

A Vision of Trust: The Legal, Moral and Spiritual Foundations of Shingwauk Hall

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This paper traces the development of the trust relationship between the Garden River Anishnabe and the Anglican Diocese of Algoma over the Shingwauk Residential School in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario. Historically, both sides interpreted this trust differently. The Anishnabe sought English education in order to adapt English ways to their culture while the church sought to assimilate the Anishnabe. The paper covers the development of the trust from its beginning in 1833 through to the present where a common understanding of trust has been reached among the Anishnabe, the Anglican church and Algoma University College, the present occupant of the Shingwauk buildings.

Le présent article trace le développement des rapports de confiance établis entre les Anishnabes de la rivière Garden et le Diocèse anglican d'Algoma concernant le pensionnat Shingwauk à Sault-Ste-Marie en Ontario. Les deux partis ont interprété différemment cette confiance dans le passé. Les Anishnabes recherchaient une éducation anglaise afin d'adapter les façons de faire anglaises à leur propre culture tandis que l'église cherchaient à les assimiler. Cet article parcourt l'évolution de cette relation de confiance depuis ses débuts en 1833 jusqu'à aujourd'hui alors que les Anishnabes, l'église anglicane et le Collège universitaire d'Algoma—qui occupe présentement les bâtiments de Shingwauk—sont arrivés à s'entendre sur la signification de la confiance.

In 1984, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled in the Guerin case that the federal government had incurred certain legal obligations to the First Nations of Canada with respect to land. These obligations were defined as being fiduciary (trust-like) in nature.¹ Subsequent rulings have expanded the fiduciary relationship to include hunting and fishing resources. What has yet to be established in court is whether or not a relationship of obligation exists between the federal government and First Nations with

respect to education. Regardless of whether the courts have ruled on this issue, many First Nation's representatives have argued that the federal government is obligated to provide First Nations people with access to education, including post-secondary education. If this is so, the obligations incurred by the federal government might also be extended to the various church authorities who accepted the responsibility of educating First Nations' children.

Studies to date on the involvement of the churches and the federal government in the education of Aboriginal children have, for the most part, focused on the residential schools, which were established by the federal government and run by the churches for the purposes of assimilation. For example, Celia Haig-Brown, in *Resistance and Renewal*, focuses on the experiences of Native children in British Columbia schools, and Basil Johnston, in *Indian School Days*, reminisces about his time spent in the Spanish River Residential School in Ontario. Those who have studied the issue usually highlight the experiences of the children, arguing that some experiences were pleasant and beneficial, whereas many were not. None of these studies examines the idea of a fiduciary or trust relationship and they often exclude the participation of the Native community in the education process.

There is, however, one notable exception. Don Jackson, a political scientist at the University of Algoma College,³ has researched the history of Shingwauk Hall, a residential school founded in 1871 at Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario. His aim in undertaking the research was to find historical documentation to support the contentions of the Garden River Anishnabe that a legal trust between themselves and the Anglican Diocese of Algoma exists over the Shingwauk school.⁴ Much of the support for this argument stems from the 1875 property deed to the land on which the Shingwauk buildings reside. This deed stipulates that the land was purchased by the Algoma Diocese and held in trust for the purposes of the "Indian Industrial Institution called . . . the 'Shingwauk Home'."⁵ It would seem that there is a strong argument to be made here for the existence of a trust, or perhaps other circumstances may point towards the existence of a fiduciary relationship. If a relationship of obligation exists over Shingwauk Hall, whether it be a fiduciary or a trust, then perhaps these relationships were established over other schools. A review of the history of Shingwauk Hall and of the relationship between the Garden River Anishnabe and the Federal Government and its agent, which in this case is the "English church,"⁶ is necessary to determine the merits of this argument.

Shingwauk Hall has already been the focus of much research. David Nock, a sociologist at Lakehead University, has written several articles and

one book about the Reverend Edward F. Wilson and his role in the establishment and running of the school. Janet Chute, for her anthropology dissertation, researched the oral accounts and historical records of Chief Shingwaukonse and his sons. Although she did not focus on Shingwauk Hall, her research is invaluable to understanding the Anishnabes' motivations for wanting a school in their community. These studies do not argue the merits of a trust or fiduciary relationship between the government, the church and the Anishnabe, nor do they highlight the nature of the obligations incurred by the participants in the relationship. If we are to understand the history of Shingwauk Hall as a history of obligation, we must examine the legal, moral and spiritual circumstances that gave rise to the creation and continuation of Shingwauk Hall. The proper place to begin this history is with Chief Shingwaukonse and his vision of a "teaching wigwam."⁷

Shingwaukonse was a chief and shaman of the Upper Great Lakes Anishnabe from around the time of the War of 1812 until his death in 1854. As a leader, Shingwaukonse was determined to find a way to help the Anishnabe adapt to the changes brought about by European settlement. In the 1830s, guided by personal observations of European culture and by visions, Shingwaukonse moved his band to Garden River, located just outside Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario. By doing so, he hoped to establish a permanent community based on agriculture, with supplementary income raised through the sale of mineral and forest resources.⁸

Shingwaukonse was also determined to find a way for his people to learn about European skills and religion. According to the oral history of the Garden River community, he found this way through a vision. A synopsis of the vision is as follows:

Shingwaukonse fasted for many days. His hope in fasting was to learn of a way to help his people adapt to the coming of the English. Finally a vision appeared in which an English missionary came to his people and told them about the Europeans' skills and knowledge.⁹

As a result of this vision, Shingwaukonse and five others set out from Sault Ste. Marie, either in the winter of 1832 or 1833, and snow-shoed to Toronto, where Shingwaukonse had an audience with Sir John Colborne, the Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada.¹⁰ Colborne promised to send a missionary to teach the Anishnabe and to provide funding so they could build houses.¹¹ On being asked what type of missionary he would like to have, Shingwaukonse inquired as to what religion the King followed. When told he adhered to the Church of England, Shingwaukonse replied that the missionary should therefore be a representative of the King's church. To Shingwaukonse, this

religious alliance between two leaders would strengthen the political alliance that already existed between his nation and the English nation.¹² The vision of Shingwaukose and his subsequent trip to Toronto represents the beginning of Shingwauk Hall from the Native point of view.

