protocol of securing such privileges, since the seasoned fur traders had conducted negotiations with and presented gifts to the Native community on his behalf.¹⁷²

Consequently, after Catherine and Edmund’s move, Ely’s outside assistance ended. This is when he gained the reputation as being “stingy with gifts in general and with gifts of food in particular.”¹⁷³ This ignorance and unwillingness to learn was devastating for Edmund’s relationship with the Ojibwe people. Due to this, conflict marred the next few years that Mr. and Mrs. Ely spent at Fond du Lac.

Although Edmund Ely did not seem to have the desire to understand the cultural components of the local Anishinaabe he was building alongside, time and time again, people

¹⁷⁰ Miller, *Ogimaag*, 190.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 190.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 191.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 206.

attempted to teach him how to integrate better with the Ojibwe people. Despite facing dire consequences, Ely seemed to care very little about his Indigenous neighbors' customs. Ely even had the audacity to keep cutting timber during these periods of discussion on whether he would be granted rights to the property or trees. Ely's continual misuse of the land and resources gained attention from the various community leaders.

Ely's land use remained a subject of intense interest in the community for a number of reasons. First, Ely persisted in cutting local timber while the community debated the subject. The missionary was oblivious to the fact that Fond du Lac timber was as much an issue as the construction of the house itself. Second, in keeping with Anishinaabeg political structures, private caucusing constituted an important part of community consensus building. This meant constant debate among various gichi-anishinaabeg until they achieved an agreement.¹⁷⁴

As the community debated how to approach Ely, while also trying to determine who would be the next ogimaa, Ely continued on with his antisocial use of the local resources at Fond du Lac.

Over time, and after dealing with various situations needing an authority figure and especially the Ely problem, Maangozid and Nindipens both acted as ogimaag and presented their argument on why each felt they should be the hereditary chief. These arguments were not only presented to their community, but to Edmund Ely as well. While the community struggled with choosing between Maangozid or Nindipens, other outside concerns pressed the Anishinaabe people.

As news about land sales, approaching Americans and, in 1837, an Anishinaabe community signing "their first land cession treaty with the U.S government" waves of dread were hitting the community.¹⁷⁵ This era of fear entangled the communities and boiled over to the

¹⁷⁴ Miller, *Ogimaag*, 202.

¹⁷⁵ Kugel, *To Be the Main Leaders of Our People*, 43.

relationships with the missionaries. There was an overwhelming concern that the Americans would move into the communities and push the Ojibwe out.

The issue of the incoming Americans was relayed to Ely during one discussion moderated by Nindipens. The community members shared their thoughts, stating “[w]e do not hate you, we hate what we’ve heard of the treatment of the Americans towards other Indian Nations.”¹⁷⁶ By the end of this meeting, the members had agreed collectively that they would follow Nindipens authority and decision. Even Maangozid acquiesced to Nindipens by picking up “his old role as giigidowinini, [and] described Nindipens’s chiefly descent, once again demonstrating to the community and to Ely why Nindipens had authority over the issue.”¹⁷⁷ When Nindipens finally spoke, he spoke humbly, stating “that although he rightfully owned the land, he was not the ogimaa. Therefore, he refused to sell the land on the bluff that Ely desired, but he would lend the missionary another tract up the creek for a period of four years.”¹⁷⁸ Nindipens went on to explain that Ely needed “to show mercy to the Indians, once again a reference to redistributing his resources so as to become a contributing member of the community. Finally, Nindipens stated that if any of Ely’s associates came and also wanted to build at Fond du Lac, they also had to ask the council for permission.”¹⁷⁹ This discussion resulted in Nindipens and Eninabondo signing a four-year contract with Ely to utilize their land,

¹⁷⁶ Miller, *Ogimaag*, 214.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 214.

¹⁷⁸ Miller, *Ogimaag*, 214.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 214-215.

and politically it solidified Nindipens as ogimaa. Nindipens had demonstrated “conclusively his ability to control outsiders and to provide for community needs. From this point on, no one in the community expressed any doubt as to Nindipens’s position as ogimaa of Fond du Lac.”¹⁸⁰

With the position of ogimaa all but settled, and Ely’s responsibilities clearly outlined for him to follow in order to maintain in a respectful and productive relationship with the Anishinaabe people, a mutually beneficial relationship seemed assured. Yet, Ely continued to avoid communal gifting, and his perceived greed and disrespect, acted as a catalyst for the community to start to push him out. Nindipens, still had to demonstrate to the community that he could keep the non-Ojibwe neighbor under control but, “[u]nfortunately but predictably, Ely almost immediately failed him.”¹⁸¹ In one scenario,

Ely decreased the quantity of goods he gave Nindipens for his ‘loan’ of the land, using as an excuse that the proposed purchase had become only a lease. Next Ely refused to provide food to three visiting Indians whom Nindipens brought to see him. Ely clearly realized what Nindipens expected, since after the visitors left, he asked if Nindipens had expected him to feed them. When Nindipens replied affirmatively, Ely added insult to injury by pointing out that the river was full of fish and they could get their own food if they put out their nets.”¹⁸²

This arrogance actively worked against Ely. “By undermining Nindipens’s authority through his refusal of gifts of food, he forced Nindipens to reassess his decision to grant Ely access to community resources. As a result, the community began to sanction thefts and vandalism of Ely’s property.”¹⁸³

¹⁸⁰ Miller, 215.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., 215.

¹⁸² Miller, *Ogimaag*, 215-216.

¹⁸³ Ibid., 216.

Ely complained about this forced-sharing, or as he viewed it – theft, in his journal. On August 7th, Ely said he was returning home at about 6:00 pm when “we saw a group of men & women in front of the old houses. On approaching, we saw them busily engaging in skinning an animal which I soon recognised as my bull, our only team & an excellent animal, who would weigh say about 700 lbs.”¹⁸⁴ As Ely aired his grievances later that evening, he was told by other community members that “if I [Ely] felt sad about it, the best way was for me to leave the country, that I might not be sad again, for perhaps they might do something worse. [...] [They] might perhaps injure us.”¹⁸⁵

By 1939, even after living with the Anishinaabe and watching gift-giving demonstrated for years, Ely still approached the Ojibwe custom with a Euro-white lens. This Euro-centrism he employed not only hurt his mission by ostracizing potential members but eventually fractured his relationship with the community to the point he and his family were forced to leave.

During the trials and tribulations of Brother Edmund Ely and his friction with the local Ojibwe community, his wife Catherine remained a key figure behind the scenes. Initially, the decision for the newly married Ely’s to stay in Fond du Lac also surfaced as the mission required a translator, and Catherine Ely was able to fulfill that role. Catherine’s appointment as the mission’s translator, albeit, came with some criticism from her husband. Edmund shared with David Greene (secretary of ABCFM) in a letter that “she [Catherine] possess a rather limited knowledge of the language.”¹⁸⁶ Despite Edmund’s lack of confidence, Catharine Ely lived with

¹⁸⁴ Ely, 295.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 195.

¹⁸⁶ Ely to Greene, December 31, 1835, quoted in Ely, xix.

her husband, and later children, among the Anishinaabe people and seemingly successfully translated for him.¹⁸⁷ Catherine helped teach by occasionally conducting religious classes and “accompanied [Ely] on visits to the Indian lodges.”¹⁸⁸ Catherine also kept a diary like her husband, but it was much less prolific as Edmund’s journal.

Catherine seemed to enjoy being a wife on the ‘frontier’ and presumably enjoyed her husband Edmund (who generally seemed to be found quite repellant to many as referenced in his struggle with the Ojibwe). On January 4th, 1836, Catherine wrote about Edmund and referred to him as “[m]y dear husband.”¹⁸⁹ Catherine wrote fondly about her husband with many of her journal stories referencing Edmund or later, their daughter Mary. Catherine also wrote of her time with spent with fellow Métis and missionary wife and Hester Crooks Boutwell in her personal diary.

In her diary, Catherine details writing her friends letters (including Hester) and her enjoyment of Mrs. Boutwell’s baby. Mrs. Ely also discusses her first child, Mary Wright Ely born on May 29th, 1836, with much of her short diary being dedicated to little Mary’s achievements after that.¹⁹⁰ Catherine went on to have “thirteen children, eight while they were living in missionary lodging, and five after they left the field. Only seven survived into adulthood.”¹⁹¹ Moving frequently, Catherine’s children were born in various locations, “[t]wo

¹⁸⁷ Ely, xix.

¹⁸⁸ Ely, xix.

¹⁸⁹ Ely, *Catherine Ely’s Diary, 1835-1839*, 444.

¹⁹⁰ Ely, *Catherine Ely’s Diary, 1835-1839*, 445

¹⁹¹ Ely, *Ojibwe Journals of Edmond F. Ely*, xix.

were born at Fond du Lac; two at Pokegama; four at La Pointe; two at St. Paul, one during each period of residence there; one at Superior City, Wisconsin; and two at Oneota. Thus, as in the cases of many pioneers of the American West, the parents' wanderings may be traced by the birthplaces of their children."¹⁹² These wanderings did not end with Oneota though, the records show that the Ely's continued their travels until about the 1870s.

In later life, Mr. and Mrs. Ely travelled west. Edmond Ely left missionary work in 1849 by "sever[ing] his connections with the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions."¹⁹³ The Ely's then moved back to Pokegama, but only for a short period of time. Later, Edmund and Catherine Ely moved to St. Paul's, Minnesota. Edmund Ely was credited for being involved in the 'founding' of Oneota, which is currently a part of Duluth. Ely also took up interest in local politics and especially land speculation after his missionary work.¹⁹⁴ Edmund and Catherine Ely then moved from Oneota to St. Paul's from 1870 until 1873, ultimately ending up in Santa Rosa, California. The Ely's remained in California until Catherine passed away in 1880, after 45 years of marriage. Edmund Ely died 2 years later.¹⁹⁵ Neither Boutwell nor Ely took their wives back east to their hometowns but continued to press west as did many other men at the time.

¹⁹² Grace Lee Nute, *The Edmund Franklin Ely Papers*, 354.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 353.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 353-354.

Both Catherine Ely and Hester Boutwell lived between two worlds. As Métis women, they were both raised separately from their Indigenous mothers and placed in an integrated Indian and Métis boarding school (Mackinaw) as young girls. In later years, both women also lived in Indigenous communities while serving as the Christianised frontier wives their missionary husbands had sought out. Although the women may have grown up in a Christian boarding school, both reflected Indigenous survivance in the translated books for their schools. These women also served another function for the missions, they provided translation services in both teaching and translating education texts to help communicate with the Anishinaabe and Métis children.

When trying to analyse the mindset behind the ABCFM, it is critical to dissect the creation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and the people that joined this collective. As well, by analyzing the missionary's wives, and their kin, it is possible to situate these families and understand the Indigeneity that appeared within these translated textbooks. Although the wives both seemed to have lost their mothers early on in their development (thereby partly explaining how they were both raised at mission schools), they retained some connection to their culture through these Indigenous Mission schools, and which also helped to keep knowledge of their language. The wives acted as a counter-balance for the harmful messages found in the mission's school books, which otherwise have a pro-white slant. It is essential to recognize the messages of whiteness and how insidious they are, in order to explore how these messages have been passed down to Indigenous children and people throughout history. Armed with this information, the pro-white messages can be teased out and challenged.

Chapter Three: Exploring the Social Construct of Whiteness

*“Missionaries more than any other persons tended to believe
Christianity and civilization were in direct conflict with Indianness”*¹⁹⁶

As the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) created missions in the Great Lakes areas, the missionaries brought educational texts to teach with and to help spread Christianity. These texts, standardly used in other locations in the eastern United States, were written in English but were translated into the Anishinaabe language to bridge the gap between themselves and the local Anishinaabe and Métis people. Throughout the ABCFM’s educational texts, many insidious messages are hidden concerning whiteness, Euro-centrism, white supremacy and the veneration of the European ‘motherland.’

To explore the pervasiveness of these whiteness messages, their intent and their link to colonialization, it is useful to explore contemporary whiteness theories, to lend the language needed to understand the historical race relations occurring between the white missionaries and the Anishinaabe community members. These pro-white messages reinforced a belief that justified and validated colonialism and the incursion on to Indigenous lands. The conviction was that Indigenous cultures were not civilized, but European culture was. The belief that the Indigenous cosmologies were not equal to Christianity, that Native religion was not valid, and that non-Christian people needed to convert to be saved is apparent in the texts. The idea that the only right way was the ‘white’ way stands out. Yet, when reading these texts, another theme

¹⁹⁶ Berkhofer, *The White Man’s Indian*, 151.

emerges – that of Indigeneity. Indigenous missionary wives, who likely spoke Anishinaabemowin from an early age, provided significant assistance to their husbands during the translation of the mission’s texts. Indigeneity can be found within these missionary textbooks.

The messages included within the ABCFM texts include pro-European messages, with books like *Peter Parley’s Geography* promoting the erroneous concept of the civilized nations all while criticizing the savage and “deluded” people.¹⁹⁷ In the ABCFM spelling books, there are pro-white messages as well, with a promotion of all things considered civilized. Understanding why these messages are in children’s educational texts can be achieved by breaking down the concept of whiteness, its creation and how whiteness has become a social ‘status quo’ that often acts on a subconscious level. The fallacious concept that whites are superior to non-whites occurred because white society perpetuated this narrative, not because of some inherent genetic gift. Unpacking the white missionaries’ declared intention of spreading Christianity to the Indigenous communities reveals that there was a more insidious purpose to this mission. The missionaries were not simply there altruistically to spread the word of God but the spent their lives attempting to convert pagans help to placate the theistic rules of their faith. Yet, the missionaries and their Christian message also served another function: they upheld the newly created and quickly building white supremacist American society that was permeating Indigenous lands.

In order to better understand why pro-whiteness messages had been taught to the Indigenous children via the missionaries, it is vital to comprehend what precisely is whiteness.

¹⁹⁷ Goodrich, *Peter Parley’s Geography*, 23

Different theories on whiteness have been developed over the years. Fields such as sociology, psychology, ethnic studies, African American studies, Native/Indigenous studies, women and gender studies all encouraged dialogue about race and racism throughout their histories. Tackling issues such as colonialism, racism and prejudice, othering, and social strata, the academy has explored the impacts of the construct of race for hundreds of years. Emerging from these academic roots arose a field focussed heavily on the negative social impacts of the belief in the inherent supremacy of white people -- whiteness studies. Exploring the topic of racism and social inequality between the races, whiteness studies turned the focus of these topics onto white people as a collective and the society that upholds their privileges. Whiteness studies endeavours to deconstruct race relations, and challenge the inherent privileges held by white people due to a society built on white supremacy. The idea behind whiteness studies is to turn the gaze from what non-white people should be doing to solve 'their' racism problem, and puts the onus back on white people, to do significantly more of the heavy lifting when looking at racial disparities.

Whiteness studies is an interdisciplinary area of education which was born from the examination of the socially created division of 'races,' specifically exploring who could be considered white and the implications of whiteness in society. Historically, the concept of whiteness was debated, and has shifted over the last century or so. But, definite themes have emerged, the division of the socially created human races and assigning individuals labels: of white, or not white, privileged or not privileged, colonizer and the colonized. The historical justification for these racial categories was based on the 'need' for the dehumanization of people. The defence of atrocities such as slavery, land theft and genocide were implemented through these manufactured racial hierarchies. Ultimately, this human hierarchy was created to provide

reasoning for the violence needed in order to utilize people for forced labor and exploit the land for resources. Any incursions or cultural attack could be justified by simply by noting the individual or nation's supposed incivility, lack of Christian faith, and general lack of humanity.

