

Enmegahbowh: Native *and* Christian

**A paper on
the First Native American Episcopal Priest
for class on**

**Native Americans and Christianity
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Owanah Anderson, in Jamestown Commitment: The Episcopal Church and the American Indian, states that "Church historians have slighted the role of an Indian man, Enmegahbowh, in chronicling the coming of Christianity to the Ojibwa of northern Minnesota. While Whipple was the broker, Enmegahbowh was the implementer. While Whipple would come to be known as Apostle to the Indians, it was Enmegahbowh who served as the bishop's enabler, loyal companion, associate, and interpreter for more than 40 years." (p. 41)

Her words are backed up by those of Theodore Holcombe, biographer of the Rev. James Lloyd Breck, the first Episcopal missionary to work with Enmegahbowh. Writing at the turn of the century Holcombe says "Before closing these personal reminiscences, I wish to go back a little and explain more fully the beginnings of this Indian mission, and in so doing, I shall be able to give the credit to that providential man, Enmegahbowh; for, after all, it was to him and through him that our first Indian mission in the far West came to be thought of and finally undertaken." (p. 91)

Enmegahbowh was the first Native American to be ordained an Episcopal priest in the United States. He was an Ottawa Indian from Canada who originally came into Minnesota as a Methodist missionary. Her married an Ojibwa woman, settled in Minnesota and subsequently invited the Rev. James Lloyd Breck, an Episcopalian missionary, to start a mission in his area. Enmegahbowh, whose name means "the One Who Stands Before His People," eventually became a deacon in 1859 and eight years later was ordained to the priesthood in the Protestant Episcopal Church. This paper is a preliminary attempt to piece together a picture of his life.

The Ojibwa are often called Chippewa, a mispronunciation of a denigrating Dakota word meaning "people of the puckered moccasins." Today many Ojibwa prefer to be called Anishinaabe, which means "the people" in their Algonquian language. (Anderson, p. 41) In this paper I will use the term Ojibwa unless quoting a source that uses another term. Words in italics are Enmegahbowh's.

According to an early biographer, Sarah Thorp Heald, writing in 1939, as a small boy Enmegahbowh lived "in an Ottawa encampment near the village of Peterborough, when he came under the notice of Mr. Armour, an Episcopal clergyman of the vicinity. Mr. Armour persuaded his reluctant parents, whose only child he was, to allow him to enter the Armour home, to be educated with the clergyman's own sons. After three months of this life, when he learned to read, and to speak English, home sickness drove the boy to return to his own people. He ran away in the night and traveled afoot for two days to accomplish this." (p. 57) Heald notes that in subsequent years Enmegahbowh "was taught all the various crafts an Indian boy learns from his parents, and entered the "Grand Medicine Lodge", the mide-wiwim, to be taught all the rites and ceremonies, the traditions and lore of that mystic organization." (p. 57)

Enmegahbowh himself writes of his early years, "*I will give you a little of my first being and wanderings here and elsewhere. Of course I was born in a heathen country. My parents were heathen-worshipped to wood and stone. I was brought up in and trained in the Grand Medicine worship when quite young. But still I can remember all the teachings which have been taught me. Bye-and-bye I was initiated into the lodge and was fully considered a worthy member in the lodge.*" (p. 10)

According to Meyer, Enmegahbowh was raised in a Canadian Christian Anishinaabe village. "These villagers had found that embracing Methodism while carefully maintaining elements of their Anishinaabe heritage allowed them to pull themselves back from the morass of alcoholism and poverty. In the 1830's they allied with the Methodists with the aim of preaching their message of hope to other native communities. Enmegahbowh joined this effort." (p. 41) Historian Rebecca Kugel, quoted by Meyer, outlines the Methodist training program for these native preachers: "First they worked as interpreters at mission stations, then as schoolteachers and assistants; finally, after some formal religious education, they became qualified as missionaries." (p. 41) It is this path which Enmegahbowh followed in his early years.

Zanger continues the story, "Local missionaries then persuaded Enmegahbowh's parents to allow him a trial stint as a missionary at Saulte Sainte Marie. Though initially his parents tried to dissuade him by saying that "heathen cannibals" awaited him, Enmegahbowh accepted the call and never saw his forebears again. He taught school at L'Anse for two years, after which time his superiors urged him to commit himself to more intensive missionary work. An awareness of his limited education made him reluctant because he felt ill-prepared to answer "*heathen arguments.*" "*I know that some of them are strong,*" he said, "*and make strong proof in favor of heathen religion, and of the Grand Medicine Lodge.*" (p. 190)

In the late 1830's and early 1840's Christian missions in upper Minnesota were often established in advance of any substantial white settlement. However, the situation changed very quickly over the next twenty years. (Forbes, p. 106)

Forbes notes a "lack of preparation for a cross-cultural situation, a common shortcoming of early Methodist missionaries to Native Americans....Missionaries were often appointed to a Native American mission with preparation no different from those appointed to "white" circuits." (p. 108) The most notable attempt on the part of the Methodists to break through the cultural barrier in this region was through "three much-publicized Chippewa (Ojibwa) converts: George Copway, John Johnson, and Peter Marksman. They were enrolled with three white men at Ebenezer Manual Labor School, near Jacksonville, Illinois, with the intention of sending all six together as missionaries to American Indians." (Forbes, p. 109) The "Ojibwa" John Johnson in this list is Enmegahbowh. He was given this name by the Methodists as his baptismal Christian name and is referred to only by that name in the records of his work as a Methodist missionary.

Enmegahbowh traveled to Minnesota accompanying Methodist Superintendent Brunson, who founded a mission at Kaposia, six or eight miles below Fort Snelling, at Little Crow's village, in May of 1837. Riggs reports that:
in his second trip up he took with him George Copway, John Johnson and Peter Marksman, three young Ojibwas, who had been converted in Upper Canada, under the labors of Peter Jones and William Case. More recently they had been employed by Rev. John Clark in the Indian missions of Ottawa and Lac Court Orilles, in Wisconsin. They were to go down to the Methodist mission school at Jacksonville, Illinois, but in the meantime they could put in some months work on the upper Mississippi. The Sioux could hardly believe that they were Ojibwas, for they worked, they said, like Frenchmen. (Riggs, pp. 137-8)

By the summer of 1839 Elder Brunson resigned his superintendency and Rev. B. T. Kavanaugh took his place (Riggs, p. 149) "Immediately after his appointment, Elder Kavanaugh proceeded to his missionary field, taking with him Rev. Samuel Spates, Rev. Mr. Huddleston, Rev. John Johnson and Rev. Peter Marksman -the two latter native Ojibwas." (Riggs, p. 141) In the fall of 1840 new mission stations were formed, including "that at White Fish Lake, in charge of Rev. John Johnson" (Riggs, p. 141)

A report by Thomas Fullerton, who served briefly as a Methodist Episcopal Church missionary at Fond du Lac, informs us that during the early 1840's Enmegahbowh served at the following Methodist missions:

- 1841 -*Sandy Lake Mission*, S. Spates, John Johnson, Henry P. Chase
- 1842 -*Sandy Lake Indian Mission*, S. Spates, John Johnson
- 1843 - *Fon du Lac*, S. Spates, John Johnson (Forbes, p. 110)

At some point in the early 1840's Enmegahbowh married. Fullerton writes of his trip in 1842, "I was going to Conference by way of St. Peters, and accompanied Bro. Spates to Sandy Lake, where I baptized John Johnson's child Bro. Spates not being in orders." (Forbes, p. 114) This child he baptized in 1842 was probably Enmegahbowh and his wife's first. No other children are mentioned. The marriage probably took place a year or so before that.

