

# Missionary Wars in the Early Republic Great Lakes\*

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The European quest for empire began in earnest in North America during the latter decades of the sixteenth century. Before long, English, Spanish, French, and even Dutch colonists found themselves in a struggle for land, resources, and allies with the numerous Native American nations who lived in the contested territories. Before long, open warfare began between both Native Americans and Europeans, and between different European powers, all hoping to obtain native allies.

This warfare spilled over to all aspects of Native American life, and the tricky alliances often put different Indian nations into open conflict with one another. A prime example of this occurred in the middle of the seventeenth century during the "Beaver Wars," as demand for beaver furs by European consumers put increased pressure on Native Americans to provide pelts, and the Iroquios, one of the most powerful confederations of Indians in North America, attempted to expand their territory as they depleted their own supply of beavers.

Missionaries played an increasingly important role in American Indian life during the colonial period. Whether it was the Franciscans with the Spanish, the Jesuits with the French, or a variety of Protestant denominations with the English, they all vied for the harvest of native souls. They employed a variety of methods in their proselytizing, and achieved varying degrees of success. As European powers were pushed out of North America throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth century, and Americans populated the nation during the nineteenth century, missionaries continued to exert some power and influence over Native Americans. Furthermore, they often clashed with one another over

territory and religious methods. They all felt that their way was the only true way to save Indian souls.

The life of a missionary is tough. Conditions can be miserable, the pay is lousy, and there are innumerable challenges, both foreseen and unforeseen. The unforeseen challenges proved to be especially difficult. In the Great Lakes during the middle of the nineteenth century, a number of missionaries, representing a variety of faiths, proselytized among the Indians of the region. The missionaries varied widely in their temperaments, viewpoints, and methods. When the saturation level approached and continued to increase, a battle of sorts broke out between missionaries over the harvesting of souls. These battles created many headaches for the missionaries, but more importantly, they created a great deal of mistrust and confusion among the Indians they hoped to convert. This does not mean, however, that Indians sat silently while missionaries threatened to literally beat each other over the head with a stick. They were often proactive, and let missionaries know who was welcome and who was not.

An illustrative example is found in the career of Baptist missionary Abel Bingham. Long before he arrived in Michigan's Upper Peninsula, he and his wife established a mission among the Seneca in New York, commencing his missionary work at Tonawanda on April 4, 1822. He reported that a number of Native Americans greeted him and seemed pleased at his arrival. Four days later he started a school with approximately ten scholars.<sup>1</sup> By April 10 the situation changed dramatically. Bingham was unaware of an existing conflict on the Seneca reservation between Christian and non-Christian Native Americans. He soon discovered it, however. On April 10 he received a summons, along with the Christian, or "friendly," Native Americans to meet with the "pagans." Bingham described the meeting:

Red Jacket (with a firm and malicious countenance, his eyes sparkling with savage ferocity, being

surrounded by about 20 of his adherents) addressed me and stated what the whites had done in driving them from their habitations and murdering their people. Then stated what he was witness to of our ministers receiving pay from poor people for preaching and how some had made themselves rich by instructing the Indians etc., and after a lengthy harrang [sic] closed by stating that I must leave the village. After which I made a reply, endeavored to remove several objections that was raised, but all to no purpose. The decree went forth that I must leave their village tomorrow. I then returned home . . . considered Missionary trials just commencing, viewed it time for prayer.<sup>2</sup>

It was just six days after he began his missionary journey that this unimaginable hurdle presented itself. The following day the “friendly” Native Americans visited him to discuss the previous day’s developments.<sup>3</sup> Bingham told them that he could not leave the mission without direction from the missionary board. All present agreed that he must write the board without delay to inform them of the situation.