It is important to take the time to note that although the terms white and whiteness are inherently problematic, most colonially created language is. Dr. Emma LaRocque, a Métis and Cree scholar discusses some implications,

[t]he term 'White' is, of course, problematic because it is in many ways as reductive, stereotypical, and obstructive as the word 'Indian.' But like the word 'Indian,' 'White' was birthed at the site of colonization – which is located squarely on White social and racial doctrines. Most of the racially biased images, social arrangements, policies, and legislation that have had an irrevocable impact on Native peoples come specifically from European views and frameworks. It is, therefore, virtually impossible to deny either the term 'White' or the existence of racism in any study concerning power relations between White and non-White peoples. To be sure, this may not be a comfortable discussion, but as a study of power relations in society, it is certainly not personal, as such.¹⁹⁸

Even with the terms 'white' and 'whiteness' being overly-simplistic and problematic as LaRocque notes, they have predominantly been used to describe European-heritage, socially privileged people as a collective since these categories were first created.

To study whiteness, there needs to be a basic understanding of who the 'whites' are. White people are a group of European-descended individuals with less melanin presenting in their skin, who, through living in North America (and other colonial nations) benefited from these white supremacist societies simply by being white. These privileges may not even be noticed by the white individual since they are a part of everyday interactions in their communities. It must be noted though that there can be daily oppressions or intersections in these

¹⁹⁸ LaRocque, *When the Other is Me*, 8.

privileges.¹⁹⁹ These intersections such as gender, sexual orientation, income level, disability and other components of an individual's life may diminish their day to day privileges but the privileges from being white remain.

Originating primarily from theorists based in fields like psychology or psychiatry, the area of whiteness studies and the number of scholars within it has risen exponentially since the late 20th century. The initial investigations into colonial relationships focussed mainly on African versus Euro-white heritage in various colonized societies. Later, these racial investigations spread into the various departments across academia, with a focus on subjects in the social sciences and humanities. Despite the relative modernity of the whiteness studies field, the discussions about white/non-white race relations had been going on for decades with conversations becoming more prominent early in the 20th century. Scholars such as W.E.B. Du Bois and Frantz Fanon theorized about the effects of racial segregation and separation during the late 1800s and mid-1900s, respectively. From this base of knowledge, ethnic and whiteness studies has expanded, growing to investigate all sociological race-based relationships involving white people.

In order to understand how whiteness was disseminated among the young Indigenous students at the mission schools, it is important to understand the scholarship behind race relations and promotion of the belief of white supremacy. Although the main theories of whiteness were textualized after all of the ABCFM missions had already closed, these theories merely lent language to a dynamic that had been operating for centuries.

¹⁹⁹ Kimberle Crenshaw, "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics," *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 8, no. 1 (1989), 140.



W.E.B

William Edward Burghardt (W.E.B.) Du Bois was a social theorist who laid the groundwork for ethnic and whiteness studies. Du Bois was a Black sociologist, educator, historian, writer, editor, poet, and scholar who looked at the “double” life the Black American was living in mid 20th century America. In 1935, W.E.B. Du Bois published *Black Reconstruction in America*, which further explored the dichotomy between the colonizer/colonized or between white/non-white. In *Black Reconstruction in America*, Du Bois discovers how whiteness was built on devaluing people, with his studies focussing on the Black population. Within this text, Du Bois also explores the revolutionary concepts of not only ‘who’ is white, but the idea of holding privileges as a result of one’s whiteness.

One of W.E.B Du Bois’ theoretical discussions focussed on the duality of the colonized mind, and specifically the African American population’s double consciousness, created by racial stratification. Du Bois posited that there was a:

double life every American Negro must live, as a Negro and as an American, [...] from this must arise a painful self-consciousness, an almost morbid sense of personality and a moral hesitancy which is fatal to self-confidence. The worlds within and without the Veil of Color are changing, and changing rapidly, but not at the same rate, not in the same

way; and this must produce a peculiar wrenching of the soul, a peculiar sense of doubt and bewilderment. Such a double life, with double thoughts, double duties, and double social classes, must give rise to double words and double ideals, and tempt the mind to pretence or revolt, to hypocrisy or radicalism.²⁰⁰

As W. E. B discusses, the colonized navigates a double life, and this also can be related to exploring the dynamics of the mid-1800s Anishinaabe people. As white Americans pushed their way onto Indigenous territories, there was a shift in their way of life. Helping the Americans and Europeans may have created conflict with what was needed and desired for their communities. The Anishinaabe and their status on the land shifted, with poverty increasing due to white incursion, unauthorized use of their resources, restriction of their space and through the displacement of various nations. This created a duality of white American versus Anishinaabe-American. This duality is displayed even more when the Americans try to control the Anishinaabe people. They are no longer simply Anishinaabe people on Anishinaabe land, they are Anishinaabe people on the land which has been declared American. Therefore, over time they become strangers in their own country.

Another theorist who helped create the base for whiteness studies, which further uncovered the dynamics operating at the ABCFM missions' schools, was Frantz Fanon, an Afro-West Indian psychoanalyst, psychiatrist, and social philosopher. Fanon wrote a series of books on the effects of colonialism on colonized nations starting with *Black Skin, White Masks* in 1952 (translated in 1967), *A Dying Colonialism* in 1959 (translated in 1965) and published just months before his death, *The Wretched of the Earth* in 1961 (translated in 1963). These texts included critical race discussions that later helped create academic fields of study such as whiteness

²⁰⁰ W.E.B Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, ed. Brent Hayes Edwards (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 136.

studies. Fanon theorized about the impacts of colonialization. How this force impacted the psyche of the colonized and attacked their identity, culture, and right to exist. Fanon detailed that, through the white gaze, the colonized constantly questioned their own humanity.

Fanon, just like W.E.B Du Bois, outlined discussions of the colonizer/colonized or white/Person of Colour (PoC) through the framework of the Black experience. Fanon details how the internalized struggle of the colonized person which creates dissonance. This dissonance establishes a division between Blacks and whites and helps reinforce the racial hierarchy. This dynamic also mirrors statements presented by W.E.B Du Bois, how the colonizer's attack on the psyche can have the oppressed person questioning their identity or leading a 'double life.'²⁰¹

Building off theorists like W.E.B Du Bois and Frantz Fanon, Sociologist Ruth Frankenberg wrote her first book, *The Social Construction of Whiteness: White Women, Race Matters* in 1993. Ruth Frankenberg looks past the surface of race relations to the basis of what has obstructed and impacted these relationships. She explores how it is not merely a white/Black dichotomy, but that there is a reality of white societal privilege and superiority that undermined these interactions. Looking at the other side of race relations, whiteness, Frankenberg extrapolates theories from previous scholars work to understand intercultural dynamics from the oppressors' side of the interaction. When discussing how the majority of social exchanges involving white and non-white people hold racial underpinnings, it is important to note that this applies to Indigenous and white relations as well. As referenced in the missionaries and Indigenous relationships during the mid-1800s, there was a belief held by the white missionaries that their euro-white way of life was the only way to be civilized. This assumption came from the

²⁰¹ Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, 136.

white perspective, that most non-white (and especially non-Christian) people were heathens and deluded. In order to understand how the inherent belief of white superiority impacted the missionary and Indigenous relationships, a definition of whiteness is essential.

Frankenberg endeavours to convey what race is, what the social concept of whiteness is and why it is important to label it. Firstly, the social construct of race needs to be defined to understand what whiteness is. Frankenberg outlines race as “socially constructed rather than inherently meaningful category, one linked to relations of power and processes of struggle, and one whose meaning changes over time. Race, like gender, is ‘real’ in the sense that it has real, though changing effects in the world and real, tangible and complex impact on individuals’ sense of self, experiences, and life chances.”²⁰² Just as race is culturally defined, correspondingly so is whiteness. Frankenberg details a few of the main components of whiteness, that it is socially created and inconspicuous,

To speak of the “‘social construction of whiteness’ asserts that there are locations, discourse, and material relations to which the term ‘whiteness’ applies. [...] [W]hiteness refers to a set of locations that are historically, socially, politically, and culturally produced and, moreover, are intrinsically linked to unfolding relations of dominance. Naming ‘whiteness’ displaces it from the unmarked, unnamed status that is itself an effect of its dominance. Among the effects on white people both of race privilege and of the dominance of whiteness are their seeming normativity, their structured invisibility.”²⁰³

This cloaking of whiteness was also reflected during the mid 19th century America. Christian missionaries claimed to be civilized, not because of their race, but due to their religion. The missionaries did not mention that the base of Christianity was racially white, in fact they

²⁰² Frankenberg, *The Social Construction of Whiteness*, 11.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 6.

professed “Tell me then what makes the difference between me and an Indian, since it is neither color nor language. [...] IT IS THE BOOK.”²⁰⁴ Despite the missionaries proudly declaring how race plays no part in their religion, they are overlooking all of the various intersections where race and Christianity cross. Their goal, to Christianize the “benighted heathen[s]” clearly links eurocentrism to Christianity.²⁰⁵

It is important to follow throughout history when these pro-white messages were encouraged among the non-white communities. Whiteness situates itself in society. Embedded within our culture, whiteness is insidious, quietly subjugating and oppressing non-white people. To combat this self-perpetuating issue, whiteness needs to be named and situations where it was disseminated, unpacked. Due to its insidious nature, Frankenberg explains why calling out the existence of whiteness is needed, “[w]hy is looking at whiteness important? To name whiteness [...] makes room for the linkage of white subjects to histories not encompassed by, but connected to, that of racism: histories of colonialism and imperialism, and, secondarily, histories of assimilations in the United States.”²⁰⁶ Frankenberg’s reason for dismantling whiteness provides a map for understanding how to mitigate or eliminate how whiteness impacts nearly every component of our society and always has. Assimilation and Christianising tactics used by the incoming Americans were also reflected in the missionary’s teachings and belief system. The whiteness theories help to explain that after the colonization of America, the society that was created was based on white supremacy. This drive to find and call out whiteness and the hidden

²⁰⁴ Boutwell to Schoolcraft, June 12, 1835, Nute, Box 4, MHS

²⁰⁵ Missionary Herald, Vol. 29, iss 2, 63

²⁰⁶ Frankenberg, *White Women, Race Matters*, 7

pro-white messages included in our society helps to provide encouragement in seeking out the bias included in the ABCFM's textbooks that were used with Indigenous students. It is imperative to challenge these pro-white messages and 'norms' to uncover how, where and when these messages of white superiority have been integrated into our society; especially in cases such as the mission's texts where these messages were presented early in America's colonial history, to Indigenous people and non-white people and, more alarmingly, to children.

Robert F Berkhofer in his book *The White Man's Indian*, discusses Indigenous and white interactions, which principally have been governed through the frame that whiteness created. Berkhofer explains how the term Indian has been used to define a pan-Indian image of Indigenous people, arguably since the time of contact. Berkhofer explains, "Native Americans were and are real, but the Indian was a white invention and still remains largely a white image or stereotype because it does not square with present-day conceptions of how those people called Indians lived and saw themselves."²⁰⁷ It was through the creation of the Indian that whites separated themselves as civilized, while othering Indigenous people as fundamentally uncivilized. The Indian, this white created false image would prove essential for the various methods used against the Indigenous people to further the social construct of whiteness to be effective.

The Indian is an image where Indigenous people are held static, frozen in history, savage, and promoting tropes such as the Indian princess, the squaw, warring savage and noble savage. This construction of the Indian was used to justify various types of dehumanization, such as land theft, incursion and the attack on Indigenous religions and culture. "If the primitivistic version of

²⁰⁷ Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian*, 3.

Indian goodness promised easy fulfillment of European desires, the image of the bad Indian proved the absolute necessity, if difficult, of forcing Native Americans from ‘savage’ to European ways through the exploitation of their physical bodies, spiritual souls, or tribal lands.”²⁰⁸

With the view that the Indigenous people were living in a static and savage community, they put little stock into the elaborate and spiritual society they were living alongside. “Beneath both the good and bad images used by explorer, settler, missionary, and policymaker alike lay the idea of Indian deficiency that assumed - even demanded - that Whites do something to or for Indians to raise them to European standards, whether for crass or idealistic motives.”²⁰⁹ In fact, the whites that were intruding on Indigenous lands believed that the “invasion and settlement of native lands as beneficial to the Indians as well as to the Whites, for the Indians received the blessings of Christianity and civilization in exchange for their labor and/or lands.”²¹⁰

Berkhofer goes on to explain how whiteness, not only supported the invasion and theft of Indigenous lands but opened the door for missionaries to apply their version of salvation. “Not only did the image of the Savage Indian rationalize European Conquest but it also spurred missionaries to greater zeal and their patrons to larger contributions.”²¹¹ This zeal partnered with the passion of Christian benevolence in the 19th century meant missionaries were even more driven to civilize and convert the Indigenous people.

²⁰⁸ Berkhofer, *The White Man’s Indian*, 119.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 119.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 117-118.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, 119.

Applying directly to the missionaries and their focus on saving the Indigenous population is the Eurocentric theory of Americanism. Berkhofer further details the white and Indigenous interactions by looking at Americanism and how it encouraged missionary schools. Americanism was deeply connected to religion, and especially Protestant Christianity. As the drive for the perfect America grew, the white's beliefs of what America would look like was steeped in Eurocentrism. Religion was imperative, yet Anishinaabe religion was not counted as valid. Only euro-white way of life was to be encouraged.

Americanism rested upon a firm religious and moral groundwork in the opinion of all policymakers, and so naturally religion, preferably Protestantism, was presumed to be an inextricable part of the acculturation process for Indians. Whether missionaries favored civilizing or Christianizing their charges first, erecting small stations and day schools or building large manual labor boarding schools, they sought to re-form the Indian into a model American husband or wife, who farmed his private property, attended church faithfully, could read and write and keep accounts, and participated in government as an American citizen. [...] [These missionaries] expected the rapid conversion of Indian tribes to White civilization and Christianity. Since the superiority of the American Way of Life appeared self-evident to them, they thought that Indians too would see it in their immediate self-interest to adopt the habits and beliefs of the (good) White American after a brief demonstration.²¹²

When exploring the idea of Americanism, it is made clear that the whites' eurocentrism created justification for over-zealous (and later forced) attempts at Christianization. With the idea that the only right way was the white way, policymakers, missionaries, their funders, and the average American would not be satisfied until all Indigenous nations lived a life that mirrored the white-ideal. Americanism further demonstrated how white ideals permeated all interactions with the Indigenous population, from early on in America's history, leading into contemporary times.

²¹² Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian*, 150.

These negative and destructive images attacked the foundation of the nations that the Euro-whites came in to contact with and later colonized. Through conduits such as religion, legislation, and education, the white colonizer spread their messages of supremacy, all the while reiterating their beliefs about the perceived ‘savagery’ of the nations they were engaging with. This dichotomy formed a society based on white supremacy. Even without extensive theoretical language to explain these interactions, when exploring the early missionary’s beliefs, and interactions with Indigenous people, it is clear whiteness and eurocentrism is being promoted.

When looking at scholars of psychology and ethnic/whiteness studies, from North America and abroad, common themes and theories are evident. Dehumanization, the double life/walking in two worlds, who is and is not civilized, the idea of whiteness, all impacted the relationship between white and non-white Americans. When looking at the interactions between the missionaries and the Anishinaabe people, this racial dichotomy is also demonstrated. These concepts and theories are important to aid in understanding why pro-Euro-white messages were ingrained into early ABCFM missionary’s texts and to deconstruct the early racial dynamics between these two groups.

