

Changing Political and Cultural Realms in the Upper Great Lakes, 1826: a Case-study of
the Influential “Oode” (or family) of Jane Johnston Schoolcraft

by

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Abstract

This thesis explores the homestead and social life of the Jane Johnston Schoolcraft's family circle in Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan throughout 1826. This metis family was both ordinary and exceptional. Like the French Métis in the region, they combined different cultural frameworks demonstrated through combined forms of worship and family practices. But they were exceptional because their higher social status in the community led to unique adaptations by the family in order to maintain their position in Sault Ste. Marie during an influx of white settlement. Jane mother's position as daughter of a chief, and as wife of an independent fur trader, gave her a distinct status within the community where women had more control over the market than in white society at the time. As the eldest daughter, Jane was exposed to both her mother's and father's influence growing up. She held a distinct position within the Johnston house, and her marriage to Henry helped to assure her family's position in part through Henry Schoolcraft's influence over the United States' Aboriginal policy, both locally, and at the federal level. While the family's influence has lived on through legislation, it also provided a rich array of more personal writing that helped to preserve Anishnabee tales through tribalographic writings. Among these were Jane's writing; she is the first known North American aboriginal literary writer. This thesis examines the events in Sault Ste. Marie in 1826 that Jane's immediate family circle was part of, in order to demonstrate the family's ability to adapt to changing political and cultural environments, while simultaneously trying to preserve their family's traditional life-ways.

Chapter One: Introduction

When introduced to new Anishnabee people, Ozhaguscodaywayquay (meaning “Woman of the Green Glade”, also called “Neengay” meaning “my mother” or “Susan Johnston”) would have first been asked, “Waenaesh k'dodaem?” (What is your totem?)” before being asked “Waenaesh keen?” (Who are you?).”¹ She would have answered that she was of the Adik (caribou) totem from her father, the influential chief Waubojeeg (White Fisher c. 1747-1793) and grandfather Mamongazeda ([have] big foot, or “loon foot”). Ozhaguscodaywayquay's father and grandfather had lived to the south and west of Lake Superior most their lives. They gained the family influence as political and military leaders in Ojibway and Dakota disputes, as well as during the Seven Years' War. Waubojeeg supported Aboriginal resistance from white encroachment as part of the pan-Indian movement, and was a powerful fur trader who controlled much of the market surrounding the west and south of Lake Superior.

In 1793, Waubojeeg and Ozhaguscodaywayquay would meet thirty-one year old John Johnston (1762-1828), who had travelled far from his family's estate in Ireland. John had come with letters containing the assurances from Montreal traders that Waubojeeg needed to continue his trade. In their first year of marriage, John and Ozhaguscodaywayquay would move to Sault Ste. Marie after the death of Waubojeeg. As a result of political shifts in the region, they began their life and family with the new influences of each other's heritage.

The couple started their family in the first year of their marriage, and quickly began to establish their fur trade holdings. Each of the Johnston children were given an

¹ Basil Johnston, *Ojibway Heritage* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), 59.

Anishnabee and an English name, and would pursue different careers based on their mixed-race identity. Their first son, Lewis Saurin Johnston (Anishnabee name unknown, 1793-1825), had been sent away to join the British Navy when younger, and by 1826 had died from complications after receiving an injury during the War of 1812. George Johnston, or Kahmentayha (1796-1861), was to be sent to the British Army, but would remain in Sault Ste. Marie to help with the family's trade, and relied on his cultural background to support his many careers. The couple's first daughter was Jane Johnston Schoolcraft, or Bamewawagezhikaquay (also spelt: Obahbahmwawgezhegoqua) meaning: Woman of the Sound the Stars make Rushing Through the Sky (January 31, 1800 - May 22, 1842). Jane is now recognized as the first known North American Aboriginal literary writer. In 1824 she would marry the first Indian Agent in the area, Henry Rowe Schoolcraft (1793-1864), who would go on to become one of the most recognized authors on North American Aboriginals and an influential informer of United States government policy.

Jane gave birth to their first child, William Henry Schoolcraft or Penyasee, in June 1824, eight and a half months after their marriage.² The young family lived in the Johnston house with Jane's parents and her siblings: George, Eliza Johnston (Wahbunungoquay, 1802-1883), Charlotte Johnston (Ogenebugoquay, 1806-1878),³ William Johnston (Miengun, meaning wolf, 1811-1863), Anna Maria Johnston (Omiskabugoquay, 1814-1856),⁴ John McDougall Johnston (Waubequon, 1816-1895), and Nancy Campbell, who was adopted by the Johnston family after her father was killed

2 Robert Dale Parker, "Introduction: The World and Writings of Jane Johnston Schoolcraft," in Jane Johnston Schoolcraft, *The Sound the Stars Make Rushing through the Sky: The Writings of Jane Johnston Schoolcraft* ed. Robert Dale Parker (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 8.

in a duel on nearby St. Joseph Island.⁵ The Johnston children were largely successful because of their ability to combine the teachings of their culturally disparate parents, which enabled them to thrive in various cultural realms.

This thesis started as a work designed to look deeply into the life of Jane Johnston Schoolcraft and her family during 1826, in an effort to add her story to the better known history of her family.⁶ Her husband, Henry Schoolcraft, and her father John Johnston are generally much better known by historians. In recent years, Jane has begun to attract interest in literary circles for her unique contributions through poetry, prose, and translation. This emphasis on Jane in a specific year can be partially attributed to difficulties in the source-base. Given the multitude of life altering experiences Jane had during the 1820s, it became apparent that accounts from other years (such as the journal

- 3 Charlotte would marry Anglican Missionary William McMurray (1810-1894) on September 28, 1833 and take his last name. William McMurray had moved into the Johnston family house after he had worn out his welcome at the Hudson's Bay Company's post. Knight has described their time in the Sault as "The Team Ministry of William and Charlotte McMurray." Charlotte was particularly committed to the conversion of the First-Nation population, particularly her work with women and children to whom she taught Christian religion before McMurray's arrival. She had also found part time work with the Rev. Bingham on the American side. See: Alan Knight, "A Study in Failure, The Anglican Mission at Sault Ste. Marie, Upper Canada, 1830-1841," Published as paper delivered to American Native Studies Conference, Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, (April 1998): 15, 19.; John T. Fierst, "Return to 'Civilization': John Tanner's Troubled Years at Sault Ste. Marie," *Minnesota History*, vol. 50 no. 1 (1986): 24, 28.
- 4 Anna Maria, whose name appears in various spellings throughout the documentation, would marry Henry Schoolcraft's little brother James and take his last name. After his murder in 1846 she would marry the Rev. Oliver Taylor of Pontiac. It is not entirely clear whether she died in 1856 or 1863. See Karl S. Hele, *Lines Drawn Upon the Water: First Nations and the Great Lakes Borders and Borderlands*. (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2008), 256.; Dale Parker, "Introduction" in *The Sound the Stars Make*, 6.
- 5 Like the Johnston children, Nancy was metis. Captain Campbell, Nancy's father, was also from Ireland and a friend of John Johnston. Mr. Johnston attended the duel where the first American Indian Agent to serve Prairie du Chien (appointed 1807) was killed. Despite Henry's assertion that "she was brought up and treated in every respect with the care and tenderness of one of his own children." However, beyond this brief mention, I have not been able to find any other mention of her in the families' documents. "Memoir of John Johnston, Henry Schoolcraft," In *Historical Collections, Vol. 36*, (Lansing: Wyncoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co., State Printers, 1908.): 61.
- 6 Throughout this paper I use "Jane" rather than Bamewawagezhikaquay because it is the name that she herself used when signing letters and how she appears in the contemporary documents. Due to the nature of the sources, it is difficult to know which name was used most often, but as Anishnabee was the most commonly spoken language it is like she went by Bamewawagezhikaquay more often than by Jane.

which she kept in the summer of 1828) did not accurately portray Jane in 1826.⁷ While sources written after 1826 help to paint a picture of the family's daily-life, they also portray the image of a different woman from pre-1827 Jane. Literary researcher Victoria Brehm has commented on changes in Jane's poetry after the death of her child in 1827. After this, Jane's life changed significantly and she struggled with depression the remainder of her life.⁸ Robert Dale Parker, whose work in compiling Jane's writing into a single volume has contributed to the recent rise in Jane's popularity as an author, has helped to moderate the image of Jane based on her later life.⁹ Yet, her depression, her struggle with laudanum as medicine, and her husband's career troubles and triumphs, are all better documented than her early life.¹⁰ What became apparent in researching this thesis was that Jane's life was changing and complex, both in her home and her community. The better known accounts of her life, and of her family-members' lives, have been told with anglo-centric mindsets based on nineteenth century understandings of race, and were written in support of government-enforced mandates designed to bring aboriginal people into a white, anglo-Christian sphere.

The more time that I spent in the archives, the more I realized that Jane's life was fluid, and felt the effects of many changing forces during different periods, and that it deserves a larger work, with more time to perform a full evaluation of all extant traces of her life than this project will allow. I also realized how large of a hole there is in the

7 Jane kept a note book between May and June 1828. Library of Congress in "Henry Rowe Schoolcraft papers, 1788-1941 bulk 1820-1856" *Manuscript Division*, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Box 60 (Reel 48).

8 Victoria Brehm, *The Women's Great Lakes Reader* (Duluth, Minnesota: Holy Cow! Press, 1998): 38.

9 Theresa Strouth Gaul, "Recovering Recovery: Early American Women and Legacy's Future," *Legacy*, Vol. 26, no. 2 (2009): 273-274.

10 Dale Parker, "Introduction" in *The Sound the Stars Make*, 42-43.

sources representing not only Jane, but also her mother, and siblings. It became clear to me that although Jane is now recognized for her writing, she is not the only family member deserving of more thorough evaluation. By limiting this thesis to 1826, I will seek to track Jane and her family's lives through the year in an effort to demonstrate how Jane's family-unit functioned seasonally within her home and community in order to highlight the roles of those generally unrecognized in the historical narrative. By looking at the Johnston-Schoolcraft family dynamic outwards from Jane in 1826, this thesis offers a snapshot of Jane's family life, and of her family's influence in shaping the politics of their community through legislation implemented in 1826 and through their distinct position in the Anishnabee, metis, and white communities of Sault Ste. Marie.

Historian Gwynneth Jones points out that, for Sault Ste. Marie, as for most of the area surrounding Lake Superior, what documents that do exist from before the 1830s are predominately written by people living outside the Upper Great Lakes, motivated professionally, and limited by their Christian understandings.¹¹ While Anishnabee perspectives are missing in the documents, the sources can still be used together to create an image that highlights the social-life of this “fur-trade” community prior to 1821, before any significant presence of English-speaking colonialists. Jones observed, “The precise genealogical and ethnic origins of much of the population of the area north of Lake Superior prior to 1821 are not clear because of the sparseness of the documentary record from this time period.”¹² Despite this sparsity, significant interactions between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people were known to occur in the region from the late seventeenth

11 Gwynneth Jones, *The Historical Roots of Métis Communities North of Lake Superior* (Vancouver: Prepared for the Métis Nation of Ontario, 2015), 7.

12 Ibid, 4.

century onwards. In the Upper Great Lakes, a distinctive way of life, worship, and economic structure developed, drawing on Aboriginal, non-Aboriginal and newly-created elements.¹³ In the nineteenth century, this distinct culture was shifted marginally by an incoming population of Americans; however, despite the bias of the records, an early Métis community remained at Sault Ste. Marie throughout the 1820s, living in much the way they had since the beginning of the fur trade.

The wide use today of the name Sault Ste. Marie in the public lexicon, along with its historical printing on maps, demonstrates the pervasiveness of French-speaking populations in the area. Local Anishnabee populations in the twenty-first century still often refer to the location by its original name, Bawating (also known as Pawating). These early liminal practices continue to remain both consciously and sub-consciously in the identity of northern Ontarians and Michiganders, a result of this nearly four hundred year old legacy of cultural exchange in the region. Jane's husband would later write of Sault Ste. Marie:

The French, on the exploration of this part of Canada about 1641 found them seated at the falls on the outlet of lake Superior, called Ba-wa-teeg, cascades or rapids. To this term, the missionaries put the nominative of Sainte Mary, in reference to the Virgin Mary. As this term is feminine, its abbreviation required that fact to be noticed, which is done by the abbreviation Ste. in Sault de Ste. Marie, or Sault Ste. Marie. The correction of the word *Sault*. But with respect to geographical names, long in use, the 'l' was retained. Hence Charlevoix and his contemporaries and followers, retain the abbreviation *Sault Ste. Marie*.¹⁴

This early population of Métis was significant in number as early as the seventeenth

13 As early as the middle of the 1620s, between 12,000 to 15,000 beaver pelts were being exported from the St. Lawrence River Valley into the French market. Even in the early years of European contact, French presence made a significant contribution, adding economic demand for pelts as trade-gods which led to flexible adaptation of native economies. Groups such as the Mohawk and Algonquin under the leaderships such as that of Tessouat, even discouraged European traders from traveling further inland in order to control the market along establish Aboriginal networks, which carried both furs and European-goods alike, as far as Lake Superior. See Jones, *The Historical Roots*, 4-8.

century. The rise of the *coureurs de bois* emerged from this new economy. Frenchmen began accompanying Aboriginal groups on their hunts near the Great Lakes, introducing Europeans not just to trade in the region, but also leading them to form families.¹⁵ As the French influx to the region was almost exclusively men, their wives were predominately Aboriginal, and the resulting families accounted for the ethno-genesis of Métis people in the Upper Great Lakes as early as the seventeenth century.¹⁶

During the 1730s and 1740s, the French fur trade's officially sanctioned territory grew to include Rainy Lake (1731) and Lake of the Woods (1732), and extended as far as the watershed of Lake Winnipeg, which increased the importance of Sault Ste. Marie, Michipicoten, and Michilimackinac as trading sites.¹⁷ This shift towards the north and west of the continent was in part a move away from the now depleted populations of fur-

14 Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs of a Residence of Thirty Years with the Indian Tribes on the American Frontiers: With Brief Notices of Passing Events, Facts, and Opinions, A.D. 1812 to A.D. 1842* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo and Co., 1851), Chapter 1. (accessed: http://www.gutenberg.org/files/11119/11119-h/11119-h.htm#CHAPTER_I.)

15 By the late 1660s there were roughly 100 to 200 *coureurs de bois* in the *pays d'en haut*. By 1680, there were 800, which accounted for twenty percent of the total male population of New France at the time. During these twenty years the Jesuits established missions at Aboriginal gathering points: Sault Ste. Marie, St. Ignace and Chequamegon Bay (The settlement on Chequamegon Bay is near what is now Ashland, Wisconsin.). In 1670 two Sulpician priests noted, that there was often between twenty to thirty Frenchmen at the mission in Sault Ste. Marie. Jones points to La Mothe Cadillac's comments in 1695 which described Mackinac Island as amongst the largest trade centres in "Canada"; with its "sixty bark-covered dwellings housing traders with their Aboriginal wives and mixed-ancestry children"; there were 104 traders by 1700, often living in the region with their wives and children. (Jones, *The Historical Roots*, 9-10)

16 Following the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, Aboriginal people in the area surrounding Lake Superior were given the option of trading with the English of the Hudson's Bay Company in the areas surrounding James and Hudson Bay or continuing trade with the French. As demand for furs in Europe continued to increase, so did the number of white traders coming to the region, continuing an influx of eligible white bachelors to lands inhabited by Aboriginals and existing metis families. In the summer of 1716 an estimated 600 traders were at nearby Fort Michilimackinac during its peak. Beyond these accounts, populations are difficult to ascertain, there is little documentation or official registration: in the first year of official licences in 1716 only twenty-five were issued of the hundreds of accounted for traders in the area, and there is virtually no record of individuals employed by traders. There are some Jesuit records (birth and marriage registry) but it is unlikely that most Anishnabee people, and a great deal of the men who had chosen to live amongst Aboriginals, would not have felt compelled to have these events recorded by the missionaries: between 1698-1765 only 62 marriages were recorded. (Jones, *The Historical Roots*, 11-12)

17 Ibid, 12.

trade animals in the region surrounding Sault Ste. Marie. Despite this shift, its geographic location made Sault Ste. Marie an ideal trade hub between the new harvest areas, and their selling points in Montreal and Hudson's Bay.¹⁸ A visiting missionary wrote that as “late as 1790, this was the great mart of the Indian trade on the southern shores of lake Superior, where the Mackinac traders annually resorted to exchange their goods for the valuable furs of those shores.”¹⁹ In 1793 after the death of Waubogeej the followers of his brother came to Sault Ste. Marie to settle, and with them came the late-chief's daughter Ozhaguscodaywayquay and her husband John Johnston, to establish their homestead, trade stations, and family.

In 1826, the influence of the United States government, which was still predominantly limited to Fort Brady, was entering into the Sault Ste. Marie region, which had a much more complex political environment the government recognized. The War of 1812 had led to alliances between Aboriginal chiefs and Euro-America powers that would shape the politics of the Upper Great Lakes for the rest of the century. Sault Ste. Marie, which in practice had remained a single community even following the demise of the French government in the area, was officially divided following the War of 1812. The St. Mary's River became an imposed boundary to a population that had previously held a different notion of what these borders meant, and no doubt would have seemed then, as it does now, in conflict to the established rules of “The Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation, Between His Britannic Majesty and the United States of America (1795)”

18 Ibid, 12.

19 Adam Elliot, “Journal for July, 1834,” in *The Stewart Missions. A Series of Letters and Journals, Calculated to Exhibit to British Christians the Spiritual Destitution of the Emigrants Settled in the Remote Parts of Upper Canada, to which is prefixed a brief memoir of the late Hon. & Rt. Rev. Chas. James Stewart.* Edited by W.J.D. Waddilove (London: J. Hatchard & Son, 1838): 55.

(more commonly known as Jay's Treaty) which had guaranteed rights now circumscribed the new boundary. These political shifts directly influenced Sault Ste. Marie and the Johnston family throughout the nineteenth century, demonstrated, in part, through the changes in Jane's life.

After the War of 1812, both sides of the St. Mary's River began feel the influence of English-speaking governments: under the authority of the United States on the south-side of the river, and the British to the north. This would be the second major shift of white influences in the area, occurring only fifty years after the region was given up by the French government as part of the Treaty of Paris in 1763. Both the British and Americans had difficulty establishing white populations in the area. The British presence was largely represented by members of the Hudson's Bay Company, or else by British garrisons (present at St. Joseph Island and Drummond Island), and until 1822 there was very little American influence felt in the area. After the American Revolution, the British became concerned with retaining what remained of British North America, but because of the remoteness of the area, and the cost of maintaining it, depended more on the loyalty of traders and missionaries than on government officials.

During the early 1820s, Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan experienced a legislative shift as county and federal laws, as well as treaties, started to influence the cultural make-up of the community. These changes affected members of Jane's family circle in vastly different ways. The United States government, in Sault Ste. Marie, and around the country, was attempting to demonstrate its influence on a larger scale: in part to make Aboriginal land available for white settlement. The establishment of an American

garrison at Sault Ste. Marie on July 6, 1822 was one of these attempts.²⁰ Henry was chosen as Indian Agent because of his previous experience as an “explorer”, his political connections (especially his close relationship to Lewis Cass [1782-1866]), and likely his willingness to work in an area where most white Americans with the required credentials would have been unwilling to live. John Bigsby (1792-1881) would comment after visiting the area, two years after the fort's establishment, that “I advise only the uneasy classes of Great Britain to live in Canada; the easy classes, however, I strenuously advise to visit it.”²¹ Sault Ste. Marie had been, and remained, a community attached and adhering to its traditional life-ways, but with this new white American presence in the area, it became a goal of the American government to change the long-standing practices of the inhabitants of Sault Ste. Marie to comply with the ideals of Anglo-Christian America.

Henry arrived in Sault Ste. Marie in 1822. He and Jane married two years later. With his new position as Indian Agent came a new-found financial security for Henry. Dale Parker has argued that Henry arrived in Sault Ste. Marie “the most authoritative civilian in town and the most eligible bachelor. Henry had the largest income and the best prospects, while Jane Johnston was the most eligible woman and the daughter of the previously most authoritative white man.”²² He refers to both Jane and Henry as “social climbers,” who adapted to the liminal 1820s in Sault Ste. Marie in order to maintain their status within the community.²³ Although in the eyes of the United States government

20 Schoolcraft, “Memoir of John Johnston,” 80.

21 John J. Bigsby, *The Shoe and Canoe, Or, Pictures of Travel in the Canadas with Facts and Opinions on Emigration, State Police, and Other Points of Public Interest* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1850), 131.

22 Dale Parker, “Introduction” in *The Sound the Stars Make*, 24.

23 *Ibid*, 24.

Henry may have had the most authority, he was entering a community of which he understood little, and in which he did not have established contacts. Despite the records written by Henry and his boss at the Bureau of Indian affairs (Thomas Lorraine McKenny, 1785-1859), significant governmental change was slow to occur.

Henry was the first Indian Agent representing the United States government in Michigan, a territory which at the time included all of what is now Michigan and Wisconsin, as well as parts of Minnesota and Ohio.²⁴ Because of his middle-class upbringing, Henry was seen as an ambitious man on the frontier, making his own way in the world in an early manifestation of the American Dream. He often took full-credit for team accomplishments, ignoring those who helped him, particularly Aborigines. Shifts in the political and cultural makeup of the area surrounding Sault Ste. Marie were a result of many of the themes and political movements from the War of 1812, and particularly the added American influence in the region between 1822-1826. Focusing on the involvement of the Johnston and Schoolcraft families in this shift, and how these families influenced and informed policy-making in 1826, demonstrates the extent to which these anglo-hegemonic forces influenced the lives of those previously settled in Sault Ste. Marie.

This thesis hopes to add a historical perspective to Dale Parker's work on Jane. Dale Parker started this work as “a reaction against the routine of underestimation of American Indian literacy both for historical times and for our own time.”²⁵ This sort of underestimation is pervasive in historical understandings of aboriginal and metis

24 As Dale Parker notes, at this time the Michigan Territory was larger than the combined land mass of England, Scotland, Wales and North Ireland. See Dale Parker, “Introduction” in *The Sound the Stars Make*, 21)

25 Ibid, i.

populations in the United States and Canada, but recent additions to the historiography allow for a more complete understanding of Jane's historical context both as an individual and as an author. Included in Dale Parker's edited collection of Jane's writing is a well researched, 74-page section in which he explores Jane's personal history as it related to her writings, which gives the reader some context of Sault Ste. Marie in Jane's lifetime. This thesis is in part a response to Dale Parker's comment that he was "struck by how almost every account [of Jane] includes serious inaccuracies."²⁶

Correcting these inaccuracies requires new evaluations of the primary sources pertinent to Jane's life and 1826 is one of the best documented years in the Johnston house. Records for 1826 were produced by Henry (diaries and professional works), the Johnston family as a whole (letter correspondence and literary works), and by visitors to the area. Two published accounts preserve this year in diary form: Henry Rowe Schoolcraft's *Personal Memoirs of a Residence of Thirty Years with the Indian Tribes on the American Frontiers: With Brief Notices of Passing Events, Facts, and Opinions, A.D. 1812 to A.D. 1842* (1851), and Thomas Lorraine McKenny's *Sketches of a Tour to the Lakes, of the Character and Customs of the Chippeway Indians, and of Incidents Connected with the Treaty of Fond Du Lac*, (1827).²⁷ These sources help to create a

²⁶ Ibid. xiv.

²⁷ This thesis also relies on another similar published diary of time spent in Sault Ste. Marie. See John J. Bigsby, *The Shoe and Canoe, Or, Pictures of Travel in the Canadas with Facts and Opinions on Emigration, State Police, and Other Points of Public Interest* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1850), although Bigsby visited Sault Ste. Marie in 1824 as part of the border-setting commission, his account from before 1826 helps to demonstrate growth in the community between 1824-1826, as well as helps to verify Schoolcraft and McKenny's accounts. Other similar sources, but with better understanding of Aborigines, were used to corroborate these accounts, such as: John Tanner, *Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner, (U.S. Interpreter at the Saut De Ste. Marie) during Thirty Years Residence Among the Indians in the Interior of North America.* ed. Edwin James (New York: G. & C. & H. Carvill, 1830) and Andrew J. Blackbird, *History of the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan; a Grammar of Their Language, and Personal and Family History of the Author* (Ypsilanti, Michigan: Ypsilantian Job Printing House, 1887).

timeline throughout the year, because they contain events significant to the United States government that are recorded by date. Both Henry's and McKenny's accounts also record official and social interactions with Jane and the Johnston family. These sources are biased by Christian understandings and self promotion on the part of the authors, and their publication as official documents by United States government. Used alongside these diaries are some of the family's correspondence for the year 1826, the literary and poetic work of Jane and her family from "The Literary Voyageur" (which ran from 1826-1827), and Jane's written works compiled in Robert Dale Parker's edited collection: *The Sound the Stars Make Rushing Through the Sky: The Writings of Jane Johnston Schoolcraft* (2007). These sources used together allow me to describe both the political and social world of Jane's family in 1826, revealing that this year was more complex than government officials understood it to be at the time.

In order to correct for this bias, the primary sources created by government officials need to be scrutinized with an emphasis on Aboriginal understandings to approaching this history. This is possible thanks to the wealth of local studies on Upper Great Lakes communities published in the last thirty years. With this approach, the primary sources on the Johnston family highlight the aboriginal practices within the family and community and their importance to the politics of Sault Ste. Marie in 1826.

Recent literature has led to more sophisticated understandings of the Upper Great Lakes but with a particular emphasis on the fur trade. When Philip Mason made the "The Literary Voyager" accessible through his compiled collection in 1962, the notion of the fur trade as being a balanced exchange was not prevalent. Since then, research in

Aboriginal social history has been supported by First Nation civil rights movements, treaty disputes through legal cases, and through the “Indian Renaissance” of the 1970s. The general growth of social history in the 1980s, and cultural and gender history in the 1990s were added to this geographic context, and have both been used to create more insightful and socially-oriented histories of the Aboriginal and metis populations in the region. These influences have combined to create an expanded historiography on the Upper Great Lakes, which allows for various methodological approaches to be applied to research on Sault Ste. Marie in 1826. While much of this expanded historiography is focused on the fur trade, these sources shed light onto the less represented period between the War of 1812 and the establishment of the first Protestant missionaries in the area in the 1830s. This period was a transitional time for both the community and the United States, as changing policy in the 1820s set the stage for the vast forced migrations of the “Trail of Tears” in the 1830s. The study of Michigan in the 1820s generally receives more emphasis by scholars for its significance to colonial growth, rather than for its distinct and tolerant culture, where most of the peoples adhered to their traditional patterns; thankfully, this is changing.

In the understandings of gender and marriage on the frontier, Sylvia Van Kirk's *“Many Tender Ties:” Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670-1870* (1980) still stands out as an essential text. This work approaches fur trade exchanges with more consideration of aboriginal understandings, with an emphasis on gender and social history. Van Kirk has argued that Anishnabee women and mixed-culture marriages were essential to the

success of the fur trade in the Lake Superior region.²⁸ She centres her arguments on the establishment of mixed-raced families as legitimate familial units with a distinct culture. Van Kirk draws on examples that highlight changing practices over time. She argues that the “nineteenth-century, fur-trade society presents a fascinating microcosm for the study of the Victorian concept of 'the lady'.”²⁹ Jane Schoolcraft and her sisters are examples of how Victorian ideals of female behaviour entered Sault Ste. Marie, which occurred in a different manner than the in Northwest area surrounding Lake Superior.

In the context of the Upper Great Lakes, inter-disciplinary frameworks have been created to view colonial interactions through aboriginal perspectives. As this historiography has developed into the twenty-first century, many historians have begun to frame Europeans as the “othered” culture in colonial interactions in the Upper Great Lakes, and around the world. In Sault Ste. Marie during the 1820s, the white American population was the new and minority population who generally did not understand the culture of the wider community. Van Kirk's second chapter, “The Custom of the Country” outlines different societal understandings within the fur trade. The parallel concepts of “local customs” or “local laws” have been studied in some depth by historians of nineteenth century England, and have been used to broaden understandings of how local communities interacted with centralized legislative authorities.³⁰ These local customs existed in a similar way in Sault Ste. Marie by drawing on both Anishnabee understandings and European practices. The legal ability to retain these customs was

28 Sylvia Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670-1870* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983), 29.

29 Ibid, 7.

30 A recent example of this investigation in the context of English's History is: Henry Miller, "Popular Petitioning and the Corn Laws, 1833–46" *The English Historical Review* 127, no. 527 (2012): 882-919.

negotiated by the Johnston family in 1826.

To fully understand how these negotiations were approached by both sides, a better understanding of these customs is required, taking into account how changing economic practices and the decline of the fur trade effected Sault Ste. Marie. To John Afinson and Jacqueline Peterson, the 1980s marked this shift from substantivism and neoclassicism into a neo-Marxist approach to viewing fur trade history.³¹ This shift was marked by a “larger concern with dependency versus autonomy, which scholars have begun to look at the impact of the fur trade upon the political organizations of tribes involved, as well as upon intertribal relations.”³² Richard White's *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes region, 1650-1815* (1991) and Daniel K. Richter's *Facing East From Indian Country: A Native History of Early America* (2001) serve to further popularize approaches begun by the likes of Basil Johnston, William Eccles, John Reid, Bruce Trigger and Arthur Ray in recognizing power balances of colonizing processes.³³

These additions to this historiography have allowed historians to become more narrow in their academic focus on fur trade and post-fur trade culture. Janet Chute's book, *The Legacy of Shingwaukose: A Century of Native Leadership* (1998) was built on White's notion of the middle ground, and is a study which tracks a specific line of

31 Jacqueline Peterson with John Afinson, “The Indian and the fur trade: A Review of Recent Literature,” *Manitoba History*, No. 10 (1985).

32 Ibid.

33 Basil Johnston, *The Manitous: The Spiritual World of the Ojibway*. (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1995.); William John Eccles, *The Canadian Frontier, 1534-1760* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983.); John G. Reid, *Essays on Northeastern North America, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008.); Bruce G. Trigger, *Children of Aataensic: A history of the Huron People to 1660* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 1987.); Ray, Arthur J. Ray. *Indians in the Fur Trade: Their Role as Trappers, Hunters, and Middlemen in the Lands Southwest of Hudson Bay, 1660-1870: with a New Introduction* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998.)

Aboriginal leadership in Sault Ste. Marie in the nineteenth-century.³⁴ As an anthropologist and sociologist, Chute makes great efforts to include oral traditions and local customs in her framework, which she combined with the developing historical theories of Anishnaabee understandings that occurred while she was writing this book.³⁵ Carolyn Podruchny adopts a similar approach in *Making the Voyageur World: Travelers and Traders in the North American fur trade* (2006), but focuses more on the establishment of Métis populations than Chute, by looking at the corporate structures and legislation of fur trade companies with these better developed understandings of the Anishnaabee.

This recent focus on Aboriginals and metis rather than whites in the historiography of Sault Ste. Marie in the nineteenth century has led historians to re-evaluate the importance of American legislation to the majority of the population. Karl Hele's edited collection, *Lines Drawn Upon the Water: First Nations and the Great Lakes Borders and Borderlands* (2008), builds from his doctoral research on Sault Ste. Marie in *'By the Rapids': The Anishinabeg-missionary Encounter at Bawating (Sault Ste. Marie), c. 1821-1871* (2002).³⁶ In these works, Hele transcends the notion that the

34 This book also demonstrates significant growth in the historiography of the 1990's through contrast to Chute's PhD thesis based on the same study, but published in 1987. See Janet Elizabeth Chute, *A Century of Native Leadership Shingwaukōnse and His Heirs* (Ottawa: National Library of Canada, 1987.); Janet Elizabeth Chute, *The Legacy of Shingwaukōnse: a Century of Native Leadership* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998.)

35 In her preface Chute acknowledges certain historians specifically who she has been in contact with. As an anthropologist, this discourse with historians in the field is clear throughout Chute's book. Chute specifically acknowledges: Harvey Feit, John Webster Grant, Stanley Heaps, Donald Jackson, the Rev. Alana Knight, Donald Macleod, David McNab, David Nock, Richard Preston, Richard Slobodin, Donald B. Smith and James G.E. Smith. See Chute, *The Legacy of Shingwaukōnse*, xi-xii)

36 Karl S. Hele, *Lines Drawn Upon the Water: First Nations and the Great Lakes Borders and Borderlands* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2008.); Karl Hele, *'By the Rapids': The Anishinabeg-missionary Encounter at Bawating (Sault Ste. Marie), c. 1821-1871* (Montreal: McGill University, 2002.)

separation of Canada and the United States was the only significant division in the area. Instead he points to borderlands as distinct multi-cultural areas with various recognized divisions between diverse populations, which changed over time, and were informed by incoming colonial interests.³⁷ In particular, Hele examines the ambiguities of being positioned between British-Canadian and American influence through local efforts of resistance, and these nations' largely unsuccessful efforts to enforce the border on the Anishinabeg and Métis around Sault Ste. Marie until the 1870s.³⁸

While much has been written on the Johnston family, it was primarily new understandings of Aboriginals and Métis populations, their local politics, and the roles of women have yet to be applied to them. Until recently, this history has predominately been framed as a colonial triumph, a time when Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan began to grow into an Anglicized white town under the authority of the United States government. Recent scholarship has pointed to problems in this narrative, and to the populations of Sault Ste. Marie as fighting to retain the right to practice their traditional life-ways while simultaneously adapting to the influx of American immigrants.

The decline of the fur trade at the beginning of the nineteenth century shifted the local economy and helped to change the social and cultural make-up of the area during this period. This change opened the community to new forms of trade. The Johnston family's position as independent traders allowed them more flexibility in negotiating the colonial influx than families who were tied to corporate trading posts. The declining fur trade affected John's business, which led to a steady decline in Jane's family's fortune, but

37 Hele *Lines Drawn Upon the Water*, xx.

38 *Ibid.* xx.

despite this the family was able to maintain their upper-class position in the community. The Johnstons recognized the changes to their town, and while they were willing to accept and adapt to some, they also maintained many connections to the Anishinabee and Métis communities and made conscious efforts to preserve their life ways. The members of Jane's family played a variety of roles in the negotiation of the incoming United States government, particularly the Johnston women, because of their social positions and ability to understand and balance the needs of various cultural realms in Sault Ste. Marie with the Government's push for representation in the area.

This thesis follows Jane's family in 1826 by season, in order to demonstrate that this year was a pivotal one in Sault Ste. Marie, both legislatively and socially. During the winter months, when the immediate family of the household was isolated from their extended family, the Johnstons/Schoolcrafts emphasized family and education. In winter, family was effectively the household or *oode*. The mixed-cultural heritage of the Johnston family was demonstrated in these months through the combining of European and Anishnabee traditions, represented through practices such as beadwork, sewing of moccasins, stitching, story-telling, writing, and worship. While the contemporary sources frame this relationship as being Christian-dominated, the growing historiography of the Upper Great Lakes helps to demonstrate that within the culture of the Johnston family there was a balanced exchange of ideas rather than a domination by one or another.

In the Spring months, beginning in late-February to early-March, the Aboriginal inhabitants came to settle near the Johnston family in preparation for sap harvesting and trading. Jane's mother Ozhaguscodaywayquay ran the largest single economic pursuit of

the season along with her tribe, while the regular trade of their family's post continued under George, Jane, Ozhaguscodaywayquay, and occasionally the now sickly John. Jane and her mother were the intersection point of several cultural realms, trade networks, and political worlds, spanning two very different generations of life in Sault Ste. Marie. Meanwhile, Henry would have been busy preparing for the treaty negotiations planned for the summer and organizing the necessary supplies for the trip while restarting his regular correspondence after the isolation of winter. Now settling into life in Sault Ste. Marie, Henry's personal disputes and Governmental policy made him a middleman in the community. Jane and her family helped Henry adapt to the expectations of this community, but as the landscape of Aboriginal and White American relations shifted, so too did Henry's role in the community and Jane's family dynamic. In this season and through the summer and fall, Jane's family was larger than just the immediate household.

The summer of 1826 brought with it the significant negotiations of the treaty of Fond du Lac, at which both Henry and Ozhaguscodaywayquay attempted to use their positions to assure their family's future success. For the Aboriginals, the treaty represented a preservation of their traditional life-way and rights to their lands. This treaty negotiation process is well documented in the contemporary literature. Reports produced in 1826 frame the process as establishing the influence of the American government over the region, but these accounts may not be accurate. During these negotiations, life in at the Johnston settlement carried on under Jane while her mother, elder brother George, and Henry were away. Jane kept up the household, family, and necessary trade during the summer months in Sault Ste. Marie in 1826. With the return

of the contingent in August came a new legal framework which divided the area as per the treaty, with the promises of assistance from the United States government as new immigrants continued to arrive at Sault Ste. Marie. These were picked up by the family in the Fall and Winter as they began compiling their literary legacy through “The Literary Voyager”, which provides an invaluable collection of metis tribalographic material.

By the end of 1826 life had not changed drastically enough to satisfy the wishes of the United States government, but active participation in treaty negotiations in the region meant that governmental legislation was being experienced in new ways. Lack of foresight and an inflated sense of their own ability had led the government to view these treaty signings as triumphs, but the government officials still remained ignorant of the traditional practices of the people they were attempting to control. With the congressional move to open Aboriginal land for white settlement, the events in Sault Ste. Marie in 1826 could be seen, and were portrayed by McKenny and Henry, as adhering to the government's mandate. The reality was not quite as simple, and Henry would allow Jane's family to benefit from morally suspect sections of this treaty, which placed their immediate family members in a better position than the rest of the metis population.

Treaty making followed the overall policy of the United States government; however, a closer look at Jane's family's life in 1826 demonstrates that many of these important decisions were made on much more local, seemingly insignificant-levels. Disputes within the community, Henry's own insecurities, and the family's struggle to retain its status while in a financial recession all played a role. A large part of this has to do with the status of the Johnston family in the community, and their importance to the

area socially, politically, economically, and spiritually. Their upper-class status was one which Henry aspired to, and his relationship with Jane represented a connection to the gentry of Sault Ste. Marie. On a personal level, Henry seemed willing to learn the language and customs of the Anishnabee people that he served, but would go on later in his career to exploit this knowledge for personal gain. While the United States government believed that cultural domination was the way forward, the Johnston family was able to maintain its status within the community because of their ability to balance out and to thrive in the varied cultural realms present in Sault Ste. Marie.