With the exception of a few more suggestions that he again meet with the non-Christian majority, the next few days passed uneventfully. On April 20 he received another summons, but since his wife was ill, he again declined. Then the entire group appeared at his house and ordered him to leave immediately. He did not. On May 24 the friendly Native Americans told him how happy they were that he stayed, and assured him of their support. Bingham said, “Never did I feel my attachment to them as sensibly as at this time. I assured them that I was willing to go hand and hand with them through any trials.”<sup>4</sup>

The rest of April passed without incident, and perhaps Bingham fell into a false sense of security. On May 19 he heard a

rumor that the non-Christians planned to gather their numbers and take Bingham, his family, and their possessions off the reservation and leave them on the state road. Nothing happened until May 28 when Red Jacket returned. He called Bingham into a council and ordered him to pack and be ready to leave by noon the following day. He recorded that he wanted to speak, but was not allowed to, and he felt it best to respect their rules. He also noted that the Christian Native Americans present received a tongue-lashing as well. The following morning the Bingham's proceeded about their normal routine. They locked up their house and went to the school. As promised, at noon a group of between thirty and forty non-Christians arrived. They asked Bingham to let them in, which he obviously refused to do. They somehow secured another key and let themselves in. The Bingham's furniture was removed and left at the state road. The following day Bingham went to the state road to see what happened to the furniture. Apparently it was looked after by the Christian Native Americans, who provided the family with provisions and supplies.<sup>5</sup> From that point on, until Bingham received a new missionary appointment in 1828 that moved he and his family to Sault Sainte Marie, Michigan, his position was uncertain at best.

Bingham first considered the possibility of transferring to Sault Sainte Marie in late 1827, and by 1828 the possibility became reality. He arrived at his new station on October 10, 1828, and was greeted by Henry Schoolcraft immediately after he walked off the steamer. Schoolcraft served him breakfast, and then introduced him to a Congregational minister who established a "brief domestic mission" at Sault Sainte Marie. The appointment had recently expired, and the minister waited to see if he would be reappointed. However, upon Bingham's arrival, the Congregationalist told him that since Bingham was a regularly appointed missionary, he would surrender the field to him. Then the minister invited Bingham to lodge with him. Bingham was impressed with the departing

missionary, and felt that he possessed an “excellent spirit.” Before the Congregationalist left Sault Sainte Marie, the two men shared the pulpit.<sup>6</sup>

Bingham followed the usual missionary practice of introducing himself to the local Native American leadership. His first month at Sault Sainte Marie was eventful. He met with a “minor” chief and told him that he was there to establish a school and to preach the “gospel of the Lord Jesus.” According to Bingham, his words were met with satisfaction. He secured the services of Charlotte Johnston to interpret for him, as she was fluent in both French and Ojibwa. Like Baraga and Pitezel, Bingham also preached to area whites, and for him this included troops at Fort Brady. The American Baptist Missionary Union instructed Bingham to “establish religious services and extend the benefits of the mission to all within reach” of his influence. They also told him that they would provide an interpreter if needed.<sup>7</sup> He toured the area and lamented about the drunken state of most of the Native Americans. He also saw a Midewiwin initiation that he briefly discussed without commentary. By December he had a new interpreter because Charlotte Johnston was ill. John Tanner was called upon and was glad to serve. Overall, Bingham’s journals illustrate a man who thought it was basically a waste of time to try to work with Native Americans when there was no interpreter around. Although he eventually learned how to phonetically read sermons in Ojibwa, he never learned the language well enough to converse. Finally, he started a school. On the first day he had twenty-seven scholars, the second day fifty, and the third fifty-seven.<sup>8</sup>

Although he differed with some of their methods and doctrine, Bingham fervently believed in cooperating with other Protestant missionaries, but not with Catholics. In April 1829 he travelled from Sault Sainte Marie to Mackinac on snowshoes and met with Presbyterian minister William M. Ferry. The two men felt a

strong bond, and preached together while Bingham was at Mackinac. He stated that although the two men were of different faiths, “We seemed to feel as much at home when at each others station as if we belonged to the same denomination.”<sup>9</sup>

While his relationship with Ferry seemed to be smooth, things were not always so with others. Again, Bingham believed in missionary cooperation.<sup>10</sup> That did not mean, however, that debates did not occur. In April 1834 he wrote to Methodist missionary John Clark to challenge baptismal practices. Interestingly, this came after an 1833 letter Bingham sent to Clark about the importance of Christians of different denominations to “harmonize as much as possible, and especially missionaries laboring for the salvation of the heathen.”<sup>11</sup> It seems that Clark was ready to baptize some Native Americans. Bingham was “truly desirous to remove all external differences among us as far as we can without violating any principles of our faiths.” As long as Clark fully immersed those who gave evidence of their piety, Bingham agreed to “cheerfully receive them to our communion.”