Historically, pro-white messages were passed on continuing the reinforcement of whiteness into the foundation of North American society. These messages were also presented to Children of Colour repeatedly throughout the history of the United States and Canada. The impacts of these pro-white messages have been staggering throughout centuries of colonialism. The cycle of pro-whiteness messages being promoted to children, internalization of these messages and the subsequent dissemination of these messages themselves becomes self-

perpetuating. This continuing trauma affects North American society and especially People of Colour as these traumas are replicated through daily interactions with whiteness.

Through understanding that whiteness exists, and that it is fully entrenched in our society, we can look at how to stop it. Looking at theorists such as W.E.B. Du Bois, Frantz Fanon, Ruth Frankenberg, and Indigenous academics such as Emma LaRocque, we can understand why pro-Euro-white messages were included in the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mission's texts. Deconstructing the ABCFM's educational texts and their hidden messages can help to start us on the path to challenge the pro-white messages that built our society and continue to harm Indigenous people today.

Chapter Four: ABCFM Missionary Texts and Coded Messages

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions had various educational texts they used to educate the Indigenous students that attended their missions in the Great Lakes areas. Books on spelling, geography, and other topics were used by the missionaries to teach the students who were mainly Anishinaabe and “‘mixed-bloods,’ people of mixed descent.”²¹³ The missionaries also wanted to convert the local population to Christianity, despite the Indigenous people having their own belief system – utilizing practices such as storytelling or real-life play toys to teach their children.

In 1822, the first American Board of Foreign Commissioner’s missionaries arrived in Mackinaw.²¹⁴ They came with, among other intentions, the goal of teaching the local Indigenous children. Yet, when they arrived, they had “no knowledge of the Ojibwe language.”²¹⁵ They went on to administer sermons and teach “all their classes in English since they had no books in Ojibwe and used interpreters whenever possible. [...] It was, however, a basic tenet of these missionaries that the Indians must be taught in their own language, not in English, and therefor the teachers had to learn the native language and produce books in that language.”²¹⁶

Despite the missionary’s belief that learning Ojibwe to be an easy task, they were quickly struck by how intricate the language was. “Ojibwe is not an easy language, as the missionaries soon discovered. Unbelievably rich in vocabulary, grammatical inflections, and potential for

²¹³ Ely, *The Ojibwe Journals of Edmund F. Ely, 1833-1849*, xiii.

²¹⁴ Ibid., page xxii.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

derivatives, Ojibwe has thousands of verb forms that make it difficult to master. English concepts and words are not easily translated into Ojibwe words with identical meaning.”²¹⁷ The issues were not simply translation though,

One question all these missionary linguists had to answer was how to represent Ojibwe sounds with symbols. The English alphabet presented a problem in that a single vowel might stand for three or more sounds (e.g., the u in fun, put, rule, muse), or a single sound might be represented by two or more letters (e.g., the vowels in some, but, was). In 1820 linguist John Pickering had proposed a single orthography for all Indian languages, in which each letter would have a single value.²¹⁸

Other men attempted to create an anglicized and written version of Ojibwe after the 1830s. Dr. Edwin James, an army surgeon at the Mackinaw post was “long interested American Indian languages. [...] [B]egan a study of Ojibwe in 1830 and soon developed an acceptable system of orthography in which sound values were represented by the spelling of their nearest equivalent sound in American English. With the assistance of the Rev. Abel Bingham and Miss McCumber of the Baptist mission, he then began to translate books of the New Testament into Ojibwe.”²¹⁹ Around the same time, another ABCFM missionary named Elisha Loomis began working on their own creation of Ojibwe-Roman orthography. Loomis’ written version of Ojibwe was the first one used by the ABCFM missionaries in a spelling book. Used by “both Sherman Hall, abcfm missionary at La Pointe, and Edwin James [they] agreed to accept it. However, William Ferry, superior of the Mackinac mission, dissented over the representation of diphthongs as well as the various sounds of *a*.”²²⁰ Despite these difficulties, the various ABCFM

²¹⁷ Ibid., xxiii.

²¹⁸ Ibid.

²¹⁹ Ibid, xxiii, xxiv.

²²⁰ Ibid., xxiv

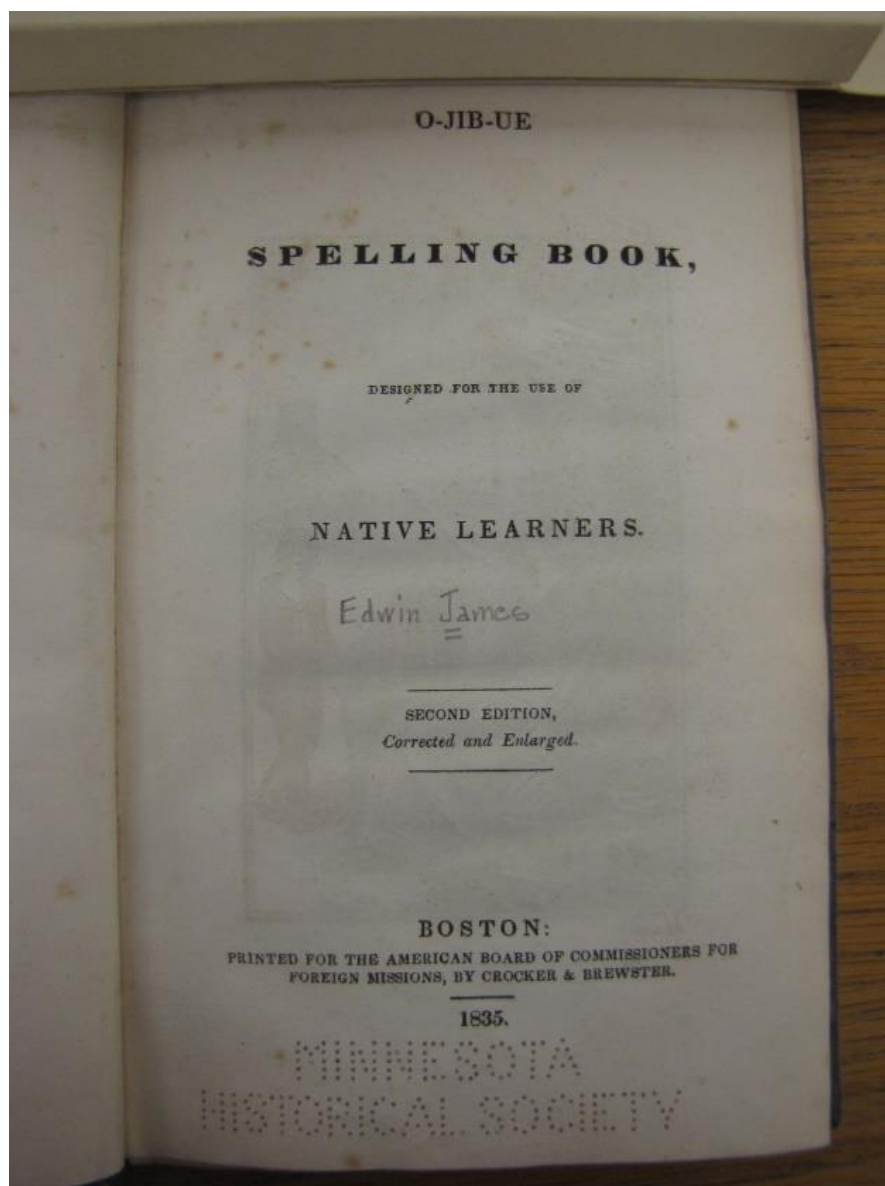
missions (and missionaries) began to learn Anishinaabe, develop its representation in Roman orthography and utilize the language in their educational texts.

Through the missionaries' desire to connect with their students, they developed texts written in Anishinaabe. The spelling books that were developed to teach and convert the Anishinaabe and Métis children,

were the principal means of teaching Ojibwe children to read and write, but they bore no resemblance to the spelling books used in schools today. The books began with a chart of the system of orthography used, letters or symbols and sound value, followed by lists of words and sentences that the students read aloud. They did not write in the books, but on slates furnished by the abcfm. It was quickly seen that the spelling book written by Elisha Loomis was of little use to teachers who had developed a different orthography. Eventually the abcfm missionaries would develop a new spelling book.²²¹

By the 1830s the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mission *Ojibue Spelling Book* was printed in the hundreds and being distributed in the ABCFM missions across the Great Lakes area.

²²¹ Ely, *The Ojibwe Journals of Edmund F. Ely*, xxiv



(Picture credit: Cary Miller)

ABCFM Spelling Books and Coded Messages

Due to the work of the missionaries and their Native translator wives, the spelling books the ABCFM missionaries developed had both English and Ojibwe phrases. Some pages included stories, some simple lines of texts, others a list of words and their translations. Other pages held

various pictures and images of the contents mentioned within its pages. When thoroughly examined, it could be posited that there were messages hidden within the pages of these texts. Some passages spoke of pro-Euro/white messages, a Christian God and ideals. Other lines were more aligned with the Indigenous and Anishinaabe ways, detailing specific words and phrases that reflected Anishinaabe life at the time; indicative of the Indigenous wives' influence in these translations.

The ABCFM's *Ojibue Spelling Book* contained messages of Eurocentrism, promoting a lifestyle previously unfamiliar to the Anishinaabe people, but according to the missionaries was aligned with Christian ideals. This new life was not necessarily cohesive with the existing Anishinaabe ways. For the missionaries, teaching and learning in the European way was important to become a good God-fearing civilized Christian. As Kugel points out, "[i]f the missionaries [...] defined the Ojibwe in terms of what they lacked – Christianity and civilization – then their own role was equally obvious."²²² Messages in the ABCFM spelling books alluded to how the children should approach learning,

I shall never learn this lesson, said David to his mother; it is too difficult.

Ever since I ate, I have worked hard to learn it.

It is impossible for me to repeat even one word of it.

So, I will go and play.

Do not, said his mother to him; by and by when you have learned your lesson, you can go.

Soon the bell will ring.

²²² Kugel, *To Be the Main Leaders of Our People*, 29.

Your play troubles you too much; this is the reason why you do not know your lesson.

If you do not learn your lessons, your class mates will outstrip you. Never give up your lesson, although it is difficult.²²³

The missionary's and the Indigenous community's approach towards learning methods differed greatly as evidenced in the previous quotation. Anishinaabe children were not taught by long and tedious hours of classroom instruction but through family and stories in the family lodge or on the land. A collaborative teaching method, stories brought the community together to learn and share as a collective. As Anishinaabe Elder Tobasonakwut Kinew (who passed away on December 23, 2012) stated, "[o]ur stories remind us of who we are and help others know more about us as people. [...] [T]he way we tell stories and what is required to hear them is part of our learning process."²²⁴ Kinew elaborates on how stories are told when the Canadian geese/nikag leave and are told over many days. The concept of a child being forced to absorb and memorize large blocks of text was not part of the Anishinaabe pedagogy. Instead, the stories happen night after night, with many children in attendance, and each story building on the last. Therefore, the stories come together to paint a whole picture, of many teachings and many lessons, that children easily learn from and remember. Kinew elaborates,

All of the stories are connected. [...] The point is she resumes her stories and then she goes back and says, so do you remember what happened the first night, do you remember what happened the second night and the seventh night and the thirteen night and the

²²³ ABCFM, *Ojibue Spelling Book*, 14 & 15.

²²⁴ Tobasonakwut Kinew, quoted in Untuwe Pi Kin He – Who We Are: Treaty Elders' Teachings Volume I, 24.

thirty-second night and the eighth night, no. Well you better think it over. It's easy to recall the first night, second night and we try to help each other on how everything is connected. Then after discussion, then you begin to discover, my God, this is connected with this in this way, in this way and this way and that way and this way and this way. Yeah. Then you begin to find out the pattern.²²⁵

The image Elder Kinew paints is much different from the ABCFM text. "*If you do not learn your lessons, your class mates will outstrip you*" is an intimidating statement, encouraging competitiveness between individual children, creating a space in which learning was that much more unenjoyable.

George Copway, an Ojibwe missionary, that, despite his conversion to Christianity, held his culture's traditional education method in high esteem. Copway wrote in his journal that the Ojibwe people "have a great fund of legends, stories, and traditional tales, the relating and hearing of which, formed a vast fund of winter evening instruction and amusement."²²⁶ He goes on to describe how,

Some of the stories are most exciting and so intensely interesting, that I have seen children during the relation, whose tears would flow most plentiful, and their breasts heave with thoughts too big for utterance. Night after night for weeks have I stopped and eagerly listen to the stories. The days following, the characters would haunt me at every step, every removing Leaf would seem to be a voice of a spirit dot-dot-dot these Legends have an important bearing on the character of the children of our nation. The fire - Blaze is endearing to them in after years by a thousand happy Recollections. By mingling thus, social habits are formed and strengthened.²²⁷

²²⁵ Kinew, quoted in Untuwe Pi Kin He – Who We Are, 24.

²²⁶ George Copway Journal, (1850), 95-97 quoted in Thomas W Overholt and J Baird Callicott, *Clothed-in-Fur, and Other Tales: An Introduction to an Ojibwa World View*, ed. William Jones (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1982), 26.

²²⁷ Ibid., 26.

The image that Copway painted reflected the previous learning experiences of the Indigenous children: coming together, excited to listen and learn, asking questions and putting together many nights of teachings collaboratively to create a full story. The idea of a child being forced to stay and learn (or even the struggle to force learning) did not reflect Indigenous values. The lines found within the spelling books truly reflect the cold and isolated nature of the Euro-white experience of learning.

Another comparison between the Anishinaabe way of education and Euro-white pedagogy can be found when discussing life cycles and specifically, death. The end of life was mentioned repeatedly throughout the missionary's texts, with the spelling book discussing death on many of its pages. From discussions on the mortality of humans to a list of death associated words, even a short story talking about visiting a graveyard, the educational texts contain an expansive curriculum regarding death. The morbidity within the ABCFM spelling textbooks was thought-provoking, as the disconnected Euro-white perception was evident. One such focus on death was a list of assorted words associated with death. "A cross. A blanket. A gouge. A coffin."²²⁸ As well, statements such as, "Where do you think the spirits of these dead are? They are where God is, or where Satan is."²²⁹ The spelling books also included short stories, including a brief one about a graveyard visit:

Come, let us go and see the graves. They are yonder on the other side of the road. We will read the characters on the grave-stones and crosses. This is the grave of an old man. He knew much sorrow and pain here on earth. That person died at an earlier age. Those who are buried here, are of all ages. That grave is just dug. Some one has lately died. ²³⁰

²²⁸ ABCFM, *Ojibue Spelling books*, 10.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, 12.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, 11

This focus on death in such a cold and detached way reflected the white perceptive. After death, people were sorted into Heaven and Hell, their paths were decided due to their faith while alive. For the Anishinaabe people, death impacted them greatly. It was not something to casually ‘deal’ with and forget, but a process of mourning and re-learning how to live.

As can be noted in the ABCFM spelling books, death held a particular fascination for the white Christians. Christianity was hyper-focussed on where one’s soul would go after death and the approach towards bereavement was taciturnly discussed by the missionaries. Showing up in the children’s spelling books and commonly throughout their correspondence in the *Missionary Herald*, their euro-centered arguably callous understanding of death conflicted with Ojibwe belief systems. The Anishinaabe approached death with less callousness and life-altering customs that guided them through the pain of their new life without their loved one.

One story describing opposing perspectives on death was written in missionary Edmund Ely’s diary.