Chapter Two: January to February 1826

The Johnston Household

The Johnston home was the centre of the family's economy, and one of the largest holdings in Sault Ste. Marie. The house and holdings served various roles in the community, including as an economic hub and a location for various social interactions. It was a centre of trade and employment, as well as a place where travellers would come for news and to share stories. This house stood out from its surroundings, intended to demonstrate the wealth, and importance of the higher-social standing of the Johnston family: "The location is a highly picturesque one, having the broad and clear expanse of the river in front with the falls and the not very remote mountains of lake Superior, in plain view."³⁹ Although the house built after the War of 1812 was smaller than the original, it still stood as a symbol of prosperity in the community.

Becoming part of the Johnston family by marrying Jane gave Henry important political connections in the town. Augustin Shingwauk would later explain how Henry's brother-in-law William McMurray had made a similar connection by marrying Jane's sister Charlotte. In his journal, published in 1872, Shingwauk orated to his transcriber that "we loved our teacher well. He took Ogenebugokwa, one of our nation, for his wife; and for this we loved him still more, for we felt that he had now indeed become one of us."⁴⁰ Van Kirk has argued that Aboriginal populations "viewed marriage in an integral social and economic context; a marital alliance created a reciprocal social bond."⁴¹ Jane

39 Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, "Notes for Memoir of Mrs. Henry Rowe Schoolcraft by Henry Rowe Schoolcraft," in *Historical Collections* vol. 36 (Lansing, Michigan: Wyncoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co., State Printers, 1908): 100.

40 Shingwauk, *Little Pine's Journal: The Appeal of a Christian Chippeway Chief on Behalf of His People* (Toronto: Copp, Clark & Co., 1872): 4.

41 Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties*, 28

served as translator and interpreter for Henry and, it was Jane who taught Henry the language and cultural expectations of the Anishnabee. She also maintained the household, which allowed Henry more time for his own work, and allowed him to maintain the gender expectations of both Native and non-Native societies.⁴²

Living in the Johnston house served as an invaluable role in Henry's education, teaching him the language and cultural expectations of Sault Ste. Marie. Shingwauk's account also demonstrates that the Johnston children's familial connections to the Anishnabee were mutually felt. The added influence of the United States' governmental authority in Sault Ste. Marie helped to make this a liminal period, and Henry's family connections with the Johnstons meant that these political negotiations were now occurring between family members. It was thanks to the Johnston family that Henry was able to adapt and thrive in these changing social, economic, and political situations for almost two decades. The importance of the Johnston family was recorded by Henry when he first arrived in Sault Ste. Marie on July 28, 1822. He wrote in his notes that:

Mr. Johnston's family consists of ten persons, though all are not constantly present. He is himself a native of the county of Antrim, in the north of Ireland, his father having possessed an estate at Craige, near the Giant's Causeway. He came to America in the last presidential term of General Washington, having a brother at that time settled at Albany, and after visiting Montreal and Quebec, he fell into company with the sort of half-baronial class of north-west fur traders, who struck his fancy. By their advice, he went to Michilimackinack and Lake Superior, where he became attached to, and subsequently married the younger daughter of Wabojeeg, a northern Powhatan, who has been before mentioned. There are four sons and four daughters, to the education of all of whom he has paid the utmost attention. His eldest son was first placed in the English navy, and is now a lieutenant in the land service, having been badly wounded and cut in the memorable battle with Commodore Perry on Lake Eric, in 1813. The next eldest is engaged in commerce. The eldest daughter [Jane] was educated in Ireland, and the two next at Sandwich, near Detroit. These constituted the adults; there are two

42 Hele, "How to Win the Friends," 154.

sons and a daughter, still in their school-days. All possess agreeable, easy manners and refinement. Mrs. Johnston is a woman of excellent judgment and good sense; she is referred to on abstruse points of the Indian ceremonies and usages, so that I have in fact stumbled, as it were, on the only family in North West America who could, in Indian lore, have acted as my "guide, philosopher and friend."⁴³

As Henry notes in his description of the family, this was a family of different cultural realms that existed while the United States government was still in the infancy of establishing its territory and identity. He points to the Johnston family as holding a position of distinct social status, with connections to both the Aboriginal people in the area and to the European world, which opened social-networks and career prospects to Henry.

Henry was presented to the local population as a representative of the government of the United States, with his own significant salary and contacts in Detroit and Washington. Becoming part of the Johnston family and living in their influential house gave Henry more influence than he would have had living at Fort Brady. Henry was tied to, but not part of, the military until 1824, when the Bureau of Indian Affairs was reshuffled into part of the War Department in a somewhat suspect legal move that would not be officially recognized by Congress until 1831.⁴⁴ In theory, Henry was meant to be a middleman who represented the local population to the United States government, and vice versa: a role which in Sault Ste. Marie depended on his connections through the Johnston family.

The house on the banks was the centre of a large land-holding, which was

43 Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs of a Residence*, Chapter 11.

44 Carl Waldman, *Atlas of the North American Indian Rev. Ed.* (New York: Facts On File Library of American History, 2000), 251.

significant for a variety of reasons. Exiting from the rear of the Johnston house, the family's property stretched out for approximately two kilometres of gardens, fields and pasture. Behind it ran a small gravel road of a few hundred feet which went west to intersect with neighbouring Fort Brady's palisade.⁴⁵ The wall surrounding the fort was approximately four metres (twelve feet) tall and made of sharpened tree trunks lashed together and staked into the ground. Fort Brady also claimed ownership of a nearby unfenced area used as commons. To the east of the fort along the road, between the Johnston house and the fort, were several warehouses, a blacksmith shop, a carpenter shop and various barns to support their livestock and fields, These were all considered part of the Johnston settlement.⁴⁶ On the waterfront of this stretch, between the Johnston house and Fort Brady, was an Anishnabee encampment composed of Ozhaguscodaywayquay's family members in the warmer months. A pier extended from the bank in front of the Johnston house, and to the east was a cleared area used as a pasture for a flock of sheep, oxen, milk cows and horses. The holdings also held distinctly European commodities besides livestock, including: a separate wine cellar, ice house, milk house, and barns to the east of the house.⁴⁷

45 The Johnston's legal possession of this land was at this time and would remain until the 1850s an on-going question requiring years of legal correspondence with both the United States and British North American governments.

46 Stan Newton, *The Story of Sault Ste. Marie and Chippewa County* (Grand Rapids: Black Letter Press, 1975), 103-104.

47 *Ibid.*, 103-4.

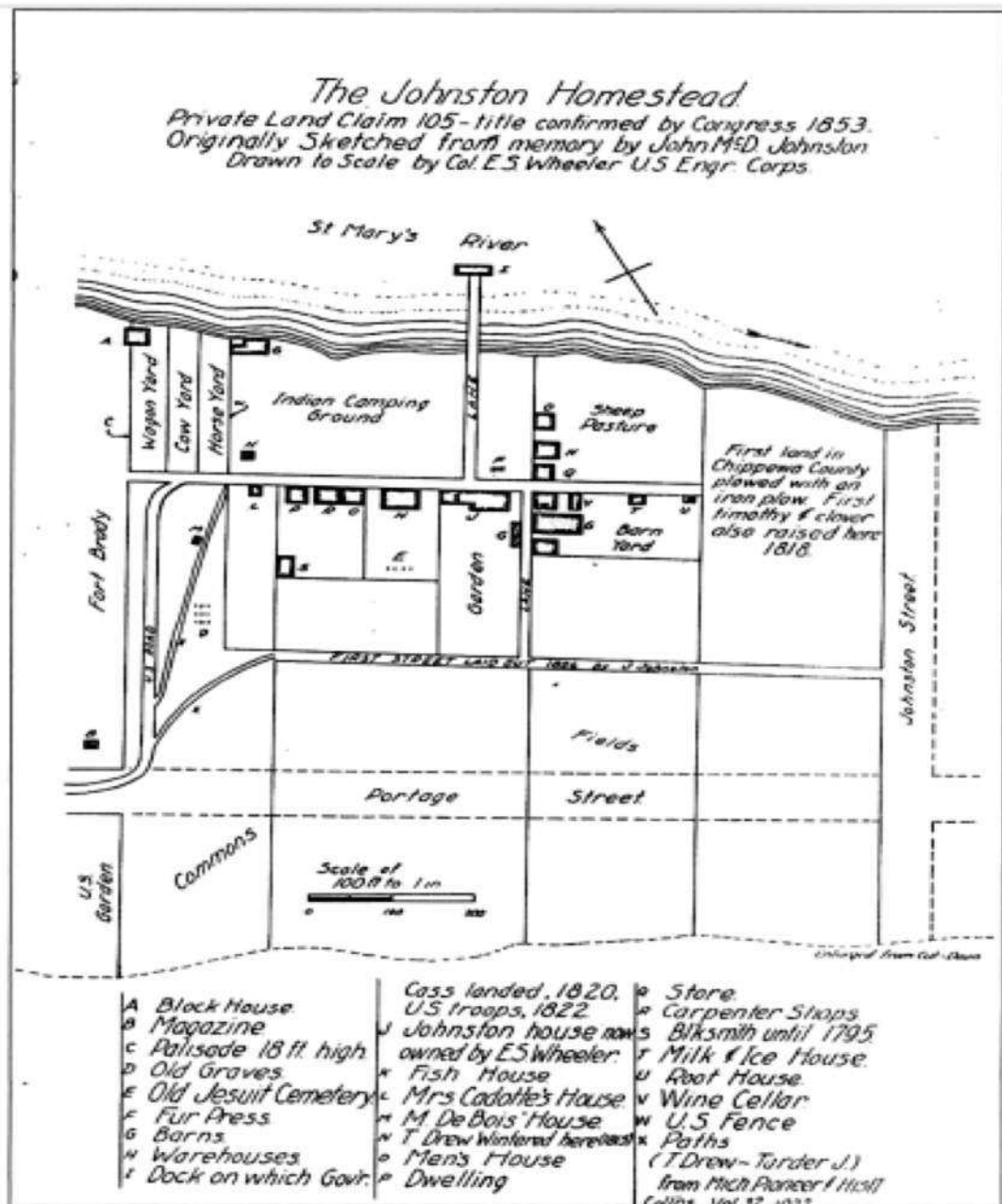


Fig. 1. *The Johnston Homestead*. Courtesy of "The Johnston House." Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan. 2015.

With the extremes of weather in Sault Ste. Marie, the winter months of the Johnston's family's life was mainly within this house, isolated from their relatives on both sides: the Anishnabee were now housed in their wintering groups, and mail from America and Europe was unable to reach Sault Ste. Marie. Since their marriage in 1824, Jane and Henry lived in a wing attached to the main section of the house where the rest of the family lived. Jane was her parent's first daughter after two sons: Lewis Saurin and George or Kahmentayha. Lewis had been sent away to join the British Navy when younger, and by 1826 had died from complications after receiving an injury during the War of 1812. Throughout their lives, Jane and George had many responsibilities as the eldest of the Johnston children in Sault Ste. Marie. Jane held many distinct roles and relationships within this house: she was the mother to her son William Henry or Penaysee (1824-1827), older sister to Eliza Johnston or Wahbunungoquay, Charlotte Johnston or Ogenebugoquay,⁴⁸ William Johnston or Miengun, Anna Maria Johnston or Omiskabugoquay, and John McDougall Johnston or Waubequon.⁴⁹ In addition to their own siblings, John Johnston had also adopted Nancy Campbell.⁵⁰ While in many ways the roles of Henry Schoolcraft, Ozhaguscodaywayquay, and John Johnston are all better documented than Jane's, knowing the role that each played within the household helps to flesh out, and distinguish the role that they held within her family and community.

48 Knight, "A Study in Failure," 15, 19.; Fierst, "Return to 'Civilization': John Tanner's," 24, 28.

49 Hele, *Lines Drawn Upon the Water*, 256.; Dale Parker, "Introduction" in *The Sound the Stars Make*, 6.

50 Schoolcraft, "Memoir of John Johnston", 61.

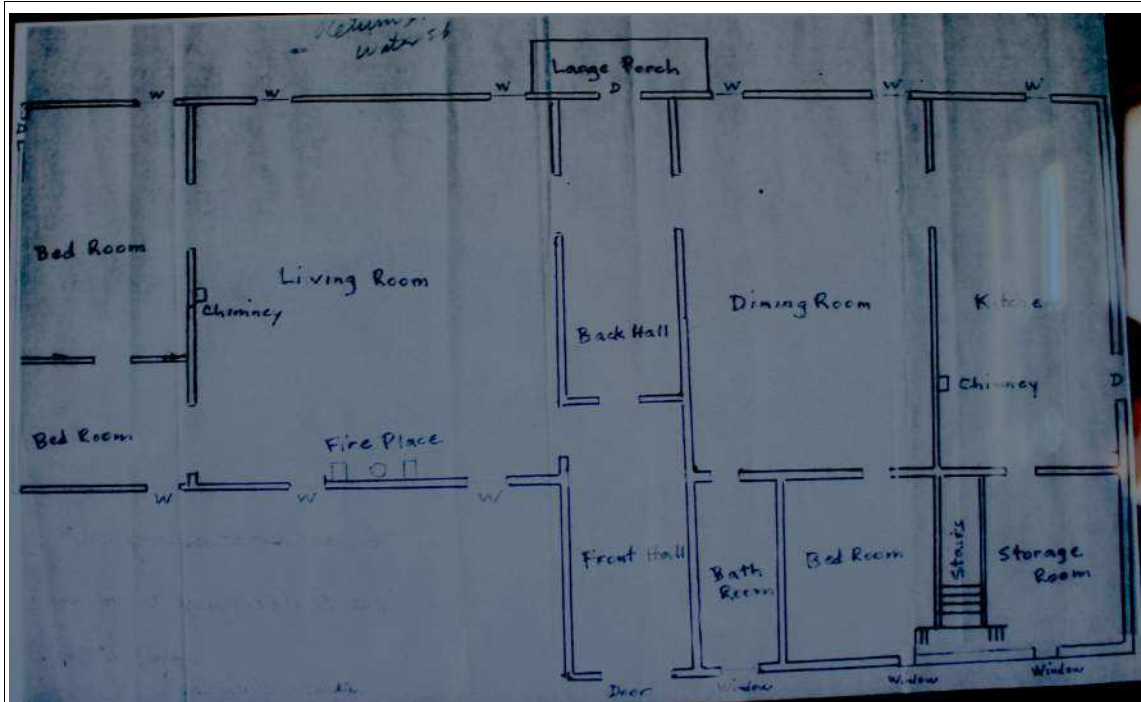


Fig. 2. *Map of the Johnston House*. Courtesy of “The Johnston House.” Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan. 2015.

In 1826 Jane's role within her family and community was shifting. While she had always been heavily involved within the household and with helping care for her brothers and sisters, these roles within her family increased after her marriage. Jane gave birth to her first child, William Henry Schoolcraft, in June 1824, eight and a half months after her marriage to Henry.⁵¹ Shortly after Willy's birth, Jane got pregnant again and this time gave birth to a stillborn daughter in November 1825. In January 1826 Jane Johnston was approaching her twenty-sixth birthday, she and Henry were still living in the Johnston family home in the wing that had been built for the couple after their marriage in 1823. Jane and Henry lived in this house with their son Willy, her parents, brothers, and sisters,

⁵¹ Dale Parker, “Introduction” in *The Sound the Stars Make*, 8.

(with the exception of her youngest brothers, William and John, who had been sent away to school) and several dogs. Also living on the homestead, although likely in external quarters, would have been the families' domestic servants including Willy's nurse. There was also a separate bunk-house for labourers.⁵² In addition to the variety of roles this house played, Jane's parents' house was where she wrote much of the poetry that would go on to distinguish her as one of the first Aboriginal literary authors in North America. The winter served as a time of relative peace for the Johnston family, a time for immediate family interactions before the heavy demands of the warmer months.

Métis and metis Families

The French-speaking Métis had lived in the community for centuries, with a distinct culture that drew on both Anishnabee and European customs. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries an increased English-speaking presence in the fur trade that brought with it English-speaking Europeans, such as John Johnston, whose family blended their cultural backgrounds in a manner similar to the Métis. In this thesis, the longer-standing French/Aboriginal families are distinguished as “Métis” differentiating them from “metis”, which is used as a blanket-term to describe those from European/Aboriginal families.⁵³ Prior to the establishment of the garrison in Sault Ste.

52 (judging by later descriptions from the family) Expand and cite

53 Although this distinction is problematic given the rulings of the *Powley* decision (1993-2003) which ruled on Métis rights for those descended from Sault Ste. Marie. The courts argued that because this group of metis individuals were not part of the Red River Nation legally they were not Métis. However poor decision making by the Canadian courts should not limit this parallel from being drawn. I would argue that prior to the establishment of the Red River colony as a Métis nation, the French-speaking population in Sault Ste. Marie held its own distinct culture and community, distinct from other mixed-raced people in the region which fit the legal and social definition of Métis. For a more complete discussion of the use of “Métis.” See: Christopher Adams, Gregg Dahl, and Ian Peach, *Métis in Canada: History, Identity, Law & Politics* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2013): xiii-xvi.

Marie, and aside from a few Aboriginal families who wintered in the area or were tied to one of the Trading Posts, the metis population of Sault Ste. Marie would have been the largest demographic of people living in the community throughout the winter. Although socially, linguistically, and religiously different than their French-speaking Métis neighbours, the Johnston family also shared many traits with this community.

During these winter months, many of the Anishnabee had gone to their wintering locations, but the metis population remained settled in Sault Ste. Marie on both sides of the river. The longer-established Métis often found working as labourers, as well as contributing to their family economy by hunting and ice fishing. Historian, and member of the Anishnabee community of Garden River First Nation, Karl Hele has argued that despite the recognized differences within Sault Ste. Marie between Anishnabee and Métis in the 1820s, the established communities understood a solidarity amongst themselves, differentiating the locals from the “incoming *waiâbishkiwed or zhaagnaash*, as well as the difference between American and British-Canadian policies.”⁵⁴

Politically and religiously, the French-speaking Métis at Sault Ste. Marie remained autonomous. Many continued to worship as Roman Catholics, but often did so by combining Catholic ideas with Anishnabee ceremonies, understandings, and worship practices.⁵⁵ They continued to speak French and adhered to the demands of the traders who employed them. Where politically they remained autonomous, their partial reliance on wage labour to subsidize their family's yearly production meant that most Métis families had some economic reliance on the trade posts of the area. This commitment to

54 Karl Hele, 'By the Rapids': The Anishinabeg-missionary Encounter at Bawating (Sault Ste. Marie), c. 1821-1871 (Montreal: McGill University, 2002), 167-168.

55 Carolyn Podruchny, *Making the Voyageur World: Travelers and Traders in the North American fur trade* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 52-60, 247-257.

an employer, with freedom outside a contract, was noted in a diary entry written by Major Joseph Delafield on June 30, 1823, while he was halfway between Sault Ste. Marie and Thunder Bay.

Engagees of the Hudson's Bay Co. When their term of service is expired are called free-men. During the engagements they are slaves in a sense that none but Canadians could endure. In short the more I see of a Canadian-French, their mode of life, and connection with the Indians, the more I feel assured that without this very race of men, the fur trade of the North could not be carried on.⁵⁶

The Johnstons shared traits of the collective metis identity with their community but because the few English-speaking traders at Sault Ste. Marie prior to 1822 tended to be of a higher social class, speaking English had become a distinguishing feature of this class.

Henry described the origins of Jane's family and their distinct position as metis:

Her grandfather, by the maternal side, had been a distinguished chief of his nation at the ancient council-fire, or seat of its government at Chegoimegon and Lapointe. By her father, a native of Antrim, in the north of Ireland, she was connected with a class of clergy and gentry of high respectability, including the Bishop of Dromore and Mr. Saurin, the Attorney-General of Ireland. Two very diverse sources of pride of ancestry met in her father's family--that of the noble and free sons of the forest, and that of ancestral origin founded on the notice of British aristocracy. With me, the former was of the highest honor, when I beheld it, as it was in her case, united to manners and education in a marked degree gentle, polished, retiring, and refined. No two such diverse races and states of society, uniting to produce such a result, had ever come to my notice, and I was, of course, gratified when any persons of intellect and refinement concurred in the wisdom of my choice. Such as Mr. Conant and his family, a group ever to be remembered with kindness and respect. Having passed some weeks in his family, with her infant boy and nurse, during my absence South, his opportunities for judging were of the best kind.⁵⁷

That the few English-speakers in the region tied to the fur trade tended to be in bourgeois

56 Joseph Delafield, "A3 Diary of Major Joseph Delafield [*Printed in Elroy, and Riggs, The Unfortified Boundary, pp. 393-4, 396, 398*]," in Elizabeth Arthur. *Thunder Bay District, 1821-1892; a Collection of Documents*. Toronto: Champlain Society for the Govt. of Ontario [by] University of Toronto Press, 1973, 6.

positions seemingly points to language as being amongst the larger differences between the Johnstons and their Métis neighbours. In the 1820s it is also easy to point to Métis' Catholicism and the Johnstons' Protestantism as a major dividing force. However, in 1826 Sault Ste. Marie was a tolerant town where the various different communities were able to speak their own language, practice their own customs and worship. The Johnston family's post had functioned as an economic pursuit independent of corporations, such as the Northwest Company and Hudson's Bay Company. This meant that John's economic success depended heavily on his wife's close ties within the community and his own ability to make new ones.

That John, as an Irish immigrant, was able to be successful as an independent trader in the Upper Great Lakes points to his wife's connections to the community and the region. John had also adapted to this trade, including learning to speak French and Anishnabee, but ultimately was able to maintain the family's position among the Métis population because of the economic opportunities the family created. The Johnston family's influence over the Métis was not as much about either Ozhaguscodaywayquay's or John's birth statuses as it was the family's ability to provide jobs and a trade market for their goods. Where Ozhaguscodaywayquay warranted great respect in the area for her own knowledge and counsel she also, in part, received respect because she was the daughter of Waubojeeg. The Métis, while likely willing to listen to her counsel, would

57 On her father's side her grandparents' were William Johnston (c.1728-1771) who had been the Surveyor of Port Rush and Baron of Dunluce in Antrim county, and Elizabeth McNeil (daughter of John McNeil, Esq.). Jane's maternal great-Grandfather Mamongazeda (Big foot, or Loon foot), and her paternal Grandfather William Johnston had both fought in the Seven Years' war. The chief Mamongazeda raised and led troops to fight with Montcalm at the Battle of the Plains of Abraham (1759), where William Johnston served as a midshipman for the Royal Navy and fought at the Siege of Louisbourg (1758). See Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs*, Chapter 15)

not have felt the same obligation to follow her advice as a chief's daughter, as the Anishnabee groups who lived under the influence of a chief. Yet Ozhaguscodaywayquay and John maintained some power over French-speaking Métis in the community for their position in the bourgeoisie. These Métis workers were able to negotiate their contracts because of the multiple employers at Sault Ste. Marie; and Podruchny has argued that the relationship between Métis labourers and independent traders was different than the relationship these labourers had with corporate posts.⁵⁸

Henry describes John's upbringing as being “founded on the notice of British aristocracy”.⁵⁹ The aristocratic system which informed John's upbringing on his family's estate in Ireland. also shaped the Métis culture of the area. As fur traders the Johnstons were expected to fulfill the roles of this patriarchal position in the community. Amongst their Métis neighbours the Johnston homestead and family was expected to provide opportunities for labour and trade in a bourgeois-worker relationship that in some ways resembled the aristocracy of early modern community systems in Europe and New France.

John Johnston's Irish heritage set him, and his family apart from the Métis in the area. That he came from an upper-class family, and that in Sault Ste. Marie John had functioned as an independent bourgeois fur trader, helped to set the Johnstons apart from the Métis socially along the fault lines of class, language, and religion. Historian Brian Stewart has looked at the culturally-similar Ermatinger family, a mixed-raced family in Sault Ste. Marie who were friends with the Johnstons, and who were of a similar social

58 Podruchny, *Making the Voyageur*, 134-137.

59 Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs*, Chapter 15.

class within the community. Stewart uses the work of Jennifer Brown, Sylvia Van Kirk, and others to make arguments about the family structure of the Ermatingers.⁶⁰ Brown and Van Kirk have pointed to anglophone fathers employed by corporations in the fur trade as generally taking a particular interest in the education of their sons, by attempting to mould and raise them in a way that minimized their mothers' cultural heritage and conformed to their European ideals.⁶¹ Stewart has argued that Charles Oakes Ermatinger's approach to fatherhood was different than the norm because his position as an independent trader left him outside the more commonly studied-, and legislated-, cultural-realms of the Hudson's Bay Company and North West Company.⁶²

John Johnston was a close friend of Ermatinger, one who had been established longer in the community. Both of these men were from wealthy European families and spent their careers as independent traders who relied on their wives' contacts, and strong adherence to traditional life-ways, in order to acquire their personal wealth. John Johnston and Ermatinger had plans to retire outside of the community with their families, and both developed distinct parenting methods to prepare their children for this eventuality.⁶³ John Johnston like Ermatinger, had all of his children formally educated regardless of their gender, aside from Jane. John had initially planned to have his two eldest sons join the Navy and Army, respectively, but only Lewis (the oldest Johnston child) did. George remained in the area and relied on skills from both of his parents' backgrounds throughout his multiple careers. Contemporary accounts of John Johnston

60 Brian Stewart, *The Ermatingers: A 19th-Century Ojibwa-Canadian Family* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011): 5.

61 Ibid, 5.

62 Ibid, 5-6.

63 Jean Morrison, *Superior Rendezvous-place: Fort William in the Canadian fur trade* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2001), 60-66.

point to a favouritism towards his daughters, particularly Jane.⁶⁴ John took particular personal pride in his daughters' education. As an educator, he emphasized the European ideals of womanhood that he felt were necessary for his daughters to learn in order to thrive in social circles of the elevated classes.

The family's class status came into play in various ways. Henry described John's position in comparison to the larger population of Métis:

The men who in this trade are employed as boatmen on the voyage, are kept at work inland, in chopping wood, fishing, or collecting furs-thus leaving the *bourgeois*, or master, a good deal of leisure, which can be profitably employed in mental improvement, if he possess any inclination for books, or useful inquiry.⁶⁵

The flexibility of being an independent trader, free of corporate legislation, meant that John had to rely on his contacts through his wife to establish his trade, but also allowed him to remain established at Sault Ste. Marie to prepare his children for their adult lives. In turn, Jane and Henry adapted to life at Sault Ste. Marie in the liminal 1820s, and adapted their cultural understandings, beliefs, and sense of elevated class in their family circle to the new economic patterns being dictated by the United States' government.

Jane and Henry followed a more European framework in their relationship than Jane's parents, in large part due to the changing culture of Sault Ste. Marie. They were not married *à la façon du pays*, as her parents had been in 1773 (until 1820 when the couple re-married in the presence of a missionary). Instead, in 1824 Jane and Henry were married by a visiting clergyman in the area in front of the large main fireplace in the Johnston house. In another more European custom, Henry received from Jane's parents a

64 Dale Parker, "Introduction," in *Sound the Stars Make*, 37-19. ; Cavalier, "Jane Johnston Schoolcraft's Sentimental Lessons," 99.

65 Schoolcraft, "Memoir of John Johnston", 57.

dowry of 2,000 pounds (approximately \$10,000) which was an amount that would have been a strain on the Johnstons in the aftermath of the War of 1812, and was more than Henry made in a year.⁶⁶ Jane and Henry seemed to have thrived in the changing society of Sault Ste. Marie. The earlier years of their marriage helped them both to achieve a higher social order within the community. Despite his lower birth, Henry's position in Sault Ste. Marie gave him the authority of the still-emerging strength of the United States government. Jane's status and her close relationship with both her mother and father undoubtedly helped Henry's status amongst the people longer established in the community.

To comprehend the extent of Jane's mixed-raced upbringing and her family's influence in the community requires an appreciation of aboriginal traditions and cultural understandings. Laura Peers and Jennifer Brown point to different meanings for important concepts, such as family, between Anishnabee and European cultures, factors which would have influenced and shaped Jane's family. Even the concept of what a family is needs further consideration in the case of the Johnstons. Peers and Brown suggest that the word "family" in English is understood as the "nuclear structure of parents and children or may be used synonymously with 'household' to signify co-residency."⁶⁷ In Anishnabee there is no word that restricts family in the same sense. Instead there is *oode* which refers to a lodge or "household."⁶⁸ In Anishnabee, the word *oode* can be compounded with suffixes to form: *oodena* for village, and *indoodem*

66 Jeremy Mumford, "Mixed-Race Identity in a Nineteenth-Century Family: The Schoolcrafts of Sault Ste. Marie, 1824-27," *The Michigan Historical Review* (1999): 2-4.

67 Laura Peers and Jennifer S.H. Brown, "There is no end to the Relationship Among the Indians': Ojibwa Families and Kinship in Historical Perspective," *History of the Family: An International Quarterly*, vol. 4 (2000): 532.

68 *Ibid.* 532.

meaning, roughly, “my clan.”⁶⁹ This further demonstrates the difficulties involved in attempting to translate familial connections in the Upper-Great Lakes to a European context. Peers and Brown refer to the “immediate extended family” to encompass the Anishnabee kin-ties that existed through both parental and marital connections within households, and includes the wider kin networks within communities.⁷⁰ In 1826 Jane and her husband were now starting to take over her parents' position as a hegemonic couple in the community. They adapted to life together living with, and as a part of Jane's “immediate extended family,” while Henry, in his official role, simultaneously tried to enforce public policy that was meant to control both the family and community.

Jane's mother's familial ties, far reaching networks, and personal authority within the Anishnabee and Métis culture are some of the distinguishers of the Johnston family's class in Sault Ste. Marie. These connections reinforced the trade ties which had enabled the Johnstons to gain their initial wealth in the fur trade, and in the 1820s these ties made political connections with Aboriginals possible for Henry. John was one of the wealthiest men in the town, and served as a patriarchal figure, trader, and employer to Whites, Métis, and Aboriginals in the region. John and his close friends of the same class also controlled the bulk of the trade within the community through their wives and through their own connections to sellers and buyers in Montreal and Europe. Before any significant government presence in the area, independent traders such as Johnston and Ermatinger had played the role of government in a variety of ways from creating economic opportunities to assembling and leading troops in the War of 1812. Henry

69 Ibid, 532.

70 Ibid, 532.

represented the United States government's push for influence in the region amidst the decline of the fur trade, which was meant to transform this commonwealth-like system to a new, centralized government bureaucracy, controlled through legislation. In the winter of 1825-1826, Henry was still struggling to gain influence in the community. He was still learning Anishnabee and did not speak French; he would have relied heavily on Jane and her family in this year.

A Problem in Representation

While Henry would have undoubtedly relied heavily on Jane and her family during the early years of his tenure at Sault Ste. Marie, their contributions are understated by Henry. Nor is this just a problem with Henry's records. The majority of accounts mentioning the Johnston family in the documentation did so ignorant of the roles played by women. Van Kirk, Brown, Podruchny and others have tried to reintegrate the roles of women into this general narrative of the fur trade. Where their work helps to give context to Jane's position, the shifting economy and politics of the area make her position somewhat different. This thesis highlights the role of Jane in her family circle throughout the 1826 despite her absence in the documents.

In 1826 Jane had been married for three years, given birth twice, and was at this time getting prepared to take control of the largest house in the area, following in the footsteps of her mother. She was an integral member of her household and assisted in managing her father's illness while his mobility was decreasing, cared for her own infant child, and was herself often in poor health. All this together meant that while assisting

Henry with his work Jane was also taking on the role of parent, maintaining her usual workload, and taking up some of the tasks her father could no longer perform. Despite these various roles significant to both her family and community, little of her contributions over the year are recorded in the extant documentation.

The Johnston house regularly housed guests of varying backgrounds; however, only a select few documented these occasions. These records were often written by officials visiting the area who the Johnstons had entertained in an Anglo/Christian manner. The written record of Jane and her family's lives that come from these accounts, which failed to recognize the larger roles of the Johnston women, are problematic. Apart from Henry, American recorders spent only a few days of the entire year in Sault Ste. Marie, were often official guests in the area, and witnessed the Johnston women only while they hosted events for the officials in European traditions. These accounts make up the majority of the written sources of the Johnston family that were not written by Henry. There are some sources, including some of Jane's own writings, that suggest that this was not the normal state of affairs in the Johnston household. In one such instance of a ranking United States official visiting the Johnston house in 1826, Thomas McKenny described Jane as:



Fig. 3. Portrait of Jane Johnston Schoolcraft, courtesy of "Johnston House"

a little taller and thinner, but in other respects as to figure, resembles Mrs. M-----r, and has her face precisely. Her voice is feeble, and tremulous. Her utterance is slow and distinct. There is something silvery in it. Mildness of expression, and softness, and delicacy of manners, as well as of voice, characterize her. She dresses with great taste, and in all respects in the costume of our fashionables, but wears leggins of black silk, drawn and ruffled around the ankles, resembling those worn by our little girls. I think them ornamental. You would never judge, either from her complexion, or language, or from any other circumstance, that her mother was Chippeway, except that her moderately high cheek bones, her dark and fine eye, and breadth of the jaw, slightly indicate it⁷¹

This physical description of Jane more or less matches the known drawing of her sketched at about this time. This description by a white man in a European social setting demonstrates Jane's ability to span various social expectation, while living in a community where she would have had closer and more frequent interactions with the area's natives. Bigsby met Jane in 1824 and recorded:

She then strongly reminded me of Walter Scott's Jeanie Deans by her quiet, modest ways, by her sweet round-oval features, expressive of the thankful and meek

⁷¹ Thomas Loraine McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour to the Lakes, of the Character and Customs of the Chippeway Indians, and of Incidents Connected with the Treaty of Fond Du Lac*. By Thomas L. McKenny ... Also, a Vocabulary of the Algic, or Chippeway Language, Formed in Part, and as Far (Baltimore: F. Lucas, Junior, 1827), 182-184.

devotedness so universal in Indian women. Her style, manners, and conversational topics, both here and at Mr. Ermatinger's, were remarkable, and quite distinct from those of the cities we had left behind.⁷²

Jane adapted to some of the European cultural expectations of her husband as a part of a distinct social environment. A social world that changed and was adapted too in different ways throughout her life. That her siblings undertook a variety of careers helps to demonstrate how their upbringing in this upper-class, mixed-raced household allowed them to exist within, and adapt to, changing circumstances. The accounts of Jane written by McKenny, Bigsby and the Contants demonstrate how Jane was raised with the necessary skills to be able to entertain guests of European descent, which also made her an acceptable wife for Henry.⁷³ She and her siblings had learned the manners and expectations of European social circles despite the different social environment in which they existed during their formative years. It is false to assume that because Jane was able to adopt these manners for European guests that she abided by these customs in their absence. This family's ability to adapt and thrive in various cultural realms speaks to the flexibility of the Johnston household. Many of these sources emphasize European-understandings' in European styled social settings, but the same was equally, if not more true, of Jane and her family's ability to thrive among the longer established inhabitants of Sault Ste. Marie.

⁷² Bigsby, *The Shoe and Canoe*, 128.

⁷³ Henry Rowe Schoolcraft "The Choice Addressed to Miss J.J." *The Literary Voyager* No. 4, Sault Ste. Marie, (January 12, 1827) in Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *The Literary Voyager or Muzzeniegun* ed. Philip P. Mason (Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1962), 49-50.

The importance of Jane's mother also tended to be overlooked by contemporaries. The extant evidence about Ozhaguscodaywayquay was recorded by Europeans who generally only met her for short periods of time. Although they sang her praises, her full significance to her family and to the community has certainly been underemphasized. Priscilla Buffalohead has warned that: “issues associated with the status of women in stratified societies may be somewhat different from those in egalitarian societies.”⁷⁴

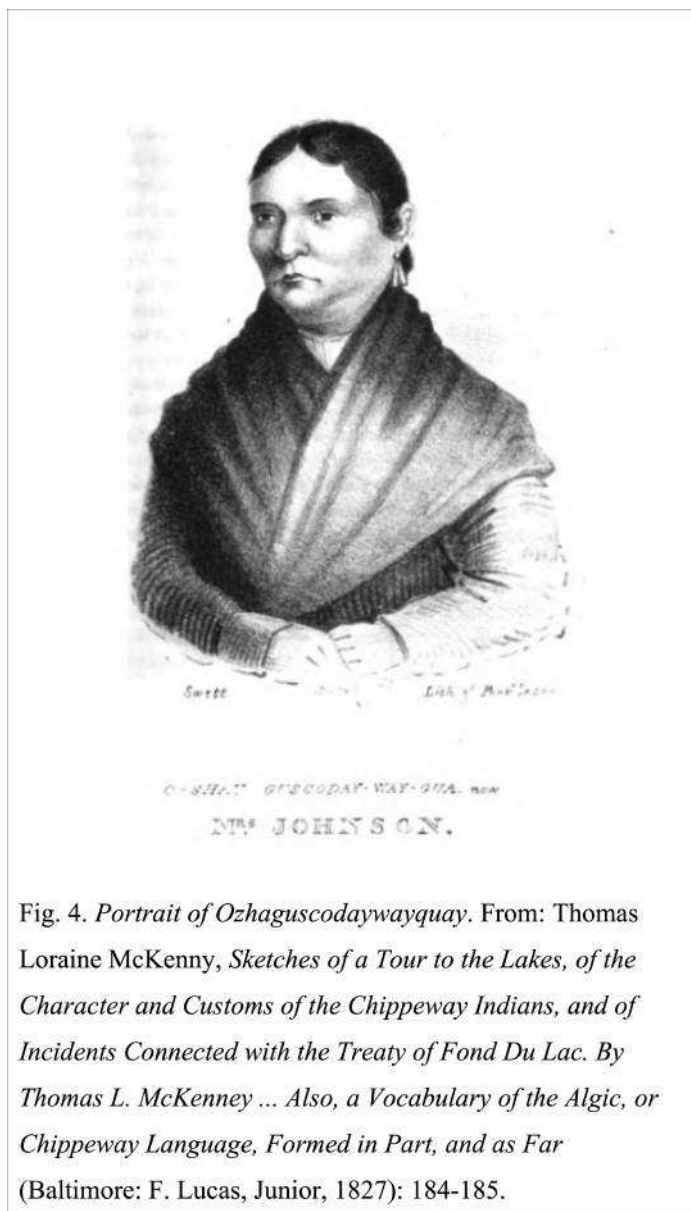


Fig. 4. *Portrait of Ozhaguscodaywayquay.* From: Thomas Loraine McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour to the Lakes, of the Character and Customs of the Chippeway Indians, and of Incidents Connected with the Treaty of Fond Du Lac.* By Thomas L. McKenny ... Also, a Vocabulary of the Algic, or Chippeway Language, Formed in Part, and as Far (Baltimore: F. Lucas, Junior, 1827): 184-185.