The baptismal debate did not stop there. It continued in 1840 with Rev. William Brockway, the Methodist missionary superintendent. Bingham invited Brockway over for dinner. Brockway replied that he could not go in good conscience. He told Bingham that his attendance at dinner “would be a violation both of the letter and the spirit of your constitution. For though I was immersed I believe the man who done it had not been immersed himself.” Brockway believed that Bingham felt that if what Brockway said about his baptism was true, then his baptism was invalid. Brockway concluded by stating that he believed in the validity of immersion, and also believed that sprinkling on both adults and infants was equally valid.<sup>12</sup>

Bingham’s debates with other denominations went beyond baptism. In 1848 he met a Mormon from Beaver Island. Located in northern Lake Michigan, schismatic Mormons started a colony on

Beaver Island in 1848.<sup>13</sup> The Mormon visitor claimed to be a “seer,” or a prophet. Bingham and this unnamed Mormon had a discussion over the Mormons “peculiar doctrines and claims.” The man admitted to the truth of revelation and said that they held strictly to all of the truths and doctrines the revelation taught, but overall they felt the Bible was merely a history of the Jewish nation through the times of the apostles. The Mormons had their own specific revelation – *The Book of Mormon*. They felt that their work was equal in authority to the sacred scriptures, Bingham recorded, and it was designed to form a part of divine revelation. Both the Father and the Son possessed a material body, while the Holy Spirit did not. The Holy Spirit was a spirit that dwelled within both the Father and the Son. Bingham asked the Mormon how he knew this, and the man replied that he had seen it. Bingham asked, “Have you seen the Father?” The man replied, “I have seen the judge of all the world.” Bingham pressed on, “That was not the question.” The man continued with his reply that he had seen the judge of all men, at which Bingham countered, “Christ is the judge, and he possessed a human body. But have *you* seen the father?” The man did not change his response, and maintained that the gift of miracles and of prophecy was contained in their church, and that he possessed it.<sup>14</sup>

The Mormon attempted to quote from Proverbs 29:10: “Where there is no vision the people perish . . .” However, Bingham said, “with all his (the Mormon) prophetic knowledge he was unable to quote it, but said it could be found in Psalms. The conversation continued as the Mormon told Bingham that Mormons possessed the gift of tongues and were able to speak in new tongues. Bingham inquired about them addressing Native Americans in their own language. The man claimed that he had heard of such a thing occurring two years prior. Bingham countered that there was no proof because such an event would have been reported all over the area. “When the apostles began to

“speak in new tongues, it spread through Jerusalem like fire through the dry forest.” Bingham pressed him further, and asked if the Mormons had ever preached to Native Americans or the French in their own languages. The Mormon said not that he was aware of, but that the time had not yet come. Bingham asked him what evidence he possessed that the man could speak in tongues. He replied that one person would rise and speak in a language no one knew, and someone else would rise and interpret it. Bingham wondered if the new language was understood by anyone other than the interpreter, and the man replied that sometimes two or three others did. Then Bingham asked, “Does any unbeliever or person not in your communion” understand? “No.” The Baptist finished the barrage by telling his visitor that the Mormons failed in furnishing the gospel. “When the apostles spoke with tongues, it was to give instruction to some who did not understand their native language, and when it was interpreted it was that the address might be understood by all the assembly.”<sup>15</sup> Bingham certainly felt that his faith was the one true faith, and he possessed a great deal of ammunition to support this. This exchange also shows that he understood the importance of being able to communicate to those he served as a pastor and missionary in their own language, even if he never fully learned to do so himself.