October 23rd, 1838

Akinenzi’s (deaf man) son about 3 yrs of age died this morning after an illness of about 4 days. We were called on to make a coffin. We carried it over, as we entered the lodge, Nindipens was speaking a word of consolation to the afflicted father, manitons Kaiashkibaz, Kebeshko & Animiga, sat around with Shishiguon and Mitiguokik, ready to perform their pagan ceremonies. The Bearskin came and asked food to set before those who should bury the dead. Knowing that he wanted to make a feast at the grave, I positively [sic] declined giving, telling him if the afflicted were hungry I would set food before them, but could give nothing for pagan and feasting. After we went in, they requested us to say nothing, as they wished the deceased to go right into the Indian’s paradise. We told them we had not come over to take any part in the occasion other than to assist in burying the dead. K. and Kaiashkibaz then commenced rattling while Kebeshbo made a short harangue to the deity I suppose. [...] After the song ceased, we were told to proceed, but before we could take up the body, the parents wish to have a last look. The blanket was accordingly unpinned. They threw themselves upon it, with

wailings, most heart rending in [which] relatives joined. [...] It became necessary to absolutely take the afflicted parents away from the body. It was at this moment the most romantic and melancholy scene I ever witnessed.²³¹

This story clearly demonstrates how the Ojibwe family was overcome with anguish as the loss of the child created an emotional, painful and visceral reaction that they did not conceal. The missionaries and specifically Ely looked on with muted but empathic response. The family's impassioned outpouring opposed the approach of the cool and calm missionary, whose belief system said they had to approach death methodically. Also, to be noted in the story is a small digression where Ely, refused to participate in sharing food to make a spirit plate for the ceremony. The protocols around death were important to the Anishinaabe people, yet Ely chose to refuse to participate in assisting the purported pagan customs as it offended his Eurocentric belief system. This behaviour was not unlike Ely who had built rifts in the Fond du Lac community where he was living.

Processing the concept of life and death is a ubiquitous act, as the processes “serve several key practical, personal, and social functions that are universal: they help to dispose of the body; they help the mourners to reorient themselves following a loss, and they help the group to readjust.”²³² But, for the Anishinaabe people, the process was both interactive and life-altering. Death and the mourning process was not approached coldly but as an ever-changing and (at

²³¹ Ely, *The Ojibwe Journals of Edmund F. Ely*, 301-302.

²³² Paul Hackett and American Society for Ethnohistory, “Historical Mourning Practices Observed among the Cree and Ojibway Indians of the Central Subarctic,” in *Ethnohistory: The Official Journal of the American Society for Ethnohistory* (Durham, Nc: Duke University Press, 2005), 504-505.

least) year long endeavour. There were two main components involved in mourning for Ojibwe people in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries:

The first involved the abandonment or destruction of possessions. Historically it was not uncommon among North American Indians for mourners to place a few selected goods with the corpse. For many peoples it was assumed that the deceased would be able to make use of objects such as hunting tools, tobacco, food, and clothing after death. [...] according to S.G. Wright, who served as physician to the Leech Lake Ojibway of northwestern Minnesota in the 1880s, many believed ‘that there was a spirit dwelling in the article represented by the material article; thus the war-club contained a spiritual war-club, the pipe a spiritual pipe, which could be used by the departed in another world. These several spiritual implements were supposed, of course, to accompany the soul, to be used on the way to its final resting abode’²³³

The first component of the mourning ritual after the death of a loved one involved the placing of items with the person that passed and the relinquishment/destruction of items. Many stories had been shared about the Anishinaabe people destroying both their loved one’s property and their own. Some of these stories included grief so overwhelming that the individual would give away/destroy every item they had, down to almost absolute nakedness. One story, originating from the Lac Seul area in 1844, involved an Ojibway trapper whose son had recently died. The trapper had “appeared at the post in a desperate situation. ‘Of course,’ wrote the HBC trader in charge of the post, ‘he threw away every thing he had & is entirely naked except a rag of an old rabbit skin blanket to cover his shoulders.’”²³⁴ The Ojibwe mourning ritual of relinquishing personal property was both widespread and diverse. Thus, on some occasions furs, clothes, and goods were said to have been given to others, while in many other cases they were

²³³ Yarrow 1976: 95 quoted in Paul Hackett and American Society for Ethnohistory, “Historical Mourning Practices Observed among the Cree and Ojibway Indians of the Central Subarctic,” 505.

²³⁴ Quoted in Hackett, *Historical Mourning Practices*, 506.

burned, thrown in a river, or simply abandoned. Likewise, the extent to which the grieving survivors had to rid themselves of their belongings apparently was not uniform either. Many passages in the historical records refer only to the destruction of trading furs or other objects that might be discarded without immediate hardship. At other times, however, it is clear that those in mourning had disposed of all of their personal possessions, down to their clothes.²³⁵

The second element of the Ojibwe mourning ritual was the termination of hunting for approximately a year for the family of the deceased.

A second common mourning practice [...] required the cessation of hunting for a prolonged period, almost invariably a year. Sometimes simply the trapping of furs for trade was suspended; sometimes all hunting by the mourners stopped. Following the death of the wife of Segewish in 1829 at Lake Nipigon, north of Lake Superior, trader Donald McIntosh commented in his journal that the Indian ‘resigned himself to gloom & melancholy & could not turn his mind to hunt or anything else.’ A reaction that the trader later identified as a general rule among the Indians.²³⁶

These practices held by Anishinaabe people demonstrate the difference between the Euro-white and the Anishinaabe view of death. The coldness of the white perspective, from listing implements of death, visits to graveyards and the like differ greatly from the heartfelt and passionate demonstrations exhibited by the Indigenous people. Their involvement with the mourning process was highly involved, with their loved one’s items placed with them or destroyed, as well as the destruction of their own belongings. The grieving family members also stopped hunting for about a year, giving them time to learn how to cope without their missing relative and continuing the physical manifestation and cultural rituals of their grief. These

²³⁵ Ibid., 506.

²³⁶ Hackett, *Historical Mourning Practices*, 506-507.

powerful practices reflect on how the ABCFM spelling books outlining death in such a casual manner, differed greatly from the Anishinaabe's beliefs and practices on losing their loved ones.

Along with this continued focus on death in the ABCFM spelling books, was the constant discussion of Satan/evil. It was not to say that Ojibwe nations did not have concepts of the malevolent, with spirits such as Windigo (a cannibal 'monster') and maji-manidoo (an evil being that is soulless), these conceptualizations of evil can also be found in Anishinaabe culture. The difference was Euro-white culture seemed to constantly mention this 'evilness,' how one must obey or be subjected to eternal punishment or how it could be easily manifested in people. One quote from the ABCFM texts reads like a short story,

That fellow is a hard case. He will not obey his parents. He has evil intentions. He wishes to go and wander about. They will cry for me, he thinks. They will search for me. They will coax me. They will comfort me. I will finally yield. I will return to them Then I will do as I please at home. Thus he says to himself. So he takes his moccassins.[sic] Having belted himself to go, he feigns to cry as he goes out. He runs towards the woods. By and by it is night. Do not cry for him, parents; he will not freeze, for it is July. Perhaps he will be ashamed in the morning.²³⁷

The story looks at a 'disobedient' child as both evil and manipulative, wanting to do what he desires at home. This reflects on the strictness and punishment-based lifestyle of the Euro-white, that children were expected to be mini-adults and obey without question. The Ojibwe lifestyle had learning, teaching, familial lessons of course, but did not seem to include highly rigid and oppressive rules that Euro-white culture held. In fact, Ojibwe parents were so horrified by the methods of punishment used by the missionaries that they removed or kept their children from school. "Ojibwe families that sent their children to school were shocked to learn the missionaries resorted to corporal punishment to discipline their pupils. The Ojibwe reasoned that a child who

²³⁷ ABCFM, *Ojibue Spelling books*, 4.

was brutally treated would grow up to be a hostile and mean-spirited adult.”²³⁸ The missionary’s use of punishment was yet another area where cultural misunderstandings did occur. As well, the Euro-white Christian belief of ‘spare the rod and spoil the child’ is demonstrated through the missionaries use of force against their young students. One such incident of inappropriate punishment involved the missionary Edmund Ely, who repeatedly seemed to offend and upset the local Anishinaabe community.

An incident recorded by Reverend Ely typifies the problems in cultural communication and the resulting influence on school attendance. After disciplining an Anishinaabe girl by pulling her hair, Ely sensed that his students disapproved of his classroom government. Determined to resolve a mounting problem, Ely met with the parents. The hairpulling, he discovered, had caused the irregular attendance. He was astonished to learn that the Ojibwa considered pulling the hair of anyone, especially children, to be a ‘cruel & degrading punishment & calculated to make the scholars very angry.’ The parents suggested that, instead, he flog any unruly child. ‘I felt unwilling to do this,’ Ely wrote since hairpulling appeared ‘as a more mild punishment than blow . . . under this Yankee notion.’²³⁹

Even though Edmund Ely was often stubborn, he realized he had behaved inappropriately when disciplining the Indigenous youth and that cultural missteps alienated the students from attending his school. Ely “was anxious to know what he had done to alienate his students and how to rectify matters.”²⁴⁰ Ely’s ignorance for the Anishinaabeg parent’s dislike for hairpulling

²³⁸ Kugel, *To Be the Main Leaders of Our People*, 35.

²³⁹ Moranian, “Ethnocide in the Schoolhouse,” 253-254.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 253-254.

created further issues between himself and the community. These problems worked counterproductively to Ely's goal of Christianising the masses. Through acts such as the culturally insensitive hair-pulling among others, Ely's euro-centric actions and lack of understanding regarding Ojibwe culture repeatedly hindered his attempts at drawing in students for his mission school.

The Anishinaabe parents possessed different views towards child rearing than white culture did. The Ojibwe adults viewed the missionaries' cruel methods of punishment as not only detrimental to the child, but the entire community as well. This fact was due to the idea that the children would grow up to be uncaring, feeling no obligation to their community, or obligation to caring for their older kin. There was even a concern that physical punishment could make people evil. The Indigenous way of parenting was much kinder than the missionaries and euro-whites, "[t]he Ojibwe found it far more effective to inculcate desired values and proper behaviour positively, by example and kindly treatment."²⁴¹ The Euro-white way of punishing children ultimately did fail, as the Ojibwe parent's "expectations were confirmed in the cases of children punished by the missionaries. The children punished under this method, of corporal punishment, become 'ungovernable at home & at school.' As an immediate result, families kept their children away from the schools and the missionaries were nonplussed."²⁴²

²⁴¹ Kugel, *To Be the Main Leaders of Our People*, 35.

²⁴² Communication between Sherman Hall to David Greene, 17 September 1831, ABCFM Papers, Box 1 quoted in, Kugel, *To Be the Main Leaders of Our People*, 35-36 .

Another discrepancy between the Euro-white and Indigenous ways of learning could be found in the white view of the Creator, and how Christianity focussed on separating work and play. Many of the statements written in the ABCFM spelling books referred to Christian God and how omnipresent ‘He’ is. Countless references not only center on the idea of a Euro-Christian God but reflect Eurocentric white values as opposed to Indigenous ones. “He that made us all is God. He made the sun and the moon. [...] Now go and learn your book. You must know it well. Then you may go and sport.”²⁴³ The focus on ‘work before play’ was a very Eurocentric concept, constantly mentioned in the Ojibwe spellers. Children were expected to sit for extended periods of time and practice rote learning until their lessons were sufficiently memorized before being granted the relief of play. This concept of learning was not only different, the missionaries and euro-whites considered it superior. The missionaries, after encountering the Anishinaabe way of education, did not halt their teaching and attempted a more gentle and immersive style approach, they continued to tout their supposed supremacy by forcing the European pedagogical technique.

A short story reflecting the Anishinaabe way of encouraging learning and play demonstrates the difference between the Euro-white and Indigenous methods can be found in Dr. Niigonwedom Sinclair’s dissertation, *Nindoodemag Bagijiganan: A History of Anishinaabeg Narrative*. The story details the ease with which an Indigenous teacher sends her students to play, without the harshness of the ‘work to earn’ a break mentality that the Euro-whites employed. The story called “Giche Makwa (The Great Bear)” is by Alex DeCoteau, a Cree man from Red Pheasant First Nation. As the story begins, “a group of students ask their teacher if they can play in the forest near their school. Unsure, the teacher tells them: ‘Gogo ginwenzh ondendikegon!

²⁴³ Kugel, *To Be the Main Leaders of Our People*, 37.

(Do not be gone long).”²⁴⁴ Dr. Sinclair details the rest of DeCoteau’s story, sharing how the children got distracted playing and realized night was upon them. A scary sound approached, which was Giche Makwa, the Great Bear! Fear turns to relief when the Giche Makwa speaks Anishinaabemowin and helps the children. As the kids return safely home with the Great Bear’s help, they call out “Miigwech miishoomis (“Thanks grampa”)” as the Bear leaves them.²⁴⁵

The story not only looks at the freedom to play when requested but how the children overcome their initial fear, then subsequently accept Giche Makwa. This interaction becomes a learning experience in itself, and Bear/Giche Makwa goes from scary stranger to family during the story. This shift is evidenced in the exchange between the children and the Bear: “Miigwech miishoomis (thanks Grandpa).”²⁴⁶ Giche Makwa (The Great Bear) also details the comfort of the Ojibwe teacher sending the children off to play, the independence children had in their communities and spaces, and their responsibility of returning to ensure their parents would not be lonesome. This differs greatly from the idea of sitting long hours to rote learn to ‘earn’ outside or playtime. The complete authority that adults and, in this case, teachers had over the children differed in white as opposed to Anishinaabe culture. The Euro-white culture held adults and children in a hierarchal position, with adults always remaining the authority of the children. This is displayed when comparing the quotes previously listed: “Now go and learn your book. You must try to know it well. Then you may go and sport.”²⁴⁷ versus the Anishinaabe teacher granting

²⁴⁴ Niigonwedom James Sinclair, *Nindoodemag Bagijiganan: A History of Anishinaabeg Narrative*, 262- 263.

²⁴⁵ Sinclair, *Nindoodemag Bagijiganan: A History of Anishinaabeg Narrative*, 263.

²⁴⁶ Ibid., 262- 263.

²⁴⁷ ABCFM, *Ojibue Spelling Book*, 37.

the students leisure time when asked; merely reminding them to “Gogo ginwenzh ondendikegon! (Do not be gone long)”²⁴⁸

The story Giche Makwa (The Great Bear) was not an isolated incident. The Anishinaabe culture always held play as central to their children’s upbringing. Playthings were common, with little ones being given toys that included a sweet treat.

Among the first playthings given a child was the skin of some small animal filled with maple sugar and imperfectly sewed, so that the child in handling the article and putting it to its mouth would obtain a little of the sugar. Squirrels and other animals were stuffed as playthings for children, wild rice being sometimes used for the purpose. [...] Birds as well as animals were stuffed and used as toys, and that it was customary in old times to tie some small object to a baby’s wrist, the object being something that the child could put in its mouth.²⁴⁹

Play also mirrored activities that the children picked up from the people around them. For children a little older, the games and toys reflected their future roles in the community. Little girls played a version of house, while boys were given instruments to hunt. The girl’s toys included bags cut from, “[l]arge flat lichens [...] and etched in patterns resembling those on woven-yarn bags. These were used by little girls in their play, being placed along the walls in imitation of the yarn bags in the wigwams.”²⁵⁰ The little girls also made, and played with “miniature mats from rushes and were encouraged to take the bark from small birch-bark trees and make rolls similar to those used for wigwam covers; they also made little birch-bark utensils

²⁴⁸ Niigonwedom James Sinclair, *Nindoodemag Bagijiganan: A History of Anishinaabeg Narrative*, 263.

²⁴⁹ Frances Densmore, *Chippewa Customs* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1979), 64.

