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"My Own Old English Friends": Networking Anglican Settler Colonialism at the Shingwauk Home, Huron College, and Western University

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ABSTRACT
Focusing on Huron College, Shingwauk Residential School, and Western University, this article considers how common social and financial networks were instrumental in each institution's beginnings. Across the Atlantic, these schools facilitated the development of networks that brought together settlers, the British, and a handful of Indigenous individuals for the purposes of building a new society on Haudenosaunee and Anishinaabe Land. Looking specifically at the activities of Huron's principal, Isaac Hellmuth, and Shingwauk's principal, Rev. Edward F. Wilson, the article demonstrates how ideas about empire, Christian benevolence, and resettlement entwined themselves in the institutions these men created. Specifically, Anglican fundraising in both Canada and England reinforced the importance of financial networks, but also drew upon and crafted an Indigenous presence within these processes. Analyzing the people, places, and ideologies that connected Huron, Western, and Shingwauk demonstrates how residential schools and post-secondary education were ideologically—and financially—part of a similar, if not common, project. As such, the article provides a starting point for considering how divergent colonial systems of schooling were intertwined to serve the developing settler-colonial project in late nineteenth-century Ontario.

RÉSUMÉ
En se concentrant sur le Collège universitaire Huron, le pensionnat Shingwauk et l'Université Western, cet article examine le rôle-clé que les réseaux sociaux et financiers communs ont joué aux origines de chacune de ces institutions. De l'autre côté de l'Atlantique, ces écoles ont facilité le développement de réseaux qui rassemblaient les colons, les Britanniques et les individus autochtones sélectionnés pour fonder une nouvelle société sur les territoires Haudenosaunee et Anishinaabe. En étudiant plus spécifiquement les activités du directeur du Collège universitaire Huron, Isaac Hellmutth, et du directeur du pensionnat Shingwauk, le révérend Edward F. Wilson, l'article démontre comment les idées sur l'Empire, la bienveillance chrétienne et le

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repeuplement s'entremêlaient à l'intérieur des institutions que ces hommes avaient créées. Plus précisément, les collectes de fonds anglicanes, tant au Canada qu'en Angleterre, non seulement renforçaient l'importance des réseaux financiers, mais encore établissaient et façonnaient la présence autochtone au sein de ces processus. L'étude des personnes, des lieux et des idéologies qui unissaient les trois institutions montre à quel point les pensionnats et l'éducation post-secondaire faisaient partie, sur les plans idéologique et financier, d'un projet similaire, voire commun. À ce titre, l'article fournit le point de départ pour envisager la façon dont les systèmes coloniaux de scolarisation divergents se sont entremêlés afin de servir le développement du projet de colonisation de la fin du dix-neuvième siècle.

In July 1881, Anglican Bishop Isaac Hellmuth visited Walpole Island (Bkejwanong Unceded Territory), a prominent Anishinaabe community on Lake St. Clair. There to confirm two people into the church, Hellmuth took the opportunity to issue an appeal for a new university he was building in London, Ontario. "When the Western University is opened," the bishop told the congregation, "Indians from different parts will continue to avail themselves of the grand privileges of obtaining a University education."[1] The missionary who filed this report in the *Dominion Churchman* newspaper, Keshegowenene (John Jacobs), claimed that this announcement stimulated great interest among the congregation. With several of its children studying at the Shingwauk Home in Sault Ste. Marie, the new Western University promised an opportunity for them to continue their study upon graduation. When Hellmuth left, he did so with fifty dollars in support of his endeavour. Added to the much larger pot he had been filling over the past several years, the university was able to open its doors to students later that autumn.

That Hellmuth's efforts were deeply tied to Anglican evangelicalism in southwestern Ontario is hardly surprising. The breadth of his efforts, however, have seldom been clear. As Hellmuth's 1881 visit to Walpole Island illustrates, Indigenous Peoples played an important role in shaping his vision for the university and — as we shall see over the course of this article — tied the university directly to the same ecclesiastic and financial networks that underpinned and supported the beginning of the Anglican Church's involvement in the residential school system. Though in the past these connections might have been assumed by scholars familiar with Canada's religious history, the interconnections among Huron College, Shingwauk Residential School, and Western University remain relatively unknown, both locally and in the historiography. Understanding these relationships has important implications for how we consider the histories of post-secondary education and residential schools as well as how we theorize nineteenth-century settler colonialism. What Hellmuth's actions point us towards is an Anglican manifestation of settler colonialism in Canada West/Ontario that, through the work of the Colonial and Continental Church Society (CCCS) and the Church Missionary Society (CMS), promised educational inclusion for Indigenous Peoples — for which some hoped — while effectively working towards their elimination as political actors in shaping the developing Canadian province. It was through the religiously centred rhetoric of inclusion, through conversion to Christianity and cultural assimilation, that the exclusionary settler state in Canada was developed.

Schools and Settler Colonialism

Built within two decades of each other, Huron College, the Shingwauk Home, and Western University were deeply tied to the process of Euro-Canadian resettlement that defined the Great Lakes region over the mid-nineteenth century. Though European fur traders and missionaries had lived in the area for well over a century, and the Upper Canadian treaties (such as the 1796 St. Anne's Island Treaty) were signed decades earlier, it was not until the 1850s that the non-Indigenous population boomed. By 1840, it was only in Middlesex County, where the town of London was located, that more than ten thousand people (26,482) had settled onto Anishinaabe, Haudenosaunee, and Munsee-Delaware Lands.[2] Between 1840 and 1860, the overall population in the region nearly tripled, while cleared acreage expanded five-fold.[3] As part of this expansion, London — the region's urban centre — was incorporated as a city in 1855. Two years later, the Anglican Church created a new diocese, recognizing that Euro-Canadian settlers now occupied much of the Land west of Toronto.[4] In adopting the name "Huron" for his new diocese, Benjamin Cronyn — the first bishop — legitimized the church's work in the region by tethering it to over two centuries of Christian evangelism in the lower Great Lakes region; the name was chosen to recognize the people "whose council fires had for ages lighted up all parts of these western forests."[5] Furthermore, in choosing the French name (Huron) for a people who had moved east and west of the diocese (the Wendat/Wyandot), rather than the Anishinaabe and Haudenosaunee Peoples with whom the church had a very material and ongoing relationship during the 1850s and 1860s, Cronyn rhetorically eliminated these nations as meaningful political actors in the diocese. From what had been solely Anishinaabe, Munsee-Delaware, and Haudenosaunee territory a few decades before, by mid-century that world had radically transformed.[6]

Western's founding college, Huron College, opened in London on May 5, 1863. The college's purpose was to train young men for Christian service in the region. In an address marking the college's inauguration, Charles P. McIlvaine, the bishop of Ohio, emphasized that Huron College's purpose was to "raise up a succession of Clergy indigenous to the soil, men of the country to do the work of the country."[7] His language was telling. Similar to elsewhere in North America, McIlvaine drew upon the language of "firsting," commonly deployed in the United States at the time to replace Indigenous Peoples by marking the development of settler communities as the beginning of a region's history.[8] Constructed on Haudenosaunee, Anishinaabe, and Munsee-Delaware Land, the college's purpose, in the context of massive repeopling and deforestation, was to cultivate new traditions in this place, deeply anchored in the work of the church. Ultimately, these efforts sought to erase and replace the region's longstanding Indigenous presence.[9] Through Huron College, and its Christian evangelism, history in the region would be remade, situating the church and its affiliated bodies as founding institutions.

A decade later, Edward Francis Wilson, who had trained at Huron College, opened the Shingwauk Industrial Home in Bawaating (Sault Ste. Marie), an Anglican-run industrial school that used industrial training to assimilate Indigenous children.