Abel Bingham found more acceptance among Indians at Sault Sainte Marie, but found himself battling other missionaries on many levels. Bingham’s most furious encounter over religious differences occurred with an unnamed Jesuit priest at Sault Sainte Marie in 1834. He visited the house of a sick man, and the priest ordered him out. Then the following happened:

I let him know that I was in a free country and should do as I pleased about that. He wished to know what I was there for. I told him, because I pleased to come and visit my neighbor. He said if I wished to visit him, visit as a neighbor and bring none of my books. I

replied that I should bring what books I pleased, and the man might do as he pleased about reading them. He seized a tract and went to the fire under pretense of flinging it into the fire. I paid no particular attention to it did not rise from my seat. He finally turned about and flung it at me. It fell on the floor near me & I picked it up. He afterward came & wished me to give it to him again. I declined. He seized it apparently determined to wrest it from me. I did not give it up, but firmly said to him, Do act like a gentleman if you can't like a Christian. He then let go of the book but soon laid hold of the French testament which I held in my hand as if determined to wrest that from me; but I did not see fit to give that up. By this time he became considerably enraged, and declared that it was the word of the devil, that I was deceived, & a deceiver, a wolf, and my books were a lie & ordered me off. I replied, if I am deceived why don't you come to me like a Christian & show me wherein I am deceived & try to undeceive me. And gave him to understand that if he wanted to come to me in a right spirit I would hear & converse with him freely & familiarly.<sup>16</sup>

The priest was in a fury, and Bingham stopped talking to him. He turned to the sick man and asked him if he had always been treated "kindly and in a Christian manner?" He replied that he had. Bingham then said how sorry he was that he had disturbed the man, and that he had come to visit with his usual feelings of kindness and charity. Apparently the priest never stopped shouting, and Bingham said that "he and I should by and by meet at the judgment seat of Christ and there would be known who of us were wolves and who were sheep." The priest eventually left, but they encountered each other a few days later, and according to Bingham the priest shoved his interpreter aside and entered the

lodge with a cudgel. This was the most extreme example, and the rest of Bingham's encounters were peaceful.<sup>17</sup>

A final example of Bingham's encounters with Catholicism occurred in 1848. In February he heard that a "Romish" priest told Native Americans that Bingham spoke nothing but lies. He discussed this two days in a row, and wrote

I am informed that the Cath. Priest for the Indians is disclaiming against me in every direction. But if I belong to Christ, I must expect to have my name cast out as evil, especially by those who bear the antichristian mark, or the mark of the beast. The priest is exerting himself to the utmost to bring the Indian children to his baptism.<sup>18</sup>

Bingham concluded that Catholicism was one of the most "dangerous snares to souls" ever contrived.<sup>19</sup>

The career of another missionary provides additional examples of both the conflicts missionaries had with others, and the resulting confusion those conflicts created for the Indians. Frederic Baraga was a Catholic priest who arrived in the United States as a missionary in the early 1830s. One of his first mission stations was located at Grand River, near present-day Grand Rapids, Michigan. Things did not go well for Baraga at Grand River. He spent one of the most frightening nights of his life there as intoxicated Native Americans, at the urging of fur traders, tried to break into Baraga's cabin. He lamented in a letter to the Leopoldine Foundation the fact that fur traders kept the Native Americans at Grand River intoxicated with an unlimited supply of alcohol.<sup>20</sup> Baraga pleaded with the traders to stop doing so, and they threatened his life. He had a difficult time, but claimed to make progress.<sup>21</sup>

Yet things did not get any easier at Grand River. On October 29, 1833, the Protestant Native Americans of Grand River filed a petition with the Office of Indian Affairs (OIA). The letter

started off by describing to the OIA the progress the Native Americans were making with the materials and people that were provided. Although they referred to him as “the French priest,” they were talking about Baraga. The issue was this: “When he came to our village it became divided & our village is broken, this it is like. Five families hear the French priest. Nineteen families of us who remain are of one mind.” The Protestant Native Americans stated that they never called upon a priest, and did not want him there. Twenty-one Native Americans left their mark upon the document, and the Protestant missionary of the area, Leonard Slater, attested.<sup>22</sup> In response, Baraga prepared a list of ninety-one converts. It was actually a list of baptisms he performed that listed the dates of baptism, their Christian and Native American names, and their ages. It is arguable that the large number of baptisms goes back to a fundamental difference between Protestant and Catholic missionaries. It is also likely that the Native Americans Baraga baptized were not properly instructed, and did not fully understand what baptism was all about in the first place.<sup>23</sup>