²⁵⁰ Densmore, *Chippewa Customs*, 65.

similar to those made by their mothers.”²⁵¹ For the little boys, their play focussed on them as hunters and warriors. “As soon as a boy was able to hold anything in his hands he was given something resembling a bow and arrow and taught to go through the motions of shooting. A bow and arrows were first given a boy when he was 5 or 6 years of age, and with this he took his first lessons in the craft that was most necessary to a hunter or warrior in the old days. In the specimen illustrated (pl. 25, a) the bow is about 11 inches long. The bowstring is of basswood twine, and the arrows are blunt. The boy was taught to hold the bow horizontally, the arrow resting on the bow and passing under the bowstring. He held the bow in such a manner that his thumb was inside the bow while the arrow passed between two fingers. The projection at the end of the arrow was held between the thumb and finger of the right hand, making it an easy matter to “draw the bow.” It was said that boys were encouraged to use this bow and arrows and that they “could be trusted not to do any damage with it.”²⁵²

With learning through play clearly holding a central place in Anishinaabe society, the difference of the Euro-white perception of learning is evident. Demanding that the youth sit and learn so others would not ‘surpass’ them reflected the harshness of this educational method. As well, earning the right to play through sitting for many hours of rote learning, demonstrated that the regimented Euro-white way did not mirror the Anishinaabe’s teaching system whatsoever. The Anishinaabe children, “soon found tiresome the regimented daily routine of a New England-style schoolhouse and ceased to attend.”²⁵³ Even the missionaries lamented about the freedom of

²⁵¹ Ibid., 65.

²⁵² Ibid., 65-66.

²⁵³ Kugel, *To Be the Main Leaders of Our People*, 35.

the Indigenous children, as “Edmund Ely complained in 1835, ‘the Child does as it pleases. They who come [to school], therefor, Come from their own wills ... [and are] very irregular’”²⁵⁴ This difference between the Euro-white and the Anishinaabe cultures is quite evident, not just discernable by noting the spelling books hidden messages, but also by delving into the teaching pedagogies and treatment of children of both peoples.

The spelling books contained many messages between the lines that may be perceptible, both subliminally and supraliminally by the Indigenous students. These messages normalize the white Christian God and Other all other spiritual ways and rites as wrong. These messages support the euro-white concept of seemingly ‘evolved’ ways of cleanliness and studiousness. One passage in the ABCFM *Ojibue Spelling* book reflecting the concern with uncleanness states, “he has dirty hands, [...] he smells [...] he has a dirty head” and later in the text “he has dirty feet.”²⁵⁵ These are a sampling of the many references to cleanliness, or the perceived lack thereof in the children’s educational book. These passages help to demonstrate the missionaries desire to impart their self-promoted euro-white cleanliness standards, all the while centering the idea of dirty, and smelly within their textbooks. The idea of heightened cleanliness is not new to the missionaries. Their belief that “Slovenliness is no part of religion. Cleanliness is indeed next to Godliness” loudly declares that the Christian view of hygiene puts one next to God.²⁵⁶ As well, a Psalm found within the Bible stating, “Who shall ascend the hill of the Lord? And who shall stand in his holy place? He who has clean hands and a pure heart” reflects the earlier

²⁵⁴ Ibid., 35.

²⁵⁵ ABCFM, *Ojibue Spelling Book*, 43, 49 & 57.

²⁵⁶ John Wesley, “Cleanliness Is Indeed next to Godliness,” (1778).

statement in the spelling book, which focussed distastefully on body parts. The spelling book professed ‘he has dirty hands’ where the obvious importance to those with hand purity being able to ascend towards God.²⁵⁷ This white Christian view of cleanliness as next to Godliness reflected the seriousness of their euro-centric belief. Through these passages it was made clear that all those who do not follow the euro-white way of hygiene were unclean, both physically and spiritually.

The missionaries also promoted rigid studiousness over play; of which is now known that ‘play’ is imperative for building children physically, intellectually and socially. As well, throughout these texts the supposition of evil/Satan and physical punishments are featured prominently, which countered much of the Ojibwe cultural beliefs and parenting methods. When exploring the ABCFM educational texts for these embedded pro-Euro passages, the messages can be found in more than just their spelling books. Other learning materials were introduced to the Indigenous children, such as Peter Parley’s Geography book, which not only held many of the same messages but declared them even more conspicuously.

²⁵⁷ Bible, Psalms 24:3-4.



Samuel Griswold Goodrich

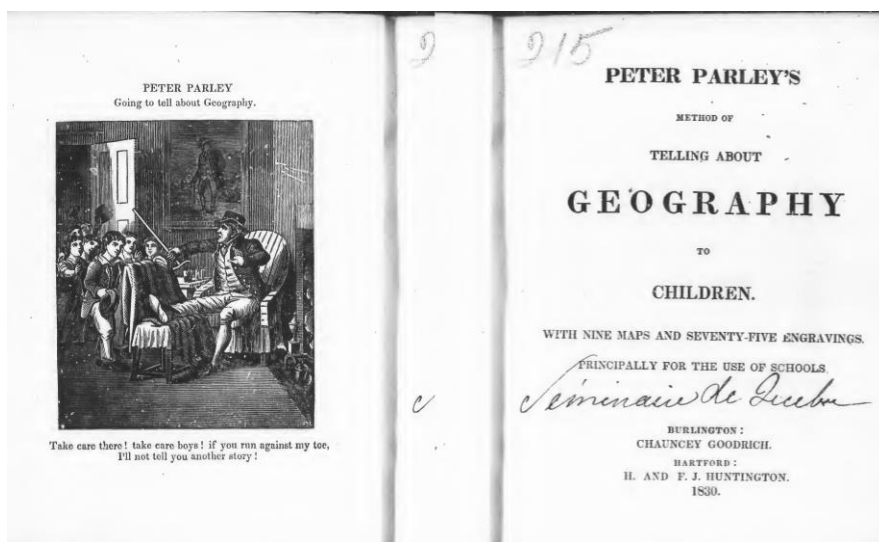
Peter Parley's Geography

Another text that the ABCFM utilized to educate and Christianize the local Anishinaabe children was a Geography textbook that was purported to be written by a man who had traversed the many continents himself, Peter Parley. In fact, these texts were created by a man named Samuel Goodrich and 'Peter Parley' was a caricature of a kindly old white man who had proudly travelled the world.

Samuel Griswold Goodrich is best known by his pen name "Peter Parley." He was born in Connecticut in 1793, and died in 1860. He was the son of a Congregational minister. He became a book publisher in Hartford and Boston after receiving only an elementary education. [...] In 1827, he [Samuel Goodrich] began his series of books for the young which embraced geography, biography, history, science, and miscellaneous tales of which he was the sole author of a few and of which there were more than one hundred volumes. The Tales of Peter Parley About America is one of his books. [...] In the tales of Peter Parley an old gentleman is represented as talking to a group of inquiring children

and instruction is given in a thin sugar-coating fiction, but it met the educational needs of the time and millions were sold.²⁵⁸

At the time Samuel Goodrich (Peter Parley) was writing about World Geography and other educational subjects, the United States was shifting and changing. This was due to many factors: relations with the Indigenous populations, increasing numbers of Euro-whites, wars, among other causes. The pro-American stance was driving society, with this message showing up in the texts aimed at children.



When examining Peter Parley's Geography text, there are some notable differences from the ABCFM translated missionary spelling books. There was a distinct absence of Indigeneity within the Geography text, and the pro-white messages were much more deliberate. Parley/Goodrich was clear in this message. Everything associated with the United States or Europe is positive, while most other people or nations that are not European/American are savage. Although, Parley/Goodrich added a caveat, "[y]ou must also understand that there are

²⁵⁸ Gladys Scott, Peter Parley: His Magazine and His Books, Peabody Journal of Education, Vol. 19, No. 5 (Mar 1942), pp. 290-292, 290.

some nations, as the Hindoos, that are in a middle state, between civilization and barbarism.”²⁵⁹

This statement was included in the *Geography* text, seemingly to clarify his tendentious stratification of humanity - that there truly were not-fully barbaric non-whites.

In creating his narrative about the relatively ‘new’ United States, Peter Parley starts with listing the new states, then to the glorification of all components of the American nation. Parley’s text, written in the 1830s, discusses how the,

United States are 24 in number. Their names are Maine, New-Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Louisiana, Indiana, Mississippi, Illinois, Alabama, Missouri. The six eastern States are often called New England.²⁶⁰

He goes on to declare how these states and “people of the United States are very happy. They have a fine country, which produces beautiful trees, a plenty of grain, and delicious fruits.”²⁶¹

Parley also details how the United States political system is superior to all, even the beloved ‘homeland’ of Europe. “In America our rulers are generally wise and just men; and if they do wrong, the people renounce them and choose others. But in most parts of Europe the people do not choose their kings and rulers; and if they are ever so cruel, the people cannot very well help themselves.”²⁶² Parley subsequently shares how,

The happiest and best kind of government is a free government. In the United States the government is free, and is called republican. In empires and kingdoms the people have nothing to do with choosing the king or emperor; they must take him who is born to

²⁵⁹ Goodrich, *Peter Parley’s Geography*, 106.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 35.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 35.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, 66.

them, whether good or bad. If a king or emperor is ever so wicked and cruel, the people have no right to displace him and choose another. But in a republican government the people choose their president, and the other persons whom they wish to put into the various offices of government. [...] The president is placed at the head of the nation. A number of men are chosen to make laws. They are called the Congress. Judges are appointed to see that people are just to each other, and to inflict punishment upon criminals. Now if the president, the members of congress, the judges, or any other persons in office, do wrong, the people will vote for them no more, but will choose others to fill their places. This mode of government is the safest, and our experience has found it to be the best. There is no country so happy in all respects as our own.²⁶³

Parley's idealization of the American political system speaks to the messages presented in the education texts, that colonized America is the greatest, happiest and most just nation, with all others falling short. As Parley declares that "[t]here is no country so happy in all respects as our own."²⁶⁴ Parley is of course speaking of the concept of Euro-white America, the colonized, Christianized and Democratic nation. Parley's America is especially superior to, as Parley calls them, the 'savage' nations, which throughout his books he repeatedly notes the difference between the supposed civilized versus savages (and a few variations between).

²⁶³ Goodrich, *Peter Parley's Geography*, 108.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 108.



265

Promoting Whiteness, The Glory of America and the Motherland

Throughout the various ABCFM educational texts, pro-white statements can be found.

Peter Parley/Samuel Goodrich not only venerates the newly created settler- nation of the ‘United States’ but also the homelands from which these “re-settlers”²⁶⁶ came from. Parley writes,

Europe is the smallest of the three divisions of the eastern continent, but it is for many reasons the most interesting. The people in Europe are more enlightened than the people of Asia and Africa; that is, they are better educated, and have more knowledge of those arts which serve to make life comfortable and happy. The history of America, you know, only goes back to the time of its discovery by Columbus, but a little more than 300 years ago. What happened in America previous to that tie, we cannot know; for the native Indians of America had no books, and no means of preserving their history.²⁶⁷

Parley’s statement holds various links to Eurocentric beliefs. His glowing language paints a picture of the highly evolved and civilized Europe that is a departure from his negative language

²⁶⁵ Goodrich, Photo of the “Democratic America’ from Peter Parley’s Geography, 108.

²⁶⁶ LaRocque, *When the Other is Me*, 7,

²⁶⁷ Peter Parley’s Geography, 61.

scattered throughout referring to non-white people as savages and heathens. Parley also reflects the idea of J. M Blaut, that European expansionism is the start of all history. Blaut defines the idea that Europe is the bringer of both history and civilization saying, that “the European miracle. [...] is the idea that Europe was more advanced and more progressive than all other regions prior to 1492, prior, that is, to the beginning of the period of colonialism, the period in which Europe and Non-Europe came into intense interaction.”²⁶⁸ Blaut goes on to explain that the belief that Europe is the creator of all history does not act alone, it is coupled with the idea that Europe believes is innately more progressive and advanced. Blaut further explores the various components to euro-white and their inherent belief in superiority through the theory of Euro-centric diffusionism.

Eurocentric diffusionism, “is the notion that European civilization – “The West”- has had some unique historical advantage, some special quality of race or culture or environment or mind or spirit, which gives this human community a permanent superiority over all other communities, at all times in history and down to the present.” This belief means that Europe claims to be the most enlightened, as they are the epitome of civilization – with all others falling permanently short. Blaut elaborates,

This belief is both historical and geographical. Europeans are seen as the “makers of history.” Europe eternally advances, progresses, modernizes. The rest of the world advances more sluggishly, or stagnates: it is “traditional society.” Therefore, the world has a permanent geographical centre and a permanent periphery: an Inside and an Outside. Inside leads, Outside lags. Inside innovates, Outside imitates. This belief is [Eurocentric] diffusionism. It is a theory about the way cultural processes tend to move over the surface of the world as a whole. They tend to flow out of the European sector toward the non-European sector. This is the natural, normal, logical, and ethical flow of

²⁶⁸ Blaut, *The Colonizers Model of the World*, 2.

culture, of innovation, of human causality. Europe, eternally is Inside. Non-Europe is Outside. Europe is the source of most diffusions; non-Europe is the recipient.²⁶⁹

Blaut's theories are clearly demonstrated in Parley's statement. Europe is the most interesting, the creators of art, the nation who started history.

Also tucked within Parley's observation about Europe, was his belief that the Indians did not record their history. Dr. Niigaanwewidam James Sinclair (Niigaan) discusses this pervasive misconception that Indigenous people, and in this case, Anishinaabe people, did not record their history and had no written systems. In his thesis, *Nindoodemag Bagijiganan: A History of Anishinaabeg Narrative*. Dr. Sinclair "attempts to offer a bridge between several genres and open up senses of written language." Dr. Niigaan Sinclair goes on to theorize that, "Anishinaabeg narrative expressions are offerings that incorporate complex uses of text and authorship alongside spoken word and gesture. They more often than not combine aspects of performativity, audience involvement, notions of orality and the written, subjectivity, and aesthetics."²⁷⁰ The European/white perspective on what constitutes 'literature' is flawed. Based on Eurocentric ideologies, and with a narrow view on the Indigenous method historical record-keeping and written systems. Dr. Sinclair then clarifies how the European perspective is both narrow and needs a re-examination. Dr. Sinclair states "I am arguing that it may be that European understandings of what is writing and text constrain the study of Anishinaabeg narrative and a more open-ended approach is required. For instance, Wiisaakodewag researcher Patricia D. McGuire writes that "Anishinaabe were given first instructions on how to live on the earth"

²⁶⁹ Blaut, *The Colonizers Model of the World*, 1.

²⁷⁰ Sinclair, *Nindoodemag Bagijiganan: A History of Anishinaabeg Narrative*, 51.

through narrative and have accepted this gift very seriously.²⁷¹ This differs greatly from the aforementioned concept that Anishinaabe and Indigenous people, in general, did not record their history. They not only did keep a record, they also approached this endeavour with respect and sincerity.

Samuel Goodrich/Peter Parley discusses Europe throughout his Geography book. In his text, he often uses over-zealous language when referring to the motherland. Parley pridefully declares that, “I have been in Europe. Europe is a great country, and lies to the east, where the sun seems to rise from. [...] There are many nations and many cities in Europe; they have fine roads there, and splendid coaches, and beautiful horses, and excellent stone bridges.”²⁷² The glowing description of the motherland, exuding beauty and culture, pops up repeatedly through the Geography text. With terms such as fine, splendid, beautiful and excellent, they are a stark difference to his negative rendering of non-Euro-white cultures.

In *The Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon stated that: “Negroes are savages, brutes, illiterates.”²⁷³ Fanon’s statement reflects the way euro-whites viewed the Black population and subsequently, governed interactions between the two groups. These harmful stereotypes Fanon labelled, could also be in the mission school’s Geography book. In one passage discussing Africa, Parley declared that “[u]ntil within three or four hundred years, almost the whole of Africa, except the northern and north eastern part, has been unknown; and it is probable that for many ages the greater part of this vast land has remained much the same as now; inhabited by a

²⁷¹ Ibid., 52.