Gender roles distinct from the Anglo/Christian model existed within the more egalitarian Anishnabee culture, and were interwoven into the relationships of mixed-raced families.⁷⁵ Within Sault Ste. Marie, Anishnabee women held a dynamic role in both Anishnabee and metis society: politically, economically, and socially. Anishnabee women who remained

⁷⁴ Priscilla Buffalohead, “Farmers, Warriors, Traders: A Fresh Look at Ojibway Women,” *Minnesota History on Women* vol. 48, no. 6, (1983): 236.
⁷⁵ Podruchny, *Making the Voyageur*, 247.

with their families held together the social fabric of the community, and Ozhaguscodaywayquay was a well respected political figure in Sault Ste. Marie in a way that would not have been accepted from a woman in white American society at the time.

Anishnabee women controlled and performed the majority of the physical labour involved in farming, child rearing, fishing, cooking, and the production of maple sugar.⁷⁶ While these efforts are often recorded by white observers, the evidence in these sources was influenced by the writers' contemporary understandings, the romanticism of the period, and limitations imposed on womanhood by European cultures.⁷⁷ This lack of credit not only comes from white recorders' inability to understand woman's role's beyond christian-shaped ideals, but also through cultural misunderstandings of the Anishnabee women's roles within their community because of the recorders' contemporary understandings of race and gender. McKenny and Schoolcraft drew parallels between Anishnabee women's labour roles and their own understandings of women as homemakers, but ignored important distinguishers, such as the women's ownership over the trade goods they produced and their political involvement.

Ozhaguscodaywayquay instilled many of her traditional understandings on her household, while also allowing for teachings from her spouse's heritage. Ozhaguscodaywayquay was a respected elder and political force in her own right. Although her exact birthdate is unrecorded, in 1826 McKenny wrote that “Mrs. J. [was] in her fifty-fourth” year of life.⁷⁸ Ozhaguscodaywayquay was the daughter of Waubojeeg who was a renowned Anishnabee chief belonging to the Adik (caribou/reindeer) totem.

⁷⁶ Buffalohead, “Farmers, Warriors, Traders,” 236.

⁷⁷ Ibid, 236.

⁷⁸ McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour*, 181.

Waubojee had been influential in the United States for decades, and the government's relatively peaceful establishment of Fort Brady was largely thanks to Ozhaguscodaywayquay.

McKenny had a more sophisticated understanding of Aboriginal people than many of his white contemporaries which was necessary for his role as Henry's superior in the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In 1824 McKenny had begun to sponsor studies of native American culture, as well as to arrange for the production of portraits of chiefs and other leaders, work he would continue until 1830.⁷⁹ Yet despite his good intentions, McKenny still “othered” the Johnston family in his descriptions, which relied on contemporary understandings of science to describe aboriginal people. In McKenny's description of Ozhaguscodaywayquay, he tellingly references her appearance to what was accepted as the science of the time:

Mrs. Johnson is a genuine Chippeway, without the smallest admixture of white blood. She is tall and large, but uncommonly active and cheerful. She dresses nearly in the costume of her nation- a blue petticoat, of cloth, a short-gown of calico, with leggins worked with beads, and moccasins. Her hair is black. She plaits and fastens it up behind with a comb. Her eyes are black and expressive, and pretty well marked, according to phrenologists, with the development of language. She has fine teeth; indeed her face, taken altogether, (with her high cheek-bones, and compressed forehead, and jutting brows,) denotes a vigorous intellect and great firmness of character, and needs only to be seen, to satisfy even a tyro like myself in physiognomy, that she required only the advantages of education and society, to have placed her upon a level with the most distinguished of her sex. As it is, she is a prodigy.⁸⁰

79 Waldman, *Atlas of the North American Indian*, 251.

80 McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour*, 182.

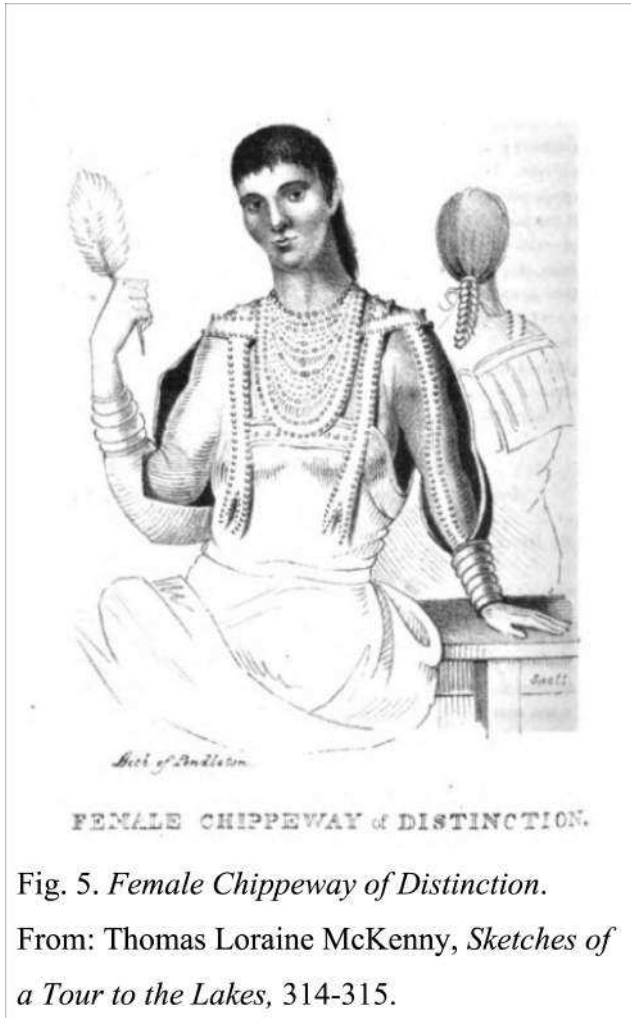


Fig. 5. *Female Chippeway of Distinction.*
 From: Thomas Loraine McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour to the Lakes*, 314-315.

McKenny was impressed by Ozhaguscodaywayquay both for her adherence to her family's traditions, and for traits McKenny saw as constituting a “good” woman: “As a wife, she is devoted to her husband;- as a mother, tender and affectionate;- as a friend, faithful. She manages her domestic concerns in a way that might afford lessons to the better instructed. They are rarely exceeded any where.”⁸¹ Yet in this description he is reinforcing her position through his own understandings of what constituted a good woman, based on

his own cultural understandings of womanhood. This minimizes the importance of Ozhaguscodaywayquay to her family and community.

Henry was also limited by his own understandings of femininity and womanhood in his depictions of Jane and Ozhaguscodaywayquay, demonstrated by a note to celebrate Jane's birthday on January 31, 1826. Henry published this poem under the pseudonym “Nenabaim,” demonstrating one of the cultural adaptations Henry made. The poem to his wife reflects of Christian understandings of gender:

⁸¹ McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour*, 182-3.

TO MRS. SCHOOLCRAFT
ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF HER BIRTH-DAY

Muse! Oh maid of tuneful tongue!
Ever happy, fair, and young;
Ever fond of sylvan sweets,
And the peace of still retreats-
Timid, lonely, pensive maid!
Grant me now thy wanted aid,
That a wreath I may prepare,
To adorn my plighted fair,
Such as may her brows array,
Deftly on her natal day.⁸²

He ended the poem with the lines “Tribute to thy manners chaste,/Virtue, tenderness, and taste,/ Without taint and without guise,/ Youth's reward, and Hymen's prize.”⁸³ These verses reflect contemporary understanding of gender, the theme of phrasing Christian femininity is even more evident in his poem describing his reasons for marrying Jane, entitled “The Choice”.⁸⁴

Henry was not the only recorder of the Johnston family to portray contemporary understandings of gender in their depiction. McKenny wrote of Jane that “Mildness of expression, and softness, and delicacy of manners, as well as of voice, characterize her.”⁸⁵ He used similar language when describing “Mr. Schoolcraft's sister, a fine and intelligent young lady of the most amiable disposition and agreeable manners.”⁸⁶ Bigsby also fell into these patterns by comparing Jane to the popular heroine “Jeanie Deans”, renown for her demonstrations of nineteenth-century European virtues of womanhood: honesty, christian adherence, and eloquence. Contemporary writers like Bigsby, McKenny, and

82 Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, “Notice of Willian Henry Schoolcraft.” *The Literary Voyager* No. 9, Sault Ste. Marie, (February 16, 1827) in Schoolcraft, *The Literary Voyager*, 112-3.

83 Ibid., 112-114.

84 Schoolcraft “The Choice Addressed to Miss J.J.” *The Literary Voyager*, 49-50.

85 McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour*, 182-184.

86 Ibid, 205-206.

Henry ignored or were unable to recognize Jane's and Ozhaguscodaywayquay's much larger roles within their family and community.

Part of this hole in the sources comes from these writer's eagerness to frame Sault Ste. Marie as a colonial community on the frontier rather than as a longstanding community of Anishnabee and Métis populations with a newly arrived English-speaking minority. All of Ozhaguscodaywayquay's children spoke their mother's native tongue. Ozhaguscodaywayquay spoke only one language. Anishnabee was the most commonly spoken language in both their home and the wider community and would remain so until the 1850s. Even within other mixed-raced families in the community, the women had usually grown-up speaking Anishnabee or another aboriginal language. Prior to the establishment of Fort Brady, French was the second most popular language, used by the Métis, while Odawa and other aboriginal languages were more common in the region than English before 1822.⁸⁷ Jane and her siblings all spoke Anishnabee, English, and French, and relied on their knowledge of these languages and of aboriginal practices throughout their lives. The family was well prepared in childhood, and tended to be successful in their endeavours, unlike Henry's brother who was an immigrant to the region.⁸⁸ Both Ozhaguscodaywayquay and John instilled their own beliefs, practices, and teachings in their children, which each child learned, and used, in their own ways in this multi-cultural community.

The Johnstons were a tight-knit family and would remain so even when physically

⁸⁷ Hele, "By the Rapids," 183.

⁸⁸ In 1826 James Schoolcraft was still new to Sault Ste. Marie, but he would later would marry Anna Maria Johnston (Jane's sister). James Schoolcraft would not find the same success as the Johnston boys or his own brother, and instead became a notorious gambler and drinker, until eventually being murdered. See Russell David Edmunds, *Enduring Nations: Native Americans in the Midwest* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 147-151.

separated. They kept up correspondence when possible, and included thoughts of absent family members in the family prayer-meetings. During the isolation of the winter, where simply leaving one's house can be difficult in Sault Ste. Marie, this season was particularly strenuous in the 1820s. The winter was a time for family to gather in front of the fireplace and share stories. John brought aspects of his own childhood in Ireland to the Johnston house:

The domestic circle, and friendly fireside, formed the scenes of his purest enjoyment, and the improvement and cultivation of the minds and manners of his children, his most pleasing care. And whenever one of them was absent, particularly the females, he omitted no opportunity to inspire and keep alive, by kind and affectionate letters, those sentiments of piety and purity of mind, upon which be based both their fortunes here, and their destines hereafter, always encouraging, with gentle praise, their attempts in composition, and criticising, in a manner the least authoratative and offensive, any deficiencies-by which means he drew them on as with a silken thread.”⁸⁹

Reading and education were important to Jane's father, who according to Henry took it upon himself “to be the director of his children; domestic studies, and to teach the observance of many of those delicacies [sic] in word and action, and proprieties in taste; which constitute so essential a part of the female education.”⁹⁰ Using Henry as a source is problematic because his own agenda led him to present himself as an upper-class gentleman to his white readers. This led to Henry framing Jane as a “good woman” that fit his understanding's of patriarchy.

Although he had dabbled in writing before, Henry's first serious attempt at the profession was in 1825 when he published *Travels in the Central Portions of the Mississippi Valley*.⁹¹ From the winter of 1826 until the end of his life Henry would write

89 Schoolcraft, “Memoir of John Johnston,” 75-76.

90 Ibid, 64.

91 Curtis Hinsley, “Introduction” in *Algie Researches: North American Indian Folktales and Legends* (Mineola: Courier Corporation, 1999), xi.

and compile material about Aboriginal practices in hopes of publishing a larger ethnographic work.⁹² The practices that Henry observed within his family, which he saw as distinctly Anishnabee, appear less often in Henry's published personal accounts of his time in Sault Ste. Marie than in his ethnographic materials on North American Aboriginals. The latter represented work that he presented to his publisher and superiors as a scientific exploration rather than as his subjective experiences. Henry was quick to use traits in the Johnston family that he saw as foreign as evidence to his ethnographic assertions about the Ojibway people.⁹³ While in his more personal works and travel diaries he eagerly praises John Johnston as a European gentleman with a Christian-styled family in a frontier community, traits his readers would appreciate.

Henry, and others who have written about John Johnston have had the tendency to forget or ignore that John spent most of his life in Sault Ste. Marie adapting to various language and cultural requirements. Like Henry, McKenny emphasizes John's European traits:

His education and intercourse with polished society, in early life, indeed up to his thirtieth year, have given him many very striking advantages over the inhabitants of those distant regions, and indeed fit him to shine any where; whilst the genuine Irish hospitality of his heart, has made his house a place of most agreeable resort to travellers. In his person, Mr. J. is neat; in his manners, affable and polite; in conversation, intelligent. His language is always that of thought; and often

92 Henry would eventually be commissioned by the Congress of the United States government to produce a large collection of his ethnographic studies in 1846. This was the first report of its kind catchall work meant to serve as reference work for the American Government. Henry would publish the six volumes of *Historical and Statistical Information Respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indians Tribes of the United States* between 1851-1857, receiving nearly \$30,000 per volume (eight were commissioned, but the government would suspend the final two). While the works received praise for its content, the bulky work was poorly organized and had no index making it a difficult source to use (the Library of Congress would produce an index for the volumes in 1954). However this work would directly inform government policy, and the government would not pursue another similar work on aboriginals until the Meriam Report in 1928. Ibid, xi-xii.

93 Ibid, xi-xii.

strikingly graphic.⁹⁴

Although John retained much of his European upbringing and passed parts of it on to his children, Ozhaguscodaywayquay also shared her traditional knowledge with her children, her husband, and Henry. Historian David Nock has described this merging of cultures as a “cultural synthesis” instead of the more commonly asserted “cultural replacement,” the former suggests a combination of influences forming a distinct culture, rather than a straightforward cultural domination.⁹⁵ John and Ozhaguscodaywayquay worked together to educate their children, but they also adapted to each others' expectations as a spouse. They both brought traditions that would be modified to suit the needs of the household and family. Although they were from different places, Ozhaguscodaywayquay and John shared many traits: including their renowned hospitality to Aboriginals and whites alike, their commitment to their children, industriousness, and their skill in story telling. Like most couples after over thirty years of marriage Ozhaguscodaywayquay and John adapted to one another and formed their own distinct family.

Nanabush and Jesus Christ

The problem of representation of gender, race, and religion, in the contemporary documentation has influenced the way that the trajectory of the Johnston family is understood. In the 1830s, Henry would undergo a religious awakening that led him to convert to Presbyterianism and made him much more devote than in the 1820s, which influenced the records he wrote and published after his conversion.⁹⁶ His records

94 McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour*, 182.

95 David Nock, *A Victorian Missionary and Canadian Indian Policy: Cultural Synthesis Vs. Cultural Replacement* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1988), x.

96 Hinsley, “Introduction” in *Algic Researches*, xi.

published after 1847 were influenced by his new wife, Mary Howard, who strongly opposed mixed-race marriages. She was also a pro-slavery advocate. From a slaving family, she wrote the best seller *The Black Gauntlet: A Tale of Plantation Life in South Carolina* (1860) which is recognized as part of the anti-Tom genre, and is known to have assisted Henry in his writing.⁹⁷ While Sault Ste. Marie in the 1820s stood out as a religiously tolerant community. Outsiders ignored the cultural exchanges that resulted in compound spiritual beliefs and life-ways. While the written record tends to point to Christian worship and life patterns, this undermines the significance of combining Anishnabee and Christian ideals to the success of the Johnston family.

Their combined practices are demonstrated by the family's worship style. While living in her parent's house, Jane and Henry assembled each morning with her family under the direction of John. Gathering his large family into the sitting room was a morning and evening ritual for him: "He had early imbued the minds of all his family with the leading principles of the Christian religion, as explained and enforced in the Church service."⁹⁸ These church services led twice daily by John, were his way to instill Christian values in his family. Each day "His family assembled in his sitting room in the evening, and were dismissed with prayer. They were again assembled in the morning with prayer."⁹⁹ John waited with his bible and "One of his daughters usually placed a cushion for him to kneel upon."¹⁰⁰ The family met for a reading at least twice a day, regardless of the season as: "Such was his constant habit."¹⁰¹

97 Mary Howard, *The Black Gauntlet: A Tale of Plantation Life in South Carolina* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1860).

98 Schoolcraft, "Memoir of John Johnston," 61-62.

99 Ibid, 82.

100 Ibid, 82.

101 Ibid, 82.

While written word was a new cultural form for the Anishnabee, adopted from Europeans, story-telling was an established method of teaching in both cultures. In his writing Henry ignored cultural similarities demonstrated by the shared past-times of his parents-in-law, such as story-telling, group reflection, and various forms of needlework. Instead, Henry tended to include what he framed as “European behaviours” in his personal memoirs, occasionally even as evidence for his belief of the inevitable domination of American culture. In 1826, the idea of secularization, or dividing spirituality from education, in either Anishnabee or European understandings would not have been a readily understood concept. Learning stories was an intrinsic part of the childhood curriculum, regardless of background. These ideas informed how life was lived, and both cultures preserved spirituality through story. In his personal accounts Henry does not address the crossover between belief systems within his family. Instead, he emphasized John's European traits as dominant within the house, while describing activities in which Anishnabee and Métis people commonly participated as follows:

Mr. Johnston possessed a small, but select library of history, divinity and classics, which furnished a pleasing resource during the many years of solitude, and particularly, the long winter evenings, which characterize the latitude of St. Mary's. It was his custom on these occasions, to gather his family around the table, and while his daughters were employed at their needlework, he either read himself, or listened to one of his sons, adding his comments upon any passages that required it, or upon any improprieties or deficiencies in emphasis, punctuation, or personal manners. In this way information was diffused, and often rendered intelligible to the younger members of the groupe and he thus renewed, in his own family, the scenes in which he had been an actor at his mother's house, in his youth. The time glided away imperceptibly, and every sitting was resumed with the zest and novelty, or the avidity of information.¹⁰²

102 What Henry describes as “a small, but select library of history, divinity and classics” Bigsby had a somewhat different opinion, writing: “I was surprised at the value and extent to this gentleman's library; a thousand well-bound and well-selected volumes, French and English, evidently much in use, in winter especially; and not gathered together in these days of cheap literature.” See Bigsby, *The Shoe and Canoe*, 127.; Schoolcraft, “Memoir of John Johnston,” 63.

These family story times occurred more in the winter months, when time did not need to be spent in collecting food, and during the regular trade of the warmer, more accessible months. Yet the twice-daily family prayer gatherings continued year-round. With John's adherence to Christian religious teaching and worship, the absence of an established church in Sault Ste. Marie irked John. It led him to take control of the children's education (and adherence) to his Christian principles, which he used heavily in his parenting methods:

constant and zealous in the observation of its forms, accompanying morning and evening prayer with a portion of the Psalms, and a sermon (most commonly of Blair, Saurin, or Chalmers) on the sabbath. He read impressively, and generally closed the service with some extemporaneous practical remark."¹⁰³

Schoolcraft is quick to point to John as being the leader of these services. He does not account for the fact that Ozhaguscodaywayquay also participated in these prayer sessions.

The Johnston children's, John's and Henry's knowledge of Ozhaguscodaywayquay's Anishnabee histories (passed on through story telling) demonstrates that these twice-daily prayer sessions were only one of the way the family assembled together by the fire for spiritual teachings, and that John was not the only leader of such events. In an article in "The Literary Voyager" in 1826 orated by Ozhaguscodaywayquay and transcribed by Jane, Ozhaguscodaywayquay talks about the understandings passed on to her from her parents, but also of her interest in Christian teachings. She commented that:

I have often wished to know the reason and source of many things, which have come immediately under my own observation, and not knowing how to account for such curious circumstance, I have said, "it must be a Manito." But you white

¹⁰³ Schoolcraft, "Memoir of John Johnston," 61-62.

people say that there is but one true, great, and good God; then I feel a steep sense of regret that I do not know more of that good Spirit, and what I ought to do to please him.¹⁰⁴

Ozhaguscodaywayquay did not seem to agree that God trumped the spirits of her own beliefs, but viewed these teachings as another avenue for observation, reflection, and worship.¹⁰⁵ In their introduction to the written works of Anishnabee leader and chief Willian Berens, or Tabasigizikweas (meaning “Sailing Low in the Air After Thunder,” 1866-1947), historians Jennifer S.H. Brown and Susan Elaine Gray point to the special significance of wintertime as a time for story telling, and the difficulty this seasonality had for those who wished to record these tales. The two cite Berens difficulties in sharing *aadizookaanag* (translated problematically as “myths”), which were meant only to be shared during the winter.¹⁰⁶ Brown and Gray even point to the possibility of penalization within a tribe for those who told these stories out of their designated season, which limited the exposure of white recorders to these stories, but which the Johnston children were still able to hear.¹⁰⁷ Ozhaguscodaywayquay passed on these tales to her family, along with the practical remarks and wisdom which she chose to emphasize in their retelling. This form of cultural teaching was not recorded or credited by Henry in the same way that he emphasized John's commitment to Christian ideals.

A woman who held fast to her traditions, Ozhaguscodaywayquay, like John Johnston, also adapted to new ones. Ozhaguscodaywayquay would later in life fund an

104 Ozhaguscodaywayquay, “Character of Aboriginal Historical Tradition to the Editor of the Literary Voyager” translated by Jane Johnston Schoolcraft, in Schoolcraft, *The Literary Voyager* (Sault Ste. Marie: December 1826): 7.

105 Ibid, 7.

106 William Berens, "Introduction." In *Memories, Myths and Dreams of an Ojibwe Leader*, edited by Jennifer S. H. Brown and Susan Elaine Gray. (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009), 8.

107 Ibid, 8.

edifice for Rev. Porter, which eventually became Sault Ste. Marie's first Presbyterian Church and the first church in Michigan to be donated by an aboriginal person.¹⁰⁸ This act should not be seen as Ozhaguscodaywayquay abandoning the traditional beliefs of her people. This distinctly European practice was modified by the family in their own way in a sort of cultural synthesis. This was a multi-directional exchange, and while Henry keenly preserved Anishnabee tales and language, Jane and her sister Charlotte both wrote translations of Christian material in Anishnabee. These works demonstrate the influence of the teaching imparted by both Ozhaguscodaywayquay and John.

This multifaceted belief system was recognized by McKenny, who complained of the absence of a christian church, but wrote on the tolerance of the area: “there are sincere worshippers every where, and under all the varieties of superstition, and violence, and hypocrisy; and the revolutions of empire that have distracted the world, often deluging it with blood”.¹⁰⁹ Both Jane and Charlotte translated Psalms and the format suggests that their intention was to use them for public worship. The inclusion of music in conjunction with the Anishnabee translation made the Psalms accessible to a people to whom music and community were intrinsic parts of worship. The following is an example of a Psalm written by Jane in both Anishnabee and English:

A Psalm, or Supplication for mercy, and confession of sin, addressed to the Author of Life, in the Odjibway-Algonquin tongue
By the late Mrs Henry R Schoolcraft

Gaitche minno pim au diz iy un Gezha Monedo geezhig ong aibey un.
Keen maum auwa ikumig wai oz hemig oy un.
Keen kah ozhi eeyong, keen gaugegaik umig, kai nuhwaunemeong, aikooem au diz eyong.

108 Hele, *'By the Rapids'*, 243.

109 McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour*, 374.

Keen kainuh wau baimeyong, geeg hik tibbikuk tibishko.
 Keen kee ke ozhea an geezz hik geezis, tibbik geezis, annung wug gia.
 Keen keeg e ozhetoan tshe kimmewung, gia tshe animik eegkaug; tshe sai sai
 yung, tshe sogepoog gia.
 Keen kau ozhe-eyong tshe senneweeg auboweyaung, kukinnuk kau ozheudjig
 akeeng.
 Kee gemishemin odj echaug wug, wekawkain ebosigoog, ke gemeeshemin ke bahz
 higo kegwis Jesus Christ, tshe oondj enebood neenowind.
 Mo zhug issuh nemudjee inaindumin, kaigat mozhug ne mudje ekidomin; nahwudj
 nemincoaindumin, tshe mudjee do dumaung.
 Kaigate igo me kai oondje izhauy aung ebun mudjee Monedo.
 Showainemis hinaum, Gezha Monedo,! Show ainesmish inaum Jesus Christ.
 Maishkoodgeto an nemudje odaienaunin; meez his henaum edush oushkee odaiyun.
 Apai dush nah saug eig sayun, gia dush to dum aung kau izhee gug eekway un me
 ozhis sin aun odaiyun tshe min waindumaung tshe annameautog o yun.
 Shauwainim neen dun ahwaimaugunenaunig unis henaubaig.
 Show anim kukinn ah meenik paimau dis se djig akeeng.
 Shora ain emis henaum kaid o koo pemau diss ey ong, appe dush neebay ong, show
 ain emis hon aum neen djeechaugo naunig tshe ghowaud keen.
 Kaugeg ai kumig edush tshe, meen ahwaunegoozeyong ozaum ne mudje pemau diz
 eewin, auno unnahmez auyongin.
 Kauwaan edush kewee piz in dow iss inin, kishpin aitah appainemoyong kegwis
 Jesus Christ.
 Aipetainemud kegwis showainemis heen aun. Kunna gai kunna.¹¹⁰

Translation

Merciful spirit, great author of life, abiding above.
 Thou hast made, all that is made.
 Thou art the greatest and the everlasting preserver of life.
 Thou has guarded me by day and by night.
 Thou hast made the sun, moon and stars.
 Thou hast made the rain and the thunder and hail and snow.
 Thou hast, to finish all, made man who stands up erect, and is placed over all that is
 on the earth.
 Thou hast given us souls, that will never die, and hast sent thine only son Jesus
 Christ, who has died for our bad acts, that we, through faith in him might live.
 For our minds are set on evil continuously, and our words are perverted; truly we
 do, all the day long, think bad thoughts, and do bad acts.
 Truly, we deserve to be punished in the place where thou hast prepared thy
 punishments—even hell.

110 Jane Johnston Schoolcraft “A Psalm, or Supplication for mercy, and confession of sin, addressed to the
 Author of Life, in the Odjibway-Algonquin tongue” in Jane Johnston Schoolcraft, *The Sound the Stars
 Make Rushing through the Sky: The Writings of Jane Johnston Schoolcraft*. ed. Robert Dale Parker
 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 150.

Have mercy upon us, Merciful spirit, have mercy upon us!
Have mercy upon us, Jesus Christ!
Renovate our wicked hearts, and give us new hearts.
May we love thee with our whole hearts to take a delight in prayer.
Show mercy upon all our kindred people.
Show mercy to the whole world.
Be our Friend while we live; and when we die, oh take our souls to thine abode, and there, may both soul and body be happy forever.
We are too much abased to ask this in our own name, but beseech thee through Jesus Christ.
In his name, thy Son's have mercy upon us, so be it evermore.¹¹¹

The translation of Christian prayers and Psalms was not an entirely new practice in the region, but Jane and her sister Charlotte (who would marry the first Church of England missionary to the area) were among the first to translate non-Catholic, Christian prayers into Anishnabee.¹¹² Carolyn Podruchny has highlighted how Indigenous and Roman Catholic beliefs and rituals were combined in the Pays d'en Haut as a merging of First-Nation and European cultures.¹¹³ Sylvia Van Kirk has shown the effects of English influence in the fur trade on this mixing of ideas, as many English-speaking traders thought that English missionaries should be introduced to these isolated areas.¹¹⁴ In a similar way to the Métis, Jane and her siblings mixed the beliefs of their parents.

Whether Métis or metis, mixed-cultured families in the region, of all social classes, modified their cultural backgrounds to adapt to life at Sault Ste. Marie, pulling from both parents' cultural heritage. Historian Roger Buffalohead has said of the anglo-metis William Whipple Warren (1825-1853), who had a similar cultural and social

111 Ibid, 151.

112 On his trip McKenny recorded a french prayer used by an Odawa populations on Lake Huron, after the following exchange he recorded the prayer. See McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour*, 167.

113 Podruchny, *Making the Voyageur World*, 82.

114 Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties*, 7.

identity to the Johnston children, and who would also translate some of his maternal line's stories into English, that “to understand Warren as a full and practicing member of the Ojibway culture would be an error.”¹¹⁵ Based on Warren's works, Buffalohead argues that Warren “viewed himself as a man whose life integrated features from both Euro-American religious, social, and economic traditions.”¹¹⁶ Instead, Buffalohead suggests that Warren “took pride in the fact that his education and his tribal heritage uniquely equipped him to 'elucidate the grand mystery' of the Ojibway past for white readers.”¹¹⁷ The same seems to have applied to Jane and her siblings.

While Ozhagusodaywayquay retained many aspects of her traditional culture, she adapted it to fit the needs of her life with John Johnston: she managed the European-style Johnston house and its servants, and later in life would assist in establishing a church in Sault Ste. Marie. In the Johnston family, this blending of cultures informed a spiritual understanding that brought together aspects of both Christian and Anishnabee teachings. These adaptations of differing understandings would have been discussed more during the winter months in the Johnston house, and likely changed through the years. In a similar way, in 1826 McKenny would reconcile the two belief systems after learning from Anishnabee elders. As part of an official delegation with Henry, McKenny noticed consistencies between Anishnabee spiritual understandings and his own faith. From hearing the teachings of a chief Oshewegwun (log over a stream) and his daughter Kichewyn E'qa (a big river woman) that included stories of Nanabush, McKenny

115 In many ways George Johnston and William Warren followed similar career patterns: both held government positions, worked as translators, and took other employments which required their ability to exist in multiple cultural realms. See Roger W. Buffalohead "Introduction." In William W. Warren, *History of the Ojibway People*, (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1984): x.

116 Ibid, x.

117 Ibid, x.

included in a letter:

It is not possible, my dear ***, to read this account of Nanibojou, as given by this Chippeway chief, (and he gives what is the belief of his tribe,) without perceiving the analogy between it, and the Noastic flood. In the account of that flood, we read, "*the tops of the highest mountains were covered,*" and that is the substance of this tradition. Nor is the mystery of the incarnation lost sight of in the tradition of the birth of Nanibojou. He was the son of a woman who had never had a husband. And may not his *invisible* and twin brother refer to the Holy Spirit?¹¹⁸

McKenny wrote this letter while he and Henry were camping together as part of an official delegation in July of 1826. That Henry presented himself to McKenny as an expert on the topic suggests that the two men discussed the meanings of these stories after their presentation and before McKenny wrote the letter.¹¹⁹ Many of McKenny's conclusions were probably influenced by what Henry had been taught of these tales by Jane's family.

Many of these consistencies were noted not just within metis families, but by others in the community as exposure to both of these belief systems increased over time. A similar effect was also starting to take place among native chiefs in Sault Ste. Marie. Similar to Ozhaguscodaywayquay, chiefs in the area continued their traditional forms of worship, and regularly practiced their spiritual teachings, even in cases where individuals had been baptized. These ideas were discussed, not just in the Johnston house, but also later by the local chiefs who, to some extent, accepted the teachings of Christianity.

Chief Shingwauk explained to a Church of England Missionary: "I recalled to my mind the time when I accompanied my father, the old chief 'Shingwaukonce' to Toronto, forty years ago [1822]; when we were all pagans, and had only just heard for the first

¹¹⁸ McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour*, 305.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid*, 306.

time of the Christian religion.”¹²⁰ The group of chiefs had decided as a council to inquire after a missionary for the area. While not throwing away their own beliefs they, like Ozhaguscodaywayquay, were curious about Christian teachings, as Shingwauk explained:

We had been visited by several different Black-coats, and their teaching seemed to be different one from another another. This French Black-coat (R.C. Priest) wanted us to worship God his way; the English Black-coat wanted us to follow his religion; and there was another Black-coat who took all people and dipped them right into the water, and he wanted us all to join him. We did not know what to do.¹²¹

Toleration did not necessarily mean sole adherence to, and this process should not be seen as a domination by any one set of teachings, it was toleration and curiosity from within the community. An acquaintance of the Johnston family, John Tanner, recorded his own reconciliation of his beliefs as an Anglo-American Christian who was raised among Aborigines.¹²² This balance in understandings and beliefs was represented differently by individual people, not just on a large scale around the Upper Great Lakes, but also individually by each member of the Johnston family.

Almost every contemporary account of John mentions his religious devotion, and it seems that even by the standards of his time he was extraordinarily devote. For much of their marriage John had performed public readings and religious services in Sault Ste. Marie, which served as a time for socializing and exchanging news among community members. That it was John who did the public readings also points to his understood social status amongst the white settlers at Sault Ste. Marie. It was likely also an indicator

120 Shingwauk. *Little Pine's Journal*, 3-4.

121 Ibid, 3-4.

122 Tanner, *Narrative of the Captivity*, 16.

of status for Ozhaguscodaywayquay, in a way similar to the special status given to the Midewiwin and orators among the Anishnabee.

As the Christian population and influence in Sault Ste. Marie increased into 1826, John's role within the community and house diminished, while Jane and Henry rose in prominence. In 1826 John's health was declining rapidly, McKenny described how at this time: "Mr. J. is in his sixty-fourth year; and... He is feeble and decrepid [sic]."¹²³ In this diminished state "He is always cheerful-even when he is afflicted most."¹²⁴ In a letter written to Jane early in 1825, John wrote that he,

most sincerely return thanks to the Almighty for your returning health, as also that of Mr. S. our dear little Anna, and our little *Penachense*[†] [sic] about a fortnight since I had a serious attack, from which, thanks to God, I am nearly recovered, and hope soon to be as well as I ever expect to be.¹²⁵

John continued on, pointing out his reliance on his wife during these times,

"Your mamma enjoys her health astonishingly, considering the fatigue and anxiety she

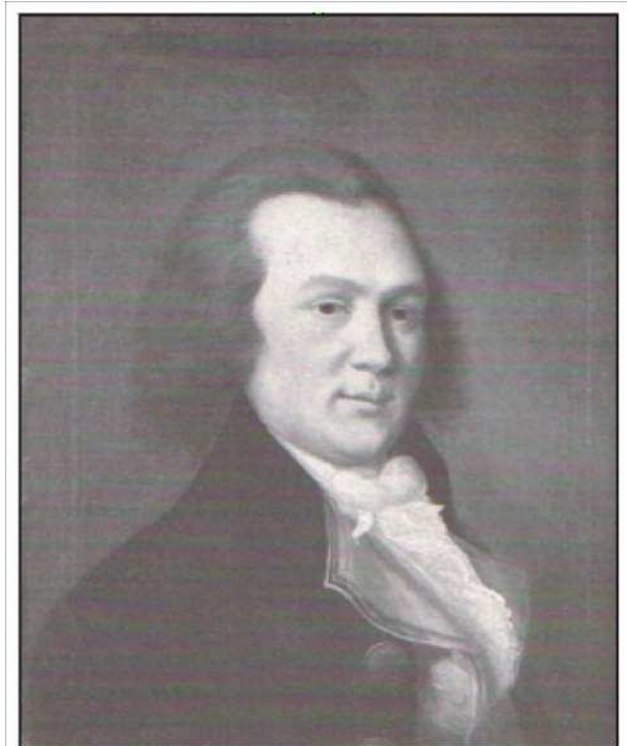


Fig. 6. *Portrait of John Johnston*, Courtesy of "The Johnston House." Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan. 2015.

¹²³ McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour*, 181.

¹²⁴ *Ibid*, 181.

[†] A term signifying little bird in Chippewa, but applied to male children [sic]

¹²⁵ Both John Johnston and Ozhaguscodaywayquay called their grandchild *Penachense*, an Anishnabee term of endearment for boys. See "letter to Jane from St. Mary's 1825, in "Memoir of John Johnston" written by Henry Schoolcraft, *Historical collections* v. 36 (1908), 76-77.

has undergone for a month past.”¹²⁶ Jane would have seen the changes in her father's health, which had worsened steadily over the previous year, as McKenny explained:

A free liver in earlier life, he now feels the burden of sixty-four winters to be great; and in addition to the general infirm state of his health, he has the dropsy in one foot and ankle, which at times occasions him great pain, and often deprives him, altogether, of ability to walk, which he never does without limping, and then by the aid of a staff.¹²⁷

McKenny continues his description: “In height, Mr. J. is about five feet ten inches-and before he was bent by age and infirmity, his figure was, doubtless fine. His hair is of the true Scotch yellow, intermixed with grey. His forehead, though retreating, is high and full, especially about the brows.”¹²⁸ In this year Jane perhaps looked into her father's eye's, “dark, small, and penetrating, and full of intelligent expression.”¹²⁹ Looking at her father's face, “His nose and mouth, (except that the loss of teeth has changed the character of the latter, some, though his lips have yet great firmness,) are well formed”.¹³⁰ From her father's aged figure, Jane perhaps looked to the mantle and reminisced: “from a portrait which hangs over the fire-place in the drawing-room of his residence, he must have been very handsome when young.”¹³¹ John Johnston was not only the patriarch of his family, but also one of the largest business owners in the town. Settled on his large estate, he was described often as the patriarch of the community, and in this role thrived on trading across cultures.

In this year, John's family no doubt realized that his death was imminent and their

126 Ibid, 76-77.

127 McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour*, 181.

128 Ibid, 181-2.

129 Ibid, 181.

130 Ibid, 181.

131 Ibid, 181-2.

daily routines changed as his health worsened.¹³² Even the daily worship practices changed, as Henry explained: “When he became too much enfeebled to kneel, which was the case for more than a year before his death, he retained his seat, while the family knealt [sic].”¹³³ John's declining health limited his ability to work and to contribute to his household in the same way as he previously had, which ultimately led the family to rely more heavily on Jane and her mother. The biggest proponent within the Johnston family for Christian teachings and understandings was declining in health at a time when Christian influences were beginning to become more pervasive in the area. Hele has argued that by the mid-nineteenth century the Anishinabeg at Sault Ste. Marie would be nominally Christian, but that these conversions occurred within their own unique cultural heritage and framework.¹³⁴ The cultural make-up of Sault Ste. Marie had begun to change noticeably by 1826, as more English-speakers came to the community which influenced the development of Jane and her siblings in early adulthood.