Zanger tells the story of Enmegahbowh becoming discouraged and wanting to return to Canada:

En route to Ottawa kinsmen in Canada, Enmegahbowh married a relative of Hole-in-the-Day and Strong Ground, a respected Grand Medicine Lodge man at Rabbit Lake. The woman's parents consented to the union only on the condition that the couple not leave Chippewa territory during their lifetime. Enmegahbowh then broached the sensitive question whether the parents would allow baptism of their daughter before marriage. He was told: "We have given you our only child to protect and to make happy. If your Christian baptism would make her happy do what would be for her good." Enmegahbowh at first feared that members of his mate's Medicine Lodge would oppose the baptism, but they attended the ceremony. Moreover, as soon as he had killed a moose he claimed that his new in-laws accepted him as a worthy provider for Charlotte.

Still plagued with feelings of personal inadequacy, Enmegahbowh thought seriously about abandoning the missionary field. When learned white men left the country in discouragement, he remarked, how could he and his wife accomplish anything? While his

“wicked heart” urged him to quit, he remembered his vow to Charlotte’s parents. When horrendous storms twice threw back his eastbound ship, Enmegahbowh saw it as a parallel to the story of Jonah: God’s punishment for leaving his task undone. He later wrote that, having *“exhausted my wicked efforts to leave my heathen people, I returned to live and die with them.”* (Zanger, p. 190-1)

Enmegahbowh’s wife, Biwabikogizigokwe (“Iron Sky Woman”), given the Christian name of Charlotte, was the niece of Bugonaygeshig (Hole in the Day the Elder) and his brother Strong Ground, both important leaders at Sandy Lake. (Meyer, p. 41)

It appears that Enmegahbowh worked at the Fond du Lac Methodist Mission for about six years. Vecsey notes that “in 1849 Enmegahbowh’s wife had an argument with the resident trader and the mission post at Fond du Lac ended.” (Vecsey, p. 31) Owanah Anderson claims that the Methodists expelled Enmegahbowh after this incident in 1849. “It is said that a white man insulted Enmegahbowh’s wife Charlotte and that Enmegahbowh knocked the man down and held him while his wife gave the worthless man a sound beating.” (Anderson, pp. 41-2)

Holcombe says that Enmegahbowh went to Fort Snelling for the annual payment of his tribe in the fall of 1851. “It was here that he met for the first time a clergyman of our Church....After conversation with him, Dr. Geer, our chaplain at the fort, gave him a prayer-book. The prayer-book made him a churchman, and he at once, through D. Geer, opened a correspondence with Dr. Breck, and earnestly represented the great opportunity there was for a mission of the Church to the Indians.” (Holcombe, pp. 91-92)

Enmegahbowh went to St. Paul from Gull Lake, a trip of some 150 miles, and left his son to be educated at the Episcopal mission which had been started in 1851 by Dr. James Lloyd Breck who left Nashotah House to open it. “Later Enmegahbowh sent an appeal to the (sic) Breck: *“Come you, Come and teach.”* (Anderson, p. 42)

In response to this appeal during the summer of 1852 the Rev. James Lloyd Breck “left St. Paul and traveled on foot up the Mississippi to the mouth of Crow Wing, and thence to the shore of Gull Lake.... Arriving at Gull Lake, he held a council with the chief men, a majority of whom favored his proposition to establish a Mission and school among them.” (Riggs, pp. 161-2) In a letter which Dr. Breck wrote to his brother at the time he said, “....The head chief rejects the plausible system of Rome, and asks for the Catholic system of the Church. Such is the nature of the door that is opening to us, and is it possible for us to refuse to enter?” (Holcombe, pp. 92-3) Breck returned “joining Enmegahbowh in 1852, at Gull Lake, named in Ojibwa Ka-ge-ash-koon-si-kag, *“the place of the little gulls.”* Together, they established St. Columba’s, the mother mission of Episcopal Indian work west of the Mississippi River.” (Anderson, p. 42)

In 1856 the Pillager band invited Breck to Leech Lake, and he was replaced at Gull Lake by the Rev. E. S. Peake, a young clergyman from Nashotah seminary who was appointed by the Rev. Bishop Jackson Kemper, then Bishop in charge of Minnesota. (Vecsey, p. 34; Riggs, p. 163) The next year the Pillagers threatened to kill Breck. As a result of the threat Breck moved to Faribault where he established what became Seabury Divinity School to train Indians for the ministry. (Vecsey, p. 35) According to Anderson, Enmegahbowh stayed on at Gull Lake where he “was substantially assisted by missionaries of the Church of England working in Canada, who shared an Ojibwa translation of the prayer book, the four gospels, and later the complete New Testament.” (Anderson, p. 42)

Enmegahbowh was successful in converting a number of leading Ojibwa to the Christian faith. Among them was Nebuneshkung, Hole-in-the-Day’s “head soldier.” Enmegahbowh was proud of his conversion of Nebuneshkung. *“Here...is another big Indian witness for the love of Jesus,”* he wrote. “Enmegahbowh wanted the story broadcast to those *“Palefaces...who have heir doubts of an Indian becoming truly Christian, that Indian [sic] can love Jesus with all his heart and can be happy as well as your Palefaces who love Jesus.”* (Zanger, p. 198)

Enmegahbowh also brought old Wagemawehkong (Grand Medicine Brother) into “*Christ’s flock of Ojibways.*” “Writing from St. Columba, Enmegahbowh reminded Breck why conversion of this particular man was considered such a coup....Enmegahbowh noticed a behavior change which he interpreted as a favorable sign; the old man had stayed away from “whiskey city” all summer. But most significant, Wagemaweshkong had been one of the leading *midé* or Medicine Lodge “priests,” “*the only one that have [sic] any way opposed the Missionaries and the Christian religion here.*” (Zanger, p. 192) The conversion of leaders such as these to Christianity contributed to the strength of the Episcopal presence first at Gull Lake and later at the White Earth reservation.