Ominously, after just six days, fire destroyed Wilson's first attempt.[10] Two years later, the school reopened. In attendance at the opening was Huron College's first principal, Anglican Bishop Isaac Hellmuth, Cronyn's successor. He was there to support Wilson, his colleague and perhaps friend. Though the Shingwauk Home was built in response to local Anishinaabe leader Chief Shingwaukonse's desire for a "teaching wigwam," Wilson's Anglican vision for the school was much more focused on assimilating Shingwauk's people to the new Anglo-culture being cultivated on both sides of Lake Huron.[11] If the purpose for Huron College was to "raise up a succession of Clergy indigenous to the soil," then the purpose for the Shingwauk Home, and its girls' school counterpart, the Wawanosh Home for Girls, were to ensure that the actual peoples indigenous to the land were either uprooted, or carefully managed and controlled, as the lower Great Lakes region was repopulated with settlers.

Though historians have treated the development of universities and residential schools separately, the founding of Huron College and the Shingwauk Home demonstrate common origins as tools used to replace one society with another. Both schools marked educational beginnings in the province. Huron College was one of only two nineteenth-century Anglican seminaries in what would soon become Ontario; it was created specifically as an evangelical alternative to Toronto's Trinity College, established a decade before. Under Hellmuth's leadership, the college served as the foundation upon which Western University was built in 1878 — Ontario's fifth university, and the first to be built west of Toronto. Likewise, in building the Shingwauk Home, Wilson envisioned a system of similar industrial schools as part of Canada's efforts to re-educate Indigenous Peoples towards the emerging settler-Canadian economy and its rootedness in Protestant Christianity. Eventually, the Shingwauk Home was relabelled a residential school, as it became integrated into the system later in the nineteenth century.

This type of outcome was something Wilson hoped might be a legacy of his work. In his 1908 autobiography, Wilson reminisced about a trip he made to Ottawa in 1877, where he met with both the premier and the governor general, highlighting his perceived achievements: "At the present time there are numbers of Industrial Schools for Indian children all over the Dominion supported either wholly or in part by Government, but at that time [the mid-1870s] there were none."[12] In addition to his work in Bawaating, Wilson started the Washakada Home for Girls and the Kasota Home for Boys in Elkhorn, Manitoba. He was also involved through the Diocese of Algoma, establishing schools at the Nipigon mission where former students of the Shingwauk Home served as teachers. Though it is not our purpose in this article, it is important to think of Wilson as an early architect of the residential school system that developed in the years that followed the Shingwauk Home's founding.

Though developing simultaneously, scholarship on nineteenth-century university-building and Indigenous schooling have rarely intersected. If we consider the mid-nineteenth century as a period of radical demographic transformation in the lower Great Lakes region, whereby the majority of peoples living in this space shifted from Anishinaabe, Haudenosaunee, Munsee-Delaware, and Wyandot to Anglo-American and European settlers, we can see that the purposes of these differing educational

institutions were inherently interconnected. In the lower Great Lakes region, though often unaddressed, the legacy of established churches, like the Anglican and Catholic churches, further bound them together.[13] Schools and Christianity were effective tools in facilitating the settler-colonial capture of Indigenous Lands.

Scholars of settler colonialism have framed the concept broadly. Lorenzo Veracini identifies settler colonialism as a process "where an exogenous collective aims to locally and permanently replace indigenous ones.… [It is] culturally non-specific," and can "occur at any time."[14] Veracini's work builds upon Patrick Wolfe's in emphasizing that, at its core, settler-colonial systems of power function by controlling access to Land and territory. The concept's "irreducible element" is the "logic of elimination" of Indigenous Peoples from their Lands.[15] Though technologies and methods might vary, this collective act of removing Indigenous Peoples, either physically or legally, from access to political and judicial power has shaped emergent national and provincial jurisdictions in North America. With institutions of higher education and the church, however, these ideas need to be re-examined. These were institutions that preached and promised the language of social inclusion, while actively building systems that limited political agency and power.

Schools have long been identified as one of the key technologies facilitating "the elimination of the native." Wolfe extends such a concept to include processes of assimilation, where schools function within a paradigm of inclusion that enables cultural genocide, a point made abundantly clear in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada's final report.[16] Maori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith argues that, in its broadest form, nineteenth-century colonialism involved "the imposition of Western authority over indigenous lands, modes of production and law and government, as well as Western authority over all aspects of indigenous knowledges, languages and cultures."[17]

Schools, curriculum, and pedagogy were the tools through which this authority was cultivated. In the US, Margaret Nash demonstrates this well, pointing to a clear connection between settler colonialism and the use of land grants in the west to fund colleges and universities such as West Virginia University and Cornell University. The Morrill Act of 1862 (passed a year before Huron College opened) enabled these types of schools — which supported agricultural or science education — to both be "founded on" and "funded by" the appropriation and dispossession of Indigenous Lands.[18] In Canada, several scholars have demonstrated how schools — most often residential schools — have served (and perhaps continue to serve) as tools of the structural genocide tightly associated with settler-colonial hegemony; their purpose was to remove Indigenous Peoples and their claims to the Land as threats to the settler society growing around them and remake them as citizens according to Victorian principles.[19]

Theorizing this relationship relative to residential schooling, Andrew Woolford suggests we think of schooling as an important fabric in weaving together a "settler colonial mesh." In *This Benevolent Experiment*, Woolford compares residential schooling in Canada and the United States, identifying how this figurative mesh trapped Indigenous Peoples within settler-defined systems of power. For Woolford, the mesh

works on four levels: the *macro-societal level*, where the so-called "Indian problem" is derived from law, science, and culture; the *upper meso-level*, dealing with governmental and non-governmental institutions; the *lower meso-level*, focused on the system of schooling (mission schools, day schools, public schools) and its broader goals; and the *micro-level,* consisting of "a specific boarding school [that] can be conceived as a network of interactions and a site where school officials innovated specific techniques to interact with students, their parents, and their communities and all parties formed relationships and alliances with other agents."[20] Woolford's model shows how Indigenous experiences with settler colonialism can be traced along the mesh through its mechanisms of authority: schools, institutions, law, people. This overlay of law, institution, and personal relationships formed the common ground upon which Huron College, the Shingwauk Home, and Western University were built.

Importantly, this work directly involved and included Indigenous Peoples, often in complicated ways. Jean Barman's research on Indigenous Peoples and schooling along the west coast, for example, demonstrates well how, with Confederation, the imposition of federal policy for Indigenous schools created tensions with more local forms of colonial education. While the role of the Canadian public schooling system is beyond the scope of this paper, Barman reminds us of the significant interest in integrated schooling that pre-existed the development of the federal system, and parents' agency in sending their children to either public schools or residential schools.[21] We can see similar trends here as both the creation of the Shingwauk Home and Huron College were met with some interest by Indigenous Peoples living nearby. As both the residential school system and public schooling began to develop in British Columbia, Barman notes that the federal policy of assimilation through religiously focused education failed, but also, through the imposition of industrial training, poor funding, and lack of quality teaching, Indigenous students were "schooled for inequality" upon their graduation.[22] This inequality was consistently flagged and formally complained about by parents and communities.[23] Altogether, the inclusion of Indigenous students in settler schools, residential schools, and specifically universities, resulted in colonial educational standards that Indigenous communities had to navigate as Euro-Canadian laws and culture were imposed upon Indigenous Land and territories.