Jane's translation of religious writings points to the cultural liminality of the Johnston house and social circle, which included the adoption of aspects from both Anishinabee and Christian family structures, teaching practices, and worship. The Johnstons created their own culture within their house, perhaps most noticeable when

132 McKenny's description of John Johnston in 1826 was made during the summer, when John Johnston was healthier than in the colder months. After his death, Henry described his father-in-laws' condition: “He had been severely afflicted during the winter of 1826, but revived in the spring... He was however confined to his room during the greater part of the winter of '27-'28, and when left alone, became the prey to acute and over powering recollections.” John illness was apparent in these final years “the acute rheumatic pains he often suffered, attended with swelling of his feet and legs, and a highly dyspeptic state of the stomach, accompanied with general debility.” Henry recorded that “it was evident to those about him, that although suffering with no malady which threatened a speedy, or fatal termination, he was insensibly becoming feebler, and consequently more liable to billious or epidemic disease.” See Schoolcraft, “Memoir of John Johnston,” 84.

133 Ibid, 82.

134 Hele, *'By the Rapids'*, i-iii.

they remained together during the cold winter months in Sault Ste. Marie. While the extant documentation from Henry and McKenny tend to frame this family as adhering strongly to Christian principles, the current historiography of the region, and more personal accounts by the family, help to depict its true complexity. Literary researcher Christine Cavalier has commented on Jane's writing as: "Persistently weaving Anglo-American signifiers of genteel femininity with a consciousness shaped by Ojibwe values, Schoolcraft's merging of her father's and her mother's cultural legacies"¹³⁵ The family's ability to live and thrive in this multifaceted cultural realm helped them to maintain their upper-class status in the community and enabled them to exert influence over the legislative shifts in 1826.

¹³⁵ Christine Cavalier, "Jane Johnston Schoolcraft's Sentimental Lessons: Native Literary Collaboration and Resistance," *MELUS: Multi-Ethnic Literature of the U.S.* vol. 38, no 1 (2013): 104.

Chapter Three: March to June 1826

Spring in Sault Ste. Marie

In the nineteenth century Sault Ste. Marie was a community where a variety of traditional understandings that had met and merged for generations as a result of the fur trade. By 1826 the United States government was attempting to exert influence on this culture through legislation. At the same time, and in reaction to increased colonizing efforts, the first half of the nineteenth century was also a time of renewed Nativist commitment to traditional life-ways among aboriginal and metis families. Following on the heels of the Tecumseh's (1768-1813) Pan-Indian movement, a large part of the negotiation process in Sault Ste. Marie relied on the relationship between Ozhaguscodaywayquay and Henry.¹³⁶ Previously the majority of the white population had been men directly tied to the fur trade, but by 1826 there was a larger population of Americans living on the river in various employments. This American population was tied to the fort, and as a result had less direct interactions with the settled populations than did the white fur traders. Although the contemporary sources point to increased white presence in Sault Ste. Marie, to frame it only as a growing colonial community on the frontier ignores the dominant role of the original inhabitants.

The changes to the area post-War of 1812 that brought Henry into Jane's life had altered the social and cultural structures of her community. Dale Parker has argued that in the first four years after Henry's arrival at Sault Ste. Marie (1822-1826) there had been an influx of one hundred and fifty-two civilians (white or racially-mixed) to the

¹³⁶ John Sugden, "Early Pan-Indianism; Tecumseh's Tour of the Indian Country, 1811-1812," *American Indian Quarterly*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (Autumn, 1986): 274.

community, including thirty women: the first significant population of white women at Sault Ste. Marie.¹³⁷ Increased American immigration had begun to effect the seasonal patterns of the community. Hele has given estimations of both the native and non-native populations at Sault Ste. Marie in the United States and its surrounding area for 1824-1826. He has estimated the non-native population of Sault Ste. Marie Michigan in 1824 to be 83, with another 23 white settlers on the British North American side tied to the fur trade. He points to this population of non-natives as having increased from 83 in 1824, to 402 by 1826 in Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan.¹³⁸ This was significant growth of the white population joining the Aboriginal and metis communities on the banks of the St. Mary's River.

In his estimation of native populations, Hele accounts for 180 people on the American side of Sault Ste. Marie with 60 at Tahquamenon and another 130 listed at “Misc.”, for a total of 370.¹³⁹ Hele suggests that the high level of mobility among the Anishnabee people make it impossible to ascertain their populations through contemporary censuses.¹⁴⁰ By 1826 the population of white residents was approaching, and possibly surpassing, the population of Aboriginals who remained settled at Sault Ste. Marie for the entirety of the warmer months. These populations are somewhat misleading. Linda Burtch and others have pointed to a population of between 150-200 native inhabitants at the village of Bawating, but that during the peak of whitefish (*attikamak*) season, that number grew to about 2,000.¹⁴¹ While estimations of populations vary, the Anishnabee population was unquestionably the largest demographic in the

137 Dale Parker, “Introduction” in *The Sound the Stars Make*, 119.

138 Hele, *By the Rapids*, 546.

139 Ibid, 548.

140 Ibid, 106.

region, particularly during the summer and autumn in Sault Ste. Marie.

The high level of mobility and complex political make-up of Anishnabee populations in the area are demonstrated by Hele's "Miscellaneous" category. The presence of those unclassified individuals highlights the difficulty of the political situation Henry was trying to navigate in affirming the tribes' alliances to the United States.¹⁴² Among the "Sault Band" Janet Chute has pointed to the significance of the leadership of the Cranes, now well-known for the leadership of Shingwaukonse and his sons. In the early 1820s this band established a village on a hill, upriver from the Johnston house, on the American side of the St. Mary's River, with a view of the rapids.¹⁴³ Below this hill was a designated strip of land that lay on the banks of the river, which served as a place for bands visiting the area to erect their hemispherical huts to live, as well as the traditionally larger pole and bark structures that served as centres of ceremony and trade.¹⁴⁴

The estimation of the populations taken together, would suggest that Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan had a population of approximately 500-800 individuals in 1826. The population of this community varied according to time of year for both aboriginal and

141 Frances Heath, *Sault Ste. Marie: City by the Rapids: An Illustrated History* (Burlington, Ontario: Windsor Publications, 1988), 17.; Linda Burtch, *Historic Sault Ste. Marie: A Guide to the Historic Plaques and Monuments in Sault Ste. Marie* (Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario: Sault Ste. Marie LACAC, 2000), 5.

142 Included in this category of aboriginal populations living within the periphery of the Soo: were those of the Drummond Island Band, Grand Island Band, Miscooteesaugee Band, and Jawbagwawdick. These bands shared kinship and political-connections with the Band at Sault Ste. Marie, which led to records of them being directly-tied to the population of the Sault. Many of these groups may not have resided in any permanent way at Sault Ste. Marie, and their kinship and political alliances would have connected them to other communities separate to the group at the Soo: in some cases, bands which generally got along, and felt themselves connected through kinship, disagreed on political policy and allegiances to different colonial forces. See Hele, 'By the Rapids', 107.

143 This is now roughly the location of Lake Superior State University. See Chute, *The Legacy of Shingwaukonse*, 10-11.

144 Ibid, 111.

white populations, which may account for the 33 unoccupied buildings recorded by McKenny on the American-side in the summer of 1826; only 24 homes were occupied.¹⁴⁵ Hele points to the population estimations between 1824-1846 as being artificially lowered because the majority of Anishnabee peoples were spending time communicating with the British posts at Manitoulin Island, Penetanguishenne and, until 1828 Drummond Island, which made it difficult for Indian Agents and other officials to know the exact population.¹⁴⁶

Buildings occupied.	Ditto un-occupied.	Coopers' Shops.	Ware-houses.	Store-houses.	Bake Houses.	Tailor Shops.
24	33	1	4	4	1	1
Blacksmith Shopt.	Retail Stores.	Grocery Stores.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.
1	3	2	47	30	75	152

Fig. 7. McKenny's Record of the Buildings in Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan in 1826. From: Thomas Loraine McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour to the Lakes*, 192.

Chute has also looked at the population of the “Sault Band” living on the banks of the St. Mary's River. She has pointed to a population varying from between 100-300 people, led

by *ogima* or head chief Shingabaw'osin (The Image Stone’), until 1828.¹⁴⁷ Living on the banks next to the Johnston house was a group of Aboriginals, including Ozhaguscodaywayquay's half-brother Waishkey who was close to the Johnston children.¹⁴⁸ Ozhaguscodaywayquay, Shingabaw'osin, Waishkey and Ozhaguscodaywayquay's brother, Keewyzi, all held significant power and respect in Sault Ste. Marie, and these close connections to the Johnston family increased Jane's influence in the area. Ozhaguscodaywayquay was also closely connected to the

145 McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour*, 192.

146 Hele, *By the Rapids*, 107.

147 Chute, *The Legacy of Shingwaukonse*, 13.

148 Dale Parker, “Introduction,” in *Sound the Stars*, 11.

Shingwauk family, who had initially tried to deal with Henry, but ultimately trusted the British more than the Americans. These Aboriginal forces (eg. Shingabaw'osin and Shingwaukonse) worked together to negotiate between American and British policy in a conscious effort to resist cultural domination.

Since the establishment of Henry and the fort, noticeable changes had taken place in Sault Ste. Marie. There was also a new population of Americans, who worked for the American Fur Company, living on Whitefish Island (1820-1847).¹⁴⁹ In 1822 Congress had abolished the Office of Indian Trading as well as Indian trading houses, the so-called “factory system”, which opened the door for private American traders to deal directly in commerce with the aboriginal population.¹⁵⁰ This population of American traders began exploiting the fishery on Whitefish Island, trading goods with the Anishnabee for their fish. This arrangement was frowned upon by the established trading posts because they did not consider whitefish to be a profitable a trade good.¹⁵¹ These early effects of economic change were apparent by 1824, marked by complaints from the Hudson's Bay Company.¹⁵² The presence of American traders was also added competition for the trade station owned by the Johnston because of both market competition and newly established laws that restricted the Johnstons' ability to trade in the United States.

Feeling the effects of an increased American presence, and the growing native resistance movements across the continent, the Anishnabee groups at Sault Ste. Marie were prepared to negotiate with the government, seeing it as a way to assure their

149 Thor Conway, "19th Century Portrait Pipe from Northern Ontario," *Ontario Archaeology* 46 (1986): 68.

150 Waldman, *Atlas of the North American Indian*, 251.

151 Conway, "19th Century Portrait Pipe," 68-69.

152 Ibid 68-69.

continued rights and freedoms. Chute has pointed to the years after the War of 1812, amidst the decline of the fur trade, as a time when Anishnabee leadership around Sault Ste. Marie became more actively engaged in the preservation of their traditional ways of life. As anglo-Americans immigrated to the area in greater numbers, Ozhaguscodaywayquay became more involved in this fight.¹⁵³ With the establishment of a border between the two colonial forces, Chute suggests that Anishnabee people adapted to their new commercial situations with these colonial forces. She describes this economy as “laissez-faire liberalism,” which adapted traditional life-way patterns to market demands around North America.¹⁵⁴ The Johnston family had been able to acquire their wealth as part of this system. Henry in his capacity as a government official, now began to affect these systems of trade.

In practice, this economic system was an example of the early-American ideals of liberalism and an open-market. Yet the traditional importance of trading, and its significance to establishing kin-ties in Sault Ste. Marie shared qualities with European concepts of neighbourliness and community. Within this system the Johnstons and other independent traders served as patriarchs. The United States government's policies were driven by contemporary understandings of race and the influx of immigrants into the region. Sault Ste. Marie was a diverse and tolerant community and the Johnstons held positions of authority, which helped to bridge the gap between these two groups through trade, familial-connections, and combined ceremonies of public worship.

Henry, in his position as Indian Agent, was conflicted between maintaining a

¹⁵³ Chute, *The Legacy of Shingwaukons*, 5.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid*, 5-6.

Sault Ste. Marie where the Johnstons could continue to thrive in their upper-class position, and satisfying his superiors by enforcing government policy which did not account for the diversity or local customs. The government's inability to understand the various groups at Sault Ste. Marie and the intricacies of a chief's influence, led to government attempts to address all aboriginals as one, rather than as they identified themselves. This led to many groups being recorded in the documentation as one, when in reality it was not so clear cut. Hele has pointed to these nineteenth-century records as grouping the aboriginal people living along the St. Mary's river as "the St. Mary's River Band or Sault Band."¹⁵⁵ However, this was due to a lack of understanding of the among groups that were migratory, or lived in a community outside the influence of the Crane chiefs.¹⁵⁶ Generally, these groups were connected through kinship and were somewhat united politically. But this was not always the case, and various members within "The Sault Band" often acted differently from one another, particularly as colonial policy began demanding allegiance to either America or Britain.¹⁵⁷ Cooperation between tribes was often viewed (incorrectly) by the United States government as indicative of a unitary community under sole leadership.

Settled on both sides of the river were also the long established population of Métis who did not live under a chief and who were almost completely autonomous from their Anishnabee neighbours. This Métis population lived on long, thin plots with access to the river and in wooden and bark cabins established as more permanent households,

¹⁵⁵ Hele, *'By the Rapids'*, 83.

¹⁵⁶ Anishnabee people under various chiefs could be found north of Sault Ste. Marie at Batchewana Bay, Root River, Gros Cap, and the surrounding area of Sault Ste. Marie: Whitefish Point, Garden River, Pumpkin Point, Neebish Island, Squirrel Island, Munuscong Lake, Miscoutiski River, Naomikong and Sugar Island. Ibid, 84-85.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid, 84-85.

similar to the farm plots of New France.¹⁵⁸ This group adapted to the region's trade and gift-giving customs, and brought with them New France styled farm plots and cottages. These plots surrounded the St. Mary's River, but this population's local rights were also being put in question by the policies of the United States government.

While all the established communities, to some extent, shifted their life-ways according to the new trade demands and their political environment, overall their annual and day-to-day patterns remained traditional. In the way that it had been done for generations, each Spring Ozhaguscodaywayquay's "immediate extended family" came to settle on their territorial land by the rapids. Not by accident, this was only metres away from where Ozhaguscodaywayquay and John Johnston had chosen to erect their house and trading stations in 1793. Beginning in the Spring with the maple sugar season, this land on the St. Mary's river became a meeting place for aboriginals and metis. In 1826 this population at Sault Ste. Marie included the American Fur Company, North West Company, XY Company and other independent traders. They were understood by the Anishnabee as having their own cultures and religions, but these practices were tolerated by Anishnabee communities. Hele has argued that this community in 1826 can be seen as cosmopolitan.¹⁵⁹ It was a place for re-uniting and re-establishing familial connections, friendships, and trade alliances at a time marked by unique ceremonies in the community, each grouping pulling from their own cultural background.

158 Chute, *The Legacy of Shingwaukose*, 11.

159 Hele, 'By the Rapids', 416-417.

Seasonality and Maple Sugar

In Sault Ste. Marie, Anishnabee traditional life-ways and resource harvesting throughout the year coincided with the natural cycles of the seasons, according to when and where food was most readily accessible. These patterns were adapted by the Johnston family, and seasonality dictated the patterns of the white settlers in the area too.¹⁶⁰ Life in the Upper-Great Lakes in 1826 was extremely seasonal and subsistence was a constant concern for every inhabitant. Although a paid-labour economy had been introduced to the area through the fur trade, this economy remained most popular among European and metis families, this was not the main mode of compensation. Most families relied on paid-labour and trading to supplement the natural subsistence economy of each household. Sadly, most of the sources from the time emphasize this cultural exchange from the perspective of Anishnabee people adopting what they saw as European methods within this “laissez-faire liberalism”.¹⁶¹ But Sault Ste. Marie in 1826 also shows evidence of Europeans adopting the traditional methods of the area. These examples, taken with recent scholarship on the roles of Anishnabee women, also demonstrate that this economy was much more complex, diverse, and woman-driven, than previously understood. This suggests greater roles played by Ozhaguscodaywayquay, Jane and her sisters within their community than contemporary accounts allow.

Peers and Brown point to a shift in Anishnabee practices in the early nineteenth century, in order to adapt to the influx of immigrants, treaty negotiations, and the

160 Howard Sivertson, *The Illustrated Voyageur: Paintings and Companion Stories* 2nd ed (Duluth, Minnesota: Lake Superior Port Cities, 1999), 6-7.

161 Chute, *The Legacy of Shingwaukons*, 5-6.

declined populations of game at the end of the fur trade in the 1820s.¹⁶² While adapting their traditional Anishnabee practices to their current economic opportunities, and available natural resources, the tribes also looked to new practices that would protect their autonomy, leading to a rise in farming, permanent dwellings, and seeking wage labour.¹⁶³ This should not be seen as a straightforward process of the Anishnabee shifting to white practices. Rather, the Anishnabee while adapting to the market, maintained their identities and practices and used many of their traditional methods for subsistence. They continued to raise their children in the Anishnabee tradition, and used these skills in an economy formed over the two-centuries of fur trade relations: through farming, hunting, fishing, gathering, making maple sugar, and making goods such as moccasins, nets, and blankets to use and trade.¹⁶⁴ The Anishnabee maintained their seasonal practices, but were also able to adopt new methods for survival in the changing milieu of Sault Ste. Marie.

162 Peers and Brown, “There is no end,” 542.

163 Ibid, 542-543.

164 Ibid, 543.

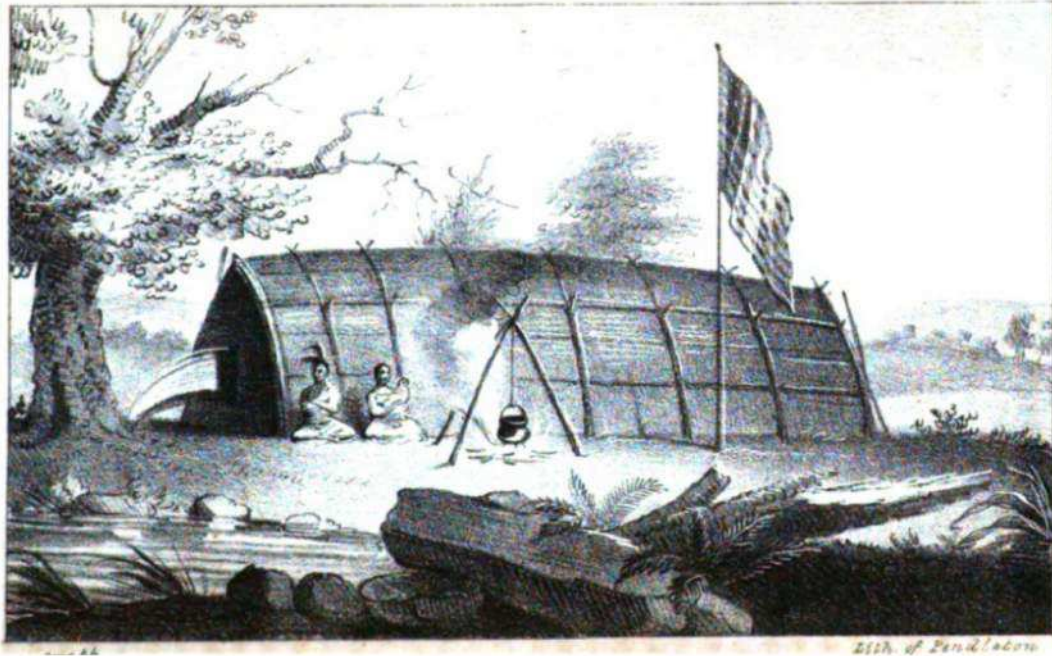


Fig. 8. *Chippeway Lodge* is an example of the homes that were lived in by the Anishnabee along the banks of the St. Mary's River. From: Thomas Loraine McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour to the Lakes*.

This general shift toward aboriginal resistance in the first half of the nineteenth century has been demonstrated in Sault Ste. Marie by others. Priscilla Buffalohead has written of Sault Ste. Marie as a large Ojibway fishing village in the mid-seventeenth century, showing evidence “of a people who lived in harmony with the cycle of the seasons.”¹⁶⁵ She points to the importance of summer for fishing, hunting, gathering food, as well as growing corn, beans, and squash in communal fields.¹⁶⁶ These practices were changing in the nineteenth century, but the lives of the Johnston family were not less seasonal. Buffalohead points to the increased significance of specialized harvests

165 Buffalohead, “Farmers, Warriors, Traders,” 236.

166 Ibid, 236.

(eg. maple sap and wild rice) throughout the nineteenth century.¹⁶⁷ It is likely that the importance of these resources to the Anishnabee people remained constant. The European markets had shifted away from the fur trade (animals had also become scarcer in the area as a result of the previous two centuries' demand) towards goods such as sugar and rice. It was the goods being shipped to European markets that changed more than the Anishnabee practices themselves. Different than records from the fur trade a generation before, in 1826, McKenny recorded the main trade items as: "The staple of the place, are the white fish and maple sugar, and some few, but not many, furs."¹⁶⁸ European recorders focused their attention on the resources with the highest market value, and paid less attention to Anishnabee farming practices and economic staples which remained constant over time. The same priorities were applied to the written record of minerals in the area as well: beginning with the search for gold by the first French explorers and including Henry's quest for copper in the nineteenth century.

The trend of market adaptation in order to retain autonomy would become a major focus of the Shingwauk leadership throughout the nineteenth century. It was a shift throughout the area and contemporary Andrew Blackbird (c. 1814/17-1908) recorded his family's adherence to these traditional practices at nearby Mackinaw. Years later, as an Odawa protestant chief, he commented, despite his own belief in civilizing missions, that in the 1820s:

I thought my people were very happy in those days, when they were all by themselves and possessed a wide spread of land, and no one to quarrel with them as to where they should make their gardens, or take timber, or make sugar. And fishes of all kinds were so plentiful in the Harbor. A hook anywheres in the bay,

167 Buffalohead, "Farmers, Warriors, Traders," 236.

168 McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour*, 192.

and at any time of the year, would catch Mackinaw trout, many as one would want. And if a net were set anywhere in the harbor on shallow water, in the morning it would be loaded with fishes of all kinds. Truly this was a beautiful location for the mission. Every big council of the Indians was transacted in the village of Little Traverse.¹⁶⁹

For the Anishnabee people along the St. Mary's River, Sault Ste. Marie was the site of similar council meetings. The cyclical nature of the year was marked by councils and ceremonies. At least twice a year these ceremonies included Thanksgiving ceremonies, the first one took place at the time of the first flow of maple sap in the spring.¹⁷⁰

Ozhaguscodaywayquay was known to participate in these ceremonies and council meetings throughout her life. She was involved in the political decisions of her people, and in the Spring of 1826 many of these councils would have been about the upcoming treaty negotiations at Fond du Lac.

These Spring ceremonies coincided with the gathering of smaller family groups to harvest maple sap. After the Spring these larger family groupings remained together for the warmer months. Part of the close connection to Mother Earth was expressed through territorial allocations which represented a sense of kinship with the earth.¹⁷¹ Unlike the Johnston family, which was sedentary, these connections brought the Anishnabee to different locations each season, depending on available resources such as fish, berries,

169 Blackbird himself went through a complex spiritual transition throughout his life, while maintaining his effort to best support his tribe. He sought to preserve his peoples' history while also adapting to aspects of Christian religion, and before becoming a Protestant, had been baptized as a Roman Catholic in 1825. See Andrew J. Blackbird, *History of the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan; a Grammar of Their Language, and Personal and Family History of the Author* (Ypsilanti, Michigan: Ypsilantian Job Printing House, 1887), 50.

170 These ceremonies took place twice a year (Spring and Fall) but in rare instances up to four times a year, they were an addition too, not a substitute for, private acts of giving thanks. See Johnston, *Ojibway Heritage*, 144.

171 Robert Doherty, "Old-Time Origins of Modern Sovereignty: State-Building among the Keweenaw Bay Ojibway, 1832-1854," *American Indian Quarterly* vol. 31, no. 1 (2007): 171.

and the best harvest times. This knowledge was imparted to their ancestors by Nanabush and preserved through story telling.¹⁷² These connections to the land were not considered by the American government in the establishment of the border or of Fort Brady.

The Anishnabee understanding of their origins from Mother Earth, led to a belief in kin-ties with the earth that were expressed through worshiping the land where their ancestors had lived, died, and were buried.¹⁷³ Earth provided life and food, each season the gifts from mother earth needed to be given thanks for. The usual ceremonies of offerings and smoke were offered to Kitche Manitou, with chants and dancing that embodied survival. One such chant serves as a testament to the severity of the winter season:

SPRING THANKSGIVING

We have endured
The ordeal of winter
The hunger
The winds
The pain of sickness
And lived on.

We grieve for those
Grandparents
Parents
Children and Lovers
Who have gone.

Once again we shall
See the snows melt
Taste the flowing sap
Touch the budding seeds.
Smell the whitening flowers
know the renewal of life.¹⁷⁴

172 Johnston, *Ojibway Heritage*, x.

173 Doherty, "Old-Time Origins," 171-172.

174 (emphasis mine) Basil Johnston, *Ojibway Heritage*, 144-145.

Maple Sugar, or *ziinzibaakwad*, was an economical staple in Sault Ste. Marie. It is mentioned by various contemporary commentators as a trade dominated by Aboriginal women. In the 1820s and 1830s it was one of the region's highest valued exports. In his diary for 1823, Henry recorded of the sugar season on March 26:

It is now the season of making sugar from the rock maple by the Indians and Canadians in this quarter. And it seems to be a business in which almost every one is more or less interested. Winter has shown some signs of relaxing its iron grasp, although the quantity of snow upon the ground is still very great, and the streams appear to be as fast locked in the embraces of frost as if it were the slumber of ages. Sleighs and dog trains have been departing for the maple forests, in our neighborhood, since about the 10th instant, until but few, comparatively, of the resident inhabitants are left. Many buildings are entirely deserted and closed, and all are more or less thinned of their inhabitants. It is also the general season of sugar-making with the Indians.¹⁷⁵

The harvesting of maple sap was performed by numerous bands stretching from Lake Superior to the East Coast of North America. In the nineteenth century it was conducted on a large enough scale in Michigan that the General Land Office surveyors took the effort to map the locations of sugar bushes and the camps associated with them.¹⁷⁶

Families separated by the long, cold winter months of the Upper-Great Lakes were now reunited and worked together harvesting sap, which would be relied on as food, medicine, gifts, trade goods and, to some extent, currency, throughout the year.

Ozhaguscodaywayquay harvested her own Maple Sugar on nearby Sugar Island. Sugar Island is one of the larger Islands in the St. Mary's River and has a variety of names including *Sisibakwato Miniss*, meaning "Sugartree Island," and the French *Ile de*

¹⁷⁵ Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs*, Chapter 17.

¹⁷⁶ Matthew M. Thomas and Janet M. Silbernagel, "The Evolution of a Maple Sugaring Landscape on Lake Superior's Grand Island," *Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters* (2003): 135.

St. George, or St. George's Island.¹⁷⁷ The island is approximately twenty-six kilometres (sixteen miles) long and located about three kilometres (two miles) from the Johnston house and Fort Brady.¹⁷⁸ During the winter months, Ozhaguscodaywayquay and many of the inhabitants of Sault Ste. Marie would have been preparing birch bark containers, and reading themselves for the extremely laborious process of producing maple sugar. But during this labour, the harvesters spent time in larger social circles with people they had not seen for months. An important economic staple, the maple sugar season was also a time for sharing stories about the winter months and planning for the summer ahead.

The production of maple sugar was a labour-intensive process, but also a social one where much time was spent harvesting sap in groups, or waiting by the kettle for the sap to granulate. The process of harvesting maple sap and the production of maple sugar in the early nineteenth century on Lake Superior involved slitting each tree with an axe and inserting cedar planks or birch bark as a lining to direct the flow of the sap into “mukluks” (baskets of folded birch bark).¹⁷⁹ Each morning these baskets would be collected in large containers (barrels, hollowed logs, or large animal skin vats) as McKenny noted: “the earlier part of the spring is that best adapted to make maple sugar. The sap runs only in the day, and it will not run unless there has been a frost the night before.”¹⁸⁰ Families, particularly women, would work together to harvest the sap. The best time for this was “in the morning, there is a clear sun, and the night has left ice of the thickness of a dollar, the greatest quantity is produced.”¹⁸¹ This sap was then boiled in

177 Bernard Arbic, *Sugar Island Sampler: A Slice of Upper Peninsula Heritage* (Allegan Forest, Michigan: Priscilla Press, 1992), 17-18.

178 Ibid, 17-18.

179 Thomas and Silbernagel, "The Evolution of a Maple Sugaring," 140.

180 McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour*, 193.

181 Ibid, 193.

large kettles until the liquid evaporated leaving only granulated sugar, which was moulded into sugar cakes and packed into mukluks for storage and transportation.¹⁸² In the case of Sugar Island in the 1820s, dog-sleds, horse-carts, and metal kettles were used to make this process easier.¹⁸³

McKenny records maple sugar season's importance as a “great staple. It is made from the maple, and principally by the Indian women.”¹⁸⁴ McKenny recorded that Ozhaguscodaywayquay generally harvested this commodity with two other families on a large scale: “Three families in this neighbourhood, of which my old friend Mr[s]. J-----'s is one, make generally *four tons* of sugar in a season.”¹⁸⁵ This sugar was then put in mukluks and McKenny reported:

Some of it very beautiful. I have some *mococks* of it given to me by Mrs. Johnson, of her own make. It is as white as the Havanna sugar, and richer. A mocock is a little receptacle of a basket form, and oval, though without a handle, made of birch bark, with a top sewed on with *wattap*, (the fine roots of the red cedar, split) the smaller ones are ornamented with porcupines' quills, died red, yellow, and green.¹⁸⁶

Most of this sugar did not end up on the open market but was important for variety of reasons. Despite Henry's assertion that “Indians often live wholly upon it,” given the availability to other food sources, it seems more sensationalism than truth when “Henry tells us he has known them to grow fat upon this sugar alone.”¹⁸⁷ Like McKenny's record of the three main “staples” being maple sugar, whitefish, and furs, Henry's accounts also

182 Thomas and Silbernagel, "The Evolution of a Maple Sugaring," 140.

183 Before the introduction of the metal kettle to the area the local inhabitants would use a pelt filled with liquid, which was heated by placing hot rocks into it. The technology of the kettle to produce maple sugar certainly would have sped up this labour intensive process, and demonstrates the mixing of cultures and technologies in the area. See Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs*, Chapter 17.

184 McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour*, 193.

185 Ibid, 193.

186 Ibid, 194.

187 McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour*, 194.

rank agriculture and the gathering of other wilds foods as less important than maple sugar because the trade value of these items was lower.

With the decline of the fur trade, maple sugar had become an important resource for the Johnston family. McKenny recorded its significance within the local economy as “an article of exchange with those who make it. They give it for labour, for good, & c.”¹⁸⁸ It was produced on a large scale: “These ornamented mocoeks hold from two to a dozen table spoons full of sugar, and are made for presents, or for sale, to the curious. The larger ones, also of birch bark, are not ornamented, and contain from ten to thirty pounds of sugar.”¹⁸⁹ The four tons produced by Ozhaguscodaywayquay and her friends (from McKenny's description, they seem to have been the wives of independent traders) would have been used in a variety of ways: as gifts, as a trade good, and as currency in exchange for labour in an economy where wage labour was loosely defined in the absence of hard currency. Where there was a cash market for maple sugar in Sault Ste. Marie it sold “generally at about ten cents per pound” (four tons was worth roughly \$800 at this price), this was not the main purpose of the harvest, nor was cash the main currency of this economy.¹⁹⁰

The harvesting of maple sugar was an industry dominated by Aboriginal women who maintained ownership of the goods they produced. In March 1823, Henry recorded a visit to his mother-in-law's sugarbush:

I joined a party in visiting one of the camps. We had several carioles in company, and went down the river about eight or nine miles to Mrs. Johnston's camp. The party consisted of several officers and ladies from the fort, Captain Thompson¹⁹¹

188 Ibid, 194.

189 Ibid, 194.

190 Ibid, 194.

191 Killed in Florida, at the battle of Okechobbee, as Lt. Col. of the 6th U.S. Infantry. [sic]

and lady, Lieutenant Bicker and lady and sister, the Miss Johnstons and Lieutenants Smith¹⁹² and Folger. We pursued the river on the ice the greater part of the way, and then proceeded inland about a mile. We found a large temporary building, surrounded with piles of ready split wood for keeping a fire under the kettles, and large ox hides arranged in such a manner as to serve as vats for collecting the sap. About twenty kettles were boiling over an elongated central fire. The whole air of the place resembled that of a manufactory. The custom on these occasions is to make up a pic-nic, in which each one contributes something in the way of cold viands or refreshments. The principal amusement consisted in pulling candy, and eating the sugar in every form. Having done this, and received the hospitalities of our hostess, we tackled up our teams, and pursued our way back to the fort, having narrowly escaped breaking through the river at one or two points.¹⁹³

Ozhaguscodaywayquay and her family harvested a great quantity of maple sugar at a time when the demand for sugar on the world market was growing.¹⁹⁴ This is not to say that prior to the 1820s the Anishinabee did not harvest this resource, but they likely did so on a smaller scale when the fur trade was at its peak, when time and effort was needed in the spring to set snare traps and harvest the massive amounts of birch bark needed for the making of canoes to keep up with this trade. While women had played an important role in the fur trade, men had been predominately relied on for hunting and this shift towards resources controlled by Aboriginal women elevated their status in this new economy.

Archaeological expeditions on Grand Island in Lake Superior have demonstrated that Anishnabee residents on the Island produced maple sugar as early as 1700, continuing through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.¹⁹⁵ The same study suggests

192 Died at Vera Cruz, Mexico, as Quarter-Master U.S.A. [sic]

193 Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs*, Chapter 17.

194 The demand for sugar in the United States was growing, increased imports for both sugar and molasses between 1821-1826 help to demonstrate this demand within the United States. See Debates in Congress By United States Congress, Joseph Gales, William Winston Seaton, 800.

195 Thomas and Silbernagel, "The Evolution of a Maple Sugaring," 140.

that given that the materials used in the production process were largely biodegradable, it is likely that this practice is even older.¹⁹⁶ They point to an ethnographic work published by Henry in 1851, where he recorded that in the 1830s the population settled on Grand Island in the maple season consisted of fifty-seven Chippewa individuals grouped in thirteen families or oode.¹⁹⁷ Combined they were producing 3,500 pounds of maple sugar a year (about half of what the Johnston produced in conjunction with two other families, according to McKenny's record).¹⁹⁸ This discrepancy in production might point to Ozhaguscodaywayquay's control of the harvest in Sault Ste. Marie (in partnership with two other Anishnabee women), rather than this smaller group on Sugar Island making twice the sugar of those on Grand Island.¹⁹⁹ In his later accounts, Schoolcraft pointed to this trade as peaking in the first half of the nineteenth century, before increased Christian influence further altered the economy.

Although unrecorded, knowledge of the movements of her family members allows some inferences to be made about Jane's activities in the Spring of 1826. Jane certainly played a role in assisting both her husband and her mother in their endeavours. It seems, from contemporary accounts, that in this year Jane fulfilled a role that European observers might see as the head of the house, where she managed the family economy, farms, and trade.

Spring would have always been a busy time for the Johnston family, with Ozhaguscodaywayquay occupied in the harvesting of maple sugar and meetings with her family as the aboriginal populations came to Sault Ste. Marie. For Henry and John this

196 Ibid, 140.

197 Ibid, 140.

198 McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour*, 193.

199 Thomas and Silbernagel, "The Evolution of a Maple Sugaring," 140.

time of year was when the first of the mail of the began to arrive, and meant their time was spent engaging in their professional correspondence. In his enfeebled state in 1826, John would have been less engaged in trade on the Johnston property than in previous years, and George (who had years of practice as a trader) and Jane became more engaged in efforts to maintain the family.

From the age of thirteen, Jane had been helping her parents manage her siblings. With the addition of her own infant child in 1826 this was no small task, especially while her mother was away from the house. Jane would have been responsible for the day-to-day management of the Johnston's large homestead. As her father's health worsened, Jane was responsible for even greater sections of the household and family holdings. Throughout her life Jane was often in ill-health and was probably not physically well-suited for the harvesting of maple sugar. However, she was still involved with her family and the wider community due to her position in her parent's household as she and Henry moved towards establishing their own influence over the community.

Since Henry had arrived in Sault Ste. Marie, there had been a significant increase in the American population in Sault Ste. Marie. These newcomers began to establish more European technologies and luxuries in the village. With the establishment of an American population, the American government perceived a need to secure the border. In a presentation given to soon-to-become president John Quincy Adams in New York on November 28, 1823, Major Delafield commented of the state of the border in the Upper Great Lakes, and how:

[t]he British trader enjoys the use by sort of prescriptive use [?] within the limits of the United States. A remedy is wished to such encroachments; but what perhaps is

more essential to American citizens having interests there, is their wish to be protected by the laws of their country (especially in cases of crime) and to enforce them to the limit to which we claim sovereignty.²⁰⁰

Bigby, who had come to the Upper Great Lakes as part of the delegation to set the border in 1824, offered an important description of these years. The United States attempts to enforce the border at Sault Ste. Marie during the early years of Jane and Henry's marriage physically changed the town.

Bigby described the community in 1824: "At the time of this visit St. Mary's was a very modest settlement. I imagine it remains so."²⁰¹ He also described the bank across the river from the Johnston house, "The Canadian village is, or was, a straggling line of fifteen log-huts on marshy ground, with, at its lower end, the comfortable dwelling of Mr. Ermatinger".²⁰² These huts on the Canadian side were an established community that consisted mostly of men tied to the fur trade and their families. Sault Ste. Marie had existed as an important fur-trade community since the beginning of the trade itself. These fur trading establishments, such as the Johnston residence, North-West Company, Hudson's Bay Company posts, and the Ermatinger house were economic hubs for the exchange of European goods for Aboriginal goods, and employment centres for the local population.

In the 1820s American encroachment began to shift this balance, but in 1826 the United States' government was still having difficulties establishing their presence in the

200 Joseph Delafield, "A4 [*National Archives, Treaty of Ghent, Arts, VI and VII, Delafield Letters*]," in Elizabeth Arthur, *Thunder Bay District, 1821-1892; a Collection of Documents* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973, 7-8.

201 Bigby, *The Shoe and Canoe*, 121.

202 Ibid, 121.

region in the same way that these corporations and entrepreneurs had. After the establishment of Fort Brady in 1826, the government's efforts to establish a white population became more noticeable. In 1824: "The American village is but small: it has, however, two or three houses of a better class, and is on higher ground, with a few Indian wigwams interspersed. The Americans have a stout barrack here, called Fort Brady, and two companies of infantry."²⁰³ In his description of the American side, Bigsby also includes "Mr. Johnson, a much-respected Indian trader, lives here most hospitably in a house, whose neatness is in striking contrast with the careless dilapidation reigning around."²⁰⁴ By which Bigsby seems to be referring to the traditional and metis settlers and their native forms of gardening: "A few potatoes and some Indian corn are raised on either side of the river, and there is a little pasture land."²⁰⁵ In his attempt to point out the American presence, Bigsby failed to recognize, or ignored, the merging of cultures he was witnessing.