The Protestant Native Americans of Grand River did not give up easily, and neither did Baraga. They sent another letter of May 13, 1834, that complained about Baraga’s presence. They stated that things were hard there, and that they were lonesome because

. . . there came among us a foreigner [Baraga] a white man who separated us from our Friends, now hatred & violence is among us. . . . This white man the Priest all the time comes to our houses & tells us we shall be miserable if we are not Sprinkled & that we shall go to hell & our children. This is the reason we are lonesome, we are not pleased to have him live at our village. We have feeling [*sic*] like you if the Priest tell your children they would go to hell if they are not Sprinkled you would be lonesome.<sup>24</sup>

Twenty-four Native Americans left their marks on the letter. The Protestant missionary Leonard Slater also sent a letter with the Native American petition. He claimed that not only did the Native Americans not want Baraga there, but his very presence was illegal: “As it is a Statute in the U.S. Laws that no white person shall locate himself in the Indian Territory without permission from Govt [*sic*] or Natives.” The Native Americans did ask Baraga to leave, and he refused to do so. The Native Americans prevailed. Not long after, Baraga took his leave from Grand River.<sup>25</sup>

Eventually Baraga found himself in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan. By the middle of the 1840s, he had moved to the southern end of Keweenaw Bay to establish a mission at L’Anse. Those at L’Anse did not exactly warmly welcome Baraga; in fact, his presence was soon challenged legally. The old Protestant-Catholic rivalry came to life, but with a legal twist this time. A recent circular issued by the Office of Indian Affairs mandated that only one missionary could be in a given area. It was literally a “first come, first served” situation. The Methodists were there first, and had been for over a decade. The Methodist mission challenged his presence based on the circular. Baraga recalled his legal training to fight the order. He wrote to Robert Stuart, superintendent of Indian Affairs at Detroit, that the circular, being a law, “can have no force for anytime before the day of its publication.” He argued that his mission had been established seven months prior to the circular’s release. Baraga went on for four pages and provided reasons why he was perfectly entitled to be there.<sup>26</sup>

The Methodist missionary across the bay from Baraga was George Brown. He wrote a letter to Stuart the same day Baraga penned his. His main concern was the general state of excitement among the Native Americans that coincided with Baraga’s arrival. The animosity between Baraga and Brown is clear in the letter. They both wanted the Native Americans to hear the circular, but refused to use the other’s translator – Baraga did not trust Brown’s

translation, and vice versa. Brown said of Baraga: "He calls it all an act of persecution, and to increase, and strengthen, and settle the hatred against yourself and the Methodists, he keeps it continually before the minds of the Indians that we are the cause of all this, and that all this great movement was simply because he came here."<sup>27</sup>

Another point of contention surrounded Baraga's claim that he was called to L'Anse by Native Americans. Brown did not believe it. He informed Stuart that Peter Marksman, a Native American convert and missionary, held a council to find out who called upon Baraga. Apparently they all denied that he had been sent for. Brown felt that Baraga heard about the location through a merchant named Crebessa. Crebessa told Brown that he had done so, and also that he told the Native Americans that if a priest came, they must all join the Catholics. It is no surprise that the Native Americans were in an excited state. Brown felt Baraga's purpose was to break down the Methodist mission and convert every Native American in the area.<sup>28</sup>

Baraga called upon his bishop to intercede on his behalf. He wrote to Bishop Peter Paul Lefevere and told him about the "terrible persecution" that he endured because of the false reports the Methodists sent to Stuart. Baraga felt that the circular in question closed the door to Catholic missionaries in "Indian" country. He also told Lefevere that the circular was issued with reference "to me only." That is an overstatement, but in fairness to Baraga it is easy to see how he might have felt that way. He implored Lefevere to travel to Washington on behalf of Baraga and the mission. Baraga asked Lefevere to visit the Secretary of War, who Baraga felt "does not know the whole truth of this entire transaction; if he did know it, he would not be pleased, being a free American."<sup>29</sup> There is no evidence to indicate whether Lefevere visited Washington, and the drama continued.