Shingwaukose's trip was significant because it defined the purpose of the missionary presence from the Native perspective and gave his successors a framework from which to build a relationship with the English and later Canadian authorities.¹³ Unfortunately, Shingwaukose's framework did not fit in with English ideas of the purposes of education. For Shingwaukose and his followers, English education was intended to augment traditional skills, not to replace major aspects of their own way of life.¹⁴ The English, on the other hand, were intent on assimilation. As David Nock argues:

[T]he missionary entered the scene as the bearer of an entire civilization and as the ambassador of a new economic mode of production. This new missionary function was supported and funded by the State, and incorporated into the educational system. In other words, the missionary became not just an apostle of Christ, but a government-supported civil servant who directed or enforced the ignoble savage into accepting Anglo-Canadian civilization, and the industrial-capitalist mode of production.¹⁵

Co-incident with Shingwaukose's concern for the welfare of his people was the desire of government and various missionary organizations to improve the "Indian condition." This interest had led to the founding of the Society for Converting and Civilizing the Indians of Upper Canada at York (Toronto) on October 30, 1830, with the Bishop of Quebec as president and Lieutenant Governor Colborne as patron. The society's mandate was to convert the Indians to the Church of England faith and to "civilize" them through training in agriculture and animal husbandry.¹⁶ Missionaries had in fact been working in the Sault Ste. Marie area for several years and some had given the Garden River community preliminary instruction in agriculture.¹⁷

Between 1832 and 1870, several missionaries came to Garden River, a schoolhouse was built under the direction of the Reverend William McMurray at the top of Pim Hill in 1833, and rudimentary instruction was attempted,¹⁸ but for many reasons the missionaries were ineffective in meeting the expectations of the Anishnabe. Missionary work always suffered from a lack of funds; in fact when Sir Francis Bond Head succeeded Colborne as lieutenant governor in 1835, he ceased all government support for the Garden River mission, arguing that the settlement program had been a failure.¹⁹ Also, the missionary's chief aim was to evangelize, not to teach.²⁰

Finally, with but two exceptions, every missionary who came to Garden River was at the community only briefly. This was not in keeping with Anishnabe notions of responsibilities to the community, which were supposed to be long-term.²¹

After Chief Shingwaukose's death in 1854, his sons, Augustin and Buhkwujjenene, attempted to carry on his work.²² By 1871, Chief Augustin Shingwauk had become determined to establish a school, with a permanent resident missionary running it. The Reverend E.F. Wilson of the Church Missionary Society, who had been stationed in Sarnia, for several years, was visiting Garden River when the news came that the present minister, the Reverend Chance, was to be transferred to Brantford.²³ Wilson returned to Toronto shortly thereafter and Augustin, feeling "called by the Great Spirit," accompanied him in hopes of persuading Wilson to change his mission from Sarnia to Garden River. The Bishop of Toronto, Alexander Bethune, agreed to allow the transfer, as did Wilson's bishop, Isaac Hellmuth of Huron. Before returning to his community, Augustin accompanied Wilson on a tour of the Toronto and Huron dioceses in an effort to raise funds for the school.²⁴

Insufficient funds were raised, however, so Buhkwujjenene accompanied Wilson on a trip to England. While there, Buhkwujjenene danced and dressed in ceremonial costume and told his audiences of his conversion to Christianity and his people's need for missionaries.²⁵ Wilson's account of the expedition indicates that Wilson believed it was his own idea to take Buhkwujjenene to England to raise the needed funds. However, Buhkwujjenene later informed Wilson that he had had a vision about going to England prior to Wilson's request. Buhkwujjenene recounted that he had had a dream in which:

I thought I was working outside my house . . . when I heard the note of a loon. The sound came from the Western sky, and I gazed in that direction to try if I could see the bird. In another moment I heard the sweep of its wings over my head, and there it flew sailing majestically along and drawing after it an airy phantom ship with three masts; it sailed away off east, still uttering its monotonous note till it was lost to view.²⁶

While Augustin and Buhkwujjenene were campaigning for funds, they enunciated quite clearly to their audiences what they expected the "teaching wigwam" to give them. As Buhkwujjenene told one congregation:

We wish to give up our old habits and adopt the customs of the pale faces. In order to accomplish this we propose that a big teaching wigwam should be built at Garden River where our

sons may be taught to carpenter and make boots and other such things as are useful, and where our daughters may learn needlework and knitting and spinning.²⁷

The wording of this quotation would suggest that Buhkwujjenene was advocating assimilation. However, the "old habits" of which Buhkwujjenene spoke related strictly to economic pursuits, not to political or social aspects of his society. Thus, Buhkwujjenene was not advocating assimilation but rather, as his father before him, a policy of selective learning.

Buhkwujjenene continued his speech, saying, "We have readily given up our hunting grounds to you and all that we ask of you is that you will help us in improving ourselves and in educating our children."²⁸ This important point illustrates that the Garden River Anishnabe believed that, in exchange for the surrender of their lands under the terms of the 1850 Robinson Huron Treaty, the English were obliged to assist them in adapting to the new order. Furthermore, the Anishnabe knew that in surrendering their land, they were surrendering their wealth. According to Anishnabe ethics, the rich helped the poor and the strong helped the weak, so the government, which had as a result of the treaty become rich and powerful, was further obligated to assist its less fortunate "citizens." As Augustin explained in a speech to a congregation in Hamilton:

I told them that as an Indian chief I had a right to speak on behalf of my poor people, for the land the white men now held was the land of my fathers; and now that the white man was powerful, and the Indian was weak, the Indian had a right to look to him for help and support.²⁹

Thus the treaty served to reinforce the government's obligations to the Anishnabe with respect to schooling. Because missionaries had accepted the task of educating Native Peoples, they shared in the government's relationship of obligation to them.