The north (British/Canadian) side of the river, with its fifteen or so log cabins, was inhabited predominately by mixed-race families tied to the fur trade. On both sides of the river these houses would have looked much the same at the time of Jane's birth in 1800 as they appeared to Bigsby in 1824, as would the wigwams of the Anishnabee settlement. On the American side of the river, the establishment of Fort Brady, the presence of American troops, and Henry's presence as Indian Agent were new additions to the community, but their influence was not felt to the extent that the government wished. Many of the men long established in Sault Ste. Marie would have worked for

203 Bigsby, *The Shoe and Canoe*, 123.

204 Ibid, 123.

205 Ibid, 123.

John throughout the years and watched Jane and her siblings grow up. Many of the mothers in this metis community would have grown up around Ozhaguscodaywayquay and been connected to her through friendship and kin-ties. However, the United States was attempting to enter the community through force, rather than through personal relationships. In the Spring of 1826, the generational differences between the Johnstons (as fur traders) and Schoolcrafts (as government employees) was beginning to show. Jane and George were now relied on to manage the large holdings of the Johnston household during their mother's necessary absences and their father's ongoing illness.

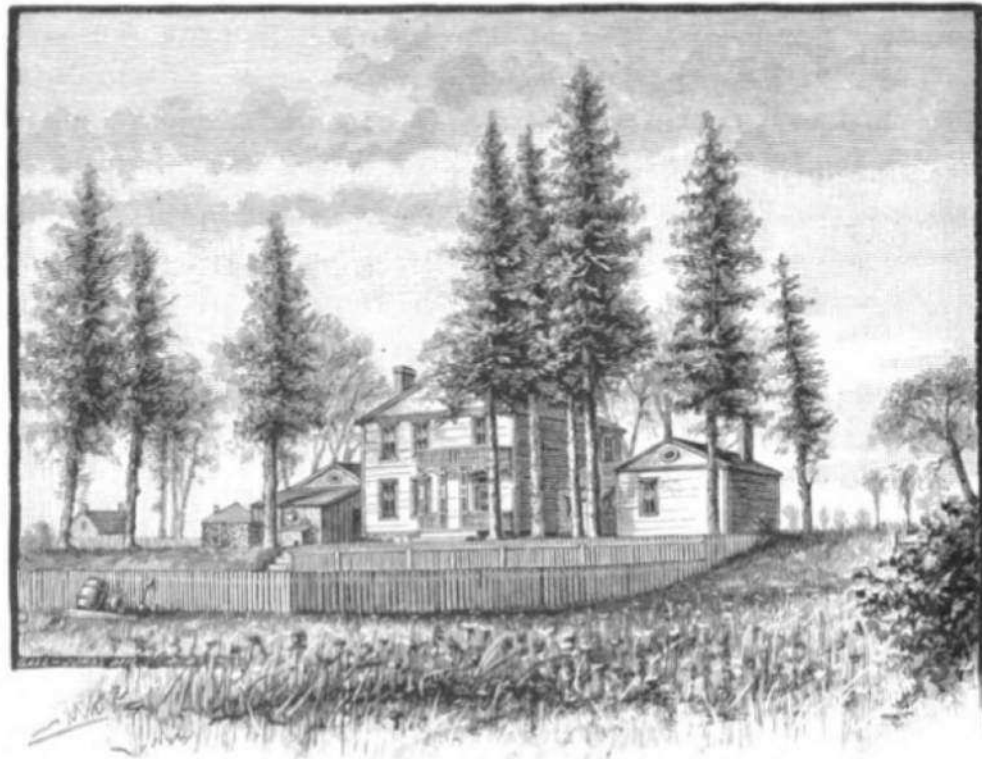
Henry's role in the community was a complicated one that crossed cultural realms and relied heavily on Jane and her families' knowledge and connections. But Henry also represented the increasing white-American population, and he was meant to enforce the new boundaries created by the British and American governments, which had been set without consulting the population that had lived on the banks of the St. Mary's River for generations. The influx of white settlers had brought new economic opportunities which led to a growth of the population at Sault Ste. Marie on both sides of the river. In 1826 on the "Canada side, you see the old North West Fur Company's establishment, and along down the river for about two miles, you may count about eighty houses, including every kind of building,"²⁰⁶ which demonstrated growth from in 1824, when Bigsby described the "straggling line of fifteen log-huts."²⁰⁷ Yet even while Sault Ste. Marie began to change culturally, the Johnstons, in part because of Henry, were able to maintain their status despite new regulations on trade across the border. While on the Canadian side in

206 McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour*, 191.

207 Bigsby, *The Shoe and Canoe*, 121-122.

1826 the largest house, “and this is very large and commodious, is owned by a Mr. Armitinger,” the shifts in the economy had led, in part, to the Ermantingers relocation to Montreal in 1828.²⁰⁸ The Johnston establishment had long been the largest homestead on the south side of the river, but by 1826 the newly constructed Elmwood residence was the largest house on their side of the river. The new government office/Schoolcraft residence, and nearby Fort Brady represented the increasing influence of the United States government in region.

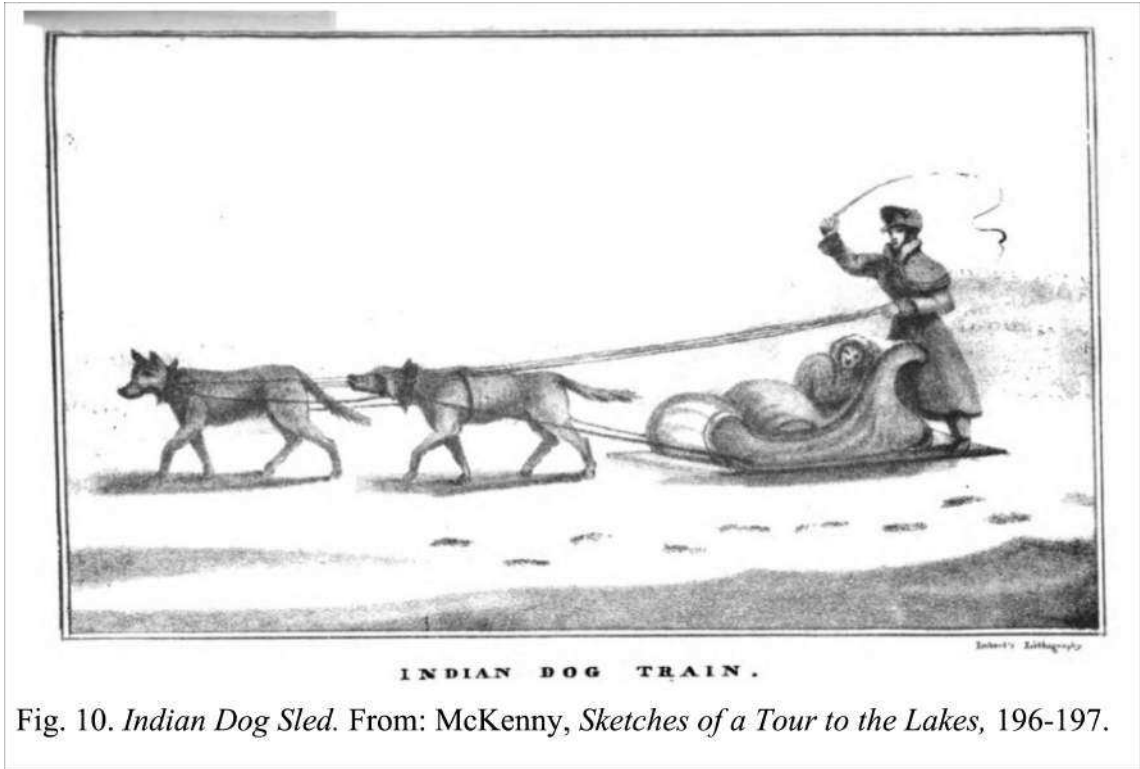
208 Ermatinger and John Johnston had two had different circumstances financially after the War of 1812, but the marriage between Jane and Henry point to the Johnstons forming important ties to the community for years to come, where the Ermatinger children married outside Sault Ste. Marie. This house built by Charles Oakes Ermatinger is now commonly referred to by residents of Sault Ste. Marie as “The Old Stone House” and is a Canadian national historic site with many of its rooms still decorated in the fashion of the 1820s; it is opened in the summer as a museum. See Newton, *The Story of Sault Ste. Marie*, 109.; McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour*, 191.



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OLD U. S. INDIAN AGENCY. (A LANDMARK.)

Fig. 9. *Old U.S. Indian Agency*. (Elmwood). From: Chase Osborn, *The "Soo" Scenes in and about Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan: with Descriptive text*, (Milwaukee: King, Fowle & Katz, 1887): 10.



Power Struggle on the Frontier

The early months of Spring at the Johnston house were marked by the reestablishment of kinship networks composed of smaller Aboriginal winter parties, and for sharing information and stories with those traveling to the area. Spring was also the time for planting crops, harvesting birch bark, and preparing it for its use in canoe construction and the maple sugar harvest. While news came through traditional networks and the established routes from the Upper-Great Lakes and interior, it also came from newer networks. For the winter inhabitants, February in Sault Ste. Marie is still the middle of winter, weather-wise, but in 1826 it yielded at least one the luxuries of the warmer months for the English-speaking inhabitants. By either dog-sled or snow shoe, the first mail of 1826 arrived in Sault Ste. Marie on February 1, bringing with it the first

news from Detroit the residents had received in over two months.²⁰⁹ The mail in 1826 would bring with it a shifting legal framework for Sault Ste. Marie.

To Henry, mail served as a link to the world that he grew up in: allowing him to communicate with his distant family and work contacts. This winter's wait for mail would have been a particularly tense one for Henry. Although the establishment of Fort Brady and its garrison in Sault Ste. Marie had served to impress anglo-American ideas on the community, it came with its own set of drawbacks. Beyond the importance of mail to Henry, the fort also gave him access to what he perceived as a necessity of a Christian life. With the influx of settlers also came access to certain white practices and ideals, which gives some insight into the changing daily life of the Johnston family.

Previously, there had been no doctor, in the European sense, in Sault Ste. Marie. John Johnson and his wife had been known to perform some minor surgeries and medical procedures, and there were known Midew in the area that most of the population would have gone to for medical help. Dr. Foot, the doctor who served Fort Brady, also served the Schoolcraft family from October 1822 to September 1824. Foot had charged the Schoolcrafts \$78 for forty-two visits during that time, which supports other accounts of Jane's continued ill-health throughout her life.²¹⁰ However, Henry did not have the best relationship with Fort Brady between 1822 and 1826. Henry felt that the \$78 bill from Dr. Foot was too high, particularly a \$20.00 charge to perform an obstetric operation on

209 From the freeze in December, until the Lakes opened in the Spring the only way for mail to arrive in Sault Ste. Marie was on an "Express" route from Detroit which relied on either dog-sled or snow shoe delivery. See Philip P. Mason, "Endnotes" in Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *The Literary Voyager or Muzzeniegun* ed. Philip P. Mason (Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1962):176.)
Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs*, Chapter 16.

210 Bernard C. Peters, "Indian-Grave Robbing at Sault Ste. Marie, 1826," *Michigan Historical Review* vol. 23, no. 2 (1997): 72.

Jane, although he did eventually pay the bill in its entirety.²¹¹ Historian Bernard Peters has looked at Henry's relationship with the fort, and points to a well established mutual dislike and personal feud between Henry and the military garrison, particularly the with the fort commander. The climax of this dispute was on June 29, 1825, when Dr. Foot supported Major Enos Cutler in his efforts to have Schoolcraft sacked by questioning his ability in a package of letters compiled by Major Cutler, which was sent to their superiors. In his own letter, Dr. Foot had cited an incident where he believed Schoolcraft neglected his duty by not hearing testimony in a case when an aboriginal inhabitant was accused of murder.²¹²

Conflicts between Indian Agents and Garrison Commander was relatively common throughout frontier America at this time, these argument often centred around who had the higher authority from the American government and it was an argument that irked Henry.²¹³ Henry felt that he held power over any matters regarding the Aboriginal inhabitants, and that as the Justice of the Peace of the Michilimackinac County he was the village's highest ranking government official.²¹⁴ In his early years in Sault Ste. Marie, Henry strove to achieve a role in the community similar to his new father-in-law's, only now backed by the government of the United States. He, like John Johnston and Ozhaguscodaywayquay, was called upon to settle disputes between the citizens of Sault Ste. Marie, but now Henry's authority had been publicly challenged. During the winter of 1825-1826 Henry had time to stew over these events. After the Fort commander's attempt to have him fired in June 1825, on November 4, 1825 Henry recorded that:

211 Peters, "Indian-Grave Robbing," 72.

212 Ibid, 72-73.

213 Ibid, 55.

214 Ibid, 55.

[d]ifficulties have arisen, at this remote post, between the citizens and the military, the latter of whom have shown a disposition to feel power and forget right, by excluding, except with onerous humiliations, some citizens from free access to the post-office. In a letter of this date, the Postmaster-General (Mr. McLean) declines to order the office to be kept out of the fort, and thus, in effect, decides against the citizens. How very unimportant a citizen is 1000 miles from the seat of government! The national aegis is not big enough to reach so far. The bed is too long for the covering. A man cannot wrap himself in it. It is to be hoped that the Postmaster-General will live long enough to find out that he has been deceived in this matter.²¹⁵

Most of the literate population of Sault Ste. Marie, which was not employed by or married to, an employee of the newly established garrison, consisted of the Johnston family and their friends. This makes it likely that Henry is referring to a conflict between himself and the new American garrison on a personal level, as well as a professional one. That the Postmaster-General had ruled against Henry's request now put his ability to represent Sault Ste. Marie to the government in serious question.

In his memoir, Henry points to this incident as a failure of his own authority, and of the inability of the United States government to be effectively represented in the region at this time.²¹⁶ Somewhat ironically, considering his position as Indian Agent, Henry felt frustrated by being under the command of a single government representative that he disagreed with and whose authority caused him frustration by limiting his access to property he felt was rightfully his. The commanding officers of Fort Brady, Lt. Col. Lawrence and his subordinates, did not recognize Henry's authority, particularly when it came into conflict with their commander. Lawrence, who was by no means innocent in this dispute, felt that his authority extended not only Fort Brady, but also to the forty-two

²¹⁵ Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs*, Chapter 15.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

square kilometre (sixteen square mile) reserve, which included Sault Ste. Marie, the encampment of Anishnabee settled next to the rapids, and their burial ground.²¹⁷ Peters suggests that this feud led to “a continuous state of conflict and hostility between the agent and the post commanders.”²¹⁸

This ambiguous hierarchy undermined Schoolcraft's position in the community as Indian Agent (in service of long-standing populations), as Justice of the Peace (in the service of the newly arrived white populations), and as a Treaty negotiator. If this power struggle was a hinderance to Henry professionally, it also effected him personally and was mentioned in his journal for years afterwards. In his own research on Henry, Stan Newton has argued that at this time the ambitious Henry was young, and accepted the position in Sault Ste. Marie because it was the best position he was offered, but that he had ambitions to a higher Government post.²¹⁹ Literary scholar William Clements suggests that Henry anticipated being offered a position as a superintendent at the Missouri Lead Mine.²²⁰ While both were likely true in 1822, by 1826 Henry hoped for a higher position that would include a longer tenure in Sault Ste. Marie as he completed his large house and had two of his siblings join him from New York. The mail delivery in February of 1826 meant new tasks for the year that Henry would have to arrange for, and the news of the politics he had missed from around the United States.

Meanwhile, Henry's mother-in-law was busy meeting with those she made maple sugar with on Sugar Island and visiting with many of her relatives camped a very short

217 Peters, “Indian-Grave Robbing,” 55.

218 Ibid, 55.

219 Newton, *The Story of Sault Ste. Marie*, 118.

220 William M. Clements, *Native American Verbal Art: Texts and Context* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1996), 112.

distance from the house. Jane was busy managing the Johnston homestead with George. In February 1826, Henry spent much of his time working out of his new office in Elmwood. The mail delivery on February 1, 1826 is marked by Henry's first journal entry of the year, one which foreshadowed dramatic changes to life in Sault Ste. Marie, he records:

The year opens with unfavorable symptoms for the Indian cause. The administration is strong in Congress, and the President favorable to the Indian view of their right to the soil they occupy east of the Mississippi until it is acquired by free cession. But the doctrine of state sovereignty contended for by Georgia, seems to be an element which all the States will, in the end, unite in contending for. And the Creeks may settle their accounts with the fact that they must finally go to the West. This is a practical view of the subject--a sort of political necessity which seems to outride everything else. Poetry and sympathy are rode over roughshod in the contest for the race. We feel nothing of this *here* at present, but it is only, perhaps, because we are too remote and unimportant to waste a thought about. Happy insignificance!²²¹

Henry highlighted the political situation for Aboriginals in the United States in 1826, now, overshadowed by the actions of president Andrew Jackson and the devastation of the Trail of Tears in the 1830s. While these tensions may not have hit Sault Ste. Marie in February 1826, they were just beyond the horizon.

Olivia Patricia Dickason and William Newbigging have pointed to two major ideas informing government policy during this period: first, the notion of the “vanishing Indian,” the belief that the race was disappearing; second,, the notion that those who remained should either be isolated or assimilated to a more European-like culture, making room for immigrants.²²² Between 1815 and 1825 the United States government had been involved in signing a series of treaties with the tribes residing north of the Ohio

221 Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs*, Chapter 16.

222 Olive Patricia Dickason and William Newbigging, *A Concise History of Canada's First Nations* 2nd ed. (Don Mills, Ont.: Oxford University Press, 2010), 148.

River, which began the removal of the aboriginal populations west of the Mississippi River.²²³ Tensions between Aboriginals and colonialists were mounting as increasingly larger populations of immigrants came to North America, and resistance was taking place in various ways throughout the country.²²⁴ These tensions were demonstrated by the nearby Kickapoo Resistance, led by Kennekuk (also known as Keannekeuk, c. 1790–1852) between 1819-1824, which was a response to removal policies targeting Illinois Country, and a new reserve area was established and defined west of the Mississippi River in 1825.²²⁵ By 1826, precedent-setting decisions by Congress, and a series of treaty negotiations, had cleared the way for the United States government to establish government presence and white settlements in the areas surrounding Lake Superior.

While Henry recognized that these shifts would have negative impacts on the Aboriginal populations, he was also responsible for enforcing and promoting these government policies. Historian Sean Harvey has pointed to the significance of these debates in Congress in 1826, particularly to Henry Schoolcraft and the Johnston family.²²⁶ In the eastern United States, questions of Aboriginal sovereignty and rights were being conflated with questions of government authority, while tensions between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals were increased by the growing number of immigrants.²²⁷ Congress sought to make significant decisions in Aboriginal policy, but they were making these decision based on very little information. The newly reestablished Department of Indians, under the War Department, for the first time attempted to strategically assemble

223 Waldman, *Atlas of the North American Indian*, 251.

224 Ibid, 251.

225 Ibid, 251.

226 Sean P. Harvey, ““Must Not Their Languages Be Savage and Barbarous Like Them?”: Philology, Indian Removal, and Race Science,” *Journal of the Early Republic* vol. 30, no. 4 (2010): 531.

227 Ibid, 531.

information on Aboriginal populations, and their languages, in order to inform government policy.²²⁸

Virtually nothing was known of the language of the Cherokee or the other southern nations prior to this inquiry. This information was not easily obtained. Those Aboriginals who were able to write and capable of compiling this information were not always willing to do so as the United States government simultaneously tried to increase its influence over Aboriginal populations.²²⁹ Historian Robert Bieder has pointed to Albert Gallatin's "Table of Indian Languages of the United States" (1826) which mapped out Aboriginal groups and their languages throughout the United States, as a significant part of these efforts.²³⁰ Gallatin's table was a good start, but it left much to be desired, and in May 1826 the War Department circulated this table throughout the Indian Department, encouraging the Superintendents, Indian Agents, and missionaries to add their knowledge of Aboriginal groups and the languages to the list.²³¹ Harvey points to the importance of Henry's superior, Governor Cass, and his involvement in public debates in the 1820s and 1830s, and Cass's argument that the best way to approach collecting Aboriginal knowledge on languages was through Indian Agents.²³² Clements has brought attention to Cass's wish to have Henry distribute questionnaires and to help him compile works on Aboriginal languages.²³³ Henry's marital connections, his position in the government, and the long winter months during which he compiled these volumes while

228 Ibid, 531.

229 Ibid, 531.

230 Robert E. Bieder, *Science Encounters the Indian, 1820-1880: The Early Years of American Ethnology* (Oklahoma City: Oklamhoma Press, 2003), 31.

231 Harvey, "Must Not Their Languages," 523.

232 Ibid, 523-225.

233 Clements, *Native American Verbal Art*, 113.

unable to keep up his other correspondence, made him an important source of Aboriginal knowledge for the United States government.

Amidst his on-going feud with his neighbours at Fort Brady, Henry also used the spring months to prepare for the summer's impending treaty negotiations. Many of the chiefs attending these negotiations would already have been in Sault Ste. Marie with their families. Henry worked in his office at Elmwood, next to his Montreal stove, studying congressional decisions and maintaining his usual correspondence despite the trouble with Fort Brady.²³⁴ The on-going mail situation was, and continued to be, a growing source of frustration to Henry, and the isolation from readily accessible mail seemed to be one of Henry's biggest complaints about living in Sault Ste. Marie. One which he mentioned not only in his journal, but also in letters, and in "The Literary Voyager." In 1825 the Postmaster-General had ruled against Henry in his dispute with the fort. Henry then turned to McKenny for help, McKenny realizing Henry's importance to the United States government's knowledge of Aboriginal peoples, settled the dispute in Henry's favour. While relying on Aboriginal sources to compile these works, which assured his job security, Henry was simultaneously responsible for enforcing government policy set on diminishing the autonomy of Aboriginal peoples and sought exclusive commitments from them to the government of the United States.

In 1825, Henry had to appeal to McKenny in order to solve his dispute with the Fort and regain the authority to perform his duties.²³⁵ But the damage was done and this dispute had already undermined Henry's position professionally in the eyes of his

234 Schoolcraft, *Memoirs of A Residence*, Chapter 16.

235 Library of Congress. "Henry Rowe Schoolcraft papers, 1788-1941 bulk 1820-1856," *Manuscript Division*, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C..

superiors and community members. Ultimately, Henry won his dispute with the Fort because his connection to the Johnston family made him an invaluable source of Aboriginal knowledge. Fort Brady was a powerful symbol, but it would not have been established without Ozhaguscodaywayquay's blessing, and in reality it could have been easily taken by the residents of the Sault Ste. Marie if they desired. Henry was now a member of the local community, through marriage, which allowed him to meet with people that military personnel could not. This made Henry more valuable than other government officials in the town, which led to military transfers rather than Henry being fired. Despite retaining his position, Henry was aware that the incident had irreparably damaged his reputation.

The “Happy insignificance!” Henry was thankful for in February had disappeared by the Spring of 1826.²³⁶ Both intentionally and unintentionally Henry's actions began to fall into line with the government's agenda as he grew more frustrated by his self-perceived insignificance within the government and the community. Henry points to his own inability, and the inability of the government that he represented, to take any meaningful action in the area, demonstrating the shortcomings of the laws which, in theory, controlled the region.²³⁷ These laws did not have the intended effects on the people of Sault Ste. Marie. In the Spring of 1826, Henry had expressed concern for Sault Ste. Marie because of congressional decisions by the United States that, locally, increased the importance the treaty negotiations planned for the summer at Fond du Lac.

Despite Henry's apprehension, expressed in February, that the government would

236 Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs*, Chapter 16.

237 Ibid, Chapter 16.

disturb the inhabitants of Sault Ste. Marie, Henry's actions throughout 1826 were dedicated to professional advancement. He began in this year to strategically assemble information on his wife's maternal heritage for publication. Henry kept track of the local politics between Aboriginal and white populations, and the influence that these dynamics had on the legislative progression of the United States. While federal versus states rights and the legal policy on Aboriginal settlement were being discussed in Congress, local, seemingly insignificant problems in Henry's life in Sault Ste. Marie would play a part in shifting government policy in the 1830s.

Henry's longstanding feud with the officials at Fort Brady was fully played-out in 1826, demonstrating some of the governmental ambiguities at the time. In his journal, Henry suggests that complaints against the officers were commonly leveled by the citizens of Sault Ste. Marie.²³⁸ On May 8, 1826 he recorded that:

Difficulties between the military and citizens continue. The Postmaster-General declined, on a renewed memorial of the citizens, to remove the post-office without the garrison. He says the officers have evinced "much sensibility" on the subject, and denied that "any restraints or embarrassments" have been imposed, when every man and woman in the settlement knows that the only way to the *post-office* lies through the *guard-house*, which is open and shut by tap of drum. Restraints, indeed! Where has the worthy Postmaster-General picked up his military information?²³⁹

While the mail was certainly one of the points that Henry fixated on, it spoke to a larger problem with the American government. Henry was no longer as optimistic as he had been in February.

Throughout the Spring of 1826, Henry's feud with Fort Brady escalated after

238 Schoolcraft often distinguishes the white American population as the *citizens* differentiating them from the longer established populations living in Sault Ste. Marie, who he usually labels by his understanding of their ethnicity. Ibid, Chapter 16.

239 Ibid, Chapter 16.

Henry received a letter from Mr. Trowbridge that gave him news on the election of a delegate to represent the territory of Michigan in Congress, which had taken place in the Fall of 1825. On March 9, Henry wrote in his journal that “We are so unimportant that even our votes are considered as worthless.”²⁴⁰ In the 1825 vote, Henry had promoted a candidate he felt would settle the dispute with Fort Brady in his favour and improve his professional prospects. Although many metis men voted in the election, their participation was complained of by the losing candidate, Mr. Wing, who argued that because they were mixed birth they legally should not have been eligible to vote.²⁴¹ Unsure how to proceed, a two-member Board of Canvassers failed to reach a decision on the matter.²⁴² The issue made it to the House Committee on Elections, which ruled that metis individuals should be allowed to vote, but only if they adhered to white customs: those who maintained their traditional Aboriginal life-ways could not.²⁴³ How this distinction was to be made is unclear, but it ignored the complex reality of the area in order to enact legislation that promoted assimilation.²⁴⁴ Henry did not receive these results until March 9, 1826. An upset for Henry, the decision serves as an examples of some of the many shortcomings of the democratic system at the time. From this mail, “Maj. John Biddle communicates the result of the delegate election. By throwing out the vote of Sault Ste. Marie, the election was awarded by the canvassers to Mr. Wing.”²⁴⁵ Despite the fact that Wing's competitor received the majority vote, Wing won because all of the ballots from Sault Ste. Marie had been thrown out, a slight Henry took personally.

240 Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs*, Chapter 16.

241 Hele, “By the Rapids”, 85.

242 Ibid, 85.

243 Ibid, 85.

244 Ibid, 85-86.

245 Schoolcraft, Chapter 15.

It also led him to become more involved in future campaigns.

Henry took particular offence to the rumour that this decision was affected by the “misrepresentation that 'Indians from their lodges were allowed to vote.’”²⁴⁶ Henry's authority as a government representative in the community was challenged, now in ways which now challenged his job security and therefore his ability to remain at Sault Ste. Marie with his family and his yet-to-be-completed mansion. In an effort to strengthen his district's political representation, Henry recorded that “The citizens on this frontier, early in the season, petitioned the Legislative Council for the erection of a new county, embracing the Straits of St. Mary's and the Basin of Lake Superior, proposing to call it Chippewa, in allusion to the tribe occupying it.”²⁴⁷ The now 4043 square kilometre (1 561 square mile) county of Chippewa, was accepted on December 22, 1826 (and came into effect February 1, 1827) with Sault Ste. Marie as its county seat (as part of an unnumbered statute).²⁴⁸ An action that, at the time, was meant to address concerns raised by the election the year before and that ultimately helped to assure Henry's continued position in Sault Ste. Marie. This on-going situation in the spring of 1826 would have devastating consequences for the aboriginal and metis inhabitants of the area. Legally, metis men now had to choose between confirming to Christian ideals in order to gain government representation and reverting to strictly traditional life-ways in order to maintain treaty rights.

On June 22, 1826 Henry wrote that “Maj. Robert A. Forsyth, of Detroit, M.C.,

246 Ibid, Chapter 16.

247 Ibid, Chapter 16.

248 Michigan was established as a territory on January 11, 1805 and would be admitted as the twenty-sixth state January 26, 1837. See Joseph Nathan Kane and Charles Curry Aiken, *The American Counties: Origins of County Names, Dates of Creation, and Population Data, 1950-2000 5th ed.* (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2005), 425.

writes of the success of the contemplated measure.”²⁴⁹ The acceptance of “Chippewa County” was a culmination of six years of effort by the United States government to increase their influence in the region. This process began with the establishment of Fort Brady and the accompanying Treaty used by the government to build it on sacred ground, and the establishment of Henry as a United States' official in the area. The influx of white settlers into the area now shaped their push for greater government representation, which ignored the rights and wishes of the “tribe[s] occupying it”.²⁵⁰

This push towards white settlement onto land used by Aboriginal and metis populations created problems for the original inhabitants of the land as well as the incoming white population. This was not a problem specific to the region, as Henry alluded to in his opening journal entry for the year 1826: “The year opens with unfavorable symptoms for the Indian cause.”²⁵¹ This included the migration of white populations onto the arable land east of the Mississippi River and the legal precedents being set in Congress, which opened the way for large scale, forced migrations to the west in the 1830s. Particularly between 1824 and 1827, Henry and the government he worked for made concentrated, but largely unsuccessful, efforts to settle disputes with the native populations, which included the Treaty of Fond du Lac in 1826.

249 Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs*, Chapter 16.

250 Ibid.

251 Ibid.

Chapter Four: July to September 1826

A United States Delegation Comes to Town

In his official capacity, Henry was stuck between the desires of his family and community and the mandate of the government that employed him. The government faced problems as they attempted to settle a large, foreign population in land already inhabited by Aboriginal peoples. Treaties were, in theory, legal compromises between these groups which assured the rights of both parties. The negotiations for one of these treaties had been planned at Fond du Lac for the summer of 1826. Henry now had the opportunity to demonstrate his professional competence to his community and superiors by attempting to reconcile the rights of his wife's family and community with the mandate of the United States government.

In his published memoirs, McKenny records of this treaty, that the United States delegation “landed at the Sault at one o'clock on the morning of the 4th of July. And opposite the buildings owned and occupied, as we learned, by Mr. Johnson. The morning was dark and cold.”²⁵² Shortly after their initial arrival, the crew proceeded to their “lodgings at a house kept by a Mr. Harris,” which they had to “pass the fort, [travelling towards Lake Superior] the pickets of which are in the river, and go on up the current for at least half a mile further on” to reach.²⁵³ The next morning, McKenny, as part of the official delegation, was “politely and hospitably received by Col. Lawrence, the commanding officer, and by the entire garrison; by Mr. Johnson, the patriarch of the

252 McKenny mistakenly records Johnston as Johnson (a fairly common mistake amongst Mr. Johnston's contemporaries) but from his description there can be no mistake that it the Johnston family to which he refers. See McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour*, 172-173.

253 Ibid, 173.

Sault, Mr. Schoolcraft and others.”²⁵⁴ In the late Spring and early Summer Henry had been busy preparing for the delegation. He wrote on July 4, 1826:

The proposed treaty of Fond du Lac has filled the place with bustle for the last month. At an early hour this morning expectation was gratified by the arrival of His Excellency, Gov. Cass, accompanied by the Hon. Thomas L. McKenny, Commissioner of Indian Affairs. They reached the village in boats from Mackinac.²⁵⁵

Henry added that “These gentlemen are appointed by the President to hold the conferences at Fond du Lac.”²⁵⁶ As a Quaker, McKenny approached interactions with Aborigines differently than many of his contemporaries, and would be criticized for his views by American officials, and eventually by President Andrew Jackson himself, for his belief that Aborigines were equal to whites. McKenny's account of his time at Sault Ste. Marie and of the treaty negotiations at Fond du Lac provide a unique insight into the

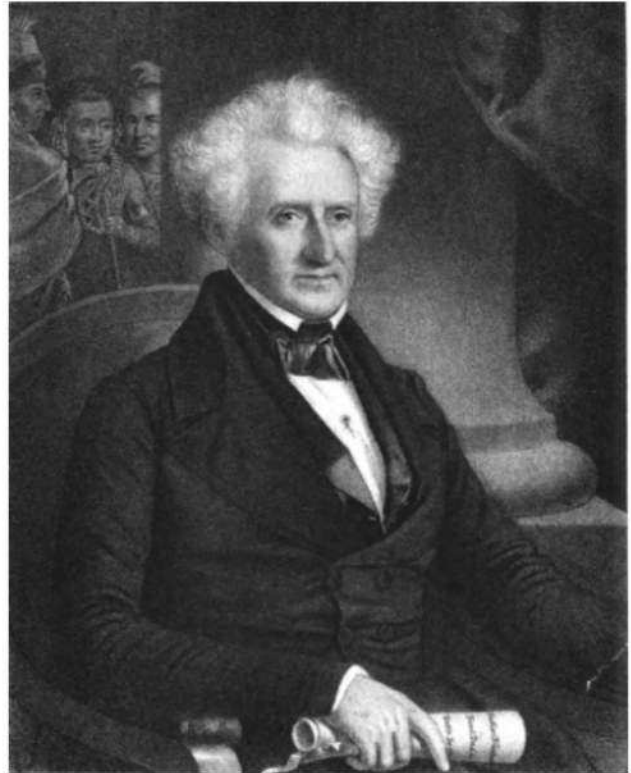


Fig. 11. *Author's Likeness* (Portrait of McKenny). From: Frontispiece in Thomas L. McKenny, *Memoirs, Official and Personal; with Sketches of Travels Among the Northern and Southern Indians; embracing a war excursion, and description of scenes along the western borders.* (New York: Paine and Burgess, 1846): 1.

²⁵⁴ McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour*, 173.

²⁵⁵ Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs*, Chapter 16.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

Johnston family in 1826.

McKenny was Henry's boss, and he was coming to visit the house before the two proceeded to the negotiations. McKenny was enchanted by the Johnstons: "I can never forget the hospitable and polite attentions of this family."²⁵⁷ During the preparations at Sault Ste. Marie both the Johnstons and Schoolcrafts frequently hosted McKenny at their houses. McKenny even stayed with the Schoolcrafts while, the Schoolcrafts lived temporarily in the government-owned estate at Elmwood while the American delegation was in town. While At Elmwood, Henry hosted diners for the delegation. McKenny recorded that the "Governor and myself dined to-day with Mr. Schoolcraft, to whose politeness and his wife's courtesy, I am indebted for most agreeable quarters-- for here, although I have my pallet at our boarding house, I have been principally established."²⁵⁸ This was an important social interaction for Henry and Jane and her family impressed McKenny with their hospitality.

Although the Johnston house had regularly hosted guests and entertained European and American officials alike, this white presence was rare during most of Jane's life in Sault Ste. Marie. Henry demonstrated the rarity of these encounters, but also Jane's ability to thrive in them, which speaks too her up-bringing. Henry writes of his, Jane's and Willy's trip to New York in the winter of 1825 and "[t]he impressions made on society by our visit to New York, and the circles in which we moved".²⁵⁹ Henry framed it as his responsibility: "To introduce a descendant of one of the native race into society, as had been done by my choice, was not an ordinary event, and did not presuppose, it seems,

257 McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour*, 205.

258 Ibid, 205-206.

259 Schoolcraft would not read this letter until returning from the treaty negotiations in August See Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs*, Chapter 15.

ordinary independence of character.”²⁶⁰ While not entirely accurate for Jane, who had become accustomed to her father's guests, Henry's comments highlight that these social interactions with white people from outside the community were rare. Even in 1826, when the documentation is relatively abundant, these invaluable records made by people living outside of Sault Ste. Marie account for only a few weeks of the entire year and are not accurate in their representation of the power dynamics or cultural diversity of the region's inhabitants.

A Curious Dinner Party

McKenny was one of these Americans who recorded his meetings with the Johnston family during summer of 1826 while the United States Treaty delegation was in Sault Ste. Marie. Henry and McKenny had regularly corresponded since 1824, when McKenny had become the Superintendent of Indian Affairs. Their letters focused primarily on professional matters related to the department. While in Sault Ste. Marie, McKenny had the opportunity to become better acquainted with one of the towns he oversaw which included the opportunity to meet Jane and her family. In a letter written July 6, 1826, McKenny explained: “We spent this evening, I mean the Governor, Col. Croghan, and myself, at Mr. Schoolcraft's, where we met Mr. Johnson, the patriarch of the place, and his family, except his wife, who, though not of the party this evening, I have seen.”²⁶¹ At Elmwood, rather than the Johnston house, Henry and John hosted this event with Jane and her sisters Eliza, Charlotte, and Anna Maria.²⁶² McKenny was

260 Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs*, Chapter 15.

261 McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour*, 181.

262 Ibid, 186.

charmed by his hosts. After the dinner, he wrote that: “[a] personal acquaintance with Mr. J. and his family, I esteem to be among the most interesting circumstance of my, so far, agreeable travels.”²⁶³ This party, with McKenny being Henry's direct supervisor, and with Col. Croghan, who was capable of solving his dispute with Fort Brady, was an important one for Henry and the Johnston family proved equally skilled in their hospitality in this high stakes setting.

Whether McKenny was aware of it or not is unclear, but this dinner party on July 6, 1826 had a particularly curious group of guests. During the War of 1812 the Johnstons fought with the British forces at Michilimakinac against the Americans. Jane had accompanied her father to assist the British garrison that Croghan had besieged.²⁶⁴ Fighting on opposite sides, John and Croghan had both suffered losses during this battle. Part of the American company, albeit under Major Holmes, not Croghan, had been responsible for the raid on the Johnston homestead. This had been done in part as retaliation for John's participation in the capture of Michilimakinac for the British, when John, Mr. Crawford and Mr. Ermatinger had led “200 Canadian boatmen” and John had contributed “100 men armed and equipped at his own expense to the relief.”²⁶⁵ Col. Croghan perhaps remembered that Jane, with the help of a Miss Lafromboise, had helped nurse American soldiers after the battle. Although she was only thirteen years old, that John had brought Jane with him on this expedition demonstrates that Jane was capable of contributing to the war effort even at a young age.²⁶⁶ After she and Lafromboise helped mend one of the soldiers wounds, he was “sent on board the fleet, by a cartel and returned

263 McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour*, 181.

264 Schoolcraft, “Notes for Memoir of Mrs. Henry Rowe Schoolcraft,” 98.

265 Schoolcraft, “Memoir of John Johnston,” 65.

266 Schoolcraft, “Notes for Memoir of Mrs. Henry Rowe Schoolcraft,” 99.

to their friends.”²⁶⁷ It seems, from various sources, that John did not carry any grudge from the incident, save towards the British and American Governments who failed to compensate, him for the personal losses from the American raid on his stores.²⁶⁸ It was reported by some among the Johnston's guests that he often told the story of the events of the War of 1812.²⁶⁹ Many of his guests seemed aware that he had not been compensated for his losses, however, talk of the late war was, perhaps, avoided at this particular dinner.