In addition to its focus on colonial schooling for Indigenous children, throughout Britain's settler colonies, colleges and universities formed an important fabric in developing this settler-colonial mesh. From as early as the mid-seventeenth century, colleges such as Harvard, William and Mary, Princeton, and Dartmouth sought to include Indigenous students in their institutions.[24] In the aftermath of the Seven Years War, this connection between Christian evangelism and Anglo-American expansion was made explicit in Dartmouth College's 1769 charter. In that document, the school was charged with "carrying on the great design among the Indians; and also… to promote learning among the English, and be a means to supply a great number of churches and congregations which are likely to soon to be formed in that new country."[25] Eleazar Wheelock, the Congregational minister who founded Dartmouth, summed up well their purpose in inviting these students to study at

his school when, in 1771, he defined Dartmouth's "Great Design" as "sending [of] godly and faithful [missionaries], as well as learned ministers into these parts of our country, till, the whole continent be filled [by colonists]."[26] Though Huron College was founded a century later, Wheelock's vision aligns with Bishop McIlvaine's invocation at the college's founding: for the Episcopalian bishop, the school would serve as a training ground to use Christianity to peacefully repopulate Indigenous Lands with settlers. With administration and faculty often maintaining relationships with the imperial centre, transnational networks laced colleges and universities together as part of Woolford's mesh, with the goals of the "civilizing" mission across Turtle Island.[27] The academic work and theological training at universities legitimized each institution's place on stolen Indigenous Land, and entangled Indigenous students who enrolled, by seeking to establish European culture and religion as the new North American cultural norm.

Institutionalizing Anglican Settler Colonialism

In their founding, each of these institutions was steeped in Anglican evangelicalism and broader conflict about the place of Christianity within the emerging Canadian state. Contest over the role of Christian denominations in extending government interests corresponded with the rise in Christian evangelism and its extension into schooling.[28] In Upper Canada from the 1830s onwards, the Oblates administered the majority of Roman Catholic residential schools, while also founding the College of Bytown (University of Ottawa) in 1848 and Assumption College (University of Windsor) in 1857.[29] Methodists were equally influential, founding Victoria College in 1836,[30] while prominent Mississauga Methodist Kahkewaquonaby (Peter Jones) worked to establish the Mount Elgin Industrial Institute, and Egerton Ryerson, a Methodist cleric (later responsible for developing the public school system), put forth recommendations in 1847 for the half-day system that later defined the residential school system.[31] Fuelled by the rise of inter-denominational evangelism, manifest in building schools, the first half of the nineteenth century gave what church historian Rowan Strong called "fresh impetus to all forms of British Protestantism to engage with imperialism in the form of expansive missions to the heathen peoples of the empire."[32] Anglican involvement in the expansion of settler colonialism arose from this urgency to "civilise" and convert in the face of rival Christian denominations.

Part of this assurgency included the growth of evangelicalism within the Protestant church. In New England, the mid-eighteenth century Great Awakening had important resonances among the peoples who first occupied these Lands. This was the context in which Wheelock founded a charity school in 1754, the institutional precursor to Dartmouth College. Many people swept up in the Great Awakening moved westwards into the Great Lakes region during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[33] Around the Great Lakes in the early nineteenth century, a similar revivalist movement developed around Methodism. It is beyond the scope of this paper to develop this aspect of Great Lakes Christianity further, but it is important to note that at its height the Christian denomination had hundreds of Anishinaabe

adherents, and both day schooling and boarding schools were core components of evangelical efforts.[34] The person most closely associated with this movement was the Mississauga missionary Kahkewaquonaby (Peter Jones), who was instrumental in establishing the Mount Elgin Institute (about twenty-five kilometres from London), though he was soon disappointed by how the school was run and funded.[35]

Though less evangelical in nature, this religious fervour affected both the Haudenosaunee and settler Anglicans living in the region. In fact, members of the prominent Brant family had close relationships with Eleazar Wheelock and his schools: Thayendanegea (Joseph Brant) attended Wheelock's charity school in the early 1760s, while his two sons attended the school in the early nineteenth century.[36] Symbolized through the careful negotiation of Konwatsi'tsiaienni (Molly Brant, Thayendanegea's sister) and her partner, Sir William Johnson, British superintendent of Indian Affairs, Anglicanism formed an important diplomatic structure for navigating the Haudenosaunee-British alliance in their Homeland in what is today upstate New York. Elizabeth Elbourne has laid this out well in her reflection on Haudenosaunee engagement with the church. Through the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG), British and Haudenosaunee diplomats cultivated a common ground. While some Haudenosaunee saw this relationship more as a mutual partnership, from the settlers' perspective, through the church, a new colonial society was being stitched together. Building on a long history of Anglican establishmentarianism, the church — interwoven into the power of the Crown, and for many Anglicans, the nature of the state — was an important actor in shaping that development.[37] As an imperial institution, Elbourne demonstrates how the church — and the alliance of which it was a part — served to integrate Haudenosaunee people into British imperial networks and the global Anglican church.[38] As the settler-colonial mesh worked to entrap Indigenous Peoples into a culture of denominationally defined conformity, however, many members of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy navigated it to their advantage. Some Indigenous Nations, communities, and individuals carefully navigated complex settler networks and asserted their agency and sovereignty through them.

These North American currents in Protestant Christianity were shaped by developments in Britain. There, in reaction to rising church aristocracies during the eighteenth century and the institutionalizing of Wesleyan Methodism, a blossoming of evangelicalism occurred between John Wesley's death in 1791 and 1833, when Catholic revival in Anglicanism brought about the Oxford Movement. Intertwined with the abolition of the slave trade, the movement was upheld by groups of influential clergymen and politicians, such as William Wilberforce and Thomas Fowell Buxton, as well as those associated with the Clapham Sect. While evangelicalism influenced many Protestant missionary societies and parishes, especially among Methodists, it also had a significant influence among Anglicans. As H. G. Seegmiller notes, Anglican evangelicalism promoted "concepts of personal religion, philanthropic effort, and missionary zeal."[39]

Evangelicals believed in a second birth doctrine and the need for a saving conversion that, through these discussions about abolition, quickly overlapped with ideas

about culture and empire. David Nock illuminates this point in his work on E. F. Wilson, whose family members were also influential Anglican evangelicals. "To the sensitive Evangelical consciences," Wilson's biographer writes, "the globe presented a terrible spectacle of recruits falling ignorantly into hell. The only solution was for the evangelicals to shoulder the burden and carry the Gospel to the heathen."[40] Historian Susan Neylan outlines how Anglican missionaries in mid-nineteenth century British Columbia, like William Duncan, an "avid evangelical" stationed at the Metlakatla village among the Tsimshian, worked within Indigenous cultural and political structures, local missionary politics, and imperial expectations to uphold a prominent mission based on their own vision, in a "fierce" denominational competition for souls.[41] Thus, the spread of the Gospel was justified by a strong religious form of othering, cultivated by the expansion of evangelical Anglicanism in the colonies. It was within this emerging evangelical context that the church's role shifted; from being a site of negotiation and alliance with Indigenous Nations and communities, as it had been among the mid-eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Haudenosaunee, the church instead became much more focused on political control and cultural assimilation.