²⁷² Goodrich, *Peter Parley’s Geography*, 23.

²⁷³ Fanon, *Black Skins, White Masks*, 117.

multitude of tribes of ignorant and savage peopled.” This was a common theme among the missionary texts, the idea that all nations other than Europe or America practiced savagery, with the Black and Native populations being particularly unrefined by Christianity’s standards. This is how the basis of whiteness was supported, by continually othering non-white people by ensuring the whites are always considered civilized, and the People of Colour, as savages.

The use of overzealous language by Peter Parley speaks to Albert Memmi’s discussion of the colonizer’s need to defend, venerate and endorse the mother land. Memmi explores this over-evaluation of Europe, or the “Mother Land” by stating that the colonizer/colonist “takes pains to present the most glorious image of home” and “[h]is pure fervor for the mother country makes him a true patriot, a fine ambassador, representing its most noble features.”²⁷⁴ Memmi deconstructs the need for these glowing messages of the colonizer. Memmi uncovers how the colonizer's connection to what they declare is civilized land, partnered with their belief of euro-white inherent superiority helps to separate them, from the colonized. Memmi clarifies,

[h]e will, therefore, call attention to the qualities of his native land-extolling them, exaggerating them-stressing its special traditions, its cultural originality. Thus, at the same time, he establishes his own share in that prosperous world, his natural tie to his homeland. Likewise, he is assured of the impossibility of the colonized sharing in its magnificence.²⁷⁵

This Euro-centric conceptualization of the motherland is juxtaposed against the perceived savagery of multiple nations of non-white peoples. One such passage that details the other side of this ‘Civ/Sav’ dichotomy creates a mental image of the purported barbarians, who are scattered

²⁷⁴ Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (Boston, Massachusetts: Beacon Press, 1991), 65 & 103.

²⁷⁵ Memmi, *The Colonizer and The Colonized*, 102.

throughout the world. Parley lists the offending people and nations: “[a] large portion of the earth is inhabited by people in this savage state. The western part of North America, the southern part of South: America, many of the Asiatic and African Islands, New-Holland, the interior and western and southern part of Africa, are all in this condition.” Parley goes on to details their barbarous lifestyle,

Here is a picture of some savages. They live principally by hunting and fishing. They have various methods of catching wild game, such as bears, deer, buffaloes [sic], rabbits and other animals and birds of different kinds. They also have various modes of catching fish. These people seldom cultivate the land, and when they do they cultivate it poorly. Their houses are often poor huts, made of sticks and mud. Sometimes they are made of poles, or sticks put together like log houses. They generally go naked or nearly so. They have little knowledge of the arts by which comfortable houses are built, or good clothes made, or good food cooked. They have no books, and they are generally poor, ignorant, and miserable. They are also generally cruel.²⁷⁶

The picture painted here is the opposite of the European/white imagery. The housing, food, lifestyle, and culture of the Indigenous and most of the non-white people were “cruel” and they are, to quote Parley ‘poor, ignorant and miserable.’ This clearly sends a message to the students reading and engaging these texts as they learn alongside the ABCFM missionaries. This ‘Civ/Sav’ distinction can be found throughout the educational books used by the ABCFM missionaries for teaching Indigenous students.

Another theorist that outlined the reasoning behind the colonizer/colonized or ‘Civ/Sav’ relationship was political consultant, and writer, Peter Puxley. Puxley weighed in on his understanding of this binary, “If it can be shown that the product of a colonial relationship is dehumanization, then we must assume that the relationship is opposed to the development of not only the colonized but also the colonizer. If human life entails acting out a uniquely human

²⁷⁶ Parley, *Geography*, 104.

vocation, then the colonial relationship destroys rather than creates life”.²⁷⁷ Puxley’s statement closely echoes Albert Memmi’s perspective on the colonial relationship. Memmi states “for if colonization destroys the colonized, it also rots the colonizer.”²⁷⁸ Through both these theorists, it is made clear that it is a fundamental truth that colonialism creates dehumanization and resides in relations between white and non-white people. These human-created differences are found repeatedly throughout the ABCFM educational texts, and even more brazenly so in Peter Parley’s *Geography* book.

Peter Parley also discusses his beliefs about the civilized versus the savage. He begins with a brief, but sweeping judgement about the savagery in North America, but also includes other various nations. Parley states “A large portion of the earth is inhabited by people in this savage state. The western part of North America, the southern part of South America, many of the Asiatic and African Islands, New-Holland, the interior and western and southern part of Africa, are all in this condition.”²⁷⁹ Parley then goes, a few pages later, to paint a picture of the ‘civilized’ peoples:

Here is a picture of people living in cities. These are called civilized. Those nations that understand the art of building good houses, making clothes for wearing, and that know how to dress or cook vegetables well for food, are called civilized. They generally live in towns, and have ships, which go to various parts of the world to exchange the fruits and manufactures of one country for those of another. This is called commerce. Civilized countries are by far the happiest. All Europe, the greater part of America, the northern part of Africa, and generally the southeastern coasts of Asia, may be called civilized. The degrees of civilization are however very different. The inhabitants to China and the Japan Isles, know how to build houses, and are very in genius in their manufactures, but they have by no means so much knowledge of the various arts which are necessary to make

²⁷⁷ Peter Puxley, “The Colonial Experience,” in *The Dene Nation: The Colony Within*, ed. Melville H Watkins (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), 103.

²⁷⁸ Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, xvii.

²⁷⁹ Goodrich, *Peter Parley’s Geography*, 104.

life comfortable and happy, as we have in the United States, and as they have in England, France, and other parts of Europe. [...] In general a nation is cruel in proportion as it is savage. **People are generally humane and kind in proportion as they are civilized.**²⁸⁰

When looking at what messages promoting the idea of white supremacy was being shared with the missions' school children, the message of one's humanity being tied to civilization is disquieting. The idea that people are as kind as they are civilized again connects to Christianity and its credence that civilization and Christianization are inseparably linked. The Anishinaabe children were taught that their religion and culture was uncivilized, thereby inhumane, with only the conversion to Christianity being able to render them good, kind and ultimately human.

Samuel Goodrich/Peter Parley then returns to his categorization of humans worldwide. He revisits to the imagery of savages, detailing how their religions are absurd and begins demeaning their cosmologies. Goodrich/Parley then again lists the peoples he considers savage, including the Indigenous population who, through the missionaries, were exposed to this text. Parley opens his discussion with a picture:

²⁸⁰ Goodrich, *Peter Parley's Geography*, 105.



281

Here is a picture of some people who are kneeling to the sun, and some who are worshipping the figure of an ox, called an idol. These people are called pagans or heathens. Pagans and heathens worship fire, and various animals, and a multitude of images and idols. They believe certain rivers, trees, and mountains, to be sacred, and worship them. Nothing can be more absurd than some of the religious notions and ceremonies of pagan nations. [...] The pagans and heathens of other countries are not much less absurd in their religious ceremonies and opinions [referencing the previously mentioned Hindus]. The natives of North America, those in the interior of Africa, and those also in the southern and western parts, the inhabitants of Madagascar, New-Holland, and some of the Asiatic Islands, and some of the tribes in the north of Asia, are pagans. It is supposed that there are 500,000,000 of pagans and heathens in the world ! Oh ! what a painful thing it is to think that there are so many deluded people !²⁸²

Samuel Goodrich, aka Peter Parley's blatant disdain for the purported savages, is evident in the above-mentioned passage. His wording, 'absurd,' along with his proclamation that "[i]t is supposed that there are 500,000,000 of pagans and heathens in the world ! Oh ! what a painful thing it is to think that there are so many deluded people !" allows no confusion for Parley's perspective on non-white people. Unlike the spelling books, Parley's opinion was unequivocal. The Anishinaabe children holding and reading these texts were savages according to him, their

²⁸¹ Goodrich, *Peter Parley's Geography*, 110.

²⁸² Ibid.

culture was wrong and foolhardy. The splendid streets of Europe put the undeveloped lands they were living upon to shame, their religious beliefs were ridiculous. The messages of pro-whiteness are apparent, and the idea that these messages were brought directly to the Anishinaabe children is staggering.

In Peter Parley's *Geography* written by Samuel Goodrich, the messages of whiteness were sometimes covert, but more often than not, these messages of promoting Euro-white supremacy were quite brazen. Parley's various discussions about the "advanced" state of the U.S.A or the savagery of most nations that were not European/American could not be missed and would be terribly harmful to the Indigenous children introduced to these messages.

The idea of civilizing the masses was not merely an idea promoted through the authors of the ABCFM educational texts, the missionaries also felt moved to 'civilize' the Indigenous people. The ABCFM missionaries discussed the idea of civilizing the Native people they encountered in their letters from the missions.

As the missionary Sherman Hall wrote to his brother from La Pointe in 1845, "I believe christianity is the only remedy for their present wretched condition. And this is an adequate remedy, if they would embrace it with all the heart, and become true followers of Christ." [2] His successor, Leonard Wheeler, repeated this warning seven years later: "The last experiment is now being tried, which is to decide the question whether the Indians are to be civilized, christianized, and constitute a part of the permanent inhabitants of our country or whether they are to be left . . . to those wasting influences which threaten their destruction."²⁸³

This cursory glimpse into the missionary's thoughts was revealing. Their doctrine of civilizing the Indigenous population proves that the introduction of educational texts that included pro-white messages was no mistake. Despite some of the ABCFM missionaries being sympathetic, helpful or kind to the nearby Anishinaabe, many, if not all, held a deep belief in their own

²⁸³ Devens, *Countering Colonialization*, 90-91.

superiority and occasionally even disdain for their Indigenous neighbors. The missionaries' educational texts were selected for their ability to teach the Indigenous children the Euro-white or 'civilized' ways as succinctly as possible. It could also be argued that the missionaries sincerely believed they were civilized and that their role was bringing civilization to the civilization parched-savages in the Great Lakes area. Their educational textbooks reflected this biased belief system as well, which, was that for the Anishinaabe to be saved, they must become 'civilized.'

The messages in Peter Parley's Geography book were less obscure than in the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions' spelling texts. Samuel Goodrich and his alter-ego Peter Parley do not hide the pro-white bias in Parley's Geography text. Samuel Goodrich discusses Europe in glowing terms, with all other nations described in varying levels of appreciation. He clearly displays veneration towards the 'motherland' (Europe) as an American, with 'Peter Parley' excitedly telling the children of the splendour of European streets. These pro-Euro-white messages further reinforced the white ideal, that the missionary's way was civilized, and all others, savage. This upheld the newly unfolding white supremacist society, by feeding young Indigenous children pro-white message through their educational texts, while simultaneously reminding them of the non-civilized ways of their cultures and others.

When looking at the dichotomy of the civilized versus the savage, the idea of the bisection of humanity creating those who are Godly and those who are not, it is clear that this human hierarchal scale has been harmful for all non-white people that have been introduced to this paradigm, both historically and contemporarily. What is even more worrisome, is that the idea of the civilized versus the savage was brought to Indigenous children in the Great Lakes

area, and introduced to them through educational texts, taught by Euro-white ABCFM missionaries in their own language. These textbooks posed a psychological attack on the young Indigenous students that the missionaries were engaging, and caused ineffable harm to the children, their families, and community.

Countering Pro-Whiteness with Indigeneity

As clearly outlined, the American Board for Foreign Commissioners educational texts carried pro-Christian and white ideals. Yet, because of their translations being completed partly by the missionaries' Métis wives, some Indigenous themed statements survived. These small phrases, interspersed within the Anishinaabe spelling texts, offered a small measure of balance to the heavy-handed discussions of whiteness. Little has been written about the Métis wives' connection to their Indigenous mothers, and presumably being raised away from their mothers and home communities isolated them from some of their identity. Yet, the Indigenous statements found within the ABCFM spellers are a testament to Mrs. Boutwell and Mrs. Ely's connection to their culture. Additionally, the odd thread can be pulled from historical texts and their husband's journal to link these women textually to their Anishinaabe roots.

With the wives Indigeneity hardly mentioned in the historical records, utilizing small notes of the women's culture can help build a fuller picture for the women generally ignored by history. One such remark can be found in Brother Boutwell's journal On October 9, 1834. Boutwell commented about his wife's biology stating, "My wife, I find, is no small curiosity to these people, though one of their kindred, according to the flesh."²⁸⁴ The comment, noting her Indigenous background and possibly her non-white skin, is clear that Mr. Boutwell sees and

²⁸⁴ Boutwell, *William Boutwell's Personal Journal*, October 9, 1834

acknowledges his wife as a Métis woman. Boutwell then continues on to brag about his Hester's refined appearance, demeanour and her unlikeness from the residents, "Her manners and dress being that of an American woman, which most of the number never saw, excites the stare and gaze of all, young and old, male and female."²⁸⁵ This statement written by Boutwell is simple but important, he notices both his wife's Indigenous background and her ability to fit into what Brother Boutwell would expect for a missionary wife, well dressed and having manners.

Another comment from Boutwell's journal that briefly mentions his wife's non-whiteness was found in a passage where he writes amorously about his love and reverence for his hard-working wife. Boutwell asserts of Hester,

She has exceeded my highest expectations in culinary affairs, & given me more than one specimen of real N[ew] E[ngland] bread. She is not ashamed to work, & is always at something — when nothing calls for the employment of her hands, she is reading, writing or translating, & thus improving herself or endeavoring to benefit others. To speak plain, she is deserving a better husband than I was ever made to become. She is all & more than I expected in her or any wife."²⁸⁶

As poetic as Boutwell's statement is, within it, he also gives credit to his wife for helping translate. Firstly, this speaks to Hester's ability to speak her mother's tongue and secondly links her as a translator, presumably for the same texts her husband was working on – the ABCFM missionary teaching books.

In addition to these small notes of Indigenously is a story of Hester and her parenting style, alludes to the fact she is much more aligned with her Native culture than would be assumed for a Christian missionary's wife. The story talks about the Boutwell's long trek after

²⁸⁵ Nute, *Wilderness Marthas*, 250

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 251

their daughter was born, and the frightening event that happened during their travels. Two months after Mr. and Mrs. Boutwell had their first child, on September fourteenth they set off for a lengthy trip to Leech Lake. It was during this trip that Mrs. Boutwell, who was carrying her baby on her back, realized the baby fell off into the Mississippi River. The baby survived this incident, but it must have been traumatic for all involved. In a paper read at the seventy-eighth annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society on January 17th, 1927 by Grace Lee Nute, she comments on Hester's Indigeneity as exhibited by this incident. Nute states that "the fact that the mother was carrying the child on her back speaks for itself: only a woman of Indian blood would have adopted this expedient in order to have her hands free for carrying other things or for aiding her in traveling."²⁸⁷ This declaration by Nute reflects that during the early 19th century, Indigenous women were more likely to be carrying their children on their back, with a cradleboard. So, this alarming incident provides some background information about Hester. She was carrying the baby in an Indigenous manner (speaking to the survivance of her Indigenousness) and that she was following common Anishinaabe cultural customs for this time.

In looking for information about Catherine Ely's connections to her culture, there is also scant mention of her connection to her Indigenous culture or ethnic self-declaration. Like Hester, Catherine Ely was not frequently mentioned in the historical texts as the focus was on the missionary men, not their wives. But, when finding small themes within journals and knowing her role at the mission, this brings more information together about how connected Catherine was to her culture.