On May 5, 1854, Enmegahbowh had formally applied to be admitted as candidate for Holy Orders in the Protestant Episcopal Church. After five years of preparation and at the age of thirty-six Enmegahbowh was ordained to the diaconate, along with two others, by Bishop Jackson Kemper in one of his last acts as provisional Bishop of the Diocese. (Anderson, p. 42; Holcombe, p. 95) Holcombe recalled in 1903 that this was “the first ordination, and this was also the first Indian deacon of our Church, so far as I am informed at the present writing, and it is certainly true of all the tribes west of the great river.” (p. 95) The ordination to the diaconate of Enmegahbowh preceded by twenty-two years the June 1881 ordination of Cheyenne missionary David Pendleton Oakerhater who is celebrated in the Episcopal calendar of saints on September first each year.

Soon after Henry Benjamin Whipple was consecrated Bishop of Minnesota in 1859 he made his first trip to Gull Lake in the fall accompanied by James Breck. (Zanger, p. 179) This was the first of many such yearly visits. On one visit to Gull Lake “Enmegahbowh read a service, and the bishop preached through an interpreter, confirmed several Indians, and spent a few days visiting wigwams.... Whipple commented that he had never heard a sweeter service than that sung in the Chippewas’ “musical tongue.” (Zanger, pp. 184-5)

The picture of Christian missionary work in Minnesota at the time Bishop Whipple was consecrated was not hopeful. According to Riggs:

At that time, the Rev. J. Lloyd Breck had been driven from the Mission at Leech Lake, by drunken Indians. The Rev. E. S. Peake had been compelled to remove his family from Gull Lake to Crow Wing. The missionaries of the American Board had retired from the part of field some years before. The Methodist Mission at Sandy Lake and the Mission at Rabbit Lake were things of the past. And in this year, 1859, the American Missionary Association, owing to annoyances and exactions of drunken Indians, had withdrawn their Missions from Red Lake and Lake Winnebegoshish. Thus Christian work for the Ojibwas seemed hopeless. The deadly fire-water flowed freely-vice and immorality were open and unblushing. The poor Indians were dragged down to depths of degradation their fathers never knew. Only one clergyman, Rev. John Johnson, Enmegahbowh, remained among the Ojibwas. (p. 166)

In his 1902 published letter of reminiscences to Nathan Richardson, mayor of Little Falls, Enmegahbowh recounts some background to the Ojibwa joining with the Sioux uprising of 1862. In that year Enmegahbowh was approached by two men asking that he accompany them to Mille Lacs “*to help us get all the young Indians to go to war in the South.*” (Enmegahbowh, p. 11) They offered to pay one or two hundred dollars to each man to substitute for others who could not (or did not want to) go to war. Enmegahbowh offered to give them his answer the next day and consulted with his wife who said he should not accept the proposition. He did not agree to aid them but suggested the men approach the half breeds. There was quite a commotion and drunkenness resulting from the young men selling themselves for fifty to 100 dollars. (Enmegahbowh, p. 12)

The parents of some of the men from Leech Lake came to Enmegahbowh and said they planned to kill a Mr. Horn, the whiskey trader, who had bought two of their sons and taken them to be resold. Enmegahbowh wrote that he replied “*I am glad to hear you think me worthy to make known to me your object in visiting Crow Wing. My friends, I presume you all understand what it will bring about. If you kill the white man, you will cause a general warfare and the whites will drive us away from our country and perhaps will eventually sweep us away from the face of the earth.*” (p. 13)

According to Enmegahbowh’s account the men from Leech Lake replied:

For this we have been fully prepared for many years. We cannot be free or be exempt from it. For many years past we have been sitting still under the dark cloud of ill treatment by the whites. Our country and the great pine forest are nearly all gone. We see what is coming upon us. The troubles and sufferings will eventually come upon all our poor races. This is the prediction of our fathers, told to their children and grandchildren. 'It will take place, it is coming, and upon our doors. They will come with great pretensions, and will call you ne-che or friend. Yes, yes, you will become disgraced, your homes and sacred places polluted.' And that is what our great grandfathers said. (Enmegahbowh, p. 14)

Enmegahbowh proposed that they wait six or seven days in order to give him time to travel to St. Paul to talk with Mr. Rice and General Sibley regarding the problem of the whiskey traders “*buying our young men and selling them again to the highest bidder.*” (Enmegahbowh, p. 14-15) They agreed to wait while he made the trip on foot. He made the trip and met with Mr. Rice who gave him a letter to General Sibley. General Sibley in turn gave him “*papers to show the most conspicuous persons*” and told him to write if there was more buying and selling of the young Indians. He returned in time and the relatives of the men were satisfied with his efforts and returned home. (Enmegahbowh, pp. 16-17)

Enmegahbowh's uneasiness about his people taking up arms against the American nation was realized later that year when the Sioux nation rose up in arms. The Sioux war chief, Little Crow, had made an agreement with Hole-in-the-day, the Ojibwa chief, to ally their people between whom “*deadly hatred and warfare had been carried on for ages past.*” (Enmegahbowh, p. 18) Hole-in-the-day had sent messages to the interior urging his people to take up arms: “*There was never a better time to urge this. Our people had been looking for that day to come, and now it had come they were ready to take up arms and go forth to war. The soldiers have nearly all been taken away to the South. The interior forts were all nearly empty. Come, my fellow warriors, let us go forth to war! For we are a dying people anyhow. We might as well hasten the day of our sufferings and death!*” (Enmegahbowh, p. 19)

When Hole-in-the-day invited Enmegahbowh to his council wigwam to inform him of his plan to kill all the whites he could, Enmegahbowh said to him and the other warriors present:

My friends, you all know me. For years I have stood before you and tried to save you from your present condition and the consequences of your sin's doing. If you knew as much as I know of the greatness and power of the whites against whom you are expected to fight, you would not entertain the idea to thus strike against heavy rocks. You may kill a few in the beginning, but in the end you will all be swept away from the face of the earth, and annihilated forever. I love you all. I see and know just exactly how the war will terminate. As a friend who loves you, I would ask you all as wise men to think and well consider whether your present plan is to your salvation or death. Think ye well. (pp. 19-20)

He reports that Hole-in-the-day said, “*Yes, your words are true. I have taken the step too hastily, without due consideration. The plan has already come into its maturity. I am not able to control it.*” (Enmegahbowh, p. 20)

Enmegahbowh went away and stayed at Gull Lake Mission which the white missionaries had already deserted. He decided to flee to Crow Wing with his family but was overtaken by four warriors who said they should return home and that they would not be harmed. But a few days later Chief Crossing Sky of Rabbit Lake came to his house at night (Enmegahbowh, p. 20) and advised him to flee to Fort Ripley because “*Hole-in-the-day is going to march with his warriors against the Agency in two days from today, and massacre all the whites. Be sure to flee away. For when he returns he will be so ugly and spare no one whom he knows has sympathy with the whites.*” (Enmegahbowh, pp. 20-21)