Building upon earlier seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Anglican missionary work, carried out by the New England Company, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge in the nineteenth century, the Colonial and Continental Church Society (CCCS) and Church Missionary Society (CMS) gained footing in the Canadas.[42] Founded in England in 1823 as the "Newfoundland Society for Educating the Poor" by layman Samuel Codner, the CCCS was introduced to the Diocese of Huron by Benjamin Cronyn. The organization's work included "The Mission to Fugitive Slaves in Canada," and it emphasized the power of education to effect personal salvation and redemption. Hellmuth was the CCCS's general secretary, a position he resigned to take up the work at Huron College. Anchored in a theology that focused ardently on anti-Catholicism, with its educational focus, the society shared a common goal with Protestant residential schools, situating the organization as an important node in the "civilizing" mission of the settler state.[43] In comparison, the CMS was more of a "global enterprise."[44]

It was through the CMS that Wilson funded his first years of mission work. Formed in 1799 to abolish slavery, fight oppression, and spread Christian belief, by mid-century, the CMS had turned its focus to the consequences of Britain's expanding empire upon Indigenous Peoples. The organization's secretary, Henry Venn, had a specific vision for Christianizing Indigenous Peoples known as the "Native Church Policy." The policy advocated for autonomous Indigenous-run churches and a less significant role for non-Indigenous missionaries, which Cronyn notably opposed.[45] Though the Native Church Policy did not really develop in the networks we have studied, elsewhere in Canada the policy had more influence. The aforementioned William Duncan was one of the CMS's better known missionaries. At Metlakatla, lay missionaries in particular facilitated the spread of a Tsimshian form of the faith.[46] Though the Native Church Policy was less influential in the Great Lakes region, together the CMS and CCCS reinforced the presence of an institutionalized Anglican enterprise there.

On both sides of the Atlantic, supporting the church financially and spiritually — through thoughts and prayers — was among every British person's social obligations. Middle- and upper-class social expectations cultivated what Sarah Flew calls an "ethos of giving" among Victorian philanthropists.[47] This ethos stimulated acts of imperial giving that responded to settler calls for aid from Britain's colonies. Catherine Hall illuminates how the British colonies became "imagined spaces for the production of new societies," where the colonized were to be remade and "civilized" through the means of education, efforts appealed to, and supported by, the Victorian ethos of giving.[48] Likewise, in Canada, this ethos and colonial imagining was strengthened by a sense of pity, whereby the development of the tools of state, such as colonial currencies, fuelled a discourse around Indigenous poverty and concerns about material well-being. According to Brian Gettler, Indigenous improvidence was framed to merit pity for the "disappearing Indian," who was, "in a rapidly monetizing world, in desperate need of assistance," an argument rooted in Enlightenment discourse.[49] Taken together, schools (and this discourse of colonial poverty) were used as rationale for overseas evangelism and colonization. With strong connections to England, settler-colonial institutions across the empire conducted their work by making fundraising tours in Britain and cultivating the ongoing social and financial relationships that ensued. Indeed, Cronyn, Hellmuth, and Wilson were successful in fundraising for their colonial schools, and soliciting British support, because of their ties within the church and its associated missionary societies like the CCCS and CMS.

Victorian communication and the rise of industrial printing were essential to colonial church expansion. The printed annual report — as a genre, according to Flew — served as the primary tool through which the CCCS, CMS, and other global missionary organizations solicited funds and expanded their colonial networks.[50] Jane Griffith's recent work on newspapers produced in boarding schools demonstrates a similar approach taken more locally in British North America.[51] The circulation of newspapers printed about students at the Shingwauk Home, *Our Forest Children* and the *Algoma Missionary News*, were used by Wilson as propaganda, signifying to settler readers — especially in Anglican Sunday Schools — that it was their responsibility to donate to his institution. Wilson used the publications to consolidate a "loose spatial" schooling network, often publishing about other Protestant residential schools, or comparing activities with those conducted in American industrial schools.[52] These efforts not only cultivated widespread transatlantic support for evangelical work, but also laid a common ideological foundation — a variation on Woolford's settler-colonial mesh — that knit together Anglican colleges, mission work, and industrial schools.

Anglican Architects

Through these church organizations, over the 1860s and 1870s, a specific Anglican settler-colonial ethos was manifested by building Huron College, the Shingwauk Home, and Western University. Supported by church-oriented financial and social

networks, understanding this ethos helps navigate how these relationships unfolded and integrated educational systems within a developing settler-colonial mesh. In the cases of the three schools, these networks were somewhat aligned by a common set of actors, invested in the westward expansion of Anglicanism that underpinned the creation of the Diocese of Huron, its affiliated college and university, and the Shingwauk and Wawanosh homes. Notably, while scholars such as Jean Barman, Jan Hare, and Alison Norman recognize the role of settler and Indigenous women missionaries, teachers, and students in this process, the networks we have studied were primarily propagated and cultivated by men.[53] Huron College and Western University did not accept female students until 1957 and 1895, respectively.[54] While the Wawanosh Home for Girls, the Shingwauk Home's girl's school counterpart, was subject to distinct Victorian gender norms through its curriculum, its funding, and its advertising, the school's distinct nature is hard to trace because Wilson often discussed the Shingwauk and Wawanosh homes together. We shall see, though, through Wilson's correspondence with a wealthy female benefactor named Kezia Peache, that a more careful study of gendered forms of aid and settler colonialism in this context is needed.

It was the connections they made through the CCCS and CMS that provided the foundations upon which Cronyn, Hellmuth, and Wilson were able to build their institutions. Through these organizations, they raised the funds necessary to launch their schools, but also harness an ideological apparatus that helped to legitimate their work and the institutions themselves. Drawing on the language of Christianity and calls to "civilize" Indigenous Peoples, these men sought out ideal Indigenous candidates to attend their schools and, over time, recruited new students to their endeavours. With students training for the ministry or to be teachers, it was hoped — as Hall notes about the British empire more generally — that such students would use their education as a way to spread the language of the Gospel across the Great Lakes region, ultimately seeking to "civilize" and remake peoples into colonial subjects.[55] Though they used a language of inclusion in their recruiting efforts, the core purpose of these institutions was to bring Indigenous cultures, religions, and politics into conformity with Anglican norms and traditions. The men drew upon a common philanthropic network that was anchored by a wealthy Anglican priest and his sister; without Alfred and Kezia Peache, none of these institutions would have developed as they did.

Right from the beginning, Cronyn and Hellmuth recruited at Six Nations of the Grand River near Brantford, Ontario, and from nearby Anishinaabe communities. Reflecting Venn's Native Church Policy, there was broad settler recognition in the region that Indigenous ministers and schoolteachers could be important agents of cultural and religious change.[56] There were many reasons that Cronyn and Hellmuth's recruits might have accepted this invitation. In nineteenth-century British Columbia, for example, Susan Neylan argues that for some Tsimshian converts and missionaries, evangelism appealed to personal conviction and life circumstances, causing specific individuals to become actively involved in mission work, translation efforts, and Christianization. This work positioned them to uphold complex relationships between their communities and settlers, as well as integrate their traditions with

evangelical Anglicanism.[57] The early students at Huron College were similarly positioned. John Jacobs, the author of the newspaper report from Walpole Island, with which this article began, was Huron's first Indigenous student. Upon his 1869 graduation, he was stationed in Aamjiwnaang and Kettle Point near where Lake Huron flows into the St. Clair River. Albert Anthony, a Leni-Lenape student, and Isaac Barefoot, an Onondaga student, came to Huron College in the 1870s. Both had attended the Mohawk Institute in Brantford. Upon ordination, Anthony went to work as a priest at Six Nations, while Barefoot, who previously attended the Toronto Normal School and worked as a teacher at the Mohawk Institute, joined the priesthood, serving churches in Point Edward, Walpole Island, Pelee Island, Dresden, and Six Nations, and additionally working as the superintendent of the school board at Six Nations. As Indigenous students trained at Huron College and turned to mission work in their home communities, these men navigated complex terrain as settler-colonial society developed around them.