²⁸⁷ Nute, *Wilderness Marthas*, 251

Turning again in a search for Indigeneity to Grace Lee Nute's paper read for the Minnesota Historical Society in 1927, Nute states that Catherine has "Indian connections."²⁸⁸ Like Hester Crooks/Boutwell, Catherine is also a translator for the Anishinaabe language.²⁸⁹ Due to Catherine agreeing to hold the translator position at Fond du Lac, with the community requiring one, that was how the Ely family ended up living there through the 1830s. Although Catharine may not have been the most fluent in Anishinaabe, her speaking the language provides proof of her connection to her culture.

A short story listed in Catherine's diary reflected a favorite pastime of her daughter. On December 5th, 1837 Catherine wrote that "Mary is very fond of sucking rabbit bones."²⁹⁰ This cute story written by an adoring mother details a practice that would align more with Indigenous culture than white, as both eating rabbit and sucking the bone after would be much less likely in a white home.

Interestingly, a story that may link Catherine to a specific Anishinaabe family, or at the very least to the Indigenous practice of tracing family lines was found written in her husband Edmund Ely's diary. After moving to the Fond du Lac mission, one of Catherine's kinship ties would be regularly discussed by a local Anishinaabe man. Ely writes in his journal how "Eninabundy [...] is expressing considerable interest in the welfare of my family. He has lately discovered (it seems) that he is nearly related to Catherine. He calls her 'Nishime' and myself,

²⁸⁸ Nute, *Wilderness Marthas*, 252.

²⁸⁹ Russell David Edmunds, *Enduring Nations: Native Americans in the Midwest* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 171.

²⁹⁰ Ely, *The Ojibwe Journals of Edmund Ely*, 448 Appendix B

‘Nita’.”²⁹¹ This is in reference to Ojibwe terms ‘*Niishime*’ my younger sister and ‘*Niitaa*’, my brother in law.²⁹² Ely seems to wonder if this connection is made due to the expected reciprocity of kinship ties but, this discussion of family details how Catherine partakes in one of the most central components of Indigenous culture, the determining of familial ties.

Through the limited records kept on the missionary wives, a few small stories and clues were left about how connected Hester Crooks/Boutwell and Catherine Goulais/Ely were to their culture. These clues existed in how they raised their children by following some Anishinaabe customs. Through brief stories recorded in various 19th-century journals. Moments of the women’s connection to their Indigeneity can even be displayed when looking at the various Indigenous phrases found within the missionary texts.

ABCFM Spelling Books and Indigeneity



293

²⁹¹ Ely, 296.

²⁹² Ely, 296n17.

²⁹³ Densmore, *Chippewa Customs*, 296

The *Ojibue Spelling Book* that was translated by the ABCFM missionaries and their Indigenous wives to Anishinaabe contains lists of simple phrases and some short stories. Presented alongside the generally Christian themed word lists are perceivably Indigenous statements. These statements are interestingly located in texts that presumably wanted to promote Christian ideals on the Anishinaabe mission school students. The Indigenous aligned statements help to create a balance between the constant pro-white declarations that the Indigenous children were being taught, while also displaying the resilience of the Christianised Native wives.

Alongside simple statements such as “he stops to eat” and “he opens his mouth” are more Indigenous aligned statements such as “he traps” and “he dries meat.”²⁹⁴ These phrases reflect the Anishinaabe lifestyle during the 1830s to 1845, of trapping animals for meat and preserving that meat through a drying process. Along with sentiments about Anishinaabe food norms, these texts include other humble expressions that link to more sacred parts of Anishinaabe culture. One such statement was on page twenty of the spelling book, which succinctly states “drum on it.” This phrase shows up a few more time throughout the spelling book with “drum for him” and later “a medicine drum” alluding more to what the drum meant to the Anishinaabe people.²⁹⁵ This statement, although basic, pulls in to the spelling books one of the most essential components of Anishinaabeg life, the drum.

Anishinaabe people had various types of drums used for a myriad of reasons. From ceremonial dances, to war preparation, children’s amusement and Midewiwin, the drum held a

²⁹⁴ ABCFM, *Ojibue Spelling Books*, 20.

²⁹⁵ Ibid., 13, 20 & 59.

prominent place in Ojibwe culture. Ethnomusicologist Densmore explains a few types of drums used,

Two types of drum were in use among the old-time Chippewas, the hand drum, and the Mide drum. [...] In recent years the Chippewa have used a large flat drum, either placed on the ground or suspended from curved stakes. This drum is decorated with beaded velvet and is used for dances or in a ceremonial manner. [...] The drum used in the ceremonies of the Midewiwin and by members of the society when singing its songs in private is called a *mīṭīg' wakīk*, meaning “wooden kettle.” It is commonly known as a “water drum.” [as the drum holds water inside] ...The simplest form of hand drum consists of a piece of rawhide stretched over one side of a hoop and laced or tied together on the reverse side to form a handhold. A more common form at the present time is a drum having two heads with a loop of rawhide as a handhold. Such a drum is made of a single hide stretched over both sides of a hoop and sewed with rawhide on the outer edge of the hoop.²⁹⁶

Each drum listed held a different purpose. But the common themes among all the drums were they emulated the heartbeat, they were often used in ceremonies and, they were said to call good spirits.²⁹⁷ Drums hold power, and bring about atavistic stirrings, linking humans to the maternal. In many Indigenous cultures, the drum connects all people together, and is the “the heartbeat of Mother Earth, [...] and the heartbeat of her children.”²⁹⁸

Located later in the ABCFM Spelling Books were abbreviated statements like, “a medicine-rattle” and “he shakes the rattle.”²⁹⁹ The inclusion of this sacred cultural item further demonstrates the Indigeneity found within the pages of the speller. The missionary’s wife’s

²⁹⁶ Densmore, 95-96 & 165-66.

²⁹⁷ Michael M Pomedli, *Living with Animals: Ojibwe Spirit Powers* (Toronto; Buffalo; London: University of Toronto Press, Cop, 2014), 107.

²⁹⁸ Alison Owings, *Indian Voices: Listening to Native Americans* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2011), 97.

²⁹⁹ ABCFM, *Ojibue Spelling Books*, 51 & 27.

inclusion of the rattle links these books to a key item in Anishinaabe spirituality, as the rattle was very often used by the highly respected Midewiwin society, and in ceremonies such as the Shaking tent. The Anishinaabe medicine rattle, named “*cicig'wan*” with the short *cicig*, meaning rattlesnake in Anishinaabemowin.³⁰⁰ Densmore explains further on how Anishinaabe people employed these tools,

The [...] use of rattles among the Chippewa was by members of the Midewiwin, and by jugglers who might or might not belong to the Midewiwin. The rattles used in meetings of that society and by individuals when singing the Mide songs consisted of a box pierced by a stick which served as a handle and containing pebbles or small shot. [...] Formerly this was made of birch bark or thin wood, but the common form in recent years is a large, round spice box. Another type of rattle resembled a small thin moccasin game drum and was used when treating the sick. [...] A segment of the drum was painted blue and a smaller segment painted green, a band of the undecorated, hide about three-fourths of an inch wide being between the decorated portions. It was said that larger rattles of the same type were used in a similar manner.³⁰¹

Anishinaabe rattles, also described historically as being made from a gourd, were important in ceremonies involving regeneration.³⁰² The story of the rattle comes before the earth's creation as the first sound was said to be the rattle,

In the uncreated world there is merely the sound of the shaker/rattle, for not all of the world is manifest as yet. But the shaker's sound is not unrelated to creation, for the seeds of the gourd in a gourd rattle are the elements of regeneration. Sounds and seeds, creation and regeneration. Sound, rattle, and the beginning of the world. Such cosmic reverberations and other influences enter the Midewiwin lodge itself. [...] ³⁰³

³⁰⁰ Densmore, *Chippewa Customs*, 21

³⁰¹ Ibid., 166-67

³⁰² James Treat, *Native and Christian: Indigenous Voices on Religious Identity in the United States and Canada* (Routledge, 1996), Epigraph

³⁰³ Michael M Pomedli, *Living with Animals: Ojibwe Spirit Powers* (Toronto; Buffalo; London: University of Toronto Press, Cop, 2014), 107

The belief behind the rattle was that it could be shaken to disperse bad energies that cause illness and misery. The rattle and drum both serviced an important spiritual role, but they acted in a complimentary manner, “[l]ike the drum, the rattle gathers the people; but while the drum gathers good spirits, the rattle dispels bad spirits.”³⁰⁴ As Nanabozho taught Midewiwin to Otter, the rattle was also gifted to be used as a healing item for the sick.³⁰⁵

Also buried deep within the pages of the Ojibwe speller lies the concise statement “conjure for him”³⁰⁶ Another reflection of the Indigeneity of the spelling textbook and its translators, conjuring was a vital part of Anishinaabe culture, but frowned upon by the Eurocentric Christianity. Conjuring, a spiritual ceremony to connect to spirits, was usually practiced for curing ailments.³⁰⁷

Nelson identified the universal wish to ‘dive into futurity’ as motivating the Indians to become conjurors, but prophecy as such was only one of several objectives that might be combined in a single performance. A primary purpose of conjuring was to obtain information about persons or events distant in space or time or otherwise inaccessible to the diviners. This information most often pertained to the future but could concern the past or present. Typical questions addressed to the spirits in the lodge concerned the diagnosis and treatment of sickness, the location of game animals, or lost articles, when game would next be killed, the welfare of absent relatives, and a whereabouts and arrival time of visitors. Nelson was one of a few Euro-Canadian fur-traders, who are known to

³⁰⁴ Michael M Pomedli, *Living with Animals: Ojibwe Spirit Powers* (Toronto; Buffalo; London: University of Toronto Press, Cop, 2014), 107-108.

³⁰⁵ Sylvie Berbaum, *Ojibwa Powwow World*, ed. Michael Pomedli (Thunder Bay, Ont.: Lakehead University Centre for Northern Studies, 2000), 359.

³⁰⁶ ABCFM, *Ojibue Spelling book*, 13

³⁰⁷ George Nelson, Robert Brightman, and Jennifer S H Brown, “*The Orders of the Dreamed*” : *George Nelson on Cree and Northern Ojibwa Religion and Myth, 1823* (Winnipeg: University Of Manitoba Press, 1988), 295

have commissioned conjuring sessions in order to ascertain the whereabouts of delayed employees and missing supplies.³⁰⁸

Nelson attended a conjuring and reported what he witnessed. He describes the simple structure and ‘The Conjurer’ who will disappear into the small oblong tent. He details how The Conjurer “is bound hand and foot, not as if he were a man going to pry into futurity, but as a criminal”³⁰⁹ Then The Conjurer is thrust into the hut with only his clothes and “she-she-quay” (rattle) with him. As the attendees listen to the rattle shaking, the ropes come flying out of the hut, much to Nelson’s shock. Then, as the ceremony progresses, the tent shakes violently with various lights, sounds, voices and even languages being projected. Each of these changes is to denote another spirit entering the tent to pay a visit to the Conjurer.

As the “hut moves in a most violent manner” Nelson records visits from “Meek-key-nock” the turtle, the flying squirrel, Wolverine, the Loon (who cries his usual cry for a wife “nee-weah-wee-wey”), Strong Neck, some Ancients (the Hairy Beasts), the Sun, the Pike/Jack fish, the “Buffaloe,” the Bear, Keyjickohkaiw (Satan), and lastly the “Supreme Being” Weesuckajack. All the spirits arrive at the tent during different points throughout the ceremony, all bearing wildly different voices, personalities and even spoken languages. There is much commotion during these few hours, and finally after violent shaking both the hut and the rattle – Weesuckajack signals the end of the ceremony, by flying away with a pronounced flourish which again rocks

³⁰⁸ George Nelson, Robert Brightman, and Jennifer S H Brown, “*The Orders of the Dreamed: George Nelson on Cree and Northern Ojibwa Religion and Myth, 1823* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1988), 147

³⁰⁹ Nelson, Brown and Brightman, *The Orders of the Dreamed*, 39

the tent for all to see.³¹⁰ Conjuring was said to be used for multiple reasons, usually to benefit the Anishinaabe people. At a period of time when knowing where game is, or when is the best time to hunt, conjuring and the Conjurers played an important part of Ojibwe culture.

The passages discussing Indigeneity, however brief or simple, provide a service for the Indigenous children; they reflect the life and religion that the children grew up knowing. Some of the Indigenous phrases in the textbooks reflect highly spiritual and sacred parts of Anishinaabe culture. Interspersed throughout phrases that are otherwise Eurocentric and religious, these demonstrations of Indigeneity can be found woven throughout the ABCFM spelling book. Although the passages may also have been included to create a bridge for assimilation, as including terms that the Indigenous children would recognize may have helped the missionaries to connect to their pupils, presumably these instances of Indigeneity would be comforting to encounter for children. Ultimately, these intermittent Indigenous messages acts to offset the toxicity of the pro-white language. As well, the survivance of Indigeneity, from women educated at mission schools that promote Christianity is encouraging. This demonstrates that despite the euro-white Christian education that the missionary wives received, their Indigeneity prevailed.

³¹⁰ Nelson, Brown and Brightman, *The Orders of the Dreamed*, 39-43

Conclusion and Ways to Challenge Whiteness

When analyzing the current scholarship around the Great Lakes American Board for Foreign Commission's Missions and their educational pursuits, there is some research discussing relationships, leadership, origins and the education of Métis children. Yet there seems to be a gap in the literature on how whiteness or Eurocentric views were insidiously and pervasively fed to the Indigenous students attending ABCFM Mission schools during the antebellum period. The ABCFM missionaries and their schools had an enormous influence on the local Ojibwe people in the Great Lakes region, and through their educational exploits, messages about cultural superiority and inferiority were conveyed to the local people. Messages entrenched in the missionary's texts held surreptitious opinions about Euro-whiteness and Europe, with many coded yet harmful statements included.

It is important to deconstruct these pro-white messages to view a fuller understanding of the various socio-cultural dynamics at play. This thesis has provided a lens to investigate this specific time period: 1830-1845 (the Antebellum period) and uncovered the Euro-white superiority narratives embedded in the educational texts. During this time, missionaries specifically had to discuss their buildings, expansions, and Mission plans with the local Indigenous leaders, making the dynamic between the two groups multi-faceted. Despite this, the white missionaries still seemed to believe they held a superior position to the Anishinaabe people they engaged with as referenced in chapter one, during the dispute between Edmund Ely and the Fond du Lac Anishinaabeg.

Summary of Findings

To begin an exploration into the use of pro-white messages in ABCFM educational texts, with a focus on Peter Parley's Geography, context needs to be provided of who the Great Lakes Anishinaabe were during the mid-1800s in early America. This contextualization is to center the people who were directly affected by the missionary education propaganda and to explore beliefs central to their culture and world view.

The Anishinaabe people had a varied, complex and spiritual society. Their political systems were not just sophisticated, but fair, as they endeavoured to speak for all people through leaders such as the ogimaa. Anishinaabe pedagogy was more child-friendly and taught through stories. The children learned, not by long hours and rote memorization, but through more indirect methods such as community and social interactions. Anishinaabe exhibited respect of otherworldly power, spirituality and children remained central to their culture. It was hardly the savage society that missionaries continually complained it was.

When the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was founded during the Second Great Awakening of the 1800s, the cultural shift and missionary zeal encouraged increasing numbers of young Christians to join the call to convert and civilize who they perceived to be Godless heathens. These missionaries believed that Christianising could not exist without civilizing and vice versa. Protestant missionary groups founded on the concept of Christian benevolence, believed that they were to act altruistically and devote themselves fully to spreading the gospel, no matter the cost. ABCFM missionaries embraced moving to the 'wilderness' to share the word of God. In the early 1830s, these missionaries (and sometimes

their wives) travelled to Anishinaabe country near the Great Lakes, which was now part of the fledgling democracy of the U.S.A., to build missionary schools.

