

## **Betwixt and Between: The Liminal Life of Henry Bird Steinhauer<sup>1</sup>**

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Henry Bird Steinhauer was among the first Methodist missionaries in the Canadian West of Aboriginal descent and consequently occupies a prominent place in Methodist memory. In *Vanguards of Canada*, a collection of biographies that recounted the heroic exploits of Canada's Methodist pioneers published in 1918, the Rev. John Maclean described Henry Bird Steinhauer as a "child of the wigwam" born amid "superstition, drunkenness and vice" and rescued "from the wild, roving life of his fathers" when he was converted by the powerful preaching of William Case and "placed under religious instruction." Possessing a "kind and gentle disposition" and much "ability and industry," the young Steinhauer demonstrated that "he was well qualified for the duties and responsibilities of a native missionary." Where ever he was posted, Maclean insisted, Steinhauer's "energy, faith and piety brought abundant success." "Behind the dark-skinned visage," Maclean concluded, "lay an heroic soul," "a saint among men," "one of nature's noblemen" and "a benefactor of his race" who led his people to "the altar of God" and prepared them "for the new civilization" that was transforming the west.<sup>2</sup>

To Maclean, Steinhauer was both a model missionary and an exemplar of the triumph of the missionary enterprise of converting and civilizing Native peoples. Mclean's descriptions of Steinhauer's life and career are typical of the many newspaper and magazine articles and dozens of books and pamphlets published by the church to promote and publicize its missionary efforts in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In

hundreds of similar narratives, readers were presented with the romantic exploits of courageous disciples who endured great suffering and sacrifice to bring the light of the Gospel and the benefits of “civilization” to “heathen” peoples lost in darkness and barbarism. Conversion and civilization were presented in such works as part of a noble and humanitarian effort to save a doomed and dying race from certain extinction. Such works were deliberate and conscious productions that provided the church with both a justification and a rationalization for missions to British North America’s Native peoples and ensured that it played a vital role in the social and moral development of the western frontier.<sup>3</sup>

While such works created missionary heroes, they also constructed images of the “aboriginal other” who was to be Christianized and westernized. Underlying the whole missionary enterprise was a boundless faith in progress and human potential and the conviction that Native peoples possessed the same basic characteristics as other races.

Churches thus embraced the missionary cause confident that “civilization” was destined to replace “barbarism” and that Native peoples were capable of redemption. Missionary literature, however, invariably presented Natives as primitive and childlike and in desperate need of the parental tutelage of missionaries who would bring them the saving blessings of Christianity and the abundant benefits of western life and culture. Missionary zeal was closely linked to an abiding belief in the providential purpose of the British Empire and the moral responsibility of the Anglo-Saxon race. The belief that divine providence ruled history led many Protestant British North Americans to conclude that the success and expansion of the British Empire and the of the assimilation of the Native peoples was part of God’s will and plan. Missionary writers judged Natives by the standards of their own society and culture and found them wanting. Natives, it was argued, were weak and backwards because they lived for the moment and did not plan or provide for the future, left no permanent signs of their presence on the land, did not understand the importance of private property, failed to appreciate the value of time and money and were captives of irrational superstition and idolatry. Natives were routinely portrayed as slaves of the natural world trapped in a static culture that lacked the dynamism needed to progress and innovate. Native society was repeatedly described as cruel and heartless with the burden of labour falling to women and the sick and elderly left to perish. Missionary writers insisted that only the transforming power of the Gospel could rescue Natives from nomadic lives of sin and degradation marked by

illiteracy, intoxication and immorality. Success in such narratives was measured by the degree to which Natives rejected their former lives and embraced farming and the work ethic, temperance and thrift, cleanliness and moral discipline, and home and family life.<sup>4</sup>

In Maclean's tribute to Henry Bird Steinhauer we find the tension between missionary hero and aboriginal other that characterized mission literature captured in a single life. Prior to his conversion, Steinhauer is described as lost in a backward, pagan world filled with sin and temptation. According to Maclean, Steinhauer was freed from his old ways and beliefs by the arrival of devoted missionaries and transformed into a new man dedicated to saving and uplifting his own people. Henry Bird Steinhauer's life, however, was much more complex and nuanced than the one portrayed by Maclean. Steinhauer occupied a complicated, in-between world that straddled two cultures. His was, to borrow Victor Turner's words, a liminal life. Turner defines liminal individuals or entities as "neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremony."<sup>5</sup> Such "threshold people," Turner contends, develop liminal personae that are necessarily ambiguous and characterized by a series of apparent contradictions. "It is as though there are here," Turner reasons, "two major 'models' for human interrelated-ness, juxtaposed and alternating."<sup>6</sup> This was certainly true for Henry Bird Steinhauer.