At L'Anse farmer named C.T. Carrier asked Stuart to visit the area himself. The standoff between the Methodists and the Catholics filtered down to everyone else in the area as well. Carrier worked for the Methodist mission, and others in the area laid the blame for the turmoil at the Methodist's feet. He knew how enraged the "Romans" were at Stuart, and cited Baraga's use of the word "persecution" to describe the situation. Carrier's problems arose over potatoes. The government sent Carrier some potatoes for the Native Americans, but he did not send any to those living near the Catholic mission. However, two Catholic Native Americans planted a garden on the Methodist side of the bay, and they received potatoes from Carrier.<sup>30</sup> This letter paints an image of overall confusion in the region because of the dueling missionaries. Ironically, an episode of missionary fornication involving Rev. Peter Marksman caused this whole mess to disappear. Nevertheless, by April 1845 tensions had receded markedly on Keweenaw Bay. The Methodists, now led by Rev. John H. Pitezal, requested Baraga's help in securing a bell for their church. Baraga kindly donated his church's bell once a replacement arrived from Sault Sainte Marie.

In addition to fighting one another, missionaries from time-to-time had to fight the federal government. Indian Removal came late to the Upper Peninsula. The Indian Removal Act went into effect in 1830. However, it did not concern the Lake Superior Ojibwa right away. No resources of note or importance were located in their lands, so there was no need to move them. However, that all changed when massive copper deposits were discovered in 1844. Missionaries had varying points of view about removal. Baraga generally thought it was a good idea, but only if there was a guarantee of continuous religious instruction. In 1848 the government wanted to move the Native Americans out of L'Anse. Baraga struggled mightily for five years to keep the mission where it was. He did not want to see his hard work vanish. To combat removal, Baraga purchased the land his mission sat on.

He called upon his friend Peter Barbeau, a merchant in the Sault, for assistance. He wrote to Barbeau that he wished to purchase a "fraction of land lying in fractional Section No. 10 of Township No. 51, Range No. 33 West." The plot in question lay between land he had previously purchased from an independent landowner, and Baraga's own. He wanted the whole to be used for the benefit of his mission, and wanted the land uninterrupted. He asked Barbeau to go to the Land Office to see exactly how much land there was, and secure it for him.<sup>31</sup> The land issue was on the Native Americans minds as well. The Catholic Native Americans of L'Anse wrote to William Richmond, superintendent of Indian Affairs in Detroit: "We the Indians of the western side of Anse-Bay [sic] wish to know whether the lands around this Bay are to be sold this summer or not. Our missionary, the Rev. Frederic Baraga intends to buy for us a quarter of Section which we actually occupy, inhabit, and cultivate, and which he holds for us under the privilege of pre-emption right."<sup>32</sup>

The missionary wars of the Upper Great Lakes had no real winner. The battles were fought on many fronts, and involved many different people, Indian and missionary alike. As far as the Indians were concerned, the sources indicate that they generally cared little over the theological battles. When those battles turned into conflicts over who controlled land, they were much more interested. Missionaries felt that once they had staked out a piece of land for their activities, it was theirs, and no other denominations were welcome. Except in the cases where Indians had converted, it was forgotten that the land belonged to the Indians in the first place. At times the battles were so fierce that the federal government had to step in.<sup>33</sup> Regardless, these missionary wars illustrate that in the face of squabbles over turf, the very people whose lives the missionaries were supposed to help improve – that of the Indians – suffered. In an already uncertain time, missionaries created further confusion. In that sense, missionary

wars did, in fact, have some real casualties in the form of injured souls and re-injured Native American public memory.

## NOTES

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<sup>1</sup> John Cumming, “A Mission Among the Senecas: The Journal of Abel Bingham, 1822-1828,” *New York History* 60, no. 2 (1979): 163. (Hereafter cited as Cumming, “Bingham Journal.”)

<sup>2</sup> Cumming, “Bingham Journal,” 163-164.

<sup>3</sup> Bingham took to calling those Native Americans who were Christian or open to it “friendly,” while he called the non-Christians “pagans.”

<sup>4</sup> Cumming, “Bingham Journal,” 166.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 167-168.