Issues began to arise from this geographical overlap. Initially, the Anishinaabe received their white neighbors with skepticism but believed that both parties could benefit from the relationship. Some missionaries such as William Boutwell managed to adhere to local customs, which helped to establish a positive relationship with the Ojibwe people. Another missionary, Edmund Ely, had help setting up his living spaces early on, therefore all expectations had been met by his associates. While Boutwell's relationships with the Ojibwe started out positively they ended up declining over time because of his refusal to fully embrace integral Anishinaabe customs. Edmund Ely's relationship soured quickly and after only a few years he was forced out of the community by the Anishinaabe. Ely's removal from the community demonstrated a unique time period in American history. Even with whiteness permeating the newly building American society, the Anishinaabe people were still in a position to remove white offenders from the communities if they caused more harm than good.

In many of the histories of the early ABCFM missions, this was the case. The missionaries' principles of Christianizing and civilizing the Anishinaabe and other non-whites were Eurocentric and misguided. Despite this fact Boutwell declared to Indian agent Henry Rowe Schoolcraft that race was not the difference between the missionaries and the Ojibwe, that it is the "color nor language. [...] IT IS THE BOOK" he failed to acknowledge how truly white-centred Christianity was.³¹¹ ABCFM missionaries, with their focus on Christianising and civilizing, also perpetuated the message that the non-white Indigenous students were inferior.

³¹¹ Boutwell to Schoolcraft, June 12, 1835, Nute, Box 4, MHS

This statement could be found throughout the texts they used to teach the Indigenous children. Over time, the issues these missionaries created during their engagements with the Indigenous community, coupled by their apparent uselessness in educating the Indigenous children, hampered Christianizing efforts and evidently pushed both men out of the communities.

A cursory analysis of current whiteness studies provides the language to explain the interracial interactions happening during the antebellum period in the Great Lakes area between the Anishinaabe and missionaries. Through exploring theories such as the double life, the colonizer and the colonized, the European miracle, the 'Civ/Sav' dichotomy or the image of the Indian, a fuller understanding of the Indigenous/white dynamics can be found. Despite not having the theories, language, or literature available to explain the long-time interactions between white and non-white people, white supremacist beliefs still governed these interactions. While looking at how these theories, we can see how they can be applied to 1800s America.

When exploring the ABCFM educational textbooks, it is easy to see why the men were encouraged to leave the communities. Riddled with pro-white messages, racism and with the majority of the statements declaring Anishinaabeg and their culture savage, the books were not only ineffective tools, they were harmful to the children. When deconstructing the phrases within the texts, the spellers held more covert pro-whiteness sentiments, with many of the translations demonstrating incompatible worldviews and less of the more blatant harmful language. Approaching topics such as death in a flippant manner and telling children that they must learn through hours of uncomfortable rote learning, the spellers attempted to convey the message that adopting the euro-white culture is the only way to live a good and pious, albeit Christian life. Although the *Ojibue Spelling Book*'s language was more muted than other textbooks used at the

missions, these insidious messages still caused damage by declaring the Anishinaabe culture wrong and savage.

In Peter Parley's *Geography*, another story can be found. Riddled with declarations on how the Europeans and their descendants came from a 'splendid' and civilized country, the book makes it clear that most other nations are deluded and savage. This message that non-whites are heathens in need of saving, speaks specifically to the Native children by declaring that Indigenous people are savages, who need to repent for their pagan ways.

Significance of Findings

The significance behind these findings is that since the time of incursion, there have been attacks on the Indigenous people from the incoming white people. Attacks on Indigenous culture, theft of their land, identities and sometimes physical attacks. Yet often overlooked is the role missionaries played in these harmful invasions, both geographically and psychologically. The missionaries who are considered to be good, if misguided, individuals who misplaced their love for their faith in overzealous missionizing tactics. Yet, when unpacking history and the ABCFM instruction books, it is clear to see that the missionaries are not beyond reproach. They taught young Indigenous students that they and their families are Godless and uncivilized. When detailing the missionaries attempts at Christianization across the Great Lakes area and especially regarding the Indigenous children it is rarely, if ever, mentioned that their missionaries were teaching harmful pro-white beliefs. Whiteness had held a central position in the missionary's textbooks, and very little has been discussed regarding how America's white supremacist society was created and upheld. These findings are significant because it offers proof that the missionaries who declared race was inconsequential in their faith system was a perpetrator of

harmful racial messages and of white supremacy on a societal basis. These findings prove that there were indeed pro-white messages being taught to Indigenous children. This demonstrates the eurocentrism of Christianity and that Indigenous children, people, and communities have been attacked since time of contact.

With more understanding of the oppressive statements hidden within the texts, one can trace the history of whiteness in America, its use in educating children of colour since time of incursion and how pervasive whiteness truly is.

New Directions for Future Research

“by examining and naming the terrain of whiteness, it may [...] be possible to generate or work towards antiracist forms of whiteness, or at least toward antiracist strategies for reworking the terrain of whiteness.”³¹²

~ Ruth Frankenberg

When looking at passages of pro-whiteness messages aimed at Indigenous children used in the teaching materials of ABCFM missionaries in the mid-1800s, a question arises of the continued impact. How did these pro-white messages negatively impact the children educated in the mission schools after the missionaries left? How did these messages harm the community? To further explore how these white supremacist messages have impacted the Indigenous communities can help initiate discussion about whiteness and racism.

³¹² Frankenberg, *The Social Construction of Whiteness*, 6.

Another research question is what are the long-lasting impacts on American society as a whole? As Memmi details, both the colonizer and colonized are impacted by this oppressive relationship.³¹³ can these findings be used to demonstrate the longevity of pro-whiteness messages in white/indigenous interactions?

Lastly, can these findings be used to teach white society how insidious pro-white messages are and how racially biased education is one of the building blocks of our white supremacist society? It is important to confront whiteness as it is perpetuated through its desired cloak of inconspicuousness. Finding, exposing and challenging whiteness can help towards breaking down the racial disparities and can help build a more equal North American society.

³¹³ Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*

Bibliography

- American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. "1830-1845." *Missionary Herald at Home and Abroad*, 1805.
- . *Ojibue Spelling Book: Designed for the Use of Native Learners*. Boston, Printed for The American Board Of Commissioners For Foreign Missions, By Crocker & Brewster, 1835.
- Angel, Michael. *Preserving the Sacred: Historical Perspectives on the Ojibwa Midewiwin*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2002.
- Axtell, James. "Ethnohistory: An Historian's Viewpoint." *Ethnohistory* 26, no. 1 (1979): 1. <https://doi.org/10.2307/481465>.
- Berbaum, Sylvie. *Ojibwa Powwow World*. Edited by Michael Pomedli. Thunder Bay, Ont.: Lakehead University Centre For Northern Studies, 2000.
- Berkhofer, Robert F. *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present*. New York: Vintage Books, Ca, 1979.
- Bissell, Roger. "Bissell Histories and Mysteries." *Eldon Bissell Memorial Association* 1, no. 1 (1985).
- Blaut, James Morris. *The Colonizer's Model of the World: Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History*. New York, NY: The Guilford Press, 1993.
- Boutwell, William. "Journal of William T. Boutwell," 1834.
- Boutwell, William Thurston. *Memoir of Mr. Boutwell*. Minnesota Historical Society, 1834.
- Crenshaw, Kimberle. "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics." *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 8, no. 1 (1989).
- De Rosa, Marla. "Letters from the Mackinaw Mission School." *The New England Quarterly* 83, no. 4 (December 2010): 705–18.
- DeMallie, Raymond J. "'These Have No Ears': Narrative and the Ethnohistorical Method." *Ethnohistory* 40, no. 4 (1993): 515–38. <https://doi.org/10.2307/482586>.
- Densmore, Frances. *Chippewa Customs*. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1979.
- Devens, Carol. *Countering Colonization: Native American Women and Great Lakes Missions, 1630 - 1900*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1992.

Doğan, Mehmet Ali. "American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) and 'Nominal Christians': Elias Riggs (1810-1901) and American Missionary Activities in the Ottoman Empire." Dissertation, 1993.

Du Bois, W.E.B. *The Souls of Black Folk*. Edited by Brent Hayes Edwards. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Duckworth, Robin. "Congregational Library Exhibits | Of Faith and Courage: The History of the ABCFM: Credits." Congregationallibrary.org, 2011.
<http://exhibits.congregationallibrary.org/exhibits/show/abcfm200/credits>.

Edmunds, Russell David. *Enduring Nations: Native Americans in the Midwest*. Urbana: University Of Illinois Press, 2008.

Elk, Black, and Joseph Epes Brown. *The Sacred Pipe, Black Elk's Account of the Seven Rites of the Oglala Sioux. Recorded and Edited by Joseph Epes Brown*. 1st ed. Vol. 36. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1953.

Elsbree, Oliver Wendell, ed. *Rise of the Missionary Spirit in America, 1790-1815*. Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 2013.

Ely, Edmund F. *The Ojibwe Journals of Edmund F. Ely, 1833 - 1849*. Edited by Theresa M. Schenck. 1882. Reprint, University of Nebraska, 2012.

Erickson, Elizabeth B. "The Boutwell Cemetery." *Minnesota Genealogist* 1, no. 2 (1970).

Fletcher, Jeannine Hill. "Marginal Notes: Women and the Other 'Others' in the Theology of Religions." In *The Past, Present, and Future of Theologies of Interreligious Dialogue*, edited by Terrence Merrigan and John Friday. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.

Folsom, William Henry Carman. *Fifty Years in the Northwest: With an Introduction and Appendix Containing Reminiscences, Incidents, and Notes*. Edited by E. E. Edwards. 1888. Reprint, Pioneer Press Company, 2011.

Frankenberg, Ruth. *The Social Construction of Whiteness: White Women, Race Matters*. Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2005.

Frantz Fanon. *Black Skin, White Masks*. New York, NY: Grove Press, 2008.

Fred Field Goodsell. *You Shall Be My Witnesses*. Boston: American Board Of Commissioners For Foreign Missions, 1959.

Hackett, Paul, and American Society for Ethnohistory. "Historical Mourning Practices Observed among the Cree and Ojibway Indians of the Central Subarctic." In *Ethnohistory: The Official Journal of the American Society for Ethnohistory*. Durham, Nc: Duke University Press, 2005.

Hickerson, Harold, and William T. Boutwell. "William T. Boutwell of the American Board and the Pillager Chippewa: The History of a Failure." *Ethnohistory* 12, no. 1 (1965): 1–29.

Hoover, Roy. "'To Stand Alone in the Wilderness': Edmund F. Ely Missionary." *Minnesota History* 49, no. 7 (1985): 265–80.

Hopkins, Samuel. *The Works of Samuel Hopkins, D.D, In Three Volumes*. Vol. 1. Boston: Doctrinal Tract and Book Society, 1854.

(J22136), Mary L. Martin Ltd. Postcards. *Mackinac Island Michigan Old Mission House Antique Postcard*. 1800.

Jennings, Willie James. *The Christian Imagination: Theology and the Origins of Race*. New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press, 2010.

John 15:12. *Holy Bible: English Standard Version*. Wheaton, Ill.: Crossway Bibles, 2001.

Kling, David W. "The New Divinity and the Origins of the ABCFM." In *North American Foreign Missions, 1810-1914: Theology, Theory, and Policy*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: W.B. Eerdmans Pub. Co, 2004.

Kugel, Rebecca. *To Be the Main Leaders of Our People: A History of Minnesota Ojibwe Politics, 1825-1898*. East Lansing, Mich.: Michigan State University Press, 1998.

LaRocque, Emma. *Defeathering the Indian*. Agincourt, Ontario: Book Society of Canada, 1975.

———. *When the Other Is Me: Native Resistance Discourse 1850-1990*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2011.

Lynch, Claire. "William Thurston Boutwell and the Chippewas." *Journal of Presbyterian History* (1962-1985) 58, no. 3 (1980): 239–53. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23328173>.

Memmi, Albert. *The Colonizer and the Colonized*. Boston, Massachusetts: Beacon Press, 1991.

Miller, Cary. *Ogimaag: Anishinaabeg Leadership, 1760-1845*. Lincoln: University Of Nebraska Press, 2010.

Moranian, Suzanne Elizabeth. "Ethnocide in the Schoolhouse: Missionary Efforts to Educate Indian Youth in Pre-Reservation Wisconsin." *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* 64, no. 4 (1981): 242–60.

Murphy, Lucy Eldersveld. *Great Lakes Creoles: A French-Indian Community on the Northern Borderlands, Prairie Du Chien, 1750-1860*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Neill, Edward D., and William T. Boutwell. *Memoir of William T. Boutwell: The First Christian Minister Resident among the Indians of Minnesota*. Pioneer Press Publishing Company, 1892.

- Nelson, George, Robert Brightman, and Jennifer S H Brown. "*The Orders of the Dreamed*": *George Nelson on Cree and Northern Ojibwa Religion and Myth, 1823*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1988.
- Nute, Grace Lee. "The Edmund Franklin Ely Papers." *Minnesota Historical Society, St. Pauls*, December 1925, 343–54.
- Oshatz, Molly. "No Ordinary Sin: Antislavery Protestants and the Discovery of the Social Nature of Morality." *Church History* 79, no. 2 (June 0, 2010): 334–58.
- Overholt, Thomas W, and J Baird Callicott. *Clothed-in-Fur, and Other Tales: An Introduction to an Ojibwa World View*. Edited by William Jones. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1982.
- Owings, Alison. *Indian Voices: Listening to Native Americans*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2011.
- Peter Puxley. "The Colonial Experience." In *The Dene Nation: The Colony Within*, edited by Melville H Watkins. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977.
- Peterson, Brent. "William Boutwell and the Reunion." *Stillwater Historian*, 1910.
- Pettipas, Katherine. *Severing the Ties That Bind: Government Repression of Indigenous Religious Ceremonies on the Prairies*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1994.
- Phillips, Clifton Jackson. *Protestant America and the Pagan World: The First Half Century of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1810-1860*. Cambridge, Mass, 1969.
- Pomedli, Michael M. *Living with Animals: Ojibwe Spirit Powers*. Toronto; Buffalo ; London: University Of Toronto Press, Cop, 2014.
- Prucha, Francis Paul. *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984.
- Rhea, John M. *A Field of Their Own: Women and American Indian History, 1830-1941*. Norman University of Oklahoma Press, 2016.
- Rheault, D'Arcy. *Anishinaabe Mino-Bimaadiziwin - The Way of a Good Life*. Peterborough, Ontario: Debwewin Press, 1999.
- Roy, Le, and Scott Eckberg. *Fur Traders, Trappers, and Mountain Men of the Upper Missouri*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995.
- Schechter, Joshua. "Deductive Reasoning." Edited by Hal Pashler. *The Encyclopedia of the Mind*, 2013.

Scott, Gladys. "Peter Parley—His Magazine and His Books." *Peabody Journal of Education* 19, no. 5 (March 1942): 290–92. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01619564209535717>.

Strong, William E. *Story of the American Board: An Account of the First Hundred Years of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*. Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1910.

Treat, James. *Native and Christian: Indigenous Voices on Religious Identity in the United States and Canada*. Routledge, 1996.

Walter James Hoffman. *The Midē'wiwin: Or, "Grand Medicine Society" of the Ojibwa*. Honolulu, HI: University Press of The Pacific, 2005.

Wesley, John. "Cleanliness Is Indeed next to Godliness." 1778.

Widder, Keith R. *Battle for the Soul: Métis Children Encounter Evangelical Protestants at Mackinaw Mission, 1823-1837*. East Lansing, Mich.: Michigan State University Press, 1999.

Young, Stacey. *Changing the Wor(l)D: Discourse, Politics, and the Feminist Movement*. New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 1997.