McKenny alluded to a short story about John and Ozhaguscodaywayquay in a way that suggests that family history was a part of the evening's conversation. He recorded that John “has been in this country nearly forty years. His wife is a woman of the Chippeway, or, as it should be called, the *O-jib-wa* nation, and daughter of the famous *Wa-ba-jick*, the great chief formerly of *Le point*”.²⁷⁰ Unfortunately, he does not go into details about their dinner conversation, but the consistency between the accounts of other visitors to the Johnston house, and McKenny's casual references to the family's past suggests that he had been told the story of John and Ozhaguscodaywayquay's

267 Schoolcraft, “Notes for Memoir of Mrs. Henry Rowe Schoolcraft,” 99.

268 In his “Memoir of John Johnston” Henry Schoolcraft writes of Johnston that he was “Punctilious in exacting the respect due to himself, and sensitive to the point of honor, he was equally ready to extend the hand of friendship and reconciliation, and could never rest under the impression that he had been the first to provoke offence, or inflict injury.”(62)As evidence of this behaviour regarding the raiding of his stores, Henry records a local event which demonstrates that John Johnston did not seem to harbour ill-will to individuals for this incident, recording: “About this time [1825] one of the persons to whom he imputed the chief agency in instigation and leading on the troops to plunder his property during the war, was living at St. Mary's in a state of great poverty. Mr. Johnston took this occasion to enclose him his account for goods and provisions had, at various times, from his store, to considerable amount, in a letter of gift-which is the only way he *retaliated* the injuries received from this man.” See Schoolcraft, “Memoir of John Johnston,” 62, 82-83.

269 Bigsby and Anna Jameson both recorded similar stories surrounding the events of the War of 1812. Bigsby, *The Shoe and Canoe*, 127.; Anna Jameson, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada vol. II* (New York: Saunders and Otley, Conduit Street, 1838), 216.)

270 Bigsby also noted this story in 1824: “Mr. Johnson had married the daughter of a powerful Indian chief, residing on the south shore of Lake Superior, which, of course, brought him the friendship and trade of all his tribe. She was a portly, bustling, happy-looking creature, and had imbibed all her husband's notions; and she united to the open-handedness of the Indian the method and notableness of the Englishman.” See Bigsby, *The Shoe and Canoe*, 128.; McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour*, 181.

meeting. A story that seemed to be told to most of the Johnston's white guests over the years. McKenny described Jane in detail, and within the parameters of his own understandings of Aboriginals and women:

you would never believe it, except on her own confession, or upon some equally responsible testimony, were you to hear her converse, or see her beautiful, and some of them highly finished compositions, in both prose and poetry. You would not believe it, not because such attainments might not be universal, but because, from lack of the means necessary for their accomplishment, such cases are so rare. Mrs. S. is indebted, mainly, to her father, who is doatingly fond of her, for her handsome and polished acquirements. She accompanied him some years ago, before her marriage, to Europe; and has been the companion of his solitude, in all that related to mind, for he seems to have educated her for the sake of enjoying its exercise. The old gentleman, when in Edinburgh, had several proposition made to him to remain. The Dutchess of Devonshire, I think it was, would have adopted Mrs. Schoolcraft; and several propositions beside were made to settle upon her wealth and its distinctions-and his own friends and connexions joined to keep him among them by offers of great magnitude. But he told them he had married the daughter of a king in America, and although he appreciated, and was grateful for their offers to himself and his Jane, he must decline them, and return to his wife, who through such a variety of fortune, had been faithful and devoted to him. Mrs. Schoolcraft is, I should judge, about twenty-two years of age,- she would be an ornament to any society; and with better health, for at present she enjoys this great blessing but partially, would take a first rank among the best improved, whether in acquirements, in taste, or in the graces.²⁷¹

McKenny was impressed by the social status and hospitality of his hosts, and gave a detailed account of both. He demonstrates that even as a visitor to the region, he could recognize Ozhaguscodaywayquay's position within the community and the power she held within both her immediate and extended families. After his physical description of Ozhaguscodaywayquay,²⁷² McKenny described her position in the Sault Ste. Marie region:

-whilst she vies with her generous husband in his hospitality to strangers. She understands, but will not speak English. As to influence, there is not chief in the

271 McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour*, 184-186.

272 See Chapter 2, pg. 45.

Chippeway nation who exercises it, when necessary for her to do so, with equal success. This has been often tested, but especially at the treaty of cession at this place, in 1820. Governor Cass, the commissioner, was made fully sensible of her power then- for, when every evidence was given that the then pending negotiation would issue not only by a resistance on the part of the Indians to the propositions of the commissioner, but in a serious rupture, she, at this critical moment, sent for some of the principal chiefs, directing that they should, to avoid the observation of the great body of Indians, make a circuit, and meet her in an avenue at the back of her residence, and there, by her luminous exposition of their own weakness, and the power of the United States; and by assurances of the friendly disposition of the government towards them, and of their own mistaken views of the entire object of the commissioner, produced a change which resulted, on that same evening, in the conclusion of a treaty.²⁷³

By marrying Jane Henry had cemented familial ties with the influential Ozhaguscodaywayquay. Conversely, Ozhaguscodaywayquay was able to use this connection with her son-in-law, living under her roof, to advocate for her people.

When the garrison arrived in Sault Ste. Marie in 1822, Ozhaguscodaywayquay demonstrated her political authority to the American government by convincing her people to allow the fort to be built, despite the fact the Americans had chosen to build it on a sacred burial site. She was a spokesperson for her people during this process as well as during the treaty negotiations during the two months that followed this dinner at Elmwood. While Henry often talked about his authority in the community, in 1826 he held much less sway than his mother-in-law. Without Ozhaguscodaywayquay's consent the inability of the United States government to back up their authority in the area would have been revealed. McKenny wrote after the dinner party that:

I have heard Governor Cass say that he felt himself then, and does yet, under the greatest obligations to Mrs. J. for her co-operation at that critical moment; and that the United States are debtor to her, not only on account of that act, but on many others.- She has never been known in a single instance, to council her people but in accordance with her conceptions of what was best for them, and

²⁷³ McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour*, 182-184.

never in opposition to the views of the government. Her Indian name is *Oshauguscodaywaygua*.²⁷⁴

McKenny draws attention to Ozhagusodaywayquay's propensity for political compromise: by combining the needs of her community with the desires of the American government she was able to negotiate what was best for her people. Jane would have served an important role in these negotiations, as well, especially when things became tense, as she bridged the political gap between Ozhagusodaywayquay and Henry through familial ties. While the negotiations followed an official process, living in the same house would have given Ozhagusodaywayquay and Henry a great deal of time to discuss the politics in which they both played a role. This dinner party with John, Henry, McKenny and Cass present served as an important precursor to the more formal treaty negotiations that would take place over the Summer. Ozhagusodaywayquay's absence at this party is conspicuous, but this was a busy time for the inhabitants of Sault Ste. Marie and she may simply have been occupied elsewhere.

The Ojibway Maid

As reflected in his account, McKenny was charmed by the Johnston family. In a letter describing the dinner to his wife, he implied that she had some previous familiarity with Jane: "Of Mrs. Schoolcraft you have heard. She is wife, you know, to H.R. Schoolcraft, Esq., author of travels and other works of great merit, and Indian agent at this place."²⁷⁵ After dinner, McKenny was treated to the famous Johnston hospitality. After dinner festivities were expected in upper-class circles in the anglo-American world

²⁷⁴ McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour*, 184.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 184.

at the time. They involved music performed by family members, story telling, and poetry readings in the parlour after dinner. The medium was representative of European customs, but the content included stories from the Johnston daughters maternal line, and thus reflected the distinct cultural blend of the Johnston family.

Even in their mother's absence, the Johnston girls demonstrated her teachings. That they shared their maternal traditions with their anglophone guests demonstrates the significance of these stories in the Johnston daughters lives, and demonstrates how they presented their unique culture to American guests. In particular, the content and various versions of a poem about romance between an Ojibway woman and an American man entitled the "Ojibway Maid," indicative of their upbringing. McKenny recorded that "I have heard this little song sung in both the original and its version. The airs are different; both are plaintive, and both sweet, but that in which the original is sung is the wildest."²⁷⁶

McKenny recorded both:

Original of the O-jib-way Maid.

Aun dush ween do win ane
Gitchy Mocomau aince
Caw auzhaw woh da modé
We yea, yea haw ha! &c.

Wah yaw burn maud e
Ojibway quainee un e
We maw jaw need e
We yea, yea haw ha! & c.

Omowe maun e
We nemoshain yun
We maw jaw need e
We yea, yea haw ha! &c.

Caw ween gush shâ ween

²⁷⁶ McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour*, 186.

Kin wainyh e we yea
O guh maw e maw seen
 We yea, yea haw ha! &c.

Me gosh shâ ween e yea
Ke bish quaw bum maud e
Tehe won ain e maud e
 We yea, yea haw ha! &c.²⁷⁷

Accompanied by a literal translation:

Why! What's the matter with the young American? He crosses the river with tears in his eyes! He sees the young Ojibway girl preparing to leave the place: he sobs for his sweetheart, because she is going away! But he will not sigh long for her, for as soon as he is out of her sight, he will forget her.²⁷⁸

McKenny was excited to obtain the various versions of “Ojibway Maid” he was presented with, particularly by “Mrs. Schoolcraft [who] had obligingly favoured me with the original, and with her *literal* translation of it, in prose”:

That stream, along whose bosom bright,
With joy I've seen your bark appear;
You cross, no longer, with delight,
Nor I, with joy, your greeting hear.

And can such cause, alone, draw tears
From eyes, that always smil'd before?
Of parting—can it be the fears;
Of parting now-- to meet no more?

But heavily though now you sigh;
And tho' your griefs be *now* sincere,
To find our dreaded parting nigh,
And bid farewell to pleasure dear--

When o'er the waters, wide and deep,
Far—thine Ojibway Maid shall be,
New loves will make you please to weep,
Nor e'er again, remember me!²⁷⁹

²⁷⁷ McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour*, 187.

²⁷⁸ Ibid, 187.

²⁷⁹ Ibid, 186-188.

This tale represents the liminality of Sault Ste. Marie in the 1820s. The fact that the man in this tale is American is revealing. A generation earlier a French, English, or even an Irish man, like John, would have been more representative. Although the Johnstons were entertaining McKenny in the European fashion, McKenny was, unknowingly, being presented the story in a traditional Anishnabee medium. Music, repetition, tone, and emphasis are all very significant to the Anishnabee oral tradition. By being told this story in various ways, by different tellers, each of whom chose to emphasize different aspects of it, is reflective of the way the girls had grown up hearing stories from their mother and her family. They went so far as to teach McKenny several versions, and McKenny made distinctions between hearing it sung in both languages by Charlotte, who “sings with the most enchanting effect,” as well as the poetic license Jane took in her prosaic retelling.²⁸⁰

The changes in the 1820s can be seen as generational shifts between the Johnstons and the Schoolcrafts, demonstrated by McKenny's differing accounts of his time spent at Elmwood and the Johnston house. After this initial dinner at Elmwood, hosted by Jane and Henry, McKenny spent another evening at the Johnston house. On this occasion: “Our generous friend, Mr. J. gave us a dinner to-day, at which, besides the Governor and myself, were some of the officers of the garrison.”²⁸¹ Unlike at Elmwood, McKenny went into detail about the food served at the Johnston house and its preparation, writing:

Here the domestic skill of the family was discovered. The variety, the cooking, and the exquisite preparation of the *beaver's tail*, that nice morsel which could not be dispensed with even in Lent, and when to make it matter of safety in eating it, the question was referred to the *Sorbonne*; and the privilege to eat it granted:--all was prepared in a style that would vie with the skill of the professed cooks in

280 McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour*, 186.

281 *Ibid*, 201.

Washington—yet it was all prepared by Mrs. J. and her daughters. We were regaled also with fine wines—but chief, and in my esteem more valuable than all the rest, with a warm and generous welcome, and an intellectual display on the part of the old patriarch, that would have done honour to those clubs of which Addison, and Steele, and Parnell and others, formed part.²⁸²

While Henry's quarrel with the commanding officers at Fort Brady likely contributed to their absence at Elmwood, the always diplomatic John seemed to have no problem hosting them at his own home. The differences between generations is shown demonstrated by the differences in McKenny's descriptions, as well as by the meal itself. McKenny, usually fond of describing food in great detail, did not write about the food he received at Elmwood.

Given McKenny's usual emphasis on food he saw as being authentic to the region, it seems this meal was more similar to his usual fare further south, and therefore did not warranting a lengthy description. However, it is telling that his meal is recorded at the Johnston house, and that Ozhaguscodaywayquay was assisted by her daughter in preparing authentic dishes. It was not that Jane was unable to cook in the same manner as her mother, but Henry, who would have retained some of his own childhood tastes, would have influenced what Jane cooked and ate after their marriage, particularly when entertaining Henry's superiors. In this case, this may have been a mistake on Henry's part as McKenny seemed quite fond of beaver tail. McKenny also mentioned that John's health was temporarily improved while the American delegation was in Sault Ste. Marie, but sadly would decline again once they embarked.

McKenny's account of the Johnston family in 1826 is an invaluable insights to the

²⁸² McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour*, 201.

dynamic of the Johnston family and their ability to entertain using American manners. However, McKenny's own cultural background shaped his writing, which made him unable to recognize the importance of Anishnabee customs to society in Sault Ste. Marie. The day before their departure, McKenny reported that “We are all in a stir, preparing to be off—though I am sorry to say the Governor is not well, nor has he been for two or three days. Our barges have ascended the rapids.”²⁸³ Watching the barges depart on this final evening, McKenny further demonstrated the significance of Ozhaguscodaywayquay's customs for the Johnston family:

After dinner I paid a visit to Mr. Johnson. He has presented me with the skin of a Wa-ba-jick— of the White Fisher. “This,” said Charlotte, as she handed it to me, “is *my grand father*—at least in name.” I inquired if this animal was the *totem* of his band—and was answered, “no,” and informed that “the totem of his band was the rein-deer.”²⁸⁴

McKenny demonstrated his own understanding of the importance of totems as: “This totem among the Indians, appears to me to be something like the binding obligations of brotherhood that unite the masons—though, perhaps, it may exceed even these in its practical influences.”²⁸⁵ While McKenny was better informed than most, he was still ignorant many Aboriginal beliefs and social practices, and was a product of popular American thought at the time.

283 McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour*, 198.

284 Ibid, 198.

285 Ibid, 198.

“It was easy to see that they had yielded the contest for supremacy”

Before leaving Sault Ste. Marie, McKenny wrote to his wife, alluding to James Cooper's popular *Rise of the Mohicans* to help her imagine his time at with the Johnstons. Before signing the letter he “leave[s] you to imagine how deep was the wisdom that devised, and how binding and humane the policy that confirmed its sacredness, *among the Indians.*”²⁸⁶ McKenny's account of Sault Ste. Marie was probably influenced by these depictions of Aboriginal culture in the popular romantic style of the time, as well as by his position as an American official. The majority of the American delegation departed



Fig. 12. Fig. 12. *Key Way No Wut or going Cloud*. From: McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour to the Lakes*, 326-327.

from Sault Ste. Marie for the Fond du Lac treaty negotiations on July 10, 1826. In his journal, Henry clearly states that the Americans tried to demonstrate their self-perceived governmental and racial superiority, while simultaneously acknowledging white encroachment onto aboriginal lands since 1820. Henry wrote of American officials, and sixty-five individuals of various positions within the military, that “The whole expedition, with flags and music, was spread out over miles, and formed an impressive and imposing spectacle to the

²⁸⁶ McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour*, 198.; James Fenimore Cooper, *The Last Rise of the Mohicans* (SUNY Press, 1826).

natives, who saw their 'closed lake,' as Superior was called in 1820, yield before the Anglo-Saxon power."²⁸⁷ Yet, despite these strong words, the negotiation of this treaty recorded by both Henry and McKenny seems to contradict this intrinsic sense of superiority.

McKenny's observations about the Aboriginal inhabitants at Sault Ste. Marie during July 1826 demonstrated his feelings about the influence of the white population in the area. While observing the American soldiers being drilled by Col. Croghan, he noted: "The Indians... assembled to witness these manoeuvrings. It was easy to see that they had yielded the contest for supremacy. They looked as if they believed the white man had got the ascendancy."²⁸⁸ However, he gives no reasons for these feelings and merely describes the population settled next to the Johnston home, as "They sat in groups on the green, upon their hams, as is their custom, their bodies naked, with a blanket round their hips, smoking their pipes- silent but watchful."²⁸⁹ His reason to see this behaviour as demonstrating submissiveness to the American presence is unstated. Publishing these sentiments clearly fulfilled part of his mandate at the Indian Office. In reality, McKenny described a situation where the fort's neighbours watched the events of the day as the American soldiers acted in an unusual manner and fired guns next to the Anishnabee summer settlement, located, between Fort Brady and the Johnston house.

The limitations of both Henry's and McKenny's cultural understandings, and the fact that they both published, in part, to advance their own careers, gave an anglo-American slant to their representations of Sault Ste. Marie in 1826 that did not in reality,

287 Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs*, Chapter 16.

288 McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour*, 180.

289 Ibid, 180.

exist. Their lack of cultural understanding led to an inability to recognize parallel structures between Anishnabee and American culture. Upon his inspection of Fort Brady, McKenny was impressed by “This school, which is within the fort, is under the direction of a committee of officer, who prepare or revise the rules for its government, and visit it, &c.-- the whole subject to the approval of the commanding officer.”²⁹⁰ On his tour, he noted:

The school is kept by a Mr. M Cleary, a non-commissioned officer of the post, and a most interesting appendage truly, it is to the fort. Their system is Lancasterian in part, but is, in my opinion, in some particulars, at least, an improvement upon it. For example-- the pupils is not only required to spell the word correctly, but to give its own derivation, or meaning. A given number of words being written on a slate, they are called over by the monitor, when the meaning will be given by the dictator, until the meaning of every word is comprehended by each member of the class. This mode of acquiring the definition along with correct orthography, is important. Every body knows how forcible are right words-but these cannot be used with certainty of effect, without a right knowledge of their import.²⁹¹

This school served the children of those who worked at the fort, and was the first of its kind in the area. Focused on teaching literature, it was a small school: “The examinations in geography and astronomy, were highly creditable—indeed, striking, there being only two of the twenty-four scholars, over ten years of age.”²⁹² Almost painfully, McKenny praises these two subjects in particular, while down-playing the knowledge of local Aboriginal experts of both geography and astronomy, though particularly the latter was understood in vastly different ways. Elsewhere in his account, McKenny is impressed by the knowledge and skills of the Anishnabee, but failed to recognize the importance of their education structures. The school at Fort Brady answered directly to the commanding

290 McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour*, 178.

291 Ibid, 178-179.

292 Ibid, 178-179.

officer, and McKenny's account served as propaganda for its effectiveness, as did the less than subtle calls for nation-building in the transparencies of the Schoolmaster, Mr. Cleary, which McKenny transcribed.

The school at Fort Brady demonstrates the mindset of the American government in their approach to treaty making. These transparencies were used to inspire patriotism in America and the material would not seem out of place in the political discourse of the United States in 2015:

Mr. M Cleary, besides being well qualified to conduct so important and interesting an establishment, is a man of genius. We were shown two emblematical transparencies which he had prepared in honour of the fiftieth anniversary of our independence. One of them represents a soldier of the United States army, embracing a Chippeway Indian chief, dressed in the costume of his nation, and in the centre of the picture is an eagle, with a scroll from his beak, having on it,-- "*Washington and Lafayette*" --and this motto:

"We are a firm and solid brotherhood,
Which neither treachery from within, nor
Assaults from without, can dissolve."

The other is an emblematic scroll, having on it,

"NATIONAL JUBILEE,
Fiftieth
ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.
"*From a feeble infancy she has grown to a giant size, and a giant's strength.*" And, "*Here may the oppressed of every country find a refuge, and the industrious a home.*" And, "*Our agriculture had reduced the wilderness to submission.*"²⁹³

The American government and its employees held fast to an early-American idealism, their policies were poorly informed.

During in his tour of the educational facilities on the base, McKenny despite his position in the government failed to acknowledge the education process he bore witness

²⁹³ McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour*, 178-179.

to outside the fort's walls. The divide between these two systems would only become more apparent after the establishment of Boarding Schools in the United States, and Residential Schools in Canada later in the century. For the Anishnabee, the winter months were devoted to immediate family members and the passing down of household skills and life-way patterns through story telling. In Summer, when there were more American officials in the area who wrote about their experiences, the people of Sault Ste. Marie spent their time in larger family groups, and to focus their efforts on subsistence rather than education. For the Johnston children, it was a time when their mother's "immediately extended family" was settled only metres from their home.

The sights recorded by McKenny would have been familiar to residents of the Johnston home as their relatives began the open-water fishing season. Anishnabee children reinforced their own kinship and friendship networks, as well as honing fishing skills. McKenny watched a group of children play a game, now known widely as lacrosse:

The little naked Indian boys, and hardly better clad girls, were meanwhile sporting over the green, playing ball—*bag-gat-iway*, caring no more about the military, than the military cared about them. This ball-playing is not unlike our game of *bandy*. We strike the ball, you know, with a little stick, curved at one; they catch it up with a dexterity which for my life I could not imitate, with a stick, having a little pocket at one end, about twice the size of the ball, and made of net-work. The materials of the pocket is generally deer-skin, cut into strings. The pocket is about two inches deep. With this, and when in full run, they strike the ball, and dexterously take it up, flourish it over their heads, and run, and throw it, as they think proper, when the whole group give chase to overtake it, flourish it over their heads, and run, and throw it, as they think proper, when the whole group give chase and overtake it, and change its direction. These boys and girls are nimble as fawns, and fleet as the wind.²⁹⁴

This demonstrates McKenny's misunderstanding of Anishnabee culture, because he did

²⁹⁴ McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour*, 180-181.

not recognize that this game as an educational process in its own right. During these summer months, spent in larger social groups, the children underwent another form of education through playing with others. These months of plenty, with it the abundance of available fish and other foods, saw increased social interactions within the village, creating meaningful, and often life-long, connections. For the Johnston children, this meant time spent with their uncles, aunts, and cousins. That many of the Johnston children were also able to fish in the manner of the Anishnabee, and perform other traditional skills, as observed by McKenny, points to interactions between the Johnston children and their mother's family, and to the children's participation in this summer training.

McKenny recognized the Johnston daughters' ability to entertain in a European fashion, but also, observed their knowledge of Anishnabee tales, language, and cooking practices. For the Johnstons, these two worlds existed in one house, and they relied on both to maintain their status within their community. As an outsider, McKenny was not able to draw a parallel between the actions involved in lacrosse and the skills required to fish the rapids of the river. McKenny recorded fishing practices on St. Mary's in a similar fashion to his description of lacrosse, and highlighted the importance of fish to all at Sault Ste. Marie:

The white fish is taken by both whites and Indians with a scoop net, which is fastened to a pole about ten feet long. It is hardly possible to me to describe the skill with which the Indians take these fish. But I will try. Two of them go out in a bark canoe, that you could take in your hand like a basket, and in the midst of the rapids, or rather just below where they pitch and foam most. One sits near the stern, and paddles; the other stands in the bow, and with the dexterity of a wire dancer, balance this "egg-shell," that you or I would be certain to turn over in our attempts to keep steady. When a fish is seen through the water, which is clear as

crystal, the place is indicated by the man with the net, when, by a dexterious and quick motion of the paddle, by the Indian holding it, he shoots the canoe to the spot, or within reach of it, when the net is thrown over the fish, and it is scooped up, and thrown into the canoe—meanwhile the eye of the person in the stern is kept steadily fixed upon the breakers, and the eddy, and whirl, and fury, of the current; and the little frail bark is made to dance among them, lightsome as a cork; or is shot away into a soother place, or kept stationary by the motion of that single paddle, as circumstances may require it. It is not possible to look at these fisherman Indians, and Canada French, and even boys and girls, flying about over these rapids, and reaching out this pole with a net to it, without a sensation of terror. Yet is has scarcely ever happened that any of them are lost; and I believe never, unless when they have been drunk.²⁹⁵

This points to the fact that, despite the pomp and ceremony of the American delegation's departure, when they left, life for the longer-standing population at Sault Ste. Marie carried on as it had done for generations. The skills that McKenny described in such detail needed to be passed on to the children so that they could fish for themselves. This was an educational process in itself and as the seasons changed, so too did the lessons. While McKenny was eager to point out the merits of the rigid Lancasterian system of the garrison school, he was oblivious to the wider educational processes taking place around him. McKenny recorded what he perceived as the racial superiority of the white settlers and Aboriginal submissiveness to the American government, while simultaneously describing instances where whites had adapted to Anishnabee customs in order to survive and confirm with the established community.

Life Continues On

While this summer was special, because of the treaty negotiations, like any other summer in Sault Ste. Marie it was an important time for fishing. The importance of

²⁹⁵ McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour*, 193.

fishing to the community was emphasized by McKenny's comparison of fish and maple sugar as staples to the people of the St. Mary's River. McKenny recorded: "the first are taken in great quantities, and in two seasons. One commences in May, and continues until the first of August; the other begins about the first of September, and continues till frost."²⁹⁶ As with sugar, the fishing season was no longer just observed by the Aborigines: "But for this beneficent provision of a kind Providence, it would not be possible for people to live here. Both the whites and the Indians derive the chief of their subsistence from this inexhaustible source."²⁹⁷ After the departure of the delegation for Fond du Lac, the summer fishery was in full swing throughout the summer and fall of 1826.

Thanks was given for this resource in a similar manner as it was for maple sugar in the Spring. After this time of plenty, the Autumn thanksgiving ceremonies had a noticeably more up-beat theme than those in the Spring:

AUTUMN THANKSGIVING

The roses
Enflamed the meadows
With whites and scarlets.

The robins
Filled the summer days
With their songs.

The whitefish
Flashed their silvered tails
In lakes and streams.

The corn

²⁹⁶ McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour*, 192-193.

²⁹⁷ Ibid, 192-193.

Waxed firm and tall
In sun and rain

The deer
Grew sleek and fat
Upon the grasses.

Our stores are full
Our medicines are strong
Our weapons are worn
Our spirits are glad
Kitche Manitou has been kind.²⁹⁸

In a similar fashion to maple sugar, the significance of whitefish to Anishnabee people on the banks of the St. Mary's River was demonstrated in their givings thanks for it through prayer. Whitefish was a staple for these people in the 1820s and 1830s.²⁹⁹ There was less demand for this fish on the market in the 1820s and 1830s as there was for maple sugar. The cost of shipping barrels of fish to populated areas would have priced it out of the market with fishing industries elsewhere.³⁰⁰

Just as thanks was given for maple sap in the Spring, so were the gifts of summer celebrated in the Autumn thanksgiving ceremonies. Corn and deer are mentioned in this ceremony, but only after appreciation is expressed for the white fish. Although it did not fetch as much money in 1826, it was essential for surviving on the St. Mary's River.

McKenny describes white-fish as:

298 Johnston, *Ojibway Heritage*, 145.

299 Bigsby, *The Shoe and Canoe*, 127.

300 Although less lucrative in the 1820s, by the 1830s there was an economic shift towards large-scale exportation of fish, as recorded by Anna Jameson: "The enormous quantities caught here, and in the bays and creeks round Lake Superior, remind me of herrings in the lochs of Scotland; besides subsisting the inhabitants, whites and Indians, during great part of the year, vast quantities are cured and barrelled every fall, and sent down to the eastern states. Not less than eight thousand barrels were shipped last year." Jameson noted the start to a reversal in this trend in the latter-half of the nineteenth-century, when commercial fishing was an economic trade staple for the area, and the commercialization of mass scale sugar industry had diminished the competition of maple sugar prices. See Anna Jameson, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada vol. III* (New York: Saunders and Otley, Conduit Street, 1838), 179.; Doherty, "Old-Time Origins," 166.

This fish being, in the universal estimation, the finest that swims, I have procured a perfect drawing of one, and inclose it herewith. It resembles our shad, except its head, which is smaller and more pointed. The one from which this likeness was taken, weighed four pounds. Their weight varies from this to ten, and sometimes fourteen pounds. The meat is as white as the breast of a partridge; and the bones are less numerous and larger than in our shad. I never tasted any thing of the fish kind, not even excepting my Oneida trout, to equal it. It is said they do not retain this character after being salted; in this respect our shad and salmon have the preference. I never felt the comfort of a good meal more thoroughly in all my life;³⁰¹

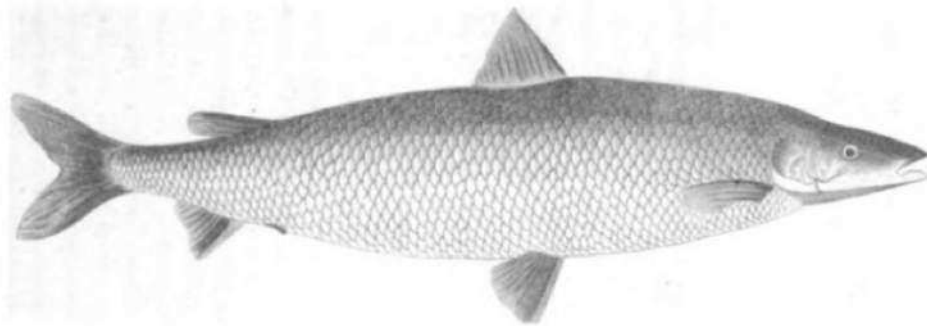


Fig. 13. *White Fish*. From: McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour to the Lakes*,

McKenny had first tasted the fish at 2 o'clock in the morning of July 4, when he first arrived in Sault Ste. Marie: "I was seated before a large fire in the kitchen, with my great coat on, and was not warmed for half an hour. Meanwhile preparations were going on to get us some refreshments, and among these was a *white fish*.³⁰² Anna Jameson, another visitor to the Johnston house, recorded that, "Henry declares that the flavour of the white-fish is 'beyond any comparison whatever,' and I add my testimony thereto—*probatum*

301 McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour*, 173.

302 *Ibid*, 173.

est!"³⁰³ Jameson was not an inexperienced source, as she points out "I have eaten tunny in the gulf of Genoa, anchovies fresh out of the bay of Naples, and trout of the Salzkammergut, and divers other fishy dainties rich and rare, -- but the exquisite, the refined white-fish, exceeds them all".³⁰⁴ She speaks to the reliance on it as a staple in Sault Ste. Marie and felt that after her time spent in the Johnston home, "I ought to be a judge, who have eaten them fresh out of the river four times a day, and I declare to you that I never tasted anything of the fish kind half so exquisite."³⁰⁵ The flavour came not just from the species of fish, but also from the geographic location: "There is no more comparison between the white-fish of the lower lakes and the white-fish of St. Mary's than between plaice and turbot, or between a clam and a Sandwich oyster."³⁰⁶ Jameson explains that "at the foot of the rapids, the celebrated white-fish of the lakes is caught in its highest perfection. The people down below,³⁰⁷ who boast of the excellence of the white-fish, really know nothing of the matter."³⁰⁸ Jameson recorded that: "It is said by Henry that people never tire of them."³⁰⁹ Henry even published, and read loud to his friends and family, a 98 line poem that he wrote about the white fish.³¹⁰ William MacMurray, who later married Charlotte Johnston, "tells me that he has eaten them every day of his life for seven years, and that his relish for them is undiminished."³¹¹ Bigsby, a visitor who tired of the reliance on this fish, recorded:

303 Ibid, 177.

304 Ibid., 177-178.

305 Ibid, 177.

306 Ibid, 177.

307 That is, in the neighbourhood of Lake Ontario and Lake Erie. [sic]

308 Jameson goes on at some length to demonstrate her full appreciation of the whitefish caught from the St. Mary's rapids. See Jameson, *Winter Studies* vol. III, 176-9.

309 Ibid, 178.

310 Henry Rowe Schoolcraft "The White Fish." *The Literary Voyager* No. 3, Sault Ste. Marie, (January 1827) in Schoolcraft, *The Literary Voyager*, 43-46.

311 Jameson, *Winter Studies* vol. III, 178.

Every place has its own peculiarity, I suppose. Here it was the correct thing to live almost solely upon white fish morning, noon, and night. Rich and delicately-flavoured as this food was at the first, in the end I loathed it, and for ten years afterwards could not see fish on the dinner-table without a shudder. White fish here varies from three to six pounds in weight. In Athabasca Lake they run to twenty pounds.³¹²

The fishing season would gain momentum as the water from Lake Superior warmed up in late July through August. After signing the Treaty of Fond du Lac on August 5, 1826, the delegation returned to Sault Ste. Marie. In Henry's absence, life for Jane and their son Willy had continued on as usual.

July and August was not only a time for fishing at Sault Ste. Marie. During 1826 Jane was overseeing the Johnston farms without the assistance of her mother or elder brother. Bigsby's observations point to another demonstration of change occurring in Sault Ste. Marie in the 1820s: the attempted shift towards large-scale agriculture as the predominate form of subsistence.³¹³ In both British North America and the United States, governments viewed large scale farming as a way to settle Aboriginal populations, as alluded to in Mr. Cleary's transparencies.³¹⁴ This shift would gain momentum with the establishment of Protestant missionaries on both sides of the river in the 1830s.³¹⁵ The fields described by Bigsby are in keeping with traditional forms of Aboriginal agriculture that were also adopted by metis families in the region.

Farming practices within the community also served to demonstrate the variety of cultural influences on the area. Often, the anglo-Americans attempted to establish their “more civilized” practices in the area. Yet these European and anglo-American

312 Bigsby, *The Shoe and Canoe*, 127.

313 Ibid, 125.

314 McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour*, 178-179.

315 Schoolcraft, “Memoir of John Johnston,” 73.

technologies seen as “more civilized” were often less effective in the region than were traditional practices. Bigsby commented that “Mr. Ermatinger built a windmill, in a vain attempt to induce the people to grow wheat. It is said that the cold mists and draughts from Lake Superior check the growth of corn”.³¹⁶ John had also brought with him some farming methods from his native land: “possessing a taste for agriculture, had rendered his place valuable, beyond the mere advantages it possessed as a fur station.”³¹⁷ On his farm, John grew a “little crop of wheat” and potatoes, as well as housed milk cows, and ox; animal husbandry was not practiced in North America before contact, and was rare in the area at the time.³¹⁸ In 1818, John was the first person in the area to to rely on an iron deep-plow pulled by oxen. In the traditional farming practices of the Anishnabee, annual crop rotation and strategic burning helped fertilize the soil. Meanwhile, John's more European-style establishment relied on practices such as pasturing animals and the expensive, and labour intensive, deep plow to fertilize his land.

The Johnston family, like the Ermatingers, successfully combined European understandings of capital with the fur trade, despite high credit costs, while also relying on traditional methods for subsistence. Ozhagusodaywayquay's knowledge was also relied on: for fishing, making of maple sugar, fur trading, gathering wild foods, and agriculture. Pursuits more commonly practiced in the area, including the reliance on the three sisters, were also practiced by Anishnabee women married to European men, where their established fields meant that European technologies needed to be used for fertilization. Farming, although approached in various ways, remained a constant in the

316 *Corn* in the last instance refers to wheat, not maize. See Bigsby, *The Shoe and Canoe*, 125.

317 Schoolcraft, “Memoir of John Johnston,” 73.

318 *Ibid*, 72.

lives of all the people of Sault Ste. Marie, as did fishing. Bigsby commented that: “The white and red inhabitant of St. Mary's live chiefly on white fish caught in hand-nets at the foot of the rapids”.³¹⁹

That Ermatinger's windmill did not entice the local population to grow wheat over their traditionally favoured corn (maize), suggests that this agriculture was not as new to the settlement as many English-speaking observers supposed. Agriculture, combined with fishing, hunting, and gathering, was used by all inhabitants in the area. There were others in the community, who accounted for what Bigsby describes as a “better class”, who wanted to incorporate some European practices with the methods native to the region, including both John Johnston and Ermatinger.

Farming and fishing bring the gender dynamics within the Johnston household into question. In many North American Aboriginal groups, fishing heavily relied on the efforts of the women. At Sault Ste. Marie, however, both men and women seem to have shared the fishing responsibilities. To many American observers, harvesting maple sugar, farming, fishing, and trade would have been perceived as male tasks, but this was not the case in Sault Ste. Marie. The records created by Europeans at the time often failed to recognize the important role played by women in the community, and only highlight the participation of Johnston women in activities that the recorders saw as suitable for women.

319 Bigsby, *The Shoe and Canoe*, 125.

Male or female, Aboriginal, metis, or white, the residents of Sault Ste. Marie retained aspects of their traditional culture while simultaneously adopting useful methods they were exposed too by outsiders. The influx of settlers, and the declined fur trade, had altered the traditional techniques of the region in accordance with wider markets. As demonstrated by John Johnston and Ermatinger in their farming practices, new technology was not necessarily better, and the increasing population of immigrants began to change the practices of the local inhabitants on a larger scale only after 1826. While European descendants often brought new technologies, they ultimately relied on many of the original inhabitants' traditional methods to survive. This disconnect between government ideals and the practiced reality created a political and legal structure that was binding but that limited the ability of Aboriginal peoples to survive as they had for generations.