One final point to be made about Augustin's and Buhkwujjenene's fund-raising activities is that both leaders mentioned the spiritual guidance they had received prior to their involvement in these activities. It could be argued that this spiritual guidance not only set Augustin's and Buhkwujjenene's course of action but also served to link them spiritually with the work of their father and of his vision for an English school.

Buhkwujjenene's efforts, in combination with a grant from the Colonial and Continental Church Society, raised enough funds to build a school on the Garden River reserve. Chief Augustin set aside three hundred acres of land on the reserve for the building of the school, members of the community arrived and sawed logs for the building and raised it. The school opened in

1873 with much fanfare. One week later it burned to the ground. Arson was the suspected cause; according to one report, the school was burned by band members opposed to English schooling.³⁰

Wilson immediately sent a telegram to his contacts in England informing them of the disaster, and once more funds were raised to build another school. Its site was several miles upriver from Garden River, possibly for security reasons. The town of Sault Ste. Marie voted to give Wilson \$500 towards the purchase of the land from two private citizens, Misters Hamilton and Stratton.³¹ At the time of purchase, the title to the land was vested in E.F. Wilson, possibly because Indians were not allowed to hold title to land in fee simple.³² When the diocese of Algoma was formed and the first bishop was appointed in 1875, Wilson signed over his title to the new bishop, Frederick Fauquier, but "in trust . . . for the use of the Indian Industrial Institution [Shingwauk Hall]."³³ Hence, a legal trust relationship was established between the Indians and the church over the second Shingwauk residential school. This relationship was reinforced by the governor-general, Lord Dufferin, who laid the cornerstone for the school. In his accompanying speech, Dufferin acknowledged that:

We are bound to remember that we are under the very gravest obligations toward [the Anishnabe], and that the white race, in entering their country and requiring them to change their aboriginal mode of life, means the duty of providing for their future welfare and of taking care that in no respect whatsoever are their circumstances deteriorated by changes which are thus superinduced.³⁴

With this speech, the governor general acknowledged a moral obligation, if in fact not a legal one, between the Crown, as represented by the federal government, and the Anishnabe.

Despite the acknowledgement of a legal and moral obligation on the part of the church and state authorities, trouble for the trust relationship was evident from the beginning of this school's operation because of increasing disillusionment with the school on the part of the Anishnabe. For example, the first pupils at Shingwauk Hall were not from Garden River but from the Sarnia and Walpole communities, indicating a growing lack of interest in the school on the part of the Garden River community. Part of this lack of interest resulted from an exclusion of the Anishnabe in the rebuilding of the school. According to Carolyn Harrington,

The rebuilding of the school had its negative side. The Indians were not involved in the fund-raising or planning of it and its location was eight miles from the reserve. . . . Its rebuilding

marked a beginning of a split between the school and the local Indian community. It also signified the end of Indian input.³⁵

Thus, the co-operative spirit that had shaped so much the relationship between the Garden River chiefs and E.F. Wilson in establishing the original school did not recur with the building of the second school.

Another reason for the lack of interest by the Anishnabe was the failure of the church authorities to envision the purpose of Shingwauk Hall in the same manner as the Anishnabe did. These differing interpretations over the purpose of the school adversely affected the trust relationship. To explain how the trust relationship was interpreted by the non-native community, the focus of this paper must now shift to the career of E.F. Wilson, as principal of Shingwauk Hall, and to his employer, the Diocese of Algoma.

E.F. Wilson was an evangelical missionary. He was also a man who lived in precarious financial straits and tended to cope with these by relying on the power of faith. After fire destroyed the first Shingwauk school, Wilson rationalized the disaster as an act of God. In a letter to his wife shortly after the fire occurred, he stated:

I think the sweeping away of all our worldly goods in one night was intended to shew me how foolish it was to trust in earthly possessions and that it was God's will that I should depend on Him for our daily bread and on Him only. . . . It disgusts me to hear *Clergy* talk of "good investments" and "capital speculations" as though *money* were the great object in life.³⁶

Wilson believed that he was obligated by God to take charge of Shingwauk Hall.³⁷ As a result, he could be extremely self-righteous and stubborn when dealing with others, including his superiors, who did not agree with his vision of how the school program should be organized.³⁸

In the beginning, his vision was one of assimilation and he had the support of his superiors. Wilson sought to impose a policy of assimilation on his pupils by taking the place of their parents as instructors and by socializing them to English ways.³⁹ The Indian child, Wilson asserted in his journal, *The Canadian Indian*,

must be taught many things which came to the white child without the schoolmaster's aid. From the days of its birth, the child of civilized parents is constantly in contact with civilized modes of life, of action, thought, speech, dress, and is surrounded by a thousand beneficent influences. . . . [The Indian child] must be led out from the conditions of his birth, in his early

years, into the environments of civilized domestic life and he must be thus led by his teachers.⁴⁰

The goals of assimilation were to "civilize" and Christianize the Indian children and enable them to find employment within the dominant white society. In the early years at least, Wilson fully endorsed these goals. As he wrote in *The Canadian Indian*,

The Indian of to-day is changing with the changing times. He is commencing to appreciate the fact that he must become civilized, must learn the white man's way, or perish from the face of the earth. . . . Bravery and endurance, on the war path or in the chase, are things of the past. He must now be educated to labor. Idleness and debauchery belong to the days gone by. He does not need the higher education that the white is striving for, but he does need the virtue of industry and the ability of the skilful [sic] hand. . . . Let him forget his past, and look only to his present condition, make him feel that he has a position to maintain in order to keep up a reformed memorial of his race. . . .⁴¹