<sup>6</sup> Abel Bingham Journals, 10 and 12 October 1828, Bingham Family Papers, Clarke Historical Library. (Hereafter cited as BFP, CHL).

<sup>7</sup> Abel Bingham Journals, October 1828, BFP, CHL.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> Abel Bingham Journals, 1 April 1829, BFP, CHL.

<sup>10</sup> For example, he preached with Methodist John Pitezel in November 1843, and with Native American Methodist minister Peter Marksman in 1850 and 1851. See Abel Bingham Journals, 11 November 1843, 4 March 1850, and 20 July 1851, BFP, CHL.

<sup>11</sup> Rev. Abel Bingham to Rev. John Clark, 16 June 1833, BFP, CHL.

<sup>12</sup> Rev. Abel Bingham to Rev. William Brockway, 10 January 1840, BFP, CHL; Rev. William Brockway to Rev. Abel Bingham, 11 January 1840, BFP, CHL.

<sup>13</sup> See Doyle C. Fitzpatrick, *The King Strang Story: A Vindication of James J. Strang, the Beaver Island Mormon King* (Lansing, MI: National Heritage, 1970); and Roger Van Noord, *King of Beaver Island* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1988).

<sup>14</sup> Abel Bingham Journals, 24 June 1848, BFP, CHL.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> Abel Bingham Journal 1834, BFP, CHL.

<sup>17</sup> Throughout his journals it is clear that Bingham thoroughly relished it when anyone, Native American or otherwise, who was Catholic converted to the Baptist faith.

<sup>18</sup> Abel Bingham Journals, 19 and 20 February 1848, BFP, CHL.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid..

<sup>20</sup> Throughout his life Baraga showed no tolerance for those who drank too much. Both priests and teachers suffered his fury. In 1835 he returned to a mission station to learn that the school teacher had been drunk several times during his absence, and the teacher was immediately fired. Baraga also sent word to Detroit to not accept the teacher or offer him any sort of aid. Frederic Baraga to Rev. Vincent Badin, 27 May 1835, Clarke Historical Library, Bishop Baraga Collection. (Hereafter cited as CHL, BBC).

<sup>21</sup> Frederic Baraga to the Leopoldine Foundation, 1 February 1834, CHL, BBC.

<sup>22</sup> Petition of the Protestant Indians on Grand River to Indian Agent George Porter, 29 October 1833, CHL, BBC.

<sup>23</sup> Frederic Baraga to Indian Agent George Porter, 5 November 1833. He also listed twenty-eight Native American students and seven American and French students.

<sup>24</sup> Chief Noonday to George Porter, 13 May 1834, CHL, BBC.

<sup>25</sup> Rev. Leonard Slater to George Porter, 13 May 1834, CHL, BBC. Interestingly, Baraga's June 26, 1834, report to the Leopoldine Society makes no mention of his troubles at Grand River. Instead he elaborates on events that took place at Harbor Springs. See Frederic Baraga to the Leopoldine Foundation, 26 June 1834, CHL, BBC.

<sup>26</sup> Frederic Baraga to Robert Stuart, 29 May 1844, CHL, BBC.

<sup>27</sup> George Brown to Robert Stuart, 29 May 1844, CHL, BBC.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Frederic Baraga to Bishop Lefevere, 3 June 1844, CHL, BBC.

<sup>30</sup> C.T. Carrier to Robert Stuart, 27 July 1844.

<sup>31</sup> Frederic Baraga to Peter Barbeau, 6 March 1852, Bayliss Public Library, Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan.

<sup>32</sup> Catholic Native Americans to William Richmond, 11 May 1848, CHL, BBC. An editorial note on the transcription of the letter states that it was in Baraga's handwriting. Also see Russell M. Magnaghi, *A Guide to the Indians of Michigan's Upper Peninsula, 1621-1900* (Marquette: Belle Fontaine Press, 1984), 39, and Bernard Lambert, *Shepherd of the Wilderness: A Biography of Frederic Baraga* (Hancock, MI: The Book Concern Printers, 1967), 66.

<sup>33</sup> Such was the case with an incident between Frederic Baraga and John Pitezel in L'Anse.

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