By means of a white visitor Enmegahbowh sent a letter to the people of the Agency to warn them of Hole-in-the-day's plans. (Enmegahbowh, p. 21) The people at the Agency fortified an old heavy log house. When some days later Hole-in-the-day arrived with a war party they found the Agency well prepared to repel an attack. According to Enmegahbowh's account Hole-in-the-day said “*Let us return home. I know the treacherous man who gave the information. Enmegahbowh is the man. He shall surely die, and just as soon as we reach home. The first thing I shall do is to go to his house and shoot him down like a dog. Mark you*” said he to his warriors, “*all of you shall see me doing it, and shall bear witness to*

the act." (Enmegahbowh, p. 23) But by this time Enmegahbowh was safely housed and protected in the hands of government soldiers at Fort Ripley. (Enmegahbowh, p. 23)

At Fort Ripley the captain asked if it was true, as it was reported, that Hole-in-the-day would attack the fort. Enmegahbowh confirmed the report. (Enmegahbowh, p. 29) That evening the people at the fort made preparations to defend themselves. (Enmegahbowh, p. 30) The captain asked Enmegahbowh if he had objections to serve as a sentinel. Enmegahbowh said "*I have some objections on account of my calling and standing before my people as a missionary. To take up arms against them and against the Gospel of Peace, at this late day, to take up a big musket to shoot them, does not look well in me. Yet here are my wife and children in the fort. I seek protection. Yes, yes, I am willing to go. I am ready to defend the fort.*" (Enmegahbowh, p. 31)

The next day after serving as sentinel the captain asked Enmegahbowh to enlist in the army. "*I came very near to entering the army. But then looking back upon my work and my standing and my calling I said, "Away, away with it! Let me go on with my work. Peradventure I may save one of my own race through my instrumentality. Oh, no! I must not look back. Here are my dying race, without knowledge, without God, and without hope in the world.*" (Enmegahbowh, p. 33)

After fleeing for his life, losing two children to exposure, and having his mission destroyed, Enmegahbowh "fell into deep depression. Temporarily quartered in a tent, he held Chippewa language services every Sunday. "*I have been down hearted & much discouraged,*" he wrote, "*everything present look darks [sic].*" (Zanger, p. 203)

When he visited the devastated mission some months later "a saddened Enmegahbowh reported that his former "*flocks*" looked "*much cast down.*" Even the non-Christians unanimously asked him to return, one man offering as inducement a hundred bushels of potatoes. Because he believed there were still "*true Christians*" at Gull Lake who felt remorseful about recent events and desired his return, Enmegahbowh was willing to do so if the bishop concurred." But the bishop and other missionaries vacillated in making a decision. (Zanger, p. 204)

According to Zanger, "Enmegahbowh, destitute and despondent at Crow Wing, searched for an outlet for his missionary zeal which would be acceptable to the Chippewas and to his Episcopal superiors." (Zanger, p. 204) He found it accompanying a delegation to Washington, D.C.

Through Whipple's influence and his kinship ties by marriage, Enmegahbowh found temporary work when he accompanied a Chippewa treaty delegation to Washington... Enmegahbowh functioned as a bilingual intermediary and tour conductor. He preached en route and in other ways attempted on behalf of his Episcopal patron to counter what he call "Romanist" influences on the Indians... But in the process Enmegahbowh made Episcopal views known to the commissioner of Indian Affairs and other policy makers. Although the issue of subsidized missionaries remained unresolved, this particular negotiation provided for a board of visitors to oversee the subsequent application of treaty provisions in Minnesota. (Zanger, pp. 204-5)

Bishop Whipple reported that Enmegahbowh had "gone east with some of the chiefs to raise money for the church of St. Columba to be built at White Earth. He met with an enthusiastic reception and Jenny Lind sent for him to ask about his work. She gave his (sic) a check for a thousand dollars." (quoted in Heald, p. 60) Heald adds that during this trip, when Enmegahbowh was in Washington he was "kindly received at the White House by the president." (p. 60)

Zanger notes that this trip affected Enmegahbowh's ministry. "Dabbling in intersocietal political negotiations undermined Enmegahbowh's effectiveness as an Episcopal evangelist. As late as a year after the 1863 Washington trip opponents threatened to kill him if he traveled to Mille Lacs and other Chippewa settlements. Feelings ran high against those who had cooperated in the latest treaty-making venture, and Enmegahbowh found himself pilloried by leaders antagonistic to the agreement." Zanger adds that "It took him years to regain a modicum of respect as a missionary among some disgruntled bands. (p. 205)

The Reverend Mr. Peake became an army chaplain, and Enmegahbowh, as deacon, again took charge of Saint Columba Mission at Gull Lake. With no other priest in more than 100 miles, communion

could be given to the flock of St. Columba's only on Whipple's visits. (Zanger, p. 202) So in 1867 Bishop Whipple decided to take the historic step of ordaining to the priesthood the first Native American. "Enmegahbowh had a good English education, was devout, and well-read in the scriptures and in church history. With the consent of the Standing Committee, I gave him a dispensation for the Greek and Hebrew, my Indian deacon did not miss an answer in his examinations by three of the ablest men in my diocese. I ordained Enmegahbowh to the priesthood in the Cathedral at Faribault, and I knew my red children could henceforth regularly receive the Christian bread." (quoted in Heald, p. 60)

By this time living conditions for the Ojibwa in Minnesota were getting more and more difficult. Their subsistence crisis worsened as lumber companies pushed for more and more land to log. They pressed through their political allies for access to timber on Ojibwa ceded lands and on the reservations. "At the same time, the influential Episcopal Bishop Henry Benjamin Whipple, who had long been a voice for reform in Indian affairs, began to argue that the Anishinaabeg of north-central Minnesota should be relocated to an area of greater agricultural potential where they might be sheltered from the negative aspects of involvement with Euroamericans." (Meyer, p. 42)

In 1867 a treaty with the Mississippi Ojibwa bands created the White Earth Reservation. The reservation was created with the purposes of increasing the amount of fertile farming land at a site where Indians would be concentrated, making farmers of the Minnesota Ojibwas and removing them away from the frightened white population and out of the way of logging interests. (Meyer, p. 42; Vecsey, p. 18) The Gull Lake band was the first to be removed to White Earth.