However, by 1891, a year after this was written, Wilson revised much of his thinking about the assimilationist policies of church and state. David Nock argues that this change of thought started with Wilson's disillusionment over the government's treatment of the Cree and Blackfoot on the prairies after the Riel Rebellion in 1885 and was reinforced by the knowledge he gained from his travels through the United States and Ontario in the late 1880s, during which he contacted various Native communities and learned much from their spokespeople. Wilson was particularly impressed with the Cherokee, who had developed a written language and transformed their hunting-based economy into an agricultural one, yet had retained certain values of their society, such as the holding of property in common.⁴²

Through several of his publications, Wilson questioned government policy. Nock argues, convincingly, that a series of letters known as the "Fair Play" letters that were published in one of Wilson's journals were authored by Wilson himself.⁴³ In these letters, Wilson questioned the need for assimilation. For example, in the first Fair Play letter, Wilson asked, "Is it altogether just to treat the Indian in the way we are doing? Is it altogether fair to deprive them of their own nationality or to laugh at their laws, customs, and traditions. . . ?"⁴⁴ The tone of these letters suggests that Wilson disagreed with the policy of assimilation and preferred a policy that would allow Native people to retain some of their culture and customs. Wilson did allow his pupils to speak their Native language while at the

school, though under limited circumstances. By becoming an advocate of retention, Wilson moved closer to accepting the policies of the Anishnabe and to accepting Shingwaukose's vision.

Along with the questioning of government policy came criticism of it and actions designed to bring about reform. To Wilson, as he commented in *The Canadian Indian*, "Canada has deprived its Indians of self-dependence, and is now painfully winning them back to what Sir John Macdonald calls self-sustenance."⁴⁵ Wilson placed much of the blame for Indian "degradation" on their non-Native neighbours, and argued that

... the Indians had not been uncivilized barbarians in their native state and that white contact had caused regress rather than progress. Moreover, their regress in civilization had been caused not only by degenerate frontiersmen, but even by the very acts and policies of the governments in North America.⁴⁶

As a result, Wilson called for the holding of an Indian Conference in Toronto to which:

... some of the most intelligent and best educated Indians from the various Indian Reserves of Ontario are to be invited. The object of the Conference will be to encourage these Indians to give their views as to the present position which they, as a people, hold in this country, and their prospects for the future.⁴⁷

The specific topics Wilson thought suitable for discussion were the reserve system, the preservation of Native languages, Native control over community affairs and a separate Native ministry.⁴⁸ For Wilson to be calling for a discussion of such things by Native people was remarkable, given that the federal government, still smarting over the Riel Rebellion in Saskatchewan, had strengthened the provisions in the *Indian Act* that prohibited Indian gatherings.⁴⁹

The Indians to whom Wilson's invitations were sent were certainly alert to the dangers involved in publicly questioning the government's policies, so they were leery of participating in such a conference, which as a result had to be cancelled. Wilson reported that

The Indian Chiefs have sent us various answers in regard to the proposed Indian Conference which was to have taken place in September. . . . [It] will have to be deferred for the present. A suspicion seems to prevail among them that it is a mere ruse on the part of the Government to draw out from them what they have to say, and that nothing will come of it.⁵⁰

Wilson's reassessment of the government's policies included a reassessment of the church's policies as well. In a letter to his wife, written in January 1892, Wilson revealed an increasing disillusionment with his church:

I have been studying the bible intensely lately—I do believe so intensely and wholly in God in the Bible,—and in Christ, and I do so despise the bitterness and the shame of present day religion. The services and the prayers of the Church of England are Christ like and lovely but the Church of England it seems to me is going over to Rome, the Bishop and clergy are just simply aiming at power—to bring people into subjection like [the] Roman Church, and it does not seem to me the Spirit of God is with us.⁵¹

Wilson's statement reflects some of the concerns evangelical ministers had about the fundamental changes Protestantism was undergoing in doctrine and practice in the middle and late 1800s. These changes were a response to the rise of secularism and the increasing conflicts between the Bible, as a source of fundamental truth, and science, which was challenging some of these truths.⁵² The Protestant churches in Ontario were also engaged in a building program in which Gothic and Romanesque monuments were built to show the power and glory of God on earth.⁵³ Changes such as these would be difficult for a strong evangelical such as Wilson to accept.

To make matters worse, Wilson did not get along with the new bishop of Algoma, Edward Sullivan. At one point in time, Wilson accused Sullivan of not being "a friend to the Indians," and added,

I have been feeling more and more discouraged about my work among the Indians since you became Bishop. Our Homes have been gradually going down instead of up. . . . I think you look upon the Indian as poor, miserable and incapable of improvement—just a little romance about them sufficient to furnish a story once and again for a missionary meeting . . . but beyond that of very little account.⁵⁴

Alan Knight argues that the source of conflict rose from a difference in priorities between Sullivan and Wilson. To Wilson, Indian work was the paramount obligation; therefore, it should be given priority in funding and resources. Sullivan, on the other hand, believed that all parishes in the diocese were equal and therefore should be given equal consideration and attention.⁵⁵ David Nock has also speculated that Wilson had hoped to succeed to the bishopric himself after Fauquier's death and, when Sullivan

got the job instead, Wilson was not a good loser.⁵⁶ By 1893, fed up with church politics and suffering ill health, Wilson resigned his position at the Shingwauk school.⁵⁷ By the time of his resignation, Wilson had come close to accepting the Anishnabe understanding of the trust relationship that had given rise to the establishment of the Shingwauk Hall, but in so doing had distanced himself from his traditional church and state supporters.⁵⁸

With the departure of Wilson, the interpretation of the trust relationship becomes increasingly one-sided. Oral testimony indicates that the people of Garden River continued to hold onto the vision of Shingwauk, but it became irrelevant to the church authorities who succeeded Wilson at the school. They believed their obligations to their pupils could only be carried out by following a policy of assimilation. David Nock argues that