The experience of Henry Bird Steinhauer is instructive in reconstructing what the acceptance of Christianity meant both ideologically and practically for Native converts. The eldest son of Bigwind and Mary Kachenooting, Steinhauer was born near Rama, Upper Canada, an Ojibway community north of Lake Simcoe, around 1818. Although his people had been in contact with Europeans for over one hundred and fifty years, much of their traditional way of life and belief system had remained intact. Steinhauer's entry into the world, however, coincided with changes that hastened the disintegration of Native society in Upper Canada. The War of 1812 had significant consequences for Upper Canada's Native peoples. The fighting itself scared off game and destroyed hunting grounds and forced many to relocate their communities onto lands already occupied and unable to sustain the resident Native population. The war inflicted heavy casualties and resulted in the loss of many leaders and elders, depriving communities of the wisdom, memory, and guidance of their traditional chiefs and spiritual leaders and eroding Native cohesion and confidence. A social and cultural malaise thus took hold following the

war and many turned to alcohol for solace. At the same time, disease ravaged many Native communities further compounding the sense of disorientation that followed the war and feeding the fear that their traditional religious guardians had fled the country.<sup>7</sup> Prior to the war, Natives had been viewed as vital allies. With the end of the war, Natives were no longer regarded as essential to the defence of Upper Canada and lost much of the status and influence they had enjoyed as important allies of the Crown. The result was a shift in government policy towards Native peoples that emphasized the freeing up of land for incoming settlers from Britain and the confinement of Natives upon reserves where they could be educated and rendered sedentary. Possessing limited resources, government looked to the church to assist it in the task of civilizing the Natives.

On 17 June 1828, Henry Bird Steinhauer was among 127 Natives baptized at a camp meeting led by William Case and Mississauga convert Peter Jones at Holland Landing. Steinhauer described the events leading up to his baptism in terms that mirrored the language and style common to missionary narratives. At a meeting of a branch of the Wesleyan Missionary Society in 1854, Steinhauer recalled how he found himself at the age of ten or twelve “wandering about with his parents, miserable, poor and naked and cold because they did not know any of the great things derived from the Gospel.” While he was in that sorry state “a stranger came amongst their tribe telling them that there was a great God above, and that this Great God had pity upon all men” and had “therefore sent his Son into the world” because “men had sinned” and “departed from the good ways and would certainly have perished if His Son had not come to save him.” “Some few of the tribe,” Steinhauer recollected, believed the missionary and began to gather for worship and instruction.<sup>8</sup> Attracted by their singing but afraid to join the group, Steinhauer recounted how he was invited in by a teacher left behind by the missionary to preach the Gospel and teach the people to read. He recalled that he soon mastered the alphabet and began to read the Bible. Steinhauer was baptized, along with his most of the tribe, when the missionary returned and instructed them in the salvific message of the Gospel and the errors of their ways. Although Steinhauer’s recollection of his conversion was crafted for a Euro-Canadian audience, a careful reading of his account provides important insights into the meaning of conversion for Native peoples. For Steinhauer, the appeal of the missionary message is clearly cast in terms of the hope and relief conversion promised to provide to the immediate troubles that afflicted his family and people. Historians of missions have frequently