Enmegahbowh recounts in detail the removal of his Gull Lake people and later his own move to White Earth. "*The troubles [of 1862] subsided a little and I returned home. But another trouble came on. It was the removal. It was the most serious trouble that could come. I thought about the removal. I have known well enough, and have heard my people say, it was what they most dreaded and hated to leave their country. Poor fellows!*" (Enmegahbowh, pp. 33-34)

The chiefs and the old men and women often come and ask if I knew anything about their removal. I said out openly, "Yes, I think that very thing must come to affect us, because the government has and is still removing the different Indian tribes all over the United States, for some cause, a good cause. It is always a good cause, because the government makes it to become such. Here it is. Just see it. Bye-and-bye, I say, you all shall be removed. Now if you ask me why, if you have done anything to justify your removal, look back a year ago. See what you have done, and the warriors who came and were ready to make a general warfare against your friends the whites. My friends, had I not been a living man, mark you, when you started to go on with the warfare, had I not interfered, today all you people would not have walked on your beautiful ground nor paddled your canoes on these beautiful lakes and rivers. You would have been destroyed and swept away from the face of the earth. And for saving you and interfering, you wanted to kill me, and you would have done it had I not escaped from my home you would have killed me. In doing the above I showed my love toward you. You are all here, smoking your pipe of peace. You ought to thank me for it. And for this very foolish act of yours the government will say to you all you must remove." (Enmegahbowh, pp. 34-35)

And the day arrived when the Gull Lake band were to be removed. Hole-in-the-day opposed the move and threatened with death the first man who would not obey him. But Chief Turtle or Na-bun-a-skong stood up to Hole-in-the-day's braves and the removal took place without any trouble. (Enmegahbowh, p. 35)

I never can forget what Na-bun-a-skong did before his final step took place for the unknown country. Looking at the deep pine forest, with his hands stretched forth, and with a deep voice he said, "O you majestic pine forest, how often have I sought shelter and protection under thy great wing! Thy songs have often cheered me and thy waving heads have halted me to listen to thy melodious songs. Oh, you majestic pine forest! Continue to sing thy beautiful songs, to awaken and to cheer my dear children that I have left behind me in their graves!" (p. 36) Turning toward the Mississippi and pointing to it he said, "Oh, ye, the father of rivers, for ages past thy beautiful current has often cheered while gliding over thy currents with my canoe! I am leaving thee! I shall never again grace thy flowing waters. I leave thee, not by my wish, but I am compelled." And again pointing toward the mountain, he said, with a loud voice, "Oh, you

beautiful mount! How often have I hidden under thy walls when in danger!" So saying he returned, much cast down and with spirits of melancholy. (Enmegahbowh, p. 37)

After removal when harmony had been restored the whites and mixed bloods invited Enmegahbowh to come to Crow Wing under their protection while Hole-in-the-day continued to threaten him. (Enmegahbowh, p. 37) The chiefs sent him a letter from the new country and suggested he prepare to follow them. About a month after the removal Hole-in-the-day's own friends assassinated him. (Enmegahbowh, p. 38)

According to Meyer Hole in the Day had forged alliances with local métis traders who had statewide ties to political and business leaders. These were the same traders the Episcopal band leaders would have liked to have evicted from the area due to whiskey peddling. However, for some unknown reason, Hole in the Day opposed the inclusion of "French-Canadian mixed-bloods" in the removal to White Earth. He even was heard to threaten he "wasn't going to allow them to come on this reservation." In August 1868 he was found dead by the roadside. The assassination party was rumored to be Leech Lake Pillagers Another story was that some of the métis traders had been involved in offering money for the killing of Hole in the Day. (Meyer, pp. 44-46)

The death of Hole-in-the-day allowed Enmegahbowh to migrate to White Earth. *"The day arrived when our departure should take place. The hardest day of our lives! To leave the little graves of our dear children was the most sorrowful thing we ever experienced. It was a long time before I could get my wife away from the little graves, and finally I got her away with broken hearts. I know so well I shall never walk around them again while life shall last."* (Enmegahbowh, p. 39)

As his party approached White Earth *"Chiefs White Cloud, Washburn, Me-shah-ki-gi-shig, Aubboy and Na-bun-a-skong, the first men of the tribe and the first head men of the nation, and with them each two head warriors"* came to meet them. (Enmegahbowh, p. 43) Their meeting *"was one of a general manifestation of joy not soon to be forgotten."* (Enmegahbowh, p. 45) *"These chiefs and warriors were all heathen. They worshipped to wood and stone. They go to meet a man who comes with a different religious spirit, a man who comes to destroy and annihilate their religious faith and worship, the grand medicine faith of our forefathers and great grandfathers. This man, Enmegahbowh, came to teach them a new religion. (Some of these chiefs had heard my teaching before they were removed.) What changed them, and caused them to grasp the Christian teachings."* (Enmegahbowh, p. 46)

"I arrived on Friday. A little comfortable log house had been provided for my dwelling house. Sunday came, and to my great astonishment, chiefs and headmen, women and children, of all grades, came to listen to my teachings. I was moved with compassion to see them seek shelter and strong stockade for shelter, the most impregnable fortress of Christian religion, the only hope of salvation for my unfortunate race." (Enmegahbowh, p. 47) *"During the winter we used the largest wigwam or log house, and during the summer I held my public services under the shade of the trees. In the second year I had nearly all the chiefs and the leading men and women and many children under my teachings."* (Enmegahbowh, pp. 47-8)

The new immigrants named their reservation Gahwahbhabigonikah, or White Earth, "for the white glacial loess found beneath the black surface soil." (Meyer, p. 48)

Most reservation residents considered Wabonaquod (White Cloud) as the paramount *ogimaa* or band leader at White Earth until the time of his death in 1898. He was the eldest son of Gull Lake *ogimaa* Waubojig (White Fisher) and "was performing as a respected leader by 1867. He had been among the first to reach out to the Episcopalians for aid in enhancing Anishinaabe farming skills and enthusiastically supported the move to White Earth in an effort to revitalize their economy." (Meyer, p. 92)

Other important band leaders were also drawn to Enmegahbowh's message. In addition to White Cloud they included "Minogeshig (Fine Day) and Iahbayt (Buck) from Mille Lacs, where desperate conditions brought by close contact with Euroamericans made the farming option seem especially attractive; Mezhucegeshig (Horizon) a lesser leader from Rabbit Lake, whose wife and two children had converted to the Episcopalian religion before him; and Gull Lakers Nabunashkong and Manidowab, both

of whom had had strong ties with Hole in the Day the Younger and often supported his more militant brand of politics.” (Meyer, pp. 41-2) According to Meyer these men “hoped that intensified farming efforts would help rejuvenate their communities and they respected the lessons that Enmegahbowh had earlier learned from the Canadian Anishinaabeg.” (pp. 42)