Wilson was a contemporary of Anthony, Barefoot, and Jacobs at Huron College; in addition to being a student, he served as the college's first librarian.[58] Born in 1844, Wilson was part of an influential evangelical family. His grandfather, Bishop Daniel Wilson of Calcutta, was associated with the Clapham Sect and heavily involved with the CMS. Wilson's father, Daniel Wilson, Jr., was a long-serving priest in the evangelical parish of Islington, and active in the CCCS, likely crossing paths with Hellmuth. Wilson first met Hellmuth and Cronyn in 1865, as the two men worked their English networks to raise funds to build the college. While originally interested in farming, it was not long before the college's founders capitalized on Wilson's evangelical connections and convinced him to come to Canada.[59] Ordained in 1867, Wilson spent his early years as a CMS missionary at Aamjiwnaang and Kettle Point. There, he formed a strong relationship with John Jacobs, with whom he remained in frequent contact during his years at the Shingwauk Home.[60]

Wilson's time working with Jacobs illustrates the challenges missionaries had in implementing the CMS's Native Church Policy. Like Cronyn, Wilson found the policy an obstacle, especially with the rivalling Methodist involvement in the area.[61] It was too arduous to convince his so-called charges to support CMS efforts — either with their money or with their time as catechists — nor did many in the community conform to evangelical ideas about proper behaviour and voluntary work.[62] Where Venn's interest was primarily oriented towards religious conversion, Wilson's interests were broader and aligned more tightly with the civilizationist agenda that had been developing in the colony. Such localized tensions between Wilson, Cronyn, and Venn's ideas, had parallels in Duncan's west coast work with the Tsimshian People; Duncan was eventually dismissed by the CMS in 1881, over differences with the missionary organization in how the mission should run.[63] Though Wilson's relationship with the CMS continued into the 1870s, after he left Aamjiwnaang for Bawaating, his inability to implement the Native Church Policy and his increasing interest in industrial schooling led to a similar parting of ways.[64]

Somewhat ironically, given Wilson's failure to implement the Native Church Policy, the founding of the Shingwauk Industrial Home and the Wawanosh Home for Girls

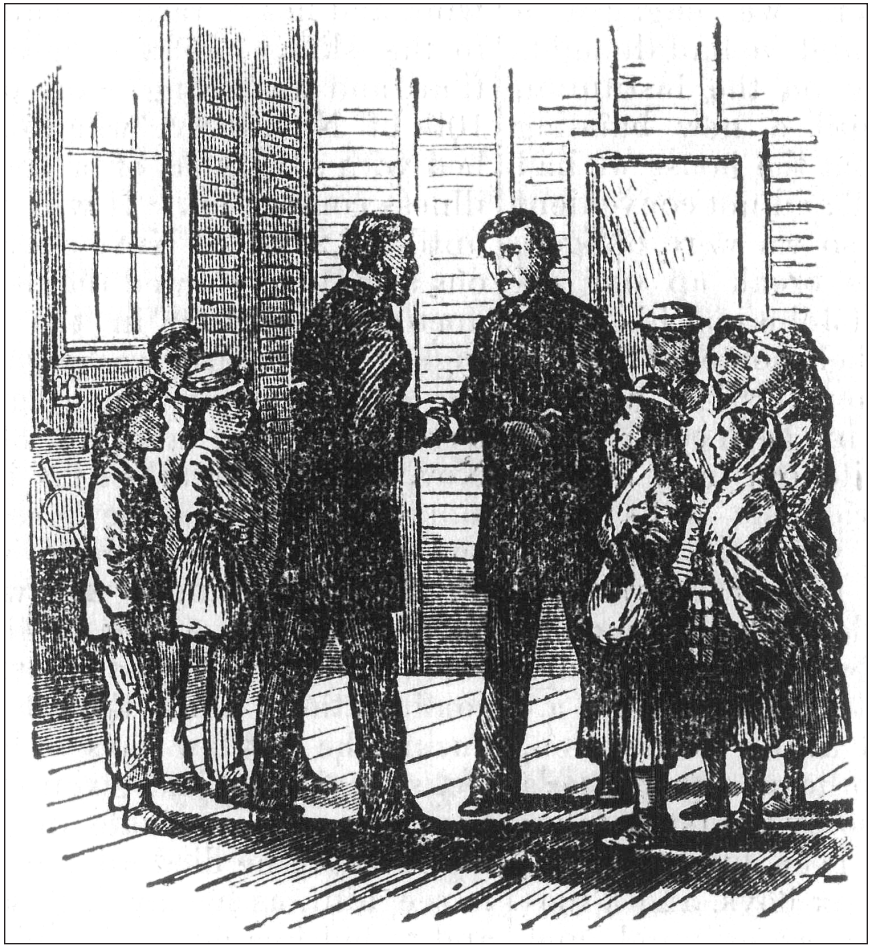

Figure 1. *Wilson (left) and Jacobs (right) meet with the "Sarnia" children. The boy closest to Wilson was supported by Miss Peache.*[65]

initially developed from an Anishinaabe-driven effort led by Chief Shingwaukonse to build a "teaching wigwam." Like many Indigenous communities facing the growing settler population and the opening of mission schools, Shingwaukonse saw Anishinaabe control over schooling as one way to control these processes.[66] He believed a school, and its associated colonial education, would foster resilience among his people. Schooling, in this case, was a tool through which to resist colonial intrusion or — at the very least — mitigate its negative effects; to use Woolford's metaphor, for Shingwaukonse, the schoolhouse could be used to snag and tear the settler-colonial mesh wrapping around his community.[67] Together, Shingwaukonse's sons Augustine and Buhkwujjenene, alongside Wilson, completed several fundraising tours to start the school. Buhkwujjenene and Wilson travelled together to England in 1872; the trip encompassed a visit to Wilson's home at Islington and a meeting with

Prince Edward.[68] The next year with the funds raised, the school was built, only to be destroyed by fire, opening again with much colonial fanfare in 1875.

Wilson's serial fundraising efforts in England drew on similar networks to those used by Cronyn and Hellmuth for Huron College; Hellmuth, as former CCCS secretary, drew upon them again later in the 1870s when he began building Western University. While the CCCS provided grants for the Shingwauk Home's early days, the amount could not sustain the entire operation. The Peache family was central to financially supporting each institution. Alfred Peache, an Anglican priest near Bristol, and his sister Kezia Peache of Wimbledon, inherited considerable wealth from their father, James, a timber merchant, and barge builder and owner. The siblings were well-known evangelicals and contributed to many educational initiatives; together they founded St. John's Hall, or London College of Divinity, and provided financial support in a campaign for the Bristol Clergy Daughters' School buildings.[69] In terms of their work in Canada, their philanthropy was somewhat gendered. Kezia was a constant supporter of the Shingwauk and Wawanosh homes in Bawaating, while Alfred supported Huron College's founding and the subsequent university which developed from it. Both brother and sister were instrumental to the beginnings of these institutions, illuminating a philanthropic commonality between the college and the Shingwauk Home.

Without the Peache family funds, there is some question whether Wilson's efforts would have succeeded. Though a more careful study of Wilson's fundraising is necessary, in his illustrated autobiography, Wilson identified Kezia (Miss Peache, in his words) as one of his "Own Old English Friends." She was "a kind Christian lady… [who] made us many a liberal gift. Indeed it was mainly through her generosity that I was enabled to start the Shingwauk Home, and afterwards the Wawanosh."[70] This singular recognition of her charity, enabling the work at the industrial schools Wilson envisioned, speaks to the significance of the Peache family's benevolence and the role of benefactors in supporting the "civilizing" of colonial subjects through boarding school education.[71]

Alfred Peache's connections to Huron College and Western University were similarly essential. In an initial fundraising tour to England in 1862, Peache was reportedly deeply moved and convinced by Hellmuth's calls for an evangelical school. He gave £5,000 to endow the Peache Chair of Divinity at Huron. These funds provided the principal's salary. Alfred, however, demanded involvement in the selection of subsequent principals.[72] Peache's relationship with Hellmuth's institutions lasted over two decades. He became the second chancellor of Western University after Hellmuth resigned in 1884.