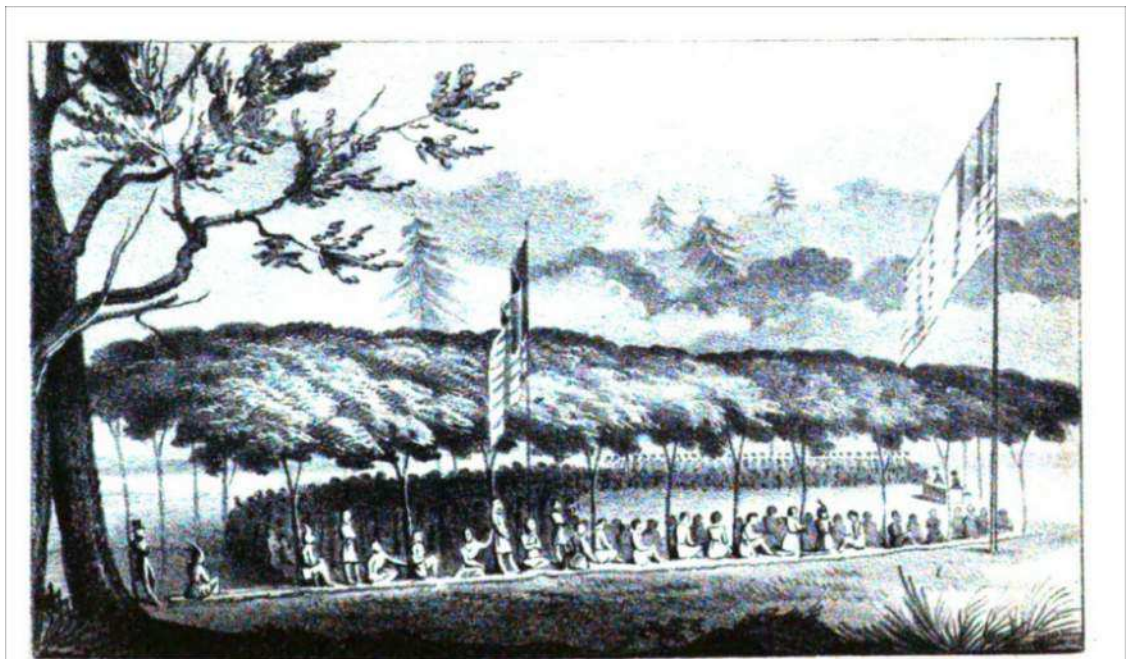


Fig. 14. *Grand Council at Lac du Fond*. From: McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour to the Lakes*, 310-311.

Results of the Treaty

Henry's sense of the superiority of the United States at times seems like willful ignorance. He wrote at the conclusion of the Treaty of Fond du Lac, that the aboriginal congregation “fully acknowledged the sovereign authority of the United States, and disclaimed all connection whatever with foreign powers.”³²⁰ Despite this claim, his later records of interactions with the Aboriginal population are filled with complaints from Henry that the people of this treaty continued their regular dealings with the British at Drummond Island.³²¹ After the negotiations, Henry, in a telling display of his modesty, wrote that “[m]y agency was now fixed on a sure basis, and my influence fully established among the tribes. During the treaty I had been the medium of placing about forty silver medals, of the first, second, and third classes, on the necks of the chiefs.”³²²

Henry believed that these acts, and the treaty, had assured his position and gained him respect, which allowed him to remain in Sault Ste. Marie and helped to secure his family's status.

Henry and McKenny spent some time with Jane and her family on Lake Superior, returning at 5 o'clock in the afternoon on August

The military is composed of	
Elijah Boardman, Captain commanding.	
Julius J. B. Kingsbury, second Lieutenant.	
Doctor Pitcher, Surgeon.	
Commissioned officers,	3
Non-commissioned do. (sergeants)	5
Corporals,	8
Musicians,	4
Privates,	48
Mr. Hulbert and Thos. Edwards, }	Sutler's clerks, 2
Total,	65

Fig. 15. “McKenny's Military Delegation Census.” From: McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour to the Lakes*, 209.

320 Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs*, Chapter 16.

321 Ibid, Chapter 17.

322 Ibid, Chapter 16.

18, 1826. The day after their arrival (Saturday August 19, 1826), McKenny wrote: “We have been politely visited by Colonel Lawrence and the officers of the garrison; and on returning to it, a salute of fifteen guns was fired, which you will, of course, understand to have been in honour of the Governor.”³²³ Upon arriving in Sault Ste. Marie, McKenny shared Henry's optimism over the recent treaty. He wrote that “Many prejudices against the people of the United States, of whom they knew nothing before, are dissipated; and feelings of friendship are produced.”³²⁴ While optimistic at first, there were definite peculiarities in this treaty, and given the climate in Washington it was unlikely to ever be ratified by Congress. However, its signing helped to repair Henry's image after his recent drama with Fort Brady, and had given him the opportunity to publicly display his connection to the power of the United States government.

Patricia Monture and Patricia McGuire have examined Aboriginal women's voices in literature, and have pointed out that the written records describe Aboriginal women as being seen as idle in the absence of men.³²⁵ But during Henry's trip to Fond du Lac, Jane kept busy as she oversaw the homestead's inhabitants, labourers, crops, animals, and the all important fishing activities of the season while her mother, husband and brother were all absent. With the treaty signed, showing hospitality to the American delegation became a less of a priority. Especially in August of 1826, there was much work to be caught up on with her family's arrival. McKenny wrote that:

On my way up, I was, as I wrote you, most obligingly and pleasantly accommodated at the house of my friend Mr. Schoolcraft—but finding, on my return, to my regret, that his amiable and interesting wife was much indisposed, I

323 McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour*, 369.

324 Ibid, 328.

325 Patricia A Monture and Patricia D. McGuire, *First Voices an Aboriginal Women's Reader* (Toronto: Inanna and Education Inc., 2009): 1.

could not think of adding any thing to her cares, which must have been the case had I resumed the occupancy of the room which had been provided for me.³²⁶

There is evidence that suggests that Henry did not conduct these treaty negotiations with the best intentions of the Aboriginal population in mind and that Governor Cass and McKenny were not concerned about his lack of good faith. Ozhaguscodaywayquay seems to have picked up on this fact, and would make reference to it in December 1826, which may have led to tension in the Johnston house.

During these negotiations, Henry thought that he had realized his long hoped for goal of opening up mining on lands reserved for the use of Aboriginals. In this treaty “The Chippewa tribe grant to the government of the United States the right to search for, and carry away, any metals or minerals from any part of their country. But this grant is not to affect the title of the land, nor the existing jurisdiction over it.”³²⁷ Upon his arrival to the area, Henry had sought to integrate more European-like economic practices. A product of his time, he looked to industrialization, believing that the rich wells of mineral resources in the area (particularly copper) should be the region's economic staple moving forward. Henry had hoped to mine the area for these resources since his arrival and much of his correspondence with American officials pointed to this eagerness. Henry also thought that mining would support further immigration.³²⁸

Henry made efforts to establish his own influence, and to legislate trade in the

326 McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour*, 372.

327 “Treaty with the Chippewa, 1826 [Aug. 5, 1826. Stat. 7, 290. Proclamation, Feb. 7, 1827].” In *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties Vol. II.* Edited by Charles J. Kappler. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904.

328 Copper was a growing industry in the United States, one which export increase from \$101 856.00 between 1811-1820 to \$477 018.00 in 1821-1830. See Republican Campaign Text Book, Republican Congressional Committee, (January 1, 1892), 245.

area, but also used the treaty negotiations as an opportunity to assure he and Jane's family maintained their position in the community. He recorded in his journal on August 20, 1826, that: "Mr. Robert Stuart, agent of the A.M. Fur Co., writes a letter of congratulations on the good policy to result from placing a sub-agent at La Pointe, in Lake Superior, a location where the interior tricks of the trade may be reported for the notice of the government."³²⁹ Henry is quick to add that to Mr. Stuart, "The selection of the sub-agent appointed by Commissioner McKenny is gall and wormwood to him. He strives to conceal the deep chagrin he feels at the selection of Mr. George Johnston as the incumbent."³³⁰ While, arguably, Jane's brother was the best choice for the position, this appointment was not the limit of Henry's nepotism during these negotiations.

Perhaps in part to compensate his in-laws for their loss of property following the War of 1812 (although this may be giving him too much credit), Henry made an exception for his mother-in-law in the Treaty of Fond du Lac, which was also extended to his son Willy, and any future children he and Jane might have. Ozhaguscodaywayquay is even named specifically in Article Four in the "Treaty with the Chippewa, 1826" in a display of the status Henry felt he had in the community, as well as the government policy on individuals who were mixed-race:

It being deemed important that the half-breeds, scattered through this extensive country, should be stimulated to exertion and improvement by the possession of permanent property and fixed residences, the Chippewa tribe, in consideration of the affection they bear to these persons, and of the interest which they feel in their welfare, grant to each of the persons described in the schedule hereunto annexed, being half-breeds and Chippewas by descent, and it being understood that the schedule includes all of this description who are attached to the Government of the United States, six hundred and forty acres of land, to be located, under the

329 Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs*, Chapter 16.

330 Ibid, Chapter 16.

direction of the President of the United States, upon the islands and shore of the St. Mary's river, wherever good land enough for this purpose can be found; and as soon as such locations are made, the jurisdiction and soil thereof are hereby ceded. It is the intention of the parties, that, where circumstances will permit, the grants be surveyed in the ancient French manner, bounding not less than six arpens, nor more than ten, upon the river, and running back for quantity; and that where this cannot be done, such grants be surveyed in any manner the President may direct. The locations for Oshauguscoday wayqua and her descendants shall be adjoining the lower part of the military reservation, and upon the head of Sugar Island. The persons to whom grants are made shall not have the privilege of conveying the same, without the permission of the President.³³¹

This was a clause dealing with mixed-raced children in a way that did not line-up with the findings of metis voter rights. This clause was intended to secure the traditionally distinct heritage of the metis by recognizing both of their cultural heritages, yet in theory accepting these treaty rights as being descended from the Anishnabee would have put the rights of individuals to vote in question. This section was intended to secure the rights of Henry's own children and family. Of the forty-five Aboriginal women married to white men who were listed on this Treaty as due to receive land, only “Oshauguscodaywayquay” was to receive additional land for each grandchild.³³² Susan appears first on this list, and Mumford has suggested the use of her Anishnabee name, relatively unknown in Washington, helped to cover Henry's conflict of interest in staking land for his mother in-law, wife, and child.³³³ The lands granted to Susan, Jane, and Willy included 640 acres for both Jane and Willy on Sugar Island.³³⁴

Susan had spent her springtime making maple sugar in the traditions of her people, on a large scale, for years. Mumford suggests Susan may have been the one who

331 “Treaty with the Chippewa, 1826.”

332 Ibid.

333 Mumford, "Mixed-Race Identity," 14.

334 Ibid, 14.

pushed for her family's extended allotment on Sugar Island which, with John's decline in health, was relied on by the family from 1825 to the end of Susan's life.³³⁵ Both Henry and George Johnston (as a translator) were heavily involved in this negotiation process, and this clause had likely been agreed upon within the family before it was presented at Fond du Lac. As Henry continued to pursue government policies that sought to push the metis towards either adapting fully to European society and surrendering their native rights, or remaining with their Aboriginal people, he continued to assure his own children would be able to benefit from both of their cultural backgrounds.

In March 1826, Henry had been offended by the mere suggestion that Aboriginal people had received political representation in a vote for the county representative, which led him to pursue actions that resulted with a county being established on land understood to be theirs. Henry had recognized the negative implications of these laws and yet he fought to establish and protect his children's rights as Aboriginals. That the concessions granted to Henry's family were not extended to anyone else points to his efforts to satisfy both professional and familial requirements. The pleasure Henry took in forcing Aboriginal tribes on to specific lands, while denying them official ownership rights too it, was part of a wider government agenda. It also served to reinforce Henry's connection to Sault Ste. Marie, and to allow the traditional life patterns of both the Anishnabee and metis populations to continue for another generation.

Considering the world sugar market in the early nineteenth century, and that Britain's push to ban slavery in its colonial holdings, notoriously on the Sugar Islands of the Caribbean, threatened sugar supplies, granting his family members land on Sugar

³³⁵ Ibid, 14.

Island was probably a strategic decision. The Johnstons had made their fortune in the fur trade, but the fur trade was on a decline as a result of new trade regulations and generations of excessive hunting. The shift to sugar as the major component of the family's business stood to be a lucrative one for generations to come. Anna Jameson in 1836 recorded while at the Johnston house:

In a late treaty, when the Chippewas ceded an immense tract in this neighbourhood to the American government, a reserve was made in favour of Oshah, gush, ko, da, na, qua, of a considerable section of land, which will render her posterity rich territorial proprietors- although at present it is all unreclaimed forest. A large tract of Sugar Island is her property; and this year she manufactured herself three thousand five hundred weight of sugar of excellent quality. In the fall she goes up with her people in canoes to the entrance of Lake Superior, to fish in the bays and creeks for a fortnight, and comes back with a load of fish cured for the winter's consumption. In her youth she hunted, and was accounted the surest eye and fleetest foot among the women of her tribe. Her talents, energy, activity, and strength of mind, and her skill in all the domestic avocations of the Indian women, have maintained comfort and plenty within her dwelling in spite of the losses sustained by her husband, while her descent from the blood of their ancient chiefs renders her an object of great veneration among the Indian around, who, in all their miseries, maladies, and difficulties, apply to her for aid or counsel.³³⁶

With the decline of the fur trade, as well as the health of her husband, it seems Jane's mother recognized the need to adapt to this changing market to support her family. Far away at Westminster, sugar was a topic of debate in the House of Commons a series of "Account[s] of the quantity of Raw and Refined Sugar" were ordered to be presented to the house.³³⁷ Various sources of sugar were arriving yearly in England from colonies around the world. In 1826 the government "from 5th January 1826 to 5th January 1827, [was] reducing the quantity of Refined into its proper proportion of Raw; distinguishing

³³⁶ Jameson, *Winter Studies* vol. III, 215-219.

³³⁷ "Journals of the House of Commons," Volume 82, By Great Britain House of Commons, 248.

the several sorts of Sugar".³³⁸ While the purity of other sugar sources varies, the boiling of maple sap yields a particularly pure concentration of pleasant flavoured sugar, and was an alternative to the more controversial West Indies trade.

Large-scale agriculture, logging, fishing and mining were possibilities for the future, but for the present Henry likely hoped to exploit changes in the sugar market. With the resettlement of various border after the Napoleonic wars, the House sought to dole out what they saw as the appropriate bounties and taxes due, depending on type of sugar, it was:

Ordered, That there be laid before this House, an Account of the amount of Duties received on Sugar imported into *Great Britain*, from 5th January 1826 to 5th January 1827; distinguishing each sort of Sugar; also of the amount of Drawbacks and Bounties allowed upon the exportation therefore, and the net produce of the Duties on Sugar in *Great Britain* in such year.³³⁹

Due in part to the political movements in Europe and North America that brought great changes to the sugar trade around the world, the Great Lakes served as a valuable source of high quality sugar. The significance of this maple sugar trade should not be underestimated, especially considering the demand in Europe and North America for sugar in 1826 and the lack of regulation in making the distinctions between types of sugar.³⁴⁰

An average market price for sugar in America between 1821-1825 would have been approximately six cents per pound.³⁴¹ McKenny pointed to a sugar price of approximate ten cents per pound in Sault Ste. Marie in 1826, which would make

338 Ibid, 248.

339 Ibid, 248-249.

340 Ibid, 248-249.

341 Ibid, 248-249..

Jameson's account of Ozhaguscodaywayquay's 3500 pounds of sugar annually worth, approximately, \$210 on the American market or \$350 in Sault Ste. Marie, with virtually no overhead expenses.³⁴² This amount of money was not an unsubstantial sum considering the Johnstons' reliance on the production of their homestead and other subsistence practices, but only part of this yield would have been sold: the rest would have been consumed by the family, given as gifts, or traded. The treaty stipulations for this 640 acre reserve of maple bush would have helped to ensure that the metis populations in the area would be able to rely on this resource for at least another generation, particularly Jane's children, siblings, nieces, and nephews.

Henry believed that with this treaty he had obtained exclusive loyalty from the Aboriginal populations at Sault Ste. Marie to the American Government. While the American and European recorders of this history saw the St. Mary's River as a border dividing the United States from Canada, it was not recognized in the same way by the longer established inhabitants. Historian Paul Demers has pointed to a neutrality towards imperial forces by North American Aboriginals, particularly in the borderlands: it was a long-standing practice that contributed to a unique metis identity.³⁴³ While this practice of remaining neutral served as a bargaining chip, it also led imperial powers to feel the need to extend their own colonial force among these neutral parties in an effort to limit their sense of political autonomy.³⁴⁴ Demers argues that in an effort to establish the significance of this border, treaty provisions established their offices on these borders, as

342 Calculations based on priced in: Debates in Congress By United States. Congress, Joseph Gales, William Winston Seaton, 800.

343 Paul A. Demers, "The French Colonial Legacy of the Canada- United States Border in Eastern North America, 1650," *French Colonial History* vol. 10 (2009): 40.

344 Ibid, 40.

was the case with Henry's office next to Fort Brady, and George Johnston at Fond du Lac.³⁴⁵ What Demers has called “transition zones of imperial influence and control” were the places where the natives and non-natives established their homes and worked as colonial officials, wage labourers, and entrepreneurs.³⁴⁶ These were also places where they could play imperial forces against one another to gain greater representation. Controlling large holdings not only worked to assure the Johnston family's economic success, but also gave Ozhagusodaywayquay political control over the settlement of the land.

One of the ways that the Aboriginal populations looked to assure their traditions and rights was through access to European-style education, which allowed them greater ability to negotiate legislation and treaties.³⁴⁷ Beyond their own stipulated lands, as part of the treaty of Fond du Lac, the Aboriginal contingent “provided for an Indian school at St. Mary's, and made some further important stipulations respecting their advance in the arts and education”.³⁴⁸ Henry concluded that “The effects of this treaty were to place our Indian relations in this quarter on a permanent basis, and to ensure the future peace of the frontier.”³⁴⁹ As part of this push, the Aboriginals negotiated for, and the United States' delegation accepted, that a school for Aboriginal students was to be established in Sault Ste. Marie, as per Article Six of the Treaty:

With a view to the improvement of the Indian youths, it is also agreed, that an annual sum of one thousand dollars shall be appropriated to the support of an establishment for their education, to be located upon some part of the St. Mary's river, and the money to be expended under the direction of the President; and for

345 Ibid, 38.

346 Ibid, 38.

347 Hele, *'By the Rapids'*, 267-268.

348 Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs*, Chapter 16.

349 Ibid, Chapter 16.

the accommodation of such school, a section of land is hereby granted. But the payment of the one thousand dollars stipulated for in this article, is subject to the same limitation described in the preceding article.³⁵⁰

Henry perhaps guessed, correctly, that despite the contributions from the tribes and the stipulations of the treaty, the funding for this school would not be ratified by Congress. Bringing into effect the clause in Article Seven: “But it is expressly understood and agreed, that the fourth, fifth and sixth articles, or either of them, may be rejected by the President and Senate, without affecting the validity of the other articles of the treaty.”³⁵¹

This loop-hole meant that the Aboriginal signers were bound to all the conditions of the treaty, while the compliance of the American government was at the discretion of Congress. Nonetheless, the treaty laid to rest the government's concerns about their ability to increase immigration into Sault Ste. Marie and their ability to mine resources in the area. In some ways, the exceptions that Henry made for his mother-in-law may have been in part to satisfy familial obligations while knowingly agreeing to terms unlikely to be ratified in Washington. The year ended as a success for Henry professionally, with the treaty signed and a new doctor and commanding officer at Fort Brady, while his status as an author increased across America. Henry looked forward to another winter spent with his family while focused on his writing.

350 “Treaty with the Chippewa, 1826.”

351 Ibid.

Chapter Five: August to December 1826

“Sweet Willy”

In 1826, Jane likely had no ambition to have her works discussed as a marker of her literary legacy in 2015, and as a new parent was more engaged in other forms of legacy. However, it is in thanks to her literary work that invaluable information about her social position and that of her family survives. These literary works provide evidence about how Jane was raised her child to be prepared for life in her community. The winter months of 1826-1827 were a when the Johnston/Schoolcraft family emphasized family, and in 1826 Willy now almost two years old was a student in the Johnston house.

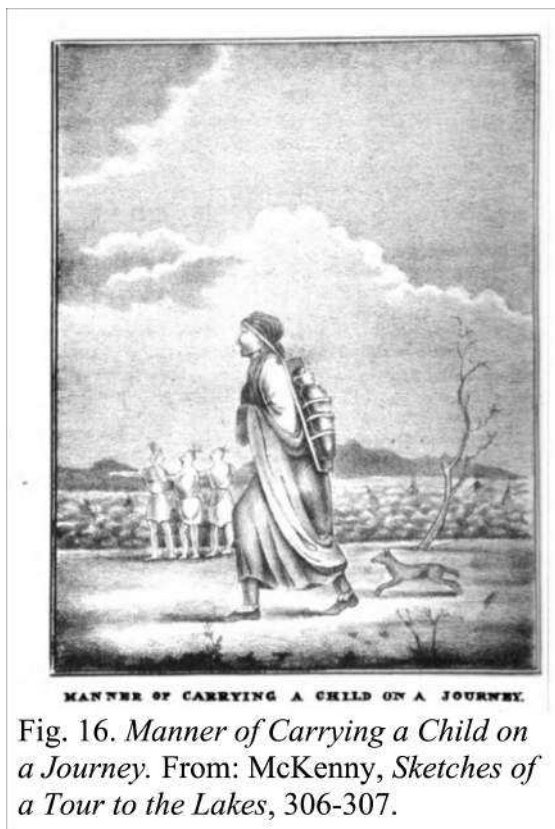
Henry wrote that in his absence Jane and Willy would “walk along these banks with his nurse, watching the return of this canoe, to pick the wild flowers on its bank, to learn the art of casting pebbles into the water, these became his employments.”³⁵² In this, and in other of Henry's accounts of his son, the nurse is referred to as the individual constantly caring Willy, which could perhaps be, in part, aiming blame at the nurse rather than his wife for the child's death (he died in the 1827, before Henry wrote this piece). This excerpt, which comes from “The Literary Voyager” was intended for those in Sault Ste. Marie who would have known Jane, but also worked to portray the upper-class image Henry wanted, to those who read it in Detroit and New York. In the Summer of 1826, John had been ill at home while Ozhaguscodaywayquay, George, and Henry were at Fond du Lac.³⁵³ Though Jane was no doubt heavily involved in the up bringing of her own child, it seems she did rely on a maid. Caring for her own numerous younger

352 Schoolcraft, “*Notice of Willian Henry Schoolcraft*,” 147.

353 Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs*, Chapter 16.

siblings, two of Henry's siblings relatively new to town, and managing one of the largest households in the area with its farms and trading post took a toll on Jane and her health.

In his accounts of his child, Henry does not mention Jane's various roles and responsibilities. He had the tendency to ignore her role as a mother, but amplified his own role as a father. In Henry's account of his young son after his death, Henry points to specific parenting practices he performed as a father without mentioning his wife. Of 1826, Henry wrote that, the:



necessary absence [of his father], consumed the summer of that year. On returning in the autumn, he brought him a little bag of cornelians and agates from that lake as playthings. He found him improved by his walks, sports, and alphabetic studies, with improved health, and redolent joyousness of spirits. His voice and smile formed the charm of the domestic circles. He chased his shadow to the wall, as a phenomenon; he talked to his dog, as if possessed of reason, and he, manfully got out of his carriage, on any little accident, offering to aid in repairing the mechanical interruption. The completion of the garrison saw mill, became a new and very exciting object of his notice. The roaring of the water, and above all, the action of the surf arrested his deepest attention.³⁵⁴

This passage in something he would read aloud to close friends and family, people who would have been familiar with both Jane's and Henry's roles in Willy's upbringing.

354 Although Willy also had a cart it is likely the more traditional cradleboard (seen in the image on page 149) was also used, especially in his first year. See Schoolcraft, "Notice of Willian Henry Schoolcraft," 146.

Henry's writing is consistently self-congratulatory in his memoirs, correspondences, and ethnographic works. This problematizes his depiction of Jane, but it is also not a reassuring trait in someone negotiating important and sensitive legal structures.

John had been heavily involved with Jane's education in their isolated community in the early 1800s, especially in teaching her European skills. These were skills that Jane then used to teach her younger siblings, and her son in 1826. As the eldest daughter, she was expected to help in the formal education of her sisters. Jane was a new mother, but parenting was not new to her. In a letter written to her by her father when she was thirteen, John (then in Montreal, 1813) demonstrated the high level of involvement John Johnston had in raising and educating her, and Jane, in turn, had in educating her sisters.

He wrote:

External manners are soon acquired, but if instruction is neglected in youth, it can never be regained. Your being sequestered from the world at present, is therefore, a blessing from providence as you have now the time and means of storing your mind with good and religious ideas, that in a future day will be of more use in directing your conduct and preserving you from the snares of a base and wicked world, than the greatest fortune could possibly do. I hope you will be able to keep your word respecting the improvement of your dear little sisters.³⁵⁵

John must have had an extensive role in his children's education, particularly reading and writing, but from a young age Jane was given more responsibilities as her family grew. Henry's assertion that John's youth spent in a house full of women, had enabled him to teach his daughters the appropriate notions of femininity is worthy of further scrutiny, particularly in light of his own depictions of Jane, Willy, and his in-laws.³⁵⁶ Although

355 John Johnston, "letter to Jane from Montreal 1813, in "Memoir of John Johnston" written by Henry Schoolcraft, *Historical collections* v. 36 (1908), 76.

356 Schoolcraft, "Memoir of John Johnston," 64.

Jane was able to adapt to the social expectations of upper-class European women, she lived in a community where Anishnabee cultural and social expectations were the norm. Throughout Jane's childhood, her father was heavily involved in his work as a trader, and she and her mother spent a great deal of time with the Johnston children, particularly in the early years of her life, from which Jane drew her purpose, meaning, and being.³⁵⁷

The lack of European women in Sault Ste. Marie meant that European gender identities were not prominent in the community, particularly before the 1820s, which strongly suggests that Jane's formative years would have been lived according to the traditional practices of the Anishnabee. The European skills taught by her father were of a secondary importance. The historiography on Jane tends to see her as adhering more strongly to European traits as a result of her works written for an English audience. Jane had an extensive knowledge of European manners and literature, taught to her by her father, but in more practical and private matters would have gone to her mother. Much of Jane's understanding of how to be a mother would have come from Ozhaguscodaywayquay and the Anishnabee mothers she grew up around. There are only a few brief descriptions of her relationship with her mother, and all are problematic. However, understandings of Anishnabee woman and motherhood sheds some insight on this relationship, and gives better understandings to the gender influences at play in Jane's written works.

Where ideals of European gender identity are present in her writing, the fact that there were virtually no white women in the community until Jane was in her twenties would suggest that her true notions of femininity and family came from the family she

³⁵⁷ Johnston, *Ojibway Heritage*, 61.

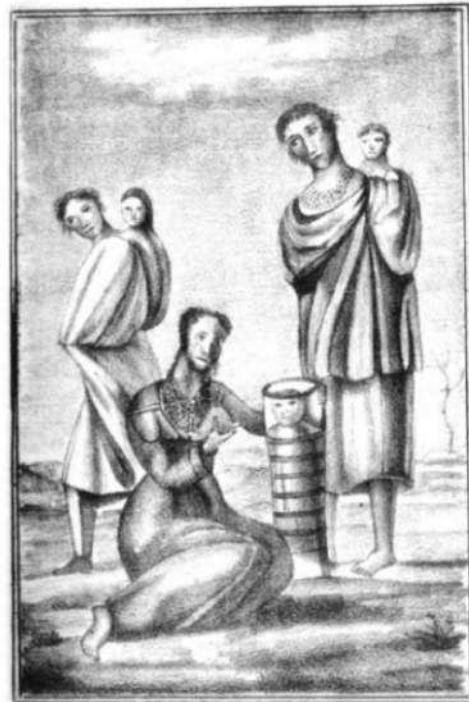
had grown up in. Much of the understanding of the female model in Anishnabee culture comes from Mother Earth, the most cherished of the two Pristine elements.³⁵⁸ Although both Father Sun and Mother Earth were intrinsic to life, motherhood, like the earth itself, did not change at a rate men could perceive, this gave order to life. She was a crucial component to an individual's ability to grow into womanhood or manhood.³⁵⁹ The love and honour they paid to Mother

Earth is reflected in prayer to her:

Woman!
Mother!
From your breast
You fed me.
With your arms
You held me.
To you, my love.

Earth!
Mother!
From your bosom
I draw nourishment
In your mantle
I seek shelter
To you, reverence.³⁶⁰

Once pregnant, a woman would be taught how to care for herself and her child during pregnancy and infancy by her community's elders.³⁶¹ Birth was considered a



CHIPPWAY NURSING MOTHER.

Fig. 17. Chippeway Nursing Mother. From: McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour to the Lakes*, 290-291.

358 Johnston, *Ojibway Heritage*, 23.

359 Ibid, 23.

360 Johnston, *Ojibway Heritage*, 24.

361 Joan Dodgson and Roxanne Struthers, "Traditional Breastfeeding Practices of the Ojibwe of Northern Minnesota," *Healthcare for Women International* 24, no. 1 (2003): 57.

joyous gift that needed to be respected, regardless of the circumstances. Knowledge of how to raise a child passed between family members, and the extended family shared a feeling of shared responsibility towards the child.³⁶² This helped the Johnston children to form close connections to their uncles, aunts, and cousins who lived next to their house in the warmer months. While Ozhaguscodaywayquay would have played a definitive role in raising Jane's child, the new white presence within the community affected Jane's family-practices. The changing demographics of Sault Ste. Marie, and her marriage to Henry influenced Jane's approach to child-rearing, and at least one of her births took place under the supervision of Doctor Foot from Fort Brady.³⁶³ Jane adapted some of these newly available technologies into the cultural practices of her family. Too often in colonial studies, the tendency has been to view mixed-raced families as being raised into one dominant culture, which goes against the known cultural liminality in Sault Ste. Marie. The extant sources from this period tend to separate what the contemporaries saw as traditional practices from the "progress of civilization," which minimized understandings of the deep familial connections and teachings of Aboriginal mothers.

Joan Dodgson and Roxanne Struthers point to distinguishing feminine features as being treated with respect amongst Anishnabee culture. These traits are linked to sexual reproduction and helped to define womanhood.³⁶⁴ Breastfeeding would have forged a connection to her daughter difficult for others to fully understand: "Elders suggested that characteristics, strengths, and a sense of respect were thought to be passed to infants through mothers' milk."³⁶⁵ James Redsky (Esquekesik) has also mentioned the

362 Ibid, 57.

363 Peters, "Indian-Grave Robbing," 72.

364 Dodgson and Roxanne, "Traditional Breastfeeding Practices," 57.

365 Ibid, 58.

significance of breast milk to Anishnabee culture as being important within the teachings of the Midewinwin, but breastfeeding would have been a topic seen as inappropriate for Jane to broach with a white audience.³⁶⁶ These parental influences shaped Jane in her formative years, and informed the understandings of her son.

John's praise of his daughter's adoption of his understandings of womanhood is well documented, yet there is no extant record of similar communications between Jane and her mother. Jane and her Ozhaguscodaywayquay were known to be very close and their roles in the community were similar, but each adapted to her own time. The absence of white women in Sault Ste. Marie in Jane's early years meant that much of Jane's early knowledge would have come from Ozhaguscodaywayquay, who in turn had learned her knowledge of birth and parenting from the elders of the Anishnabee community, where John was more involved when it came to teaching Jane how to exist in European social circles.

The documentation of the time predominantly by, and for, people with little experience with Aboriginal culture depict Ozhaguscodaywayquay in an exoticized or “othered” manner. In particular Henry, whose professional success was in large part due to his mother-in-law, seemed to develop prejudices toward her race later in life.³⁶⁷ This is perhaps why Ozhaguscodaywayquay's role in raising her family is virtually absent in Henry's memorial of her late husband, in the same way that Jane is absent from Henry's account of Willy. During Henry's time as Indian Agent in Sault Ste. Marie,

Ozhaguscodaywayquay had arranged meetings for him with important chiefs and leaders,

366 Redsky (Esquekesik), James. *Great Leader of the Ojibway: Mis-quona-queb*. Edited by James R. Stevens. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972): 90-91.

367 Particularly after his marriage to Mary Howard. See Dale Parker, “Introduction,” in *The Sound the Stars*, 42.

and it was on her authority that Henry was allowed to attend many ceremonies to which he would not have otherwise had access.³⁶⁸ Records of Ozhaguscodaywayquay adhering to “European” duties were created throughout her life, and it seems that Ozhaguscodaywayquay understood European life much better than Henry or other writers gave her credit for. In some cases, records of Ozhaguscodaywayquay may have been shaped by a conscious effort to emphasize what they saw as adherence to more traditional patterns, while at the same time written by those who did not understand the role of Anishnabee women. Unlike her mother, the records of Jane suggest she adopted a more European-style life. Similar to her mother, she adapted to the changing culture of Sault Ste. Marie during her life as a young adult in order to maintain a position of authority in the community.

While it is difficult to gauge Jane's adherence to her maternal traditions, there is evidence of Jane's ability to exist in, and adapt to, multiple cultural realms. Unlike her mother, Jane and her siblings spoke the three predominate languages of their community, and seem to have used them for different purposes. English was not a commonly spoken language in Sault Ste. Marie prior to the establishment of Fort Brady in 1822, but after its establishment English would have been spoken predominately within the newly established white community. Anishnabee and French had been, and continued to be, the most common languages in the community and in the surrounding areas, which also had a large population of Odawa speakers.³⁶⁹ English was still spoken almost exclusively by members of the garrison or traders in the area with English origins.

368 Philip P. Mason, “Introduction” in Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *The Literary Voyager or Muzzeniegun* ed.

Philip P. Mason (Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1962): xxv.

369 Hele, “By the Rapids”, 183.

Language was an important distinguisher of culture in Sault Ste. Marie. It helped distinguish the Anishnabee and metis from Euro-American settlers. Along these linguistic divides were also different life ways, and employment pursuits.³⁷⁰ Peers and Brown show that the children of mixed-raced marriages often spoke Anishnabee as well as English and/or French, and that within these families traditional Aboriginal understandings and beliefs were combined with Christian beliefs.³⁷¹ Jane and her siblings were able to speak all three of these languages fluently, with Anishnabee and French as the languages they used most often within their community. The language they spoke at home is unknown. It can be assumed that Jane's mother would have spoken Anishnabee to everyone in her house but in what language Jane would have responded is unknown, and probably varied according to the situation (contemporary accounts suggest that Ozhaguscodaywayquay was able to understand, but not speak, English).³⁷² It also seems that John Johnston would have spoken Anishnabee to his wife, but likely spoke more English with his children, who were capable of responding in his native tongue, especially considering his belief that the ability to speak English stood out as a mark of his family's upper-class status.

While living at the Johnston house, Jane, Henry, Ozhaguscodaywayquay, John and Jane's siblings, contributed to the up bringing of Willy. Henry, like his father-in-law, was eager to impart Christian understandings to his son. In Henry's eyes, Willy "had, from the earliest moments of his life, been made familiar with the existence of God and recognized that existence, pointing to His residence above."³⁷³ The family's worship patterns had been shifted, at least to some extent, by 1826, when John Johnston's health began to limit

370 Ibid, 167-168.

371 Peers and Brown, "There is no End," 540.

372 McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour*, 182-184.

373 Schoolcraft, "Notice of Willian Henry Schoolcraft," 146-147.

his physical abilities. However, Jane and Henry seemed to approach their young family in a similar manner as Ozhaguscodaywayquay and John had, while adapting their practices to the changing world around them. The Johnston's multi-cultural upbringing was recorded by Henry through Willy's experience:

His grandmother, never failed to address him in the native tongue, and used both the Chippewa and English words, sometimes as synonyms, and sometimes by clipping the Indian of its initial, or terminal syllables. She invariably addressed him by native infantile exhibition for boys, of penaysee or little Bird, a term of manly endearment, birds being symbolically, referred to as figures of speech in war. And she, carefully made him a little pillow of swan's down plucked from the game brought in by aboriginal friends.³⁷⁴

This quote from Henry helps to give insight into the Anishnabee influences in the house and community that Willy was being raised. In the early years of his marriage, Henry like John, had committed himself to learning his wife's maternal language.

Henry's ability to speak Anishnabee, particularly in these early years, is likely overstated to strengthen Henry's position with the government. His ability to work as Indian agent, to compile an Anishnabee dictionary, and to write volumes of ethnographic knowledge, all relied heavily on his in-laws. Henry's ability to speak his wife's maternal language was one of the skills that the government saw as making Henry invaluable. Henry's use of a translator through the negotiation process at the Treaty of Fond du Lac and other official interactions suggests he was not as proficient as he led his superiors to believe. George and Jane had both done translation work for Henry and helped teach him the language, but their contributions to his work are understated.

It is likely that within the Johnston house, the topic of conversation also in part

374 Ibid, 146.

dictated the language spoken. Henry and John were fond of discussions that Henry described in his memoir as “the free interchange of opinion between us” of politics, religion and English writers: these talks likely took place in English. Anishnabee was not a written language. Henry was one of the first people to compile a dictionary of the language, and Henry and Jane's written correspondence was in English. While John and Ozhaguscodaywayquay both referred to their grandchild by the Anishnabee term “penaysee”.³⁷⁵ With the changes to the community, English would have been a more common language in Willy's early life than it had been in Jane’s childhood. But Anishnabee and French were still the most common spoken languages in the community, and knowledge of Ozhaguscodaywayquay's traditional practices were no less important.³⁷⁶

There is evidence that suggests, and indeed it was argued by Henry in Jane's lifetime, and more recently by Dale Parker, that Jane was her father's favourite child.³⁷⁷ While problematic to conclude from letters alone, there seems to be at least some truth to this statement. In his letters John often called her “my dearest Jane”, and after receiving a letter from Jane when she was thirteen wrote back that he had received her “affectionate and sensible, and well written letter, with the most sincere pleasure. The improvement of your mind is dearer to me, than every other accomplishment.”³⁷⁸ In a moment of uncharacteristic anger towards Jane in November 1830, Henry would write to Jane that she had grown-up “with an over kind father, who saw every thing in the fairest light, &

375 John Johnston, “Letter to Jane” in “Memoir of John Johnston,” 76.

376 Schoolcraft, “Memoir of John Johnston,” 64.

377 Dale Parker, “Introduction,” in *Sound the Stars Make*, 37-19.; Cavalier, “Jane Johnston Schoolcraft's Sentimental Lessons,” 99.

378 John Johnston, “letter to Jane from Montreal 1813, in “Memoir of John Johnston” written by Henry Schoolcraft, *Historical collections* v. 36 (1908), 76.

made even your sisters & brothers & all about you bow to you as their superior in every mental & wor[l]dly thing".³⁷⁹ John Johnston certainly took time and effort to educate all of his children, but Jane was the only child not sent away to receive formal education, and seemed to hold a certain status over her siblings. Despite not attending school, Jane clearly had exemplary literary skills and knowledge. She was the only Johnston daughter with a large dowry, but was also the only one to marry during her father's life. Some suggest Jane was more heavily influenced by John than were her sisters, but this is also difficult to judge. Jane and two of her sisters married white men (the other sister, Eliza, never married) and adapted to some of the European gender-roles of their time, which suggests that as girls they were raised with this eventuality in mind.