An important event which occurred in the early days after the Ojibwas removal to White Earth (probably around 1869) was the making of a permanent peace between the Sioux and the Ojibwas. According to Enmegahbowh’s account it was Christian Ojibwa converts of his who initiated the peace: *the head chief, White Cloud, came to my house and said, “Enmegahbowh, my brother-in-law, I came to make known what is in my heart. We are very near the country of our great enemies, the Sioux nation. Several months ago the Pillager Indians went over not very far from us, and killed a whole family and scalped them. I shall expect them to make retaliation, or perhaps they are preparing to make a great war against us. Several of us chiefs and head warriors propose to go to the Sioux country to try to make peace with them, and on reaching their country we will leave our guns behind us and go to grasp their hands without any war implements about us. The great enemies, seeing us without arms shall be fully convinced that our hearts are fully prepared to make peace, a permanent peace, not for one month or year; but for all time to come. I know it is a great risk and a great venture of faith. Now, dear brother-in-law, why should I propose this great undertaking, a dangerous and uncertain path for reaching the object sought for? My heart has been greatly changed from deep seated hatred to loving my enemies. My fathers and myself even, have worshipped to the Unknown God, yes even to wood and stone. Today my people have turned their hearts to the living God and are worshipping Him, I hope, with true hearts. It is under His great protection I propose to visit my enemies. I am confident to reach the hands of my enemies without anything happening to me. God is my hope and my trust... (Enmegahbowh, pp. 48-49)*

Chief White Cloud said they would be gone ten days. It was fifteen days before they returned, but peace had been achieved. Enmegahbowh’s report continues, *“Since this took place it is now over thirty-four years, and in not one instance has this peace been broken, but it has grown strong and stronger, and it is a settled fact that as long as we both shall live there shall be no more war between the two largest Indian nations, the Sioux and the Chippewas. (p. 52)* I have not found other references to the making of this peace. Perhaps because it was done between the Indian tribes themselves there are few or no written records of it. Enmegahbowh concludes, *“to the present time peace and great harmony has prevailed between the nations. The Sioux have in return visited us year after year.” (Enmegahbowh, p. 54)*

In 1874 another missionary priest was sent to White Earth to work with Enmegahbowh. He was the Rev. Joseph Gilfillan, an Irishman who migrated to America to work in a bank of his uncle at Faribault, Minnesota. He attended General Theological Seminary and graduated in 1869. He was sent to White Earth after brief stints in Duluth and Brainard. (Aldrich, pp. 41-42)

According to Aldrich, “Gilfillan went to board in the family of Enmegahbowh, wishing that “no sounds but Indian might reach his ear,” and began the study of one of the most highly inflected and difficult languages known. His only aid was a faultily translated payer book, and as soon as he mastered the language, Mr. Gilfillan made another which is still in use.” (p. 42) Enmegahbowh helped with this new translation.

Over the next thirty-five years the migration of Ojibwa bands and métis or mixed bloods to White Earth continued in a chain migration pattern. By 1872, when White Earth Agency was established there were some 550 migrants. By 1875 there were 800, some of whom were already supporting themselves by farming. According to Meyer, “Episcopal missionary Joseph Gilfillan estimated that between one-third and one-half of the population were “mixed bloods,” who kept coming from all parts of northern Minnesota and Wisconsin,” perhaps a thousand or more who were all Roman Catholic.” (p.48) By 1876 there were a total of 1,427 people, including more who had come from Gull Lake plus Otter Tail Pillagers and Pembina bands. (Meyer, p. 48) The greatest period of Ojibwa migration to White Earth occurred between 1891 and 1894. It tapered off after that. (Meyer, p. 60)

In 1871, when the government decreed an end to treaty making (after negotiating 650 treaties) Bishop Whipple of Minnesota moved the Episcopal church heavily into Indian work. Between 1871 and 1882 the Episcopal Church sent eighty new missionaries to Indian territory and ordained twenty Indian deacons and two Indian priests. (Anderson, p. 47-8) Riggs, writing in 1880, states that “The plan of the Bishop is to send out his Indian clergy two and two. All of the above churches are in the charge of Indian clergymen, whose devotion and piety will compare favorably with that of their white brothers.” (Riggs, p. 168)

Meyer states that “The alliance that Gull Lake leaders forged with Episcopalians produced native ministers, many of whom became spokesmen for measured, purposeful change-especially through farming and church attendance....These native ministers became important leaders in their own right, and were most effective at mediating between Episcopalian church leaders and other Anishinaabeg. They were attuned enough to their native kin to voice authentic Anishinaabe concerns, but also advocated adaptation along agrarian and educational lines.” (Meyer, p. 97) These deacons were sent out in the territory in pairs and “through them a large portion of the Minnesota Ojibway were Christianized.” (Aldrich, p. 42) Meyer speaks more specifically about who these Indian clergy were:

Three sons (Fred Smith, George Smith, and John Coleman) of Crow Feather, Hole in the Day’s head warrior, also became ordained as deacons and played prominent roles as spokesmen. as did Charles T. Wright (Nashotah or Twin), son of Wabonaquod (White Cloud), George B. Morgan (Kahkahcun), son of Mille Lacs leader Iahbay (Buck), and George Johnson, son of John Johnson Enmegahbowh. Only a few native ministers, Mark Hart (Obimweweish or Sailing along with a Thundering Sound), Louis Manypenny, Duane Porter, and Joseph Wakazoo, had no kinship ties to prominent Anishinaabe band leaders. Clearly, successional leadership roles were passed from important band leaders to their Episcopalian sons in much the same way that semihereditary lines of descent had operated in the past. (Meyer, pp. 97-8)

Vecsey states that, “All too often the Ojibwa Christians, catechists, assistants, deacons or ministers were subject to the white missionaries’ authority and did not exercise independent leadership as they would have in traditional times. The letters from the Episcopalian native deacons in Minnesota to Rev. Gilfillan indicated their dependence on him and their total deference to his judgments. Gilfillan’s letters to Bishop Whipple suggest that the deacons carried out very few tasks of religious import.” However his next sentence gives weight to the claims of Meyer and Aldrich when he adds, “A committee of Christian Ojibwas petitioned Whipple to ordain more native deacons as priests so they could take up leadership roles and administer communion (Whipple 1833-34, Box 1).” (Vecsey, p. 170) If Ojibwas were petitioning for more Indian clergy they must have had respect for the job these men were doing.