... no effort was made for the Ojibway children to feel comfortable in their new environment. Almost everything which faced them from clothes to time sense differed from what they had known in the Ojibway culture. There was a great deal of marching, rather too much praying, and the daily schedule was planned to the minute. Speaking Ojibway was forbidden and Ojibway customs such as sexual joking between cross cousins was also forbidden.⁵⁹

The synod, though, had difficulty fulfilling its self-defined obligations, largely because of financial constraints. The school faced constant shortages of supplies and equipment and could only afford to hire undertrained staff. By 1904, Shingwauk Hall was operating with a deficit of over \$1,500 and by 1909, despite increased funding from the federal government, the deficit had risen to nearly \$3,000.⁶⁰ In 1910, the diocese of Algoma considered closing the school and selling the land. Bishop Sullivan asked Wilson to alter the terms of the transfer that had been negotiated between Bishop Fauquier and himself in 1874. As noted before, those terms had established a trust between Wilson and the diocese that the land would continue to be used for the purposes of Indian education. The diocese now wished to have those lands conveyed in fee simple and to have them released from "all restrictions, trusts and conditions" stipulated in the 1874 deed of transfer. Wilson agreed to the alteration, though it is not certain why. Don Jackson has speculated that Wilson believed that the alteration only lifted the substance of the trust that related to his personal relationship with the synod, and that it was then left up to the "judgement and conscience of the Synod" to determine how it was to honour the trust relationship with the Anishnabe. "In short, he offered the trust to the Synod, and the Synod accepted."⁶¹ Consequently, plans to sell the land were deferred.

In an effort to decrease the deficit, the new bishop, George Thorneloe, reduced the number of students and imposed stringent cost-cutting measures. He also begged Indian Affairs to raise its per capita grant to the school.⁶² D.C. Scott, the deputy superintendent general, authorized a \$10 per capita increase.⁶³ These efforts, in conjunction with assistance from the English Algoma Association and the Diocesan Branch of the Women's Auxiliary, eliminated the debt by 1914.⁶⁴

Relief from the debt was temporary. Furthermore, Robert Abraham in his report to the Indian Department on the conditions of the school, criticized the state of the buildings and facilities, noting that they were in need of extensive repair.⁶⁵ By 1935, the diocese was forced to negotiate with the federal government for increased funding. The result was an agreement by the church to relinquish its title to the Shingwauk property to the federal government in exchange for continued management of the school. The agreement also stipulated that if the federal government chose to close the school, then title would revert to the diocese.⁶⁶

During the period following Wilson's resignation, little is heard about Shingwauk's vision and about the interpretation from the Anishnabe perspective of the trust relationship that gave rise to the founding of Shingwauk Hall. However, changes occurred in 1970. The federal government closed down the Shingwauk school and title to the land reverted to the diocese. At that point, the Algoma Diocese attempted to sell the school and the land on which it rested to Algoma University College. The Garden River Anishnabe reminded the university and the diocese of the original intent for the land and reiterated their understanding of the original trust relationship. The Garden River community argued that that trust relationship was still intact and had still to be honoured. Chief Dan Pine stated that,

My grandpa [Buhkwujjenene] travelled to England to carry out his father's wishes and to raise funds. . . . Schools were established because the Indians had to learn the white man's language. Now, nothing is mentioned about that. . . . The Anglicans had authority to guide the Indians spiritually and in education but they have broken trust with us. They just taught the Indians so many years and then they kicked us out. They don't remember the Indian labour and help in establishing that school.⁶⁷

The Garden River Anishnabe commenced negotiations with Algoma University College and belatedly with the diocese. The college accepted a proposal to become a cross-cultural education centre in which non-Native and Native people would come together to learn about each other. The

college is now prepared to change its name to Shingwauk University. The Anglican church is negotiating with the client First Nations in hopes of preserving its spiritual and historical relationship with the people who were once its charges. The First Nations also wish to continue the relationship with the church.⁶⁸ Thus, the vision of Shingwauk, which had been the guiding principle for the Garden River Anishnabe all along, has become once again the framework from which to build a relationship between the Anishnabe and the non-Native community.

The history of the Shingwauk residential school reveals that a relationship of obligation between the non-Native community and the Garden River Anishnabe is manifest in three ways: legally, morally and spiritually. The legal relationship existed most clearly when E.F. Wilson transferred title to the land on which the school was built to the diocese of Algoma in trust for the purposes of Indian education. That legal relationship existed at least until Wilson agreed to relieve Bishop Sullivan and the diocese of Algoma of its trust responsibility. The Garden River First Nation has argued that even after that point, the legal trust relationship continued to exist because the other party to the trust, the Anishnabe, never agreed to relinquish its part of the trust to the diocese.⁶⁹ If the legal trust ended with its surrender by Wilson to the diocese, a strong argument can still be made that it was resurrected when, in 1935, the church negotiated with the federal government to relinquish title to the land in exchange for continued management of the school.

Even if the legal relationship came to an end or became unclear, the moral obligation remained. Recognition of this obligation has been repeated over and over again by church and state authorities from 1832 to the present time. For example, Archbishop Thorneloe, in his 1917 charge to the Algoma Synod, bemoaned the fact that "interest in Indian work seems almost dead" and added:

Yet this work is a sacred heritage. The Indians were the original owners of the country, the only true Canadians. It is a shame to ignore such a claim as theirs, and deliberately to neglect their bodily and spiritual interests.⁷⁰

In 1970, when the federal government decided to end its responsibilities for administering residential schools, the minister of Indian Affairs, Jean Chretien, with respect to the fate of Shingwauk Hall, declared that he was:

... most anxious to ensure that, in the disposal of this property [Shingwauk Hall], a future use is found which would permit the facilities to be accessible to the Indian people to some extent.