Nor was Wilson removed from this network developing around the college and university. In 1882, for example, Wilson wrote to Rev. Dean Boomer, the principal of Huron College at the time, observing—with a simple reference to their last name—that the "Peaches both assist considerably in the support of our Homes + I think would be interested if one of our pupils was received with Huron College."[73] In 1885, during Peache's chancellorship, Wilson's sister forwarded a letter from Alfred asking for information about Huron College and Western University. From Bawaating, Wilson admitted he had not been to London for some time, having little knowledge

of the university. He responded: "If you prefer my trying to gain the information for you in an indirect manner I will gladly do what I can — & it is possible I may visit London this year."[74] Though this correspondence begs questions about Peache's degree of direct involvement with the university, it well illustrates Wilson's own place within these relationships.

Though Wilson corresponded more with Kezia than Alfred, there is no denying that Alfred was also involved in funding Wilson's projects. The siblings were listed in an 1877 donation list in the *Algoma Missionary News;* Alfred Peache donated £25. Kezia donated £100, in addition to supporting two children.[75] In 1878, a breakdown of financial support shows that her sizeable donation went towards the Wawanosh Maintenance Fund; travel expenses, including a new tent; a playroom for the boys; shipping costs for boxes of clothing, prizes, and treats; medicine; and repairs and new fittings for boats.[76] Wilson often wrote to Kezia describing how her funds were being used, and sometimes switched how it was applied to make ends meet at the home.[77] To put these donations in context, most other donations for general contributions were closer to £5.[78]

The Peache family support illustrates well how the emerging residential school system was interwoven with the development of schooling systems more generally. With both siblings providing substantial donations to each institution, Indigenous students became entangled in the schools' common vision. As Euro-Canadian settlers flooded onto Indigenous Lands, Anglican evangelicals sought to use institutions such as Western University, Huron College, the Shingwauk Home, and the Wawanosh Home for Girls to ensure their place in the developing colonial world. That the Peaches, Wilson, Hellmuth, and Cronyn existed within the same personal and religious network points to the importance of such groupings in shaping the educational landscape that developed north of the Great Lakes during the late nineteenth century.

Networking the Residential School System

Anglican networks brought together church leaders with government officials and other educators and scholars interested in the tactics of re-education and assimilation. To run a school, and maintain authority, an industrial school principal had to carefully navigate among church, state, donors, and pressures from the parents and communities of the children who lived with them.[79] A principal like Wilson oversaw day-to-day operations (the micro-level of Woolford's settler-colonial mesh), solicited support from donors, church, and government (lower meso-level), and held sufficient power to interpret and enforce policy communicated from both church and state (upper meso-level). Taken together, in Wilson's principalship we can see how Protestant principals like him — and Hellmuth — blended the institutional with the personal in order to normalize an Anglican ethos within their institution.

One of the most challenging aspects of Wilson's job was securing adequate funding to keep his schools running. Within the Shingwauk Home's first decade, the new Canadian government began financially supporting schools like Wilson's through a per capita system.[80] The per capita system provided nascent industrial

and residential schools annual funding relative to the number of students enrolled. The rate at Shingwauk in 1882 was $60 per pupil, and even less at Wawanosh, just $40.[81] Principals and church organizations were fiercely competitive over this funding, yet schools struggled to meet costs even with full enrolment and additional funds.[82] Furthermore, the tensions between religious denominations were heightened through parliamentary and Indian Department affairs in Ottawa, where rival denominations were fearful that politicians and bureaucrats, especially Indian agents, might favour certain groups over others, squabbling over children's denominations.[83] Because government funds were inconsistent, industrial schools required significant and widespread support networks to continue their work.

While Wilson certainly relied on per capita government funding, he drew heavily on Anglican social networks to keep the schools' doors open. Building from his own relationships, Wilson solicited donations from individuals, churches, and missionary societies like the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) and CCCS. Donations were listed in the school-run periodical *Algoma Missionary News and Shingwauk Journal* (AMN). Analysis of these documents demonstrates that people donated to the school from across Canada. A list from 1877, for example, notes donations from parishes as far away as Quebec and the eastern provinces, with support in Ontario from London, Niagara, Brockville, Toronto, and Kingston.[84] For the most part, money was given to sponsor a specific student. Some people, like Kezia Peache, supported multiple students.[85] Presenting students to prospective donors, Wilson would share with them how "promising" the student might be in the future, while reporting to the donor the student's progress in their industrial training. Other forms of support included funds for building maintenance and Christmas gifts. In one letter, Wilson noted his salary was partially supported by donation, with Kezia providing $500 and the CCCS giving another $530; Wilson even boasted that "no part of my salary comes from Canada."[86] In the same letter to Peache inquiring about Western University, however, Wilson noted a need to move away from UK funds, lamenting that it should be the duty of Canadian settlers to take up the work, no doubt expecting that the ethos should be as equally strong in the settler state as it was in England. By laying a degree of authority and responsibility on Christian Canadian society in the process of assimilating Indigenous students into the developing settler regime, the circulation of donations in Canada was anchored in the idea of marketing Indigenous improvidence, legitimizing the role of the schools in "civilizing" Indigenous students, and assuaging donors' sense of pity.[87]

Settler Sunday schools were an important part of the network that supported Shingwauk's development. Much like his general fundraising efforts, donations came in from Sunday schools throughout eastern Canada. Through the schools' newspapers, Sunday school students received updates on the students they were supporting. On one 1877 fundraising tour, Wilson was accompanied by two students, noting that they "travelled 4,103 miles, have stopped at 35 towns and cities distributed over 8 dioceses, have addressed 5,300 people, and 67,000 Sunday school children."[88] In 1878, Wilson recorded in his annual report that over forty-three Sunday schools subscribed to the Shingwauk Home; in 1890, there were more than twice as many (ninety-five).[89]

The fact that Wilson relied on Sunday schools to support his school is not surprising. Evangelicals were influential in developing the Sunday school system in England, and they were an important facet of the CCCS's work. For Wilson, though, they also had another dimension. According to David Nock, Wilson was not only intent on re-educating Indigenous children, but also in normalizing this type of benevolence—and the idea of industrial schools—among non-Indigenous Anglican children.[90] The Shingwauk and Wawanosh homes were products of Anglican settler work that extended beyond the diocesan boundaries, working among Indigenous and Anglican children to normalize the settler presence on Indigenous Land.

In addition to financial support, Wilson interacted with other Protestant residential school principals to consolidate a professional network among his peers. Specifically, Rev. Robert Ashton at the Anglican-run Mohawk Institute and Rev. W. W. Shephard at the Methodist Mount Elgin Institute were included. Periodically during the 1880s, Wilson also corresponded with Captain Richard Pratt, who founded the first boarding school in the United States at Carlisle, PA, in 1879, adding a cross-border relationship to the network that was already trans-Atlantic in nature.[91] Wilson's letters to Shephard mostly focus on students who had left one school or the other, cautioning them about, or asking for, references, before accepting them at their own school.[92] His correspondence with Ashton was much broader and focused on day-to-day operations. These connections were reinforced by Wilson's comparisons with the Catholic missions and schools, including the school in Wikwemikong, on Manitoulin Island, a region from where many students came to attend the Shingwauk Home.[93]

The Mohawk Institute, another industrial school with Anglican roots, was somewhat distinct from Wilson's schools. As principal, Ashton was employed directly by the New England Company (NEC); he held his position concurrently as priest for Her Majesty's Royal Chapel of the Mohawks. This structure, whereby the NEC held direct ownership of the school, meant that Ashton was less dependent on fundraising. Likewise, located in the heart of the new province of Ontario, the Mohawk Institute was better integrated into colonial society. According to historian Elizabeth Graham, Ashton hoped the school would meet provincial standards of education, and was cognisant of the other schooling occurring at Six Nations, Tuscarora, and at public schools in nearby Brantford.[94] These "civilizing" efforts gave Ashton an important voice within Anglican circles. A report that Ashton compiled for the NEC in 1885 listed him travelling to London to visit the bishop of Huron "who wished to consult… respecting the Diocesan Indians missionaries."[95] Ashton's role at the Mohawk Institute extended more broadly throughout the Huron Diocese, demonstrating how early residential schools were integrated into the fabric of the developing settler-Canadian society.