In the last half of the nineteenth century the Ojibwa villages of Minnesota underwent a major transformation. With treaty agreements and the ending of warfare, “the kinship-based social structures of larger villages like Leech Lake began to break down. Reservation politics and relations with the United States now revolved around power centers outside the warrior groups. The result was a more particularistic society in which “factions crystallized around...medicine cult groups, drum societies, church groups, [and] local and tribal councils.” Land cessions and bitterly contested decisions about timber and water use exacerbated internal factional divisions.” (Zanger, p. 182)

Some of these factional divisions were along religious lines, between Episcopalians and Catholics, and between these two groups and those who followed native traditions. Due to the migration of many Catholicized métis or mixed bloods to the White Earth reservation, Catholics outnumbered Episcopalians there even before a permanent Catholic church was built. (Meyer, p. 111)

In 1881 the *Minneapolis Tribune* reported that of the 1,700 Ojibwas at White Earth, 800 were Catholic, 250 were Episcopalian, and only 650 remained ‘heathens.’ By 1894 the Episcopalians had about 300 adherents. The Episcopal missionaries operated four churches, three schools, and a hospital at White Earth in 1894. The main mission was St. Columba located at White Earth Village itself; there were additional churches at Pine Point and Wild Rice River. (Meyer, p. 107 & 110)

Enmegahbowh’s church, which held about three hundred worshipers, was often filled to overflowing. In the services held there the priest [Gilfillan] discerned a “devoutness and fervency of

spirit.” “The Indians’ attentiveness, deportment, and relish for hymn singing impressed him. In summer months Chippewas who came for morning services often milled around the church, “usually without anything to eat,” until the 5:00 p.m. service. “Sometimes,” wrote the priest, “Enmegahbowh takes them out a little flour-there are many heavy drains upon him-and they bake cakes of it under the trees to appease their hunger.” (Zanger, pp. 209-10) Meyer points out that “Enmegahbowh’s understanding of Anishinaabe values emphasizing generosity, sharing, and reciprocity enabled him to interact effectively with band members. As he generously gave of his own personal belongings and resources, he differentiated himself from other Euroamerican missionaries who had come before.” (p. 41)

According to Meyer, “Ethnic differences evident in leadership patterns were also reflected in religious affiliation at White Earth.” (p. 107) In 1887 Enmegahbowh explained that “Episcopal mission activities attracted more “full-bloods” or conservative interior band members than the Catholic religion did.” (Meyer, p. 107)

Meyer continues, “Earlier interdenominational conflict dissolved into a peaceful, harmonious relationship after 1889, as missionaries ministered to congregations that were largely segregated along ethnic lines.” (p. 107) For example, a legal dispute arose over the March 25, 1886 publication of *The Progress*, the first Indian newspaper published on the White Earth Reservation, between the editor, Theodore Hudon Beaulieu, and publisher, Augustus Hudon Beaulieu, both of whom were mixedbloods, and the United States Indian Agent, T. J. Sheehan, who prohibited its publication. Enmegahbowh wrote a letter to the committee which investigated the matter in support of Clement Beaulieu, the first witness who testified before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Indian Affairs in March 1887. (Vizenor, p. 78-87)

Enmegahbowh wrote that he knew Clement Beaulieu to be “*always upright and honorable and zealous in the civilization and advancement of his tribe.*” Vizenor notes that Enmegahbowh’s letter is significant in view of the struggles between the Episcopal and Catholic missions. Clement Beaulieu and his family, with the exception of one son who became an Episcopal priest, were members of the Catholic Church. The white Episcopal missionaries, on the other hand, “were critical of the influence of the mixedbloods on the reservation and supported most of the accusations made by the federal agent.” (Vizenor, p. 87)

Those Ojibwa who followed native religious practices were mostly adherents of the Grand Medicine Society or Midé-wiwin. Hoffman, writing in 1891, says that many Midé priests “being aware of the momentous consequences of such a change in their habits, and foreseeing the impracticability of much longer continuing the ceremonies of so-called “pagan rites,” became willing to impart them to me, in order that a complete description might be made and preserved for the future information of their descendants.” He predicted that “their tribal ties will be broken and their primitive customs and rites be abandoned.” (Hoffman, pp. 299-300) However, according to Meyer, the Midéwiwin or Grand Medicine Society “was transplanted to the White Earth Reservation along with the earliest immigrants and persisted into the twentieth century.” (Meyer, p. 111)

From his early days in Canada Enmegahbowh had acquired a first-hand knowledge of the rites of a native medicine society very similar to the Ojibwa one. This, he said, “*proved a help during my missionary work when my heathen people have confronted me with questions as to why the Christian religion is better.*” When once talking with a Grand Medicine Lodge member, Enmegahbowh reported that he “revealed his former acquaintance with “*all its secrets*” and dismissed them as “*foolish lies to deceive the people and get gain.*” His Chippewa listener apparently agreed with this economic view, saying, “*But all my life I have been a Medicine Man and this is my only way to get my living -What can I do for I am old?*” (Zanger, pp. 191-2)

Enmegahbowh had a good understanding of his adopted people and was tolerant of many of their customs. He notes, after peace was finally achieved between the Ojibwa and the Sioux:

The great white-faced people say, “The White Earth Indians are turning to their foolish war dances and they will become foolish and regardless of their Christian professions.

I have never said much of anything against their amusements, their dancing together, both men and women. To say anything against it costs too dearly. I know well that just as sure as I am a living man this dancing play and amusement will soon cease, and Christian prayers and

singing will be substituted. No man can understand it as well as I understand it. This dancing between the two parties was caused by a heart full of thankfulness. They rejoiced greatly that a lasting friendship had been established between them, and they had now become as one nation, as it were like one family....That is the prevailing spirit of my people and the Sioux nation today. (Enmegahbowh, p. 55)

Meyer sums up the Episcopal work, much of which, as shown in this paper, was influenced by Enmegahbowh:

the Episcopalians had succeeded in establishing an institutional infrastructure that blended better with native Anishinaabe religious practices. In fact, some suggested that the hybrid Episcopal congregations evolved in areas where there were not Midé priests, filling a need for more conservative people....Sunday services were “conducted in both English and Chippewa.” Episcopal parishioners learned to sing standard Christian hymns in the Anishinaabe language. Even though their membership totals remained low in relation to the overall population, Episcopal methods reflected tolerance, flexibility, and the use of native personnel and the Anishinaabe language. The Episcopalians had greater success in blending elements of the new ways with the old to produce a syncretic religion based on both that proved more attractive to conservative Indian people who were inclined to sample Christianity. (pp. 107 & 110)

How did the Episcopalians under Bishop Whipple accomplish this work? By working closely with his missionaries and Indian deacons and especially with his Indian priest, Enmegahbowh, who served him in many capacities. For example, Bishop Whipple received regular letters and reports from Enmegahbowh and Joseph Gilfillan. “Their letters and conversation covered a wide range of subjects from acculturative progress and resistance of traditionalists to timber frauds, machinations of traders, and corruption of agents. These two men, and others (Indian and non-Indian), were the bishop’s eyes and ears in the Chippewa communities. He in turn translated their parochial complaints and squabbles and pleas for money, clothing, agricultural equipment, and the like into formal requests to Indian service officials, politicians, and donators of funds for mission work who could affect Chippewa lives.” (Zanger, p. 183)

An example of one of these letters is one Enmegahbowh wrote his bishop about an incident at Sandy Lake where Indians from Mille Lacs, Gull Lake, Leech lake and Pokeguma had assembled to receive government rations:

The old Sandy Point was covered with wigwams. The first day they received their beautiful well-colored flour hard with lumps, the pork heavily perfumed. The old chief brought me some of both and said, “Is this fit to eat?” I said, “No, it is not fit to eat.