Ideally, it would continue to be used for an education-oriented purpose and it was with this in mind that [he] was prepared to favourably consider the transfer of the facilities to the Algoma Synod.⁷¹

Also, the Algoma Synod negotiated a leasing arrangement with Algoma University College in the 1970s. The lease stipulated that, "In recognition of the traditional concern which the Anglican Church has had for the Indian people, the Lessee will attempt to develop in co-operation with responsible Indian people, programs designed to develop Indian lore and culture."⁷²

There is yet one more dimension to this relationship of obligation: the spiritual one. This is the one that is most clearly, but not exclusively, expressed and identified by the Anishnabe. Shingwaukonse's vision continues to be the framework within which the Anishnabe wish to receive "English" education, but there is more to this spiritual relationship than what many would call "religion." To Native people, the definition of spirituality is life and living. Thus, for the Anishnabe, the legal and moral obligations would be a part of this spiritual relationship.

The relationship of obligation between the Garden River Anishnabe, the English church and the Crown developed because all parties involved sought a relationship in which the Native people would learn to survive in the "new world." The carrying out of that relationship proved difficult because of the misunderstanding between the Native and non-Native constituencies as to what the nature of the relationship was to be. The non-Native community sought to assimilate the Anishnabe, to make them an indistinguishable part of the non-Native universe. The Anishnabe sought to include certain elements of English culture in with their own. This policy of "inclusiveness" is fundamental to Anishnabe thinking. An example of this inclusiveness is noted by Alan Knight in his "A Charge to Keep I Have":

The historical synthesis of the two cultures is symbolically reflected in the concept that St. John's church itself represents both the Christian House of God and the spirit house for Shingwaukounce, [sic] the *mede* or medicine man. The Old Chief is by legend supposedly buried beneath the building . . . his portrait hangs in a prominent position to the right of the altar on special occasions and his gravestone is embedded in the west wall.⁷³

Chief Shingwaukonse realized that European settlement meant that another world had come to exist on his land and his people had to learn about this world in order to adapt to the changes it brought to their society and in order to adapt it to their world. Through a vision, Shingwaukonse was

guided to set out for Toronto to petition the Lieutenant Governor for a school and missionary to teach them about English religion and skills. However, the church, with the exception of E.F. Wilson, the state and all other non-Native agencies that came to have power over the lives of the Anishnabe had a different vision for educating their Native charges. Thus, two opposing views of the purposes for education existed. The Native view sought education as a way of preserving themselves as peoples by adding to their way of life; the non-Native view sought to assimilate the Native peoples, thereby taking away their way of life.⁷⁴ As a result, the trust that had been established between the Native and non-Native representatives was altered from a relationship of obligation and co-operation to a relationship of dependency. This relationship did not change until the 1970s, when the Garden River Anishnabe reasserted the vision of Chief Shingwaukonse, and the diocese of Algoma and the University of Algoma College accepted its wisdom.

Shingwauk Hall was not unique. E.F. Wilson opened up several schools in the west after Shingwauk Hall and Native leaders throughout the country actively sought a relationship with church authorities (and the state) in order to learn about English ways.⁷⁵ The churches felt duty bound to accept this relationship, although they did not understand the aims and motivations of their clients at the time. As a result, the relationship that developed between the Native community and the non-Native churches that served them was a difficult one because of the differences over how the relationship was to be interpreted. Fortunately, the churches are now coming to respect the Native viewpoint and, as a result, the relationship between the churches and the Native peoples is moving towards a relationship based on obligation and co-operation.⁷⁶

Notes

This paper was presented to the Seventy-First Annual Meeting of the Canadian Historical Association, at Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, May 29-June 1, 1992. The author especially recognizes the contribution of Professor Don Jackson, Department of Political Science, Algoma University College, who generously gave access to the research documents he had collected over the years on the history of Shingwauk Hall.

- 1 The Supreme Court, in *Guerin v. The Queen*, ruled in favour of the appellants, members of the Musqueam First Nation, that the federal government had failed to safeguard the band's interests in the surrender of reserve land for a golf course. The court further reasoned that the relationship between First Nations and the federal government was not defined as precisely as necessary for a trust relationship, and thus advocated the existence of a fiduciary one. A trust relationship is one in which the trustee undertakes certain obligations on behalf

of the beneficiary as specified in the terms of the trust. All trust relationships are based on arrangements made with respect to property; the wording of the trust agreements must be precise and the understanding clear. A fiduciary relationship resembles a trust relationship in that obligations are incurred by one of the parties for the benefit of the other. It differs from the trust in that the wording of the agreements that give rise to fiduciary obligations or the understanding of the parties involved in the relationship is imprecise or unclear. See [1984] 6 W.W.R. 481 [S.C.C.], and *Black's Law Dictionary*, (St. Paul, Minnesota: West Publishing, 1990).