Adapting to their changing political atmosphere, Jane and Henry passed down skills to Willy that they thought would serve him well as an adult, but these did not necessarily exclude the teachings Jane had received from her mother. In 1826 Jane and Henry were raising their son in this multi-cultural environment, within the close knit-Johnston family.

Of Willy, Henry wrote:

[h]is first year had now closed. To see the infantile countenance expand with new life and hope, and the hearts of adult, re-illuminated by the return of such joyous accessions to, and renewal of affectionate sympathy, constituted one of the brightest scenes of human life and social enjoyment. We are bound together in closer bonds, by every such exhibition. There is nothing sordid in it, and the heart is thus purified and exalted."³⁸⁰

Similar to the childhoods of Jane and her siblings, Willy was being raised in the the Johnston house and was being taught the skills his family believed were necessary for his

379 Dale Parker, "Introduction" 38 LC- 24 and 25 November 1830, LC, 37.

380 Schoolcraft, "Notice of Willian Henry Schoolcraft," 145.

future success. While together in the Winter of 1826, “His father had taught him the alphabet, by making twenty six wooden cubes, and putting the same letter on each of its six sides, so that whichever turned up, in his plays, the same letter of the alphabet appeared.”³⁸¹ Henry credits himself with his child's ability to speak English, despite the fact that Jane spent more time with the child during Willy's critical periods of linguistic development, and likely contributed greatly to his English vocabulary during this time. Jane, along with her mother and siblings, would have taught Willy to speak Anishnabee, and likely introduced him to French.

Henry's own cultural influences stand out in this account of his son. In the same way as in his recordings of Aboriginal women, Henry failed to fully understand the impact of this diverse culture in his recognition of what he saw as constituting a good and intelligent child. Henry noted his son's development over their summer separation: “Early autumn brought the expected return, and the following fall and winter, added to his little arts, and gave new proofs of a precociousness in every thing.”³⁸² However, Henry did not realize the extent to which his son was being informed (during these formative years) by living in a predominately Anishnabee community. Concepts of time, like understandings of deities, are difficult for a two year-old to fully comprehend. However, Willy spent the summer developing early skills in English, while living within this Anishnabee community, which shaped his understandings.

When Henry returned after his extended absence from the Sault, and his son, he observed Willy “in the fall of 1826, a barrel of fine spitzenberg apples had been opened,

381 Ibid, 146.

382 Ibid, 146.

he eagerly seized one, saying, 'here is my *old* apple.'"³⁸³ While Henry diagnosed this grammatical error as the “terms new and old, are wholly relative, without reference to any particular period of time. Old, was, to his mind, merely something that has transpired”.³⁸⁴ It is also possible that Willy was adapting his understandings of fruit in Anishnabee oral histories from his grandmother, mother, and other elders within the community, which saw these as beings older than man.

This lack of recognition also appears in Henry's assertion that, by acknowledging a deity that lived in the sky, Willy was absolutely referring to his understanding of God in a mono-atheistic Christian understanding.³⁸⁵ But in this, Henry failed to account for the fact that his child was only a toddler, and that Kitchie Manitou and God are both believed to exist in a realm in the sky. Evidence that Kitchie Manitou was a great influence in Willy's early understandings comes from what his father saw “as a physical phenomenon of no good omen, was his often, in a still and clear day, and saying- 'it thunders!'”³⁸⁶ Similarly, as in the case with the fruit, thunder and lightning held important significance for the Anishnabee people preserved through story.³⁸⁷ To the Anishnabee lightning and thunder signify grandfathers.³⁸⁸ This may explain Willy's over use of weather vocabulary in what Henry understood only as weather, but what in actuality might have been a reference to the elder members of Willy's extended family. Willy's cross-cultural understandings help to demonstrate the blending of cultures that set Jane's literary works apart.

383 Ibid, 146.

384 Ibid, 146.

385 Ibid, 146.

386 Ibid, 146.

387 Johnston, *Ojibway Heritage*, 150.

388 Ibid, 150.

A Winter Activity

In his journal of his first years in the area, Henry often makes mention of the isolation he felt in the winter. Like his father-in-law, Henry had developed a keen interest in his wife's cultural heritage for both financial and personal reasons. Wintertime, in particular, served as a time to sit together as a family by the fire and share information through story-telling. As part of his last entry in 1825, on November 29, Henry recorded a section of a letter from his friend Mr. Contant, a resident of New York who had written to Henry "I hope you will not fail to prosecute your Indian inquiries this winter, getting out of them all the stories and all the *Indian* you can."³⁸⁹ With Henry's continued position in Sault Ste. Marie now assured, his reputation as an authority on Aboriginal knowledge and as an author was growing around America. Eager to build on his recent momentum, Henry spent the winter complying with Mr. Contant's wishes. With the help of Jane's family, Henry began work on "The Literary Voyageur", a family publication which helped to preserve the mixed-cultural heritage of the Johnston family and helped to place both Jane and Henry on the map as a literary figures.

In the winter of 1826-1827, writing the "Literary Voyageur" served as a distraction from this isolation through Jane and Henry's combined love of literature and story-telling. It was also a project that the Johnstons and Schoolcrafts could work on together with other family members to pass the long winter on the St. Mary's River.

Henry recorded in his journal that:

As one of the little means of supporting existence in so remote a spot, and keeping alive, at the same time, the spark of literary excitement, I began, in December, a manuscript *jeu d'esprit* newspaper, to be put in covers and sent from house to

389 (his emphasis) Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs*, Chapter 15.

house, with the perhaps too ambitious cognomen of 'The Literary Voyager.'³⁹⁰ “The Literary Voyager,” also called the “Muzzeniegun” (meaning *a printed document* or *book* in English), was circulated among friends and literary circles connected to Henry, with readers at Mackinaw Island, Detroit, and New York.³⁹¹ A family pastime, it also served to fulfill Henry's wish to collect important stories from his wife's maternal line, in accordance with Mr Contant's hopes, as the two were planning on starting their own academic journal on Aboriginal studies.

Mumford has suggested that even the name “The Literary Voyager” was representative of the way the magazine, like the voyageurs themselves, sought to highlight the out-flow of wealth that came from the local inhabitants.³⁹² Henry wrote, “the autumn of 1826, and the winter of 1827, wore away heavily, and compelled us to keep more than the usual time within doors.”³⁹³ After the general business of the Summer, Jane, Henry, and the Johnstons, spent time preparing articles, poems, and stories for “The Literary Voyager”. The descriptions that Henry and others have given of the family points to a close-knit group, gathered around the fireside in the winter months as labourers and servants kept up the day-to-day operations of the homestead. In addition to the constant family prayer sessions during these colder months, family time outside of the designated prayer hours was spent reading and writing. In the late fall and winter of 1826, the Schoolcraft/Johnston family was busy preparing various excerpts written by the family and close friends for publication.

390 Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs*, Chapter 16.

391 Steven Gould Axelrod, Camille Roman, and Thomas J. Travisano, *The New Anthology of American Poetry: Traditions and Revolutions, Beginnings to 1900*, (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2003).

392 Mumford, "Mixed-Race Identity," 8.

393 Schoolcraft, “Notice of Willian Henry Schoolcraft,” 147.

Many of the stories included in this newspaper survived as a result of the translation and transcription from Jane of the stories told by Ozhaguscodaywayquay. Compared to Henry's later emphasis in ethnographic works, the "Literary Voyager" was social work in which he relied on, and even credited, his family members. Whatever Henry's later intentions were, there is no question that "The Literary Voyager" has helped to preserve some aspects of the culture of the Johnston family. Once each edition was completed, it was read to a group of their guests that formed a sort of literary club among the anglophone upper class in Sault Ste. Marie, and was read in similar circles in Detroit and New York.

Writing, and particularly poetry, were known to have been important to the Johnstons and Schoolcrafts alike. "The Literary Voyageur" gave them a medium they could work on together, while encouraging social interactions during the isolated Winter. John had composed poems throughout his life, sometimes as a form of tongue-in-cheek mode of communication in letters. Henry wrote after the death of his father-in-law:

His [John Johnston's] odes and occasional poems, constitute, however, the most voluminous part of his writings, and may give him the fairest claim to remembrance. He appears to have cultivated poetry very assiduously in his youth, and some little pieces written within a few years of his death prove that he had neither forgotten nor neglected the power to clothe vivid thoughts in strong and terse language. Some of his effusions will probably be thought to give him claims beyond that of a mere amateur, though there is nothing in his writings, and certainly was not in his conversation, to induce a belief that he had written with any vain or extravagant notions of applause, or indeed, with any other view than as indulging an elegant accomplishment in whiling away hours of solitude and sadness. He wrote with ease, and without affectation of style or sentiment. To express the feelings of nature in plain language was all he aimed at. He was satisfied with his first thoughts, and never corrected or polished what he had once written. If there are inequalities in his pieces, or prosaic lines, it is probably attributable to this circumstance, or perhaps he had no wish to mend, what he never designed to publish. He disclaimed all pretensions to learning, and was too

much enamoured of amusement, to give up his hours to study. Had he relied less upon the ancient maxim *Poeta nascitur* though an abstract truth in itself, he would probably have attained to higher excellence.³⁹⁴

Even before Henry's arrival in Sault Ste. Marie, poetry had been a medium through which Jane and her father celebrated and commemorated important events. It was a form that John could use to help his children practice their European-style education, and one that was seen in Europe and across America as suitable for woman to participate in. Perceptions of time have been known to influence writing styles, and in today's non-stop world many rely on short forms of words and emoticons, in the long cold winter months in Sault Ste. Marie the Johnston family had the leisure of expressing themselves more deeply through poetry. In truth, language has always been flexible, particularly among multi-lingual families like the Johnstons, and poetry had a variety of purposes and meanings to the individuals living in the house. Only Henry seems to have carried any real ambition towards publishing these works beyond "The Literary Voyager".

Henry's later career success has influenced the reception of "The Literary Voyager" among scholars, which has changed how scholars have looked at Jane's poetry. While many stories would eventually be edited and reused without credit in his ethnographic works, in 1826 it is hard to tell if this was Henry's motivation for his efforts in "The Literary Voyager". Since they had met, Jane and Henry had occasionally used poetry as a way to highlight special events and to keep in contact. One example is this undated note written by Jane to Henry for his birthday (March 28):

Unaided by the Muses heavenly fires-- how vain,
Tho' strong the wish to write in a sweet poetic strain.
Artless and unadorn'd, my numbers, you must flow,

394 Schoolcraft, "Memoir of John Johnston," 87.

Thomas Campbell, Hannah More, Hester Chapone, Amelia Alderson Opie, William Robert Spencer, Ann Taylor and Thomas Green Fessenden.³⁹⁷ Poetry was part of the courtship process. Jane wrote to Henry five months before the couple was married, in a letter which likened their courtship to that of Shakespeare's Portia and Bassanio in the “Merchant of Venice,” that in many ways demonstrated Jane's wit and cultural weaving.³⁹⁸ From the nature of the references to other poets, Dale Parker suggests that Jane and Henry often read these works together.³⁹⁹ In a memorial after Jane's death, Henry praised Jane, saying that “she not only acquired more than the ordinary proficiency in some of the branches of an English education but also a correct judgment and taste in literary *merit*.”⁴⁰⁰ This praise from Henry still works to minimize her creativity and poetic skill, and Henry worked after his wife's death to edit many of her works as material for his ethnographic volumes.

The Johnston family combined its cultural heritage to create its own unique family circle. The combination of story-telling practices discussed in “Chapter Two” as it pertains to the family's combining of spiritual teachings. In European and American

397 Dale Parker, “Introduction” in Jane Schoolcraft *The Sound the Stars*, 33.

398 In a letter accompanied with a gift of maple sugar to Henry, Jane showed of her ability to reference classics as well as the importance of maple sugar, writing:

“Miss Johnston presents her Compliments to Mr. Schoolcraft, & desires to tell him that her Mother, begs his acceptance of the accompanying little moccucks of maple sugar. Miss Johnston, begs leave to remind Mr. Schoolcraft, of Shakespeare's Merchant of Venice, when Bassanio, comments on the three caskets, one of gold, one of Silver & the last of Lead, in one of which, the picture of Portia, is contain, he repeats-

'So may the outward shows be least themselves;

'The world is still deceived by ornament.'

and he chooses the Leaden one, says-

'Thy plainness moves one more than eloquence.'

and is of course fortunate in his choice, Mr. Schoolcraft, may say the same of the unornamented *moccucks*, they are plain, but the sweet they contain is not less fine, & on that account he may be induced to accept them.” See Dale Parker, “Introduction,” in *The Sound the Stars*, 21-22.

399 Dale Parker, “Introduction,” in *The Sound the Stars*, 33.

400 (emphasis his) Schoolcraft, “Notes for Memoir of Mrs. Henry Rowe Schoolcraft,” 96.

literary circles, understandings of religious teachings could be separated from other forms of story-telling, such as the format in “The Literary Voyager”. This was not necessarily true, however, of the Anishnabee tales, which are based on teachings and respect for the earth, with practical remarks and morals meant to be understood in the context which they are told. American author, playwright, researcher of Aboriginal studies, and member of the Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma, LeAnne Howe, has helped to change perceptions of oral traditions through engagement with Tribalography. She writes that “I am consciously using the terms story, fiction, history, and play interchangeably because I am from a culture that views these things as an integrated whole rather than individual parts.”⁴⁰¹ This culture is informed through story-telling, as Howe explains:

Native stories, no matter what form they take (novel, poem, drama, memoir, film, history), seem to pull all the elements together of the storyteller's tribe, meaning the people, the land, and multiple characters and all their manifestations and revelations, and connect these in past, present, and future milieus”.⁴⁰²

In the 1970s, Basil Johnston was one of the first Aboriginal historians to make Anishnabee tales available to white audiences. Their induction into historical study has been somewhat slow. However, tribalographic understandings have now been incorporated as part of a decolonizing methodology, which seeks to bring Aboriginal understandings of the world, history, and story-telling into use by historians. Thanks in part to the increased recognition of the importance of Aboriginal literature, and the efforts of Aboriginal authors like Basil Johnston, Karl Hele, and LeAnne Howe, greater understandings of these stories has led to their integration in both historical and literary

401 LeAnne Howe, *Tribalography: The Power of Native Stories* (1999): 118.

402 LeAnne Howe, “The Story of America: A Tribalography,” in *Clearing a Path: Theorizing the Past in Native American Studies*, ed. Nancy Shoemaker (New York: Routledge, 2002), 42.

studies.⁴⁰³ Understanding tribalography can be used to help better understand both the Aboriginal and metis populations of Sault Ste. Marie. It points to a unique quality of the literature published by the Johnston family in “The Literary Voyager”. Jane translated the stories told by her mother, but told them in a way that was reflective of her current situation and made them accessible to a white audience. Jane and Charlotte had translated Psalms into Anishnabee in a similar manner, to share the teachings of their father's tradition with the Anishnabee populations.

The first edition of “The Literary Voyager” was published in December 1826. It opened with an article entitled “Chippewas” followed by “Lake Superior”, both written by Henry. These were followed by a translation by Jane from Ozhaguscodaywayquay of “Pebon and Seegwun (Winter & Summer)” a strong example of a tribalographic work, which Henry gave the subtitle: “A Chippewa Allegory”.⁴⁰⁴ These first two editions in 1826 were a sample of both the Johnstons' literary ability and their knowledge of Aboriginal understandings needed by the United States government. In this first edition of “The Literary Voyager,” Henry introduced readers to the literary ability of Jane Johnston Schoolcraft through the pseudonyms “Leelinau” and “Rosa”. In a short section, Henry wrote that:

[t]he letter of our female correspondent “Leelinau,” we have perused with pleasure, and recommend to the attention to our readers. The simplicity and

403 A recent historical study of the Anishnabee, which uses a methodology based on tribalography can be found in Jill Doerfler, “An Anishinaabe Tribalography: Investigating and Interweaving Conceptions of Identity during the 1910 a on the White Earth Reservation”, *American Indian Quarterly* vol. 33, no. 3 (2009): 295-324. A more literary discussion of tribalography can be found in Dean Rader, “The Past is Always Present: *Perma Red, a Pipe for February*, and *The Plagues of Doves—Three Tribalographies*” in Dean Rader, *Engaged Resistance: American Indian Art, Literature, and Film from Alcatraz to the NMAI* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011): 75-80.

404 Jane Schoolcraft “Pebon and Seegwun (Winter & Summer)”, in Schoolcraft, *The Literary Voyager* (Sault Ste. Marie: December 1826): 3.

artlessness of her details of Indian life and opinions, do not constitute the exclusive attraction of her letter. It develops truths not connected with the investigation of Indian history and traditions. We solicit further communications from the same source, and feel extremely desirous for the promised “pretty songs and stories.” Her lines under Rosa, possess chasteness in the selection of her images, united to a pleasing versification.⁴⁰⁵

Rosa was meant to represent Jane's European heritage and literal abilities in the manner popular throughout European and American literary circles in the nineteenth century. Meanwhile Leelinau's work tended to be framed around Jane's mother's maternal stories, as Henry points to in this excerpt. The tribalographic story of Pebon and Seegwun is representative of Anishnabee belief, but meant to instill a variety of different meanings beyond the literal, including the importance of seasonality to Anishnabee life ways. Understandings of tribalogy are important to comprehending both of Jane's pseudonyms. The “pretty songs and stories” promised from Jane had far more culturally significant meanings than Henry, as the editor, gave her credit for. Henry tried to divide his wife's writings between those he saw as informed by her maternal line, and those that demonstrated her Christian ability.

Immediately after Henry's introduction of Jane's pseudonyms is one of the few surviving sources from her mother. This letter from Ozhaguscodaywayquay is not credited to her appearing under Henry's header “Character of Aboriginal Historical Tradition” called simply “To the Editor of the Literary Voyager” and unsigned.⁴⁰⁶ This section is a powerful political message written to Henry's superiors in which Ozhaguscodaywayquay speaks on behalf of her people. This letter carries a very similar

405 Henry Schoolcraft “To Our Correspondent, Leelinau”, in Schoolcraft, *The Literary Voyager* (Sault Ste. Marie: December 1826): 5.

406 LV 5-7.

feel to *Shingwauk's Journal* and his protest letters to the government in the 1850s.

Translated by Jane, it is very tongue-in-cheek, which literary scholars Jarold Ramsey and Lori Burlingame point to as a distinguishing feature of Aboriginal oral traditions and literature.⁴⁰⁷

In this article, Ozhaguscodaywayquay does not take credit for her work. She presents this article as coming from her people and conflated herself with her half-brother Waiskey's possession of their father's medal, and adherence to his traditions. This letter is a jab at Henry and the government he represented: it directly challenged Henry's belief that giving medals to Aboriginal chiefs had helped cement his position among the Anishnabee.⁴⁰⁸ Ozhaguscodaywayquay spoke of the power of her father, "long before the white people had it in this power to distinguish an Indian by placing a piece of silver, in the shape of a medal on his breast."⁴⁰⁹ Even in those days, Ozhaguscodaywayquay points out, Waubojeeg's importance was so great, "my father had one of those marks of distinction given to him; but he only estimated it as being a visible proof of amity between his nation and that of the whites, and bound by it, to observe a strict attention to the duties of friends".⁴¹⁰ Ozhaguscodaywayquay described the local customs of the area, and framed the use of her father's medal as representative of the same traits as the wampums of her people. She points to the relationship between Aboriginals and whites as changing because of failed promises by the United States and she reminds the reader that her father had taken "care that it should not be his fault, if it did not continue to be

407 Ramsey and Burlingame 173-174.

408 Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs*, Chapter 16.

409 Ozhaguscodaywayquay "Character of Aboriginal Historical Tradition to the Editor of the Literary Voyager" translated by Jane Johnston Schoolcraft, in Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *The Literary Voyager* (Sault Ste. Marie: December 1826): 6.

410 Ibid, 6.

reciprocal.”⁴¹¹ Ozhaguscodaywayquay explained the importance of the “medal my father used to wear, and it is the only relic I retain in memory of him, who taught me how to esteem and appreciate white people.”⁴¹² From the teachings of her father, Ozhaguscodaywayquay had, after initially running away in 1793, married John and together they formed their culturally diverse family.

While Ozhaguscodaywayquay lived with her Irish husband she had made efforts to learn about Christianity and welcomed Henry and other Christians into her home. She introduced both John and Henry to her traditional ways. Yet, Ozhaguscodaywayquay also fought for the retention of her extended family's rights and adherence to their traditional teachings. She highlighted the importance of tribalographic representations which she and Jane were responsible for, and challenged the notion that written history assured more accuracy than her traditional knowledge passed down through oral teachings.

Ozhaguscodaywayquay points to her father's belief that writing was a useful tool, but sarcastically challenged the idea that writing was the only way to ensure historical accuracy or cultural importance. Ozhaguscodaywayquay wrote that her father

had often told me that you had a right knowledge of every thing, and that you knew the truth, because you had things past and present written down in books, and were able to relate, from them, the great and noble actions of your forefathers, without variation.

Now, the stories I have heard related by old persons in my nation, cannot be so true, because they sometimes forget certain parts, and then thinking themselves obliged to fill up the vacancy by their own sensible remarks and experience, but it seems to me, much oftener by their fertile flights of imagination and if one person retains the truth, they have deviated, and so the history of my country has become wholly fabulous?⁴¹³

411 Ibid, 6.

412 Ibid, 6.

413 Ibid, 6.

In her tongue-in-cheek manner, Ozhaguscodaywayquay challenges the reliability of written history while describing the development of oral history as being similar to historiographical development, through the addition of the story-teller's own understandings. This letter is also demonstrative of Jane's ability as a writer, and her willingness to translate and transcribe a letter for her mother that challenged the government her husband worked for.

Ozhaguscodaywayquay argued for a mixing of cultures based on the reciprocal friendship as her father had understood it. For Ozhaguscodaywayquay, Christian ideas and technologies had informed the construction of her house, were taught to her children, and were used by her in some of her traditional practices (eg. copper kettles were used to make maple sugar). However, in the changing political environment of Sault Ste. Marie, Ozhaguscodaywayquay was eager to guarantee that her people would be awarded the rights they had negotiated for at Fond du Lac. In this letter, she focuses on the future establishment of a school as a demonstration of the American government's good faith, likely a reference to Article Six from the Treaty of Fond du Lac. The ability to read and write were some of the skills that she, Shingwa'bossin and Shingwaukonse, saw as integral to their ability to retain their cultural traditions, especially as more treaties were proposed by the American and British colonial governments. Ozhaguscodaywayquay told the readers in her satirical tone that: "O Sir, if I could write myself, (and not trouble my generous relation as I now do) I think I should strive to make you acquainted with all our ancient traditions and customs without deceiving you in the least—just as I heard them from my father."⁴¹⁴ Ozhaguscodaywayquay seemed aware of her son-in-law's importance

⁴¹⁴ Ibid, 6-7.

as a source of Aboriginal knowledge for the government, but she was only willing to share these stories in the reciprocal bonds of friendship and would probably not have condoned the uses Henry put them to. Ozhaguscodaywayquay was wary of the government's commitment to the treaty, and told Jane that:

when the man in black comes to teach us poor young ignorant people the right way, I shall know better; and when I can write, I shall not forget to send you all the pretty songs and stories my mother used to teach me-- to be put in your paper. Until that time shall arrive, Sir, I must wish you health."⁴¹⁵

Ozhaguscodaywayquay's wish to share her family's stories and knowledge with the white population, but only after the government had upheld its part of the bargain, was not respected by Henry, who in the first two editions of "The Literary Voyager" published several stories he had previous access to from his personal relationship with his mother in-law's family.

European literary works, seemingly without the same tribalographic importance of Ozhaguscodaywayquay's letter, or the tale of "Pebon and Seegwun," were introduced through the pseudonym Rosa, which highlighted Jane's ability to write in a Christian manner. As much as this division can occur within a single author, Rosa seems to have been a literary author, where Leelinau tends to have more traits of tribalogy in her writing. Under Rosa, Jane published the pastoral allegory in 1826:

To Sister on a Walk in the Garden, After a Shower

Come, sisters come! The shower's past,
The garden walks are drying fast,
The Sun's bright beams are seen again,
And nought within, can now detain.
The rain drops tremble on the leaves,
Or drip expiring, from the eaves:

415 Ibid, 7.

But soon the cool and balmy air,
Shall dry the gems that sparkle there,
With whisp'ring breathe shake ev'ry spray,
And scatter every cloud away.

Thus sisters! Shall the breeze of hope,
Through sorrows clouds a vista ope;
Thus, shall affliction's surly blast,
By faith's bright calm be still'd at last;
Thus, pain and care,--the tear and sigh,
Be chased from every deny eye;
And life's mix'd scene itself, but cease,
To show us realms of light and peace.

Rosa⁴¹⁶

Christian gender ideals are apparent in this work, with the distinctly feminine theme of sisterhood linked to the flowers of a garden. Similar to many of Jane's maternal traditions, this poem focuses on the forces of sun and rain in romanticized allusions to its beauty. This poem is a product of its time and Jane's concentration on the minute beauties of these elements in a garden, rather than of the grandeur of the natural environment surrounding her, helps to demonstrate her ability as a writer by composing poetry with distinct markers of her time. Through her writings, Rosa demonstrated the traits expected from Jane as an upper-class English-speaking woman, and especially as Henry's wife.

“To Sister on a Walk in the Garden, After a Shower” was one of the only articles in the 1826 editions of “The Literary Voyager” that did not focus on understanding the traditional populations around Sault Ste. Marie. In its published form, this poem appeared under the headline “By an *Ojibway Female Pen*” which seems to have been

416 Ibid, 8.

added by Henry.⁴¹⁷ This poem was perhaps selected in order to demonstrate Jane's ability, as metis, to write in the Christian-American style. It was one of two poems credited to Rosa in the 1826 editions of "The Literary Voyager". The other was published in the second edition of the year; "Resignation" is perhaps more representative of Jane's Christian influences:

Resignation

How hard to teach the heart, opprest with grief,
Amid gay, worldly scenes, to find relief;
And the long cherish'd bliss we had in view,
To banish from the mind where first it grew!
But Faith, in time, can sweetly soothe the soul,
And Resignation hold mild control;
The mind may then resume a proper tone,
And calmly think on hopes forever flown.

Rosa.⁴¹⁸

This was a poem in an anglo-format that was not meant to be reflective of her maternal heritage. "Rosa's" poems differ from the translated works from her mother, which Jane published as Leelinau.

Jane's recent rise in popularity within literary circles is illustrative of a recent emphasis on works by women, Aboriginals, and African Americans in the understanding of nineteenth-century American literature. Jane in particular stands out in this literary focus, and Dale Parker has made a convincing argument for Jane as the first known North American Aboriginal literary author, the first poet known to have written in a Native American language, and the first North American Aboriginal to write traditional stories.⁴¹⁹ Theresa Gaul, a specialist in American Literature prior to 1900, with an

417 Dale Parker, "Introduction" in *The Sounds the Stars Make*, 108.

418 Jane Johnston Schoolcraft "Resignation" in Schoolcraft, *The Literary Voyager* (Sault Ste. Marie: December 1826): 26-27.

419 Dale Parker, "Introduction," in Jane Schoolcraft *The Sound the Stars*, 2.

emphasis on women's writing, has pointed to this shift in literacy-circles as influencing Native Studies as a whole, as these reclaimed literary works help to give representation to populations often overlooked by in the extant sources.⁴²⁰ Gaul points to more interdisciplinary approaches to looking at these works in order to help understand their importance as historical evidence of under-represented populations. In Jane's case, the rarity of her position as a writer speaks to her family's uniqueness, and their ability to exist in the many cultural realms present in Sault Ste. Marie. The upper-class status which informed her poetry also gave her the ability and time to read and write.

In her works on Jane, Gaul points to Dale Parker's markers of Jane's legacy as a writer and its importance to historical understandings of America as a whole in the 1820s.⁴²¹ She argues that "Parker's ambitious introduction ably reconstructs the intersecting worlds—Ojibwe, French-Canadian, métis, and American—within which Schoolcraft lived and wrote, as well as the trajectory of her authorial development."⁴²² On the full importance of Dale Parker's compiled collections, Gauls adds:

I will comment here only that the poems and prose in the volume offer much to keep scholars and students occupied in trying to understand and recognize the kind, range, and degree of Schoolcraft's achievements as well as her contributions to and unsettling of received literary histories that have excluded women and American Indians.⁴²³

Jane's works certainly have literary merits in their own rights, and paint a poetic and romanticized picture of her life. However, Henry presented Jane as two characters through "The Literary Voyager", Leenlinau representing tribalographic understandings,

Gaul, "Recovering Recovery," 272.

420 Gaul, "Recovering Recovery," 273-274.

421 Ibid, 273-274.

422 Ibid, 272.

423 Ibid, 272.

told stories from her mothers' tradition which made them more accessible to an English audience. Meanwhile, Rosa demonstrated Aboriginal potential in an era where understandings of race had led many to believe Aboriginals were incapable of such works.⁴²⁴

These works were not compiled into one coherent collection until 2007. The compilation of these poems took extensive work in various archives to sort out her work from Henry's and John's, searching letters and diaries as well as "The Literary Voyager" but this coherent whole also made it easier to take a triabalographic approach to understanding Jane's writing. Looking at Edgar Bearchild's work, Christopher Teuton has argued that with tribalographic works, various writings can be used together to demonstrate both the growth of the artist as well as different perspectives observed through changing forces and relationships in their personal lives.⁴²⁵ Dale Parker's collection of Jane's work demonstrates her growth as an author throughout her life. In his book, Dale Parker adds a well constructed introduction which gives historical context for Jane's life through which to frame her literary growth. To fully understand the importance of her works more historical studies of her life are needed.

"The Literary Voyager" is direct evidence of the material the family was engaged in compiling during November and December of 1826. It was meant to unite the family in a common activity, while also engaging with social circles in other cities, while Sault Ste. Marie remained isolated by snow. Many of the works by Jane that appeared in these early copies of the magazine were stories representing her mother's heritage, but they

424 Harvey, "Must Not Their Languages," 517.

425 Christopher B. Teuton, *Deep Waters: The Textual Continuum in American Indian Literature* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010): 68.

were written in English and adapted by Jane to be understood by Christian Americans. This was an exercise, at least in part, to impress Henry's superiors with Aboriginal knowledge. They are true to the information her mother taught her, but expressed in such a way that they could be understood by a settler audience. Edited by Henry, this magazine also worked to present the family as part of an upper-class gentry living Christian lives on the frontier. While this was, in part true, it ignored the significance of the wisdom and cultural sharing also being brought-forth.

In some ways, Rosa could be seen as a separation from the tribalographic representations of Jane's mother's tribe. This argument counter-acts Basil Johnstons, Howe's and others arguments of a connectivity among different formats of writing. However, in her time, Jane clearly differentiated between these two formats, which creates a different perspective for understandings of the inter-connectivity between different writings styles, and understandings of metis identity. Often literary critics see metis writers as not being fully authentic to either white or Aboriginal life.⁴²⁶ However, with Jane the clear separation between these cultures is evident in her assumed identities, and speaks to the variety of cultural forces that Jane felt. This was a distinction made by Jane: Rosa represents authorship of Jane's works, versus stories compiled from the teachings of her maternal-line, put forward by Jane as representative of Anishnabee understandings. This reliance on multiple identities' to frame the significance of her writings would be demonstrated in 1827 after the death of her child, when Jane published the first and only poem under her own name.⁴²⁷ Jane's unique contribution challenges

426 Cavalier, "Jane Johnston Schoolcraft's Sentimental Lessons," 111.

427 Jane Schoolcraft, "To My Ever Beloved and Lamented Son, William Henry" in *The Literary Voyager* (Feb. 1827): 157-158.

current understandings of authenticity surrounding metis writers, and corroborates current new understandings of the importance of tribalographic representation. Jane's writings point to the distinct identity of Jane and her family. Within her family and community, these multiple cultures existed, and she represented herself to them differently through language and customs. In her writing, as within her life, Jane adapted to the expectations of each, reflective of, but not fully fitting into the frameworks of Métis, Anishnabee, or White.

Chapter Six: Conclusions

The mixed-race Johnston family and their household were both typical and atypical of families in Sault Ste. Marie in the 1820s. While European and Aboriginal understandings came together to shape the Johnston children, their elite status set them apart from the majority of the population of Sault Ste. Marie. The social history of the Upper Great Lakes region has recently undergone a revisionary phase, as evidenced by the work of White, Richter and others cited in this thesis.⁴²⁸ One of its goals is to reincorporate the history of Aboriginal peoples into mainstream North American history. This is important because the history of these groups has been suppressed through cultural misunderstandings that are perpetuated in written records produced by Europeans. Encouraged through state policies and institutions designed to Anglicize the Aboriginal populations, which disrupted the preservation of their history through oral tradition. With greater understandings of the importance and legacy of Jane Johnston Schoolcraft, women's roles in Aboriginal and metis culture can only become better understood.

The nature of the extant sources of the fur trade, framed through trade records and letters, has led to an understanding of Aboriginal-white relations from an economic perspective. The sources that come from the trade do not address the social composition of the area, or the significance of the relationships between Aboriginals and mixed-race families. Jane's relationship with her mother's family, whom she grew up around, differed greatly from her relationship with her father's family whom, apart from a trip to Europe

⁴²⁸ Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.); Daniel K. Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2001.)

when she was nine years old, and the occasional correspondence, she had no substantive connection to. Victoria Brehm has described the culture of the Johnston household by labelling Jane as being “irrevocably caught between two different cultures all her life.”⁴²⁹ But this understates the diversity of the Johnston household and the community at Sault Ste. Marie. Jane's upbringing was influenced by both of her parents, but also by her social status. The dichotomy that Brehm points to was not so simplistic: cultures in Sault Ste. Marie were frequently inter-mingled and modified. While John and Henry shared many traits, they also differed religiously, in their cultural identity, and in social status. The European and American connections of the Johnston family form the bulk of the extant paper trail. Despite this, written accounts of Jane's contact with her white friends and family inaccurately portray the frequency of these interactions.

Since 1822, and building into 1826, the increased presence of the American government in the area had begun to dictate the cultural and social freedoms of those in Sault Ste. Marie, and were informed by false contemporary understandings of race. The Treaty of Fond du Lac, and the establishment of Chippeway County, in 1826 demonstrated the government's growing influence and Henry's power within it. This trend would be picked up on by Protestant missionaries in the 1830s. The legal frameworks created in 1826 led to many changes in Sault Ste. Marie both, economically and politically.

The presence of the American government and white settlers led to a concentrated Aboriginal resistance movement in the area, which would become more influential during the first thirty-five years of Shingwauk leadership (1814-1900). Jane's family was

⁴²⁹ Brehm, *The Women's Great*, 38.

involved in these negotiations, representing various sides, yet often family members on opposite sides politically managed to live peacefully under one roof and retained significant aspects of their cultural heritage. This suggests that the traditional narrative of conflict is perhaps too harsh and clear cut to describe the interactions of this period. Rather this period stands out as a time of cultural negotiation and exchange. This equilibrium began to disappear during Jane's life and this process only accelerated after her death as anglicizing forces became more prevalent in the area. This period of negotiation challenges current understandings of the colonization process and the view of Anglicization as a dominating force, because these endeavours were initially, as well as ultimately, unsuccessful, the development of complex hybrid cultures through a process of synthesis needs to be explored further.

Recent emphasis on Aboriginal women in both historical and literary circles has led to better understandings of mixed-race families and their distinct culture. Tribalography's importance to the culture of the Upper Great Lakes in the nineteenth century as a whole, has helped literary critics and historians understand the philosophical foundations that informed Jane's experiences and written works. This brief period between the War of 1812 and the large-scale anglicizing efforts begun by missionaries and government officials in the 1830s, demonstrates that a culturally and religiously tolerant community existed at Sault Ste. Marie in 1826. Although gender roles existed, they did not minimize women's roles in political or economic pursuits in the same way as they did in Christian culture, as a result the importance of these roles was understated by the white, Christian men who wrote about them. In order to better understand these roles, practices employed

in the study of both literature and history must be used together for the way purpose of tribalogy. Treaty signings should be seen as signs of reciprocal friendship based on trust and mutual respect, which the American government subsequently failed to live up to.

The Johnston and Schoolcraft families offer an abundance of evidence about a group whose stories so often go unmentioned in the traditional narrative of colonial history. Politically these families held high positions among Aboriginals, metis and whites alike, through bonds formed by family ties, legislative force, and economic opportunism. In Sault Ste. Marie in 1826, the Anishnabee continued their traditional life-ways and were organized politically through adherence to chiefs. The metis, with a sense of autonomy, combined practices from both heritages, and the new white population was still predominately tied to Fort Brady. In day-to-day life, these communities co-existed in relative peace by combining their cultural heritages to create a unique society prior to the arrival of government officials.

Through changes in the 1820s, the Johnstons were able to maintain their elevated position in the community because they knew how to thrive in these various cultural realms. Their connection to the American government through Henry helped them to retain control of the shifting hegemonic forces in their community. Adapting to their changing environment also equipped the family with the necessary tools to preserve their history in writing, and made it available to government officials involved in creating Aboriginal policy. Understanding this family's position in the community, and their role in informing American policy as a whole, helps us to better understand the differences

between government ideals and pragmatic realities. The preservation of Ozhaguscodaywayquay's stories and Jane's literary works speaks to a larger population both then and now. Understood as works of tribalogy, they were written during the early years of government policy implementation, but they are also relevant to the current political situation in North America. Historical investigation has pointed to these precedent-setting decisions in Aboriginal policy, despite being made in the 1820s and being based on very little evidence. In passing these policies, they often became politically-entangled with questions of federal versus states rights. Now, as then, complicated arrangements among corporations and white political forces have come to dominate Aboriginal peoples and lands, to the detriment of our continent.

In order to heal the deep wounds between Aboriginal peoples and white populations in North America, we must look back to a time when these cultures peacefully coexisted based on a system of friendship and respect. Both cultures existed side-by-side at the local level, sharing their cultural heritage and knowledge to the mutual benefit of all. In order to learn from the mistakes that allowed white hegemony over political policies, we must look back to other models, where cultural synthesis, rather than domination, was the reality. In this respect, Jane and her immediate family demonstrate that it is possible to reconcile differences between Aboriginal and whites cultures, and to form a loving family capable of negotiating, and thriving, in the various cultural realms present in Sault Ste. Marie in 1826.

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