But the Indians were hungry and they ate it. About ten o’clock the first gun was fired. You well know, Bishop, that Indians fire a gun when a death occurs. An hour after another gun was fired, then another and another, until it seemed death was at every wigwam. That night, twenty children died, and the next day as many more, and so for five days and five nights, the deaths went on.

Bishop, when these dear victims strewed along the pathless wilderness shall hear the great trumpet sound and shall point to those who caused their death, it will be dreadful!

My friend, Chief Pakanuhwaush, has just come in. I asked him how many died at the payment at Sandy Lake. He said, “Over three hundred.” (Anderson, p. 46)

Receiving eloquently written letters such as this from Enmegahbowh and armed with this kind of information on what was happening in Ojibwa lands how could Bishop Whipple not have spoken out against corruption and other abuses?

Enmegahbowh came to believe so strongly in the Christian religion and in much of the program to turn the Ojibwa into a farming people that he converted many other Ojibwa and promoted the agricultural policies advanced by Bishop Whipple and others. Nevertheless he maintained a critical eye on the U.S. government and the church. He was a voice for the point of view of his people. He used his Indian upbringing and his understanding of the Grand Medicine Lodge to promote a way of life that adapted to the surrounding white culture, while keeping many native values alive.

Enmegahbowh's criticism of government policies is fairly subtle, but it is present. Some examples follow. First, on his travels to White Earth Enmegahbowh recounts that a white man came to visit them one night where they were camping and asked where they were moving. Enmegahbowh said:
My friend, we are moving toward the setting sun and to the great happy hunting ground. We are following the path our fathers and forefathers have trodden, but rather too soon. For we cannot enter the great happy hunting grounds until after death. But our President of the United States thought best to move us near and nearer toward that great country, so when we die we shall only walk a short distance to reach the great country. So you see that the Great Father is very generous and a sympathetic father over his Red children, to move and move them along....Well," the white man said, "It is rather a hard push, and unbecoming to a great nation who seem to worship the Great Being who rules the destiny of nations." (Enmegahbowh, p. 40-1)
Here he uses the word of the white man to make the criticism of the removal policy.

On page 8 of this paper Enmegahbowh lets the men from Leech Lake speak about the troubles they see ahead. Once again, the criticism comes from the mouths of others, but it is Enmegahbowh who reports their point of view. And on page 13 Enmegahbowh subtly criticizes the US government for always removing the Indian tribes for "a good cause." "It is always a good cause, because the government makes it to become such."

A final example of the way Enmegahbowh criticizes the U.S. government policies is found in his letter to Nathan Richardson

The Great Father says take away the rations. By giving rations we make them peculiarized into the dust, and make them lazy fools.

Mr. Richardson, who makes them lazy fools? Look, look! You have taken away the hunting ground from them; having deprived them of everything from which they had derived daily support. When they were depending alone on their own exertions for support they never begged nor disturbed you by begging. (Enmegahbowh, pp. 55-56)

His is not as sustained a criticism, nor as sharp a one, nor, at least in the examples I could find, as Biblically based a criticism as that of William Apress. But it is there throughout his writing.

Finally, In view of one of the questions raised by this course and by Episcopal Indian Ministries in their pictorial teaching folio *In the Spirit of the Circle* "Can I be Indian and Christian?" I believe that Enmegahbowh's answer is "Yes!" I believe he was both.

In a journal of a visit to Red Lake Chippewas, Whipple describes how he and his Christian and non-Christian companions talked about their religious beliefs. On one such occasion, he records, "Enmegahbowh tried to use to his advantage the fact that he struck a number of Chippewas as a cross-cultural curiosity. Shaugenash, for example, told him, "When I see you and hear you talk, I can't believe you were ever wild Indian and wear breech cloth-you so unlike us. I can't believe that you was ever as we are." The Ottawa missionary replied that only the religion of Christ made him different. "I was once as your [sic] are," he preached, "But when the Great Spirit gave me little light, I followed it and more came and it made me all I am." (Zanger, p. 184) Yes, Enmegahbowh was an "acculturated" Christian.

Whipple reports that a chief of the Turtle Mountain Pembina band told him that he had gone on a vision quest "to try to talk to the Great Spirit but "could not take a hold of His hand,," Evidently he meant that previous missionary efforts had failed to reach him. Hearing the "new message" of the Episcopalians by going to sit at the feet of their "spirit man," Enmegahbowh, and by long talks with Whipple, this man turned into a devout keeper of the 'praying day." 35 (Zanger, p. 200) Yes, Enmegahbowh was an "acculturated" Christian, but he was respected as a "spirit man" for his spirituality which other Indians could relate to.

Another example is found on page 14 of this paper in which Enmegahbowh reports a prayer by Christian convert Na-bun-a-skong just before he leaves for White Earth. The prayer is very Indian in form, as the different directions are addressed. By quoting this prayer Enmegahbowh allows his people to speak in their traditional religious way at a critical moment in their history.

Enmegahbowh died at White Earth, June 12th, 1902, having been preceded in death by both his son, the Reverend George Johnson, whom Whipple called “a gifted preacher” (Zanger, p. 200) and also by his wife and companion, Charlotte. Of Charlotte Holcombe writes, “I should like to speak of his faithful wife who learned to read and write that she might become an efficient helpmate to her husband. She was a woman full of faith and good works, and the sick and afflicted ever found in her a helpful friend.” (pp. 95-96)

Anderson states, “Other Indian clergy would follow Enmegahbowh in the Diocese of Minnesota....But it is Enmegahbowh who is most revered by the 11 native clergy of the diocese today. He spent 44 years in service to his church and his people.” (Anderson, p. 50) Enmegahbowh is buried at St. Columba’s on the White Earth Reservation. Congress appropriated funds for a granite stone in acknowledgment of his role as mediator in the 1862 uprising. The Minnesota Committee on Indian Work has placed his name on their calendar of saints.” (Anderson, p. 50) I believe he should also be on our Protestant Episcopal Church national calendar of saints.

Enmegahbowh was Christian, but Indian too. In a letter he wrote from White Earth to Nathan Richardson, dated February 15th, 1902, one of the last letters he wrote before his death, Enmegahbowh says: “*I have put and added my Indian name. Enmegahbowh means “The one who stands before his people.” A good name. I like it. It was the gift of my heathen grandfather.” J. J. Enmegahbowh* (p. 10)

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