asserted that cultural disruption was a necessary condition for success in the mission field. Only in circumstances where traditional ways and values proved ineffective, it is argued, did indigenous peoples contemplate adopting new practices and ideas.<sup>9</sup> While this was certainly true in Steinhauer's case, it is also true that he did not regard Native society as static and unchanging and interpreted his own people's openness to Christianity as part of a long tradition of religious dynamism and innovation. But what was there in the missionary's message that specifically appealed to Steinhauer and other Natives? Steinhauer placed particular emphasis on the equality of all persons before God when recounting his conversion. He recalled that the missionary who came to his people repeatedly insisted that God's love and mercy extended to both the "white man" and "the poor wandering Indian" and that Jesus had died for the salvation of all sinful people.<sup>10</sup> This message of equality must have been especially appealing to Upper Canadian Natives who found themselves increasingly isolated and marginalized by the rising tide of settlers and the shifting attitudes of government policy makers. Far from representing a total abandonment of aboriginal identity, conversion could constitute an important means to assert Native claims to equality and respect. There was also a practical appeal to what the missionary offered. Steinhauer recognized that literacy and education provided him not only a means to survive in a changed world but the promise of new paths to authority and influence. Native converts such as Steinhauer found in the missionaries' Christian message ideas and practices that were useful in coping with the new and wider world that was intruding upon them. Significantly, Steinhauer was first attracted to Christianity by the music and worship. Some consideration must thus be given to the nature of the evangelical piety carried to the Natives by the Methodist missionaries.

The missionary movement has usually been interpreted as a tool of cultural imposition that sought to displace traditional beliefs and practices. This approach, however, overlooks the many parallels between Native religion and Christian evangelicalism. As Susan Neylan has demonstrated in her study of Protestant missions and the Tsimshian in northwestern British Columbia, evangelical Christianity and Native spirituality were both highly experiential in nature. Both stressed the importance of transformative religious experiences as a means to establish relationships with nonhuman powers. These experiences typically took place in natural settings and were accompanied by powerful addresses and long periods of ritual singing and dancing and concluded with renaming ceremonies and

the assumption of a new identity.<sup>11</sup> The similarities between evangelical and Native spirituality and the Methodist camp meeting and established Native practice are striking. Conversion then did not necessarily constitute a turning away from traditional belief systems as much as the expression of established ideals and practices using Christian forms and terms. In many ways, the Methodists use of small groups or classes replicated the roles played by traditional clans and secret societies. Both provided opportunities to assert group membership and identity through instruction, spiritual practices, and the regulation of behaviour. As much as Euro-Canadian missionaries may have sought to displace Native social structures, it appears Natives used the new Christian social organizations to maintain Native conventions and the social solidarity of their culture. The meaning and significance of the conversion of Natives such as Henry Bird Steinhauer is thus more complex than has usually been assumed and cannot be characterized as simply a sign of cultural subversion. Henry Bird Steinhauer found himself in-between traditional and western society, yet a part of them both. He used his newfound faith to navigate the shifting waters of British North American society and to reframe indigenous institutions.

For Protestant evangelicals, conversion was followed by a quest for holiness and sanctification evident in the convert's quest to live a godly life and willingness to enlist in the evangelical campaign to convert the world. Those converted to the enthusiastic new faith thus assumed personal responsibility not only for making changes in their own lives but reforming society as a whole and saving the lost. Henry Bird Steinhauer's life certainly adhered to this course. Shortly after his baptism, Steinhauer was taken to the agricultural mission established by William Case on Grape Island in the Bay of Quinte. The Grape Island mission was designed to isolate Christian Natives from their traditional lifestyles and the corrupting influences of white society, immerse them in Methodist piety and discipline, and inculcate them in values of thrift, industry, sobriety and self-reliance. Steinhauer's devotion and sharp mind impressed his teachers at Grape Island and he was sent to the Cazenovia Seminary in upstate New York to be prepared for work in the mission field. Steinhauer returned to Upper Canada in 1835 and taught at the Credit River Mission before furthering his education at Upper Canada Academy in Cobourg. During this period of formation, Steinhauer mastered the language, concepts and forms that defined evangelical Christianity and the Euro-Canadian discourse on missions. Throughout his writings it is evident that Stein-

hauer shared his teachers' conception of conversion as a rejection of a dark past and liberation from the bonds of sin and ignorance. Steinhauer understood the life of faith as one of constant vigilance against the evils and temptations of the world and recorded his own struggles and sense of unworthiness. Christianity was more than a set of principles and beliefs to Steinhauer; it was also a way of life defined by virtues of duty, discipline, temperance and perseverance.<sup>12</sup>