Though the schools were distinct, Wilson and Ashton's correspondence demonstrates that they saw parallels in their authority as principals. The principals had a business-like relationship wherein they discussed students' wages associated with their industrial training and costs associated with the school's operations. Wilson asked for Ashton's help in finding a suitable schoolteacher and housing for a trained bootmaker. In 1885, Wilson paid a short visit to Ashton at the institute. Two years

later, when the father of two children from Aamjiwnaang became sick, Wilson agreed to have the students transferred south to the Mohawk Institute, from where the students could travel home much more easily.[96] Though Mount Elgin was closer, and it is clear that Wilson and Shepherd corresponded about common students, it is likely that the confessional ties facilitated these students' transfer.

Beyond daily affairs, Wilson and Ashton also saw themselves as part of a common "civilizing" movement. Wilson solicited from both Shephard and Ashton, as well as Pratt at Carlisle, accounts about their schools for his newspaper, *Our Forest Children*, linking — as Jane Griffith notes — their local efforts to broaden systematic forms of assimilative schooling.[97] Notably, Wilson and Ashton corresponded about the possibility of holding a conference focused on "the education of Indians."[98] Wilson's preference to communicate with Ashton on the subject is telling: though the schools were distinct and somewhat isolated from each other, by the 1880s, their common Anglican roots brought them into conversation over the specific methods and practices involved in re-educating Indigenous children. The industrial school principal was a position essential to normalizing Anglican authority on Haudenosaunee and Anishinaabe Land.

Building Western University

Wilson's role as principal finds a parallel in Isaac Hellmuth's relationship to Huron College and Western University. As a friend of Wilson's, and Ashton's bishop, Hellmuth shared similar interests in entrenching the church as part of the fabric of settler-Canadian society. As bishop, Hellmuth was responsible for the missionaries working in Indigenous communities, visiting their communities — specifically Six Nations and the Chippewa at Kettle Point — to participate in baptisms and other Anglican rituals. In addition to Huron, Hellmuth founded two private schools, also in London: the Hellmuth Boys College, which opened in 1864, and the Hellmuth Ladies College, which opened in 1869. Much like Shingwauk, these schools mirrored the gendered segregation and curriculum considered part of a complete Victorian Christian education. Alumni of the Mohawk Institute, such as Evelyn Johnson and Henry Beverly Johnson, the siblings of the renowned nineteenth-century poet Tekahionwake (Pauline Johnson), attended Hellmuth's schools during these years. By opening his schools to Indigenous students — thereby setting a prescriptive path for high achieving students to further their colonial schooling — Hellmuth solidified London as an important site in the settler-colonial mesh being woven upon Indigenous Lands. This work continued into the 1870s, as Hellmuth's ambitions increasingly focused on building a university.[99]

Conceived in 1878, and opened in 1881, the new university was framed to "meet the educational wants of the fast developing West with an undenominational School of Arts, Law, Medicine, and Engineering."[100] Despite claims to a secular foundation, Western remained deeply tied to the Church of England, and — more directly — to Huron College. Following a meeting of Huron's alumni in February 1877, the group — which included Mohawk Institute alumnus Isaac Barefoot — pledged to

donate $6,000 to the new university. According to Talman, the group "specifically requested the Bishop to use his 'official and personal' influence to procure a charter for a university."[101] And this Hellmuth did. The first bill for Western's incorporation reached the legislature in January 1878. The constitution that was adopted the following year dictated that the chancellor, provost, and members of the senate must all be members of the Church of England.[102] Furthermore, because Huron College and Western University were still affiliated, the financial support of the Peache Trust enabled the activities at the college, and consequently, Western's early operations. Peache was also appointed Western's second chancellor following Hellmuth's resignation in 1884, demonstrating how Anglican philanthropy was instrumental in hemming the settler-colonial mesh by justifying schools as a worthy cause of investment. Though secular in purpose, the university was deeply rooted in the nineteenth-century evangelical traditions and visions that informed Huron College's and the Shingwauk Home's beginnings.

Likewise, the plan for Western was never separate from the desire to convert and "civilize" Indigenous Peoples. In addition to his connections with the CCCS, Hellmuth enlisted the help of Indigenous students and clergy to financially bolster the new university. In 1879, he approached the Anishinaabe missionary Henry Chase to "solicit aid on behalf of the Western University" during one of his trips abroad.[103] Two years later, Jacobs, the Anishinaabe Anglican missionary at Aamjiwnaang who frequently wrote to Wilson, travelled to England on a similar mission. *The Evangelical Churchman*, an Anglican newspaper, reported on Jacobs's travels, noting that he left for a seven- to eight-month tour "visiting London, Edinburgh, Dublin, Manchester, Liverpool."[104] Clearly Chase and Jacobs had to have established themselves in the schools' social circles to have been chosen to represent Western in the metropole. In taking these trips, Chase and Jacobs shared a path similar to that taken by Samson Occom, the Mohegan clergyman who had raised in England most of the funds to start Dartmouth College during the late 1760s.[105] Much like Dartmouth, which quickly came to serve the colonial elite, few Indigenous students attended the school during Western's early years, despite Hellmuth's claim that it would become an institution "for the training of both Indian and white students."[106]

By turning to both overseas and domestic fundraising tours, we can see how Western was tied to the school's "civilizing" prospects for Indigenous education. Following one UK tour, a column from the *Sheffield Independent* illuminated how Hellmuth framed Indigenous graduates as a part of the colonial university's successes. The newspaper recounts:

> At the university there had also been trained two Ojibbeway Indians, one Mohawk, and one of the Delaware tribe, each of whom was giving satisfaction as a faithful minister of the Gospel.[107]

Much like industrial and residential schools, Indigenous students' relationship to the university was seemingly evaluated by the degree to which they were "giving satisfaction" to settler standards of success. By identifying the Indigenous students who

had attended Huron College in his comments above, Hellmuth's words are telling. Not only do they signify how intrinsic Western's development was to the college and the Shingwauk Home, but also how evangelical-Anglican culture was normalized in different communities across the Great Lakes region to replace Indigenous cultures and remake them according to Victorian assumptions about the meaning of "civilization." In drawing out the students' involvement with his educational endeavours, Hellmuth's address sought to show potential donors in the imperial metropole how the university—both Huron College and Western University—actively remade Indigenous Land and bodies in its image.

Back in Canada, fundraising was more tightly linked to the Anglican settler ethos that defined these beginnings. Recording his 1881 visit to Walpole Island, with which this article began, John Jacobs (Huron's first Indigenous student) reported in the *Dominion Churchman* that:

> [Western University] is to be open to Indians from all parts. The Indians were greatly interested in the University, as they have a number of boys attending presently the Shingwauk Institute at Sault Ste. Marie, Algoma, some of whom, it is hoped, will enter the University to complete their education…. It is gratifying to state that already three native Indians have graduated at Huron College which is now to be affiliated with the Western University…. We have no doubt that when the Western University is opened Indians from different parts will continue to avail themselves of the grand privileges of obtaining a University education.[108]

By linking Huron, Western, and Shingwauk, settler readers could associate the schools with a common agenda that involved entrenching their position on Indigenous Lands.[109] Again, by framing the university as a site to which Indigenous youth "from different parts" might attend, Hellmuth pointed to the expansionist nature of Canada. The "civilizing" aspects of Christian education offered at both industrial schools and universities were used in tandem to normalize settler-colonial relationships. Western and Huron became the educational stepping-stones from the nascent residential school: Hellmuth's institutions were deeply entrenched within a mid-nineteenth-century ethos focused on destroying Indigenous Homelands in the name of "civilization," modernity, and a settler-Canadian future.