- 2 See *Simon v. The Queen* [1985] 2 S.C.R. 387, and *R. v. Sparrow* [1990] 46 B.C.L.R. (2d) 1.
- 3 In fact the college is now located within the buildings of the former Shingwauk residential school.
- 4 The Garden River Anishnabe, in 1991, brought a civil suit against the Anglican Diocese of Algoma claiming that the church's sale of the hall to the University of Algoma College, an affiliate of Laurentian University, was in breach of trust with its clients, the Anishnabek. In response to this suit, the Anglican Diocese and the college are negotiating with the Anishnabek over the future of the school.
- 5 Sault Ste. Marie Town Registry Office, "Deed of Land, In trust for the Shingwauk Industrial Home," 8 February 1875.
- 6 For the purposes of this essay, "English church" is a collective term for the Church Missionary Society, the Church of England and the Anglican Church.
- 7 It is not clear from the historical record if Shingwaukose actually spoke of a "Teaching Wigwam." It is possible that this phrase came from his sons, Augustin and Bukkwujjenene.
- 8 For a full account of Shingwaukose's leadership and policies, see Janet Chute, *A Century of Native Leadership* (Ph.D thesis, McMaster University, 1986).
- 9 This is my synopsis of the vision as a result of a conversation with Mike Cachagee, Native Student Counsellor at Algoma University College, graduate of Shingwauk Hall and a representative of the Anishnabek in negotiations with the Anglican Church and Algoma University College over the future mandate of the college, 27 February 1992.
- 10 Janet Chute places the visit in 1833; others place it in 1832. Chute, *A Century of Native Leadership*, p. 139.
- 11 *Ibid.*, p. 144.
- 12 Augustin Shingwauk, "Little Pine's Journal," edited by E.F. Wilson (Toronto: Copp, Clark and Co., 1872), p. 4. The political alliance existed as the result of Shingwaukose's support for the British during the War of 1812. See also Janet Chute, *A Century of Native Leadership*.
- 13 See Janet Chute's *A Century of Native Leadership* for further information about Shingwaukose's attempts to establish a relationship with English authorities with respect to economic and political goals.
- 14 Carolyn Harrington, "Shingwauk School," *Ontario Indian* (October 1980), pp. 22-26, p. 26.

- 15 David Nock, "The Social Effects of Missionary Education: A Victorian Case Study," in *Reading, Writing and Riches*, edited by Randle Nelsen and David Nock (Kitchener: Between the Lines, 1978), pp. 233-51, p. 234.
- 16 Chute, *Native Leadership*, p. 129.
- 17 *Ibid.*, p. 122f.
- 18 Algoma University College Library, Shingwauk Project Documents (SPD), Don Jackson, "From Shingwauk School to Shingwauk University: Algoma University College and the Shingwauk Trust," p. 1.
- 19 Alan Knight, "A Charge to Keep I Have," unpublished paper, (Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario: Synod of the Diocese of Algoma, 1983), Chapter 1, p. 6.
- 20 David Nock, "The Failure of the CMS Native Church Policy in Southwestern Ontario," *Studies in Religion* 9, no. 3 (1980), pp. 269-86, p. 284.
- 21 This problem of short residency continued well after the 1830s. When Bishop Sullivan first visited Garden River upon accepting his appointment, Chief Augustin Shingwauk and Buhkwujjenene took him to task for not sending missionaries who would stay in the community permanently. A report of this chastisement is found in Wilson's letterbook, 1882:

The gist of it [Augustin's speech] was that the Indians did not like young unmarried men coming up and staying a few years, then getting a wife and going off because they did not like to live with Indians.— They wanted an old man to bring his wife with him and stay with them until he died. . . . [Then Buhkwujjenene said] they were greatly in need of a new church—especially since the fire . . . and he hoped the Bishop would do what he could to help them; also that he should send a Clergyman who would remain with them and not go away.

SPD, E.F. Wilson Letterbooks, "Extracts, Letters From Relatives and Friends, 1875 to 1903 and Extracts, Letters between Myself and Wife, 1873-1914," 29 July 1882, p. 126.

- 22 SPD, "From Shingwauk School to Shingwauk University: Algoma University College and the Shingwauk Trust," summary prepared by Don Jackson, January 1992, p. 2.
- 23 Augustine Shingwauk, "Little Pine's Journal," transcribed by Reverend E.F. Wilson (Toronto: Copp Clark and Co., 1872), p. 4.
- 24 *Ibid.*, pp. 5-16.
- 25 E.F. Wilson, *Missionary Work among the Ojibeway Indians*, (London: SPCK, 1886), pp. 106-10.
- 26 *Ibid.*, p. 96.
- 27 *Ibid.*, p. 102f.
- 28 *Ibid.*, p. 103.
- 29 Shingwauk, "Little Pine's Journal," p. 11.
- 30 Harrington, p. 24. Another report suggested that the school was burned down by an old woman seeking revenge against E.F. Wilson, who had thrown her out of church the previous Sunday for being intoxicated (oral history account as related by Don Jackson, 26 Feb. 1992). The destruction of the school indicates that there was tension in the community over the presence of new ideas. Neither

Shingwaukose nor his sons could compel the Anishnabe to accept the school. They could only profess their belief in the vision and hope that others would be similarly inspired.

- 31 Harrington, "Shingwauk School," p. 24, and also SPD, Deeds to Shingwauk Property, Instruments #248 and #249.
- 32 SPD, "The Shingwauk Trust: A Summary of Title," brief prepared by Don Jackson, June 1988.
- 33 SPD, Deeds to Shingwauk Property, Instrument #TP263.
- 34 Wilson, *Work among the Ojibeway*, p. 146f.
- 35 Harrington, p. 24.
- 36 SPD, Wilson Letterbooks, "Extracts between Myself and Wife," 25 November 1873, p. 101.
- 37 Wilson, *Work among the Ojibeway*, p. 110.
- 38 David Nock, *A Victorian Missionary and Canadian Indian Policy*, Editions SR, vol. 9 (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1988), p. 158f.
- 39 The idea that teachers should replace parents was not unique to Indian education. Historians of education have argued that, in the late nineteenth century, reformers concerned about the impact of industrialization and urbanization on the family sought to use education as a means of uplifting the disadvantaged classes from their familiar environment through schooling. Susan Houston argues this point in her article "Victorian Origins of Juvenile Delinquency: A Canadian Experiment," *History of Education Quarterly* 12 (summer, 1972): pp. 254-80. The difference in interpretation by historians of education and of Native/non-Native relations is that the former talk about education being a means of establishing control over certain segments of society and the latter talk about education being a means of assimilating certain segments of society. A comparative study of these two fields might prove interesting.
- 40 Nock, "The Social Effects of Missionary Education," p. 237.
- 41 SPD, E.F. Wilson, "The Indian of to-day," *The Canadian Indian* 1, no. 2 (November 1890), p. 28f.
- 42 David Nock, "The Canadian Indian Research and Aid Society: A Victorian Voluntary Association," *The Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology* 4, no. 2 (1976), pp. 31-48, pp.33f and 37f.
- 43 Nock, *A Victorian Missionary*, p. 137.
- 44 SPD, Wilson, *The Canadian Indian* 1, no. 6 (March 1891).
- 45 SPD, Wilson, *The Canadian Indian* 1, no. 5 (February 1891).
- 46 Nock, "The Canadian Indian Research and Aid Society," p. 40.
- 47 SPD, Wilson, *The Canadian Indian* 1, no. 7, (April 1891).
- 48 *Ibid.*
- 49 Jean Manore, "Power and Performance" (M.A. thesis, University of Ottawa: 1986), p. 58f. See also Nock, *A Victorian Missionary*, p. 137.
- 50 SPD, Wilson, *The Canadian Indian* 1, no. 9 (June 1891).
- 51 SPD, Wilson Letterbooks, "Extracts, Letters from Relatives and Friends," 26 January 1892, p. 165.

- 52 Marguerite Van Die, *An Evangelical Mind: Nathanael Burwash and the Methodist Tradition in Canada, 1839-1918* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), p. 90f.
- 53 John Webster Grant, *A Profusion of Spires: Religion in Nineteenth Century Ontario*, Ontario Historical Studies Series (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), p. 175.
- 54 Knight, chap. 3, p. 25f and Nock, *A Victorian Missionary*, p. 158.
- 55 Knight, chap. 3, p. 25f.
- 56 Nock, *A Victorian Missionary*, p. 158.
- 57 SPD, Wilson, "Autobiographical Journal," p. 109.
- 58 As a result of Wilson's change of thought, there may be a tendency to view him as a remarkable or even as an enlightened individual who did not fit in with the times. This view must be tempered with the knowledge that the late 1800s were a time in which many white "liberal reformers" were questioning government policy both in the United States and in Canada. In 1890, Wilson founded the Canadian Indian Research and Aid Society, an organization that was dedicated to disseminating information about Indians of North America and to discussing ways of assisting the Indian people to improve their situations. Though Wilson claimed that there were 272 members of this society in 1890, David Nock has dismissed this as an exaggeration (Nock, "The Canadian Indian Research and Aid Society," p. 34). Nevertheless, membership did include several clergy, Indians, anthropologists and politicians such as the Hon. G.W. Allan, Speaker of the Senate; Solomon Loft, Chief of the Six Nations; G.M. Dawson of the Geological Survey; and Principal George Grant.
- Also, even though he shared others' interests in reform, Wilson, as principal of the Shingwauk school, continued to follow the strict regimen and curriculum as set down by the government, and did not hesitate to use corporal punishment or lock his pupils in the basement or attic when they committed some infraction of the rules (see Harrington, p. 25). Even if he no longer considered assimilation an acceptable policy, he still believed in the necessity of "civilizing" his pupils. His bias towards the civilized ethic is evident in his call to have the Indian Conference in Toronto; only representatives from Ontario were invited because, in his mind, only they were sufficiently civilized to be able to run their own affairs or to handle self-government.
- 59 Knight, "A Charge to Keep I Have," chap. 5, p. 3.
- 60 Knight, chap. 5, p. 6.
- 61 SPD, Deeds to Shingwauk Property, Instrument #16444, 19 January 1910 and "Shingwauk Trust: Title Summary," p. 1.
- 62 National Archives of Canada (NAC), RG 10, Records of Indian Affairs, vol. 6211, file 469-1, pt. 3, letter, Bishop Thorneloe to D.C. Scott, 7 Apr. and 8 July 1919.
- 63 *Ibid.*, letter, J.D. McLean for D.C. Scott to Bishop Thorneloe, 10 July 1919.
- 64 Knight, chap. 5, p. 10.
- 65 NAC, RG 10, vol. 6211, file 469-1, pt. 3, letter, Robert Abraham to D.C. Scott, 11 March 1919.

- 66 SPD, "Indians Rally to Seek Centre," *The Globe and Mail*, 12 October 1970 and Deeds to Shingwauk Property, Instrument #T-58477.
- 67 SPD, "Ojibways Learned of Sale of Shingwauk Hall Friday," *Sault Star*, 24 February 1975.
- 68 Donald Jackson and Carolyn Harrington, "Education, Sault Ste. Marie and Algoma University College," December 1980, p. 7, and conversation with Mike Cachagee, 27 February 1992.
- 69 SPD, Deeds to Shingwauk Property, Instrument #16444 and "Shingwauk Trust: A Summary of Title," p. 1.
- 70 Knight, chap. 3, p. 34f.
- 71 SPD, Keewatinung Institute Report, 1973, Algoma University College, p. 1.
- 72 *Ibid.* p. 2.
- 73 Knight, chap. 6, p. 2.
- 74 Harrington, p. 26.
- 75 For example, on a trip with Bishop Fauquier along the north shore of Lake Superior in 1878, Wilson recorded that Lake Nipigon Chief Oshkahpukeda informed them that they had been "waiting thirty years [since the time of the Robinson Treaties] for an English Missionary to come and teach them" (SPD, Wilson Letterbooks, "Extracts, Letters from Relatives and Friends," Lake Superior Trip with Bishop Fauquier, 15 August 1878, p. 118).
- 76 For example, the Anglican Church, in response to Charles Hendry's report "Beyond Traplines," established a Council of Native Affairs in order to increase the participation of Native people in the decision-making process of the Anglican church. See Council of Native Affairs, "Life in its Fullness" (Toronto: Anglican Church of Canada, 1985). Also, in 1986, the United Church issued an apology to Native peoples for its past assimilationist policies, as did the Anglican Church in August 1993.