Conclusion

Within a decade, Hellmuth and Wilson walked away from their schools. On March 13, 1892, Wilson suffered a self-described "complete breakdown."[110] After nearly twenty years, he gave up and moved to Salt Spring Island in British Columbia. He took up farming and never returned to missionary work. A decade earlier, in 1884, Wilson had alluded to his growing fatigue with the school. In letters to the bishop of Algoma and his father, Wilson suggested that, with the support of the CCCS, John Jacobs might take over the school's superintendency.[111] Hellmuth left his role

at Western University under similar circumstances, returning to England in 1883 as a result of his wife's failing health and an opportunity to serve as suffragan of the Diocese of Ripon, bishop of Hull, but the position never came to fruition.[112]

In bringing these diverse histories of education and schooling together, the broader significance of the residential school system becomes clearer. Rather than being isolated from other education systems developing in Canada, this history points to a common ideological, religious, and financial foundation. Interactions among students, alumni, staff, founders, donors, Indigenous communities, and the settler Canadian and British publics illuminate a complex transatlantic enterprise that supported global Anglicanism and the diverse types of schooling it sought to propagate. Far from being isolated and removed from Canadian society, both industrial schools and residential schools were just as much a core institution as the universities, colleges, and churches that developed alongside them.

Though Blair Stonechild is no doubt correct that the first formal interest expressed by the federal government in Indigenous students attending post-secondary education came in 1902, reflecting an internal initiative to gather information from Indian agents to report on university graduates, our work points to a more common, and earlier, history.[113] Teasing out networks like the ones described above helps reveal the systemic and interconnected nature of mid-nineteenth-century settler-Canadian institutions and how they worked together to erase Indigenous heritage and build settler traditions. This common colonial history complicates our understanding of the nineteenth century, and begs further inquiry about other institutional histories. Universities like Acadia, Laval, the universities of Ottawa, Toronto, Manitoba, and British Columbia all have colonial histories similar to those of Huron College and Western University; we suspect that with a bit more research, this list would grow longer. Through a colonial logic of inclusion, anchored in eliminating Indigenous Peoples as meaningful political actors, religious and social networks like the ones laid out here built and sustained schools like Huron College, the Shingwauk Home, and Western University.

These stories of founding have important consequences for contemporary discussions about Indigenization and decolonization within systems of education and schooling. Including Indigenous Peoples in early efforts to build educational institutions was a useful tool for developing a colonial system of rule that led to oppressive and genocidal structures of schooling. Conversely, stories of early Indigenous graduates, and also missionary graduates, can be traced to recognize and confront the colonial legacies of these institutions. Though the residential school system has come to an end, if universities are going to take seriously the task of Indigenization and decolonization, their efforts need to go beyond the mere expansion of their ranks by increasing the number of Indigenous faculty, students, and administrators.

What can universities do beyond these efforts to address the stolen and/or unceded Land upon which they are situated?

What have been the historical relationships in which the university engaged?

How are relationships with local communities formed and honoured?

As discourses of reconciliation resonate within universities, there needs to be recognition of how the institution's very existence might pose a challenge for welcoming Indigenous individuals, communities, cultures, and knowledge systems. To meaningfully achieve these goals, a broader systemic change that understands and disentangles these networks is necessary.

Notes

This project emerged from two earlier research projects. "Confronting Colonialism" was a 2014–16 research-learning project conducted at Huron University College with Professor Amy Bell and funded through the John and Gail MacNaughton Prize for Excellence in Teaching. This project used Huron University College's Rare Books collection to teach the history of settler colonialism in the Lower Great Lakes region. In 2018, a SSHRC Partnership Engage Grant funded the "Documenting Early Residential Schools Project," a partnership of the Woodland Cultural Centre, Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre, Huron University College, and the Diocese of Huron Archives. Without these earlier projects and the support of Huron's Centre for Undergraduate Research Learning and the Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre archivist, Krista McCracken, this article would have been impossible to write. The authors are grateful for this support.

1 *Dominion Churchman*, July 18, 1881, 367, https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8_06916_550/7?r=0&s=1.

2 Following Mishuana Goeman, we have chosen to use an upper case "L" when referring to Land. We do so to convey an understanding that the word encompasses more than a simple bounded territory, but rather also includes relationships embedded within ecosystems, culture, politics, and story. For many Indigenous Peoples, the Land is a relational, rather than transactional, concept. For more, see Mishuana Goeman, "From Place to Territories and Back Again: Centering Storied Land in the Discussion of Indigenous Nation-Building," *International Journal of Critical Indigenous Studies* 1, no. 1 (2008): 23–34. See also Sandra Styres, Celia Haig-Brown, and Melissa Blimkie, "Towards a Pedagogy of Land: The Urban Context," *Canadian Journal of Education* 36, no. 2 (2013): 37.

3 Government of Canada, *Censuses of Canada, 1665 to 1871* (Ottawa: I. B. Taylor, 1876). For the overall change in population, the following census regions were included: Essex, Kent, Lambton, Middlesex, Muncey, Bear Creek, Sarnia, and Walpole. In assessing cleared acreage, we used Kent, Walpole/Dover, Walpole/Chatham, Walpole/Sombra, Lambton, Sarnia/Moore, Sarnia/Sarnia Township, Middlesex, Muncey/Delaware, Muncey/Caradoc, Muncey/Ekfrid for the dates between 1842 and 1861.

4 C. F. J. Whebell and Herman Goodden, "London," *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/london.

5 Benjamin Cronyn, *A Charge Delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Huron, in St. Paul's Cathedral, London, Canada West, at His Primary Visitation, in June 1859* (Toronto: Rowsell and Ellis, 1859), 51.

6 For good overviews of the resettlement of Upper Canada/Ontario, see David Wood, *Making Ontario* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000), and Neal Ferris, *The Archaeology of Native-Lived Colonialism: Challenging History in the Great Lakes* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 2009).

7 *The Gospel in Canada: And its Relation to Huron College* (London: William Hunt, 1865), 18.
8 Jean O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians Out of Existence in New England* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2010).
9 Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (December 2006): 387–409.
10 The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada has an excellent chapter on the history of fire at residential schools. See Truth and Reconciliation Commission (hereafter TRC), *Canada's Residential Schools: The History, Part 1: Origins to 1939, Volume 1* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015), chap. 18.
11 J. R. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 6.
12 E. F. Wilson, *Autobiographical Journal: From Barnsbury England to Barnsbury Canada (1868–1908),* eCampus Ontario Open Library Pressbooks, 46, https://ecampusontario.pressbooks.pub/srsc/chapter/autobiographical-journal-of-rev-edward-f-wilson/.
13 See Denis McKim, "God and Government: Exploring the Religious Roots of Upper Canadian Political Culture," *Ontario History* 55, no. 1 (Spring 2013): 75, n. 3. Religion is insufficiently addressed in James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1783–1939* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), and John Weaver, *The Great Land Rush and the Making of the Modern World, 1650–1900* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003).
14 Lorenzo Veracini, "Introduction: Settler Colonialism as a Distinct Mode of Domination," in *The Routledge Handbook of the History of Settler Colonialism*, ed. Edward Cavanagh and Lorenzo Veracini (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2017), 4.
15 Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism," 387–409.
16 Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism." See also the TRC, *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future* (2015), introduction, http://www.trc.ca/about-us/trc-findings.html.
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