For the evangelical, the ultimate demonstration of one's Christian commitment was to share the faith with non-Christians through a life of service in the mission field. Henry Bird Steinhauer began his long missionary career in 1840 when he was sent to Rainy Lake to assist the Reverend William Mason as an interpreter, translator and teacher. Two years later, Steinhauer was dispatched to the Rossville Mission near Norway House where he assisted in the translation of the bible into Cree. Unscathed by the dissension that broke out between missionaries James Evans and William Mason at Rossville and the deteriorating relations with the Hudson's Bay Company, Steinhauer was asked to establish a mission at Oxford House in 1851. Three years later he accompanied John Ryerson on a tour of Britain to promote the western missions. After fifteen years of service in the mission field, Steinhauer was finally ordained in 1855 and assigned a new mission field at Lac la Biche. Steinhauer carried out itinerant work among the Cree in the Lac la Biche area until he established a successful agricultural mission at Whitefish Lake in 1861 where he remained until his death in 1884. As a missionary, Steinhauer certainly sought to bring about a change in individuals and to transform Native society. As a Native, however, Steinhauer brought a different set of experiences and perspectives than the Euro-Canadian missionaries with whom he worked. In her study of Natives and the Church Missionary Society, First Nations historian Winona Stevenson has commented that the concept of the "Native missionary" has often been considered a contradiction in terms.<sup>13</sup> The life and career of Henry Bird Steinhauer speaks less of contradiction than it does of cultural negotiation and adaptation.

Contrary to the portraits of success and satisfaction painted by John McDougall much of Steinhauer's missionary career was marked by failure and frustration. While Native converts such as Steinhauer were actively recruited for work in the mission field, their relationships with Euro-Canadian missionaries were often contradictory and fraught with tensions. Native converts invariably served in subordinate positions under Euro-Canadian clergy in supportive roles as translators, teachers and catechists.

Native missionaries rarely served without close supervision or were trusted with the responsibility of establishing their own missions. Steinhauer frequently felt frustrated in fulfilling the role to which he felt God had called him by superiors with far less aptitude and ability. At Rainy Lake, for example, Steinhauer's work in establishing a school for Native children was undermined by his superior, William Mason. Mason was ill suited to the rough life of a missionary and frequently retreated to Red River, leaving Steinhauer to toil alone for long periods of time. Mason also demonstrated little understanding of the Natives and their way of life. He discouraged Steinhauer from accompanying the local Saukteaux on the hunt or spending much time among them. Convinced that the Saukteaux were beyond redemption, Mason insisted that Steinhauer abandon the school he established for local Natives and dedicate himself to tutoring the children of Hudson's Bay Company employees. Disheartened by the lack of support for his Native work, Steinhauer gave in to temptation and participated in a drunken New Year's party. Convinced that he had disgraced "the Sacred cause" to which he had dedicated his life, Steinhauer considered abandoning mission work altogether. Steinhauer's spirits were lifted by the return to Rainy Lake of Peter Jacobs, a Native convert like himself. Steinhauer's relationships with Euro-Canadian missionaries were very different from those with his fellow Native missionaries. Whereas Steinhauer found Mason a distant superior to whom he must defer, in Jacobs he gained a supportive colleague who shared both a dedication to spreading the Gospel and an appreciation of Native culture and lifestyle. Together Jacobs and Steinhauer toured the district and identified promising locations for mission sites. He returned to Rainy Lake reinvigorated by Jacob's companionship and looking forward to striking out on a new venture. Steinhauer's hopes were soon quashed by his clerical superiors and Hudson's Bay Company officials and he found himself once again relegated to tutoring the children of company employees.<sup>14</sup>

Steinhauer's transfer to the mission at Rossville in 1844 appeared to offer brighter prospects. At Rossville he found a well-attended Native school for children and 121 adult converts organized into eleven different Methodist class meetings. But Steinhauer soon found himself trapped between the competing egos of his Euro-Canadian superiors, James Evans and William Mason. The constant bickering between Evans and Mason over mission objectives and strategies eroded Steinhauer's morale. He sought relief by going hunting and fishing and reconnecting with his

Native heritage. Although he proved himself an effective teacher and was often invited to preach and speak at Methodist class meetings, Steinhauer was passed over for ordination and limited to a secondary, supportive role. As a Native, Steinhauer was repeatedly reminded that it was not for him to direct and control the process of missionization. The situation at Rossville deteriorated in 1846 when tensions broke out between the missionaries and the Hudson's Bay Company over Sunday labour and James Evans was accused of sexual impropriety with his Native charges by William Mason and Company officials. The affair placed Steinhauer in an extremely uncomfortable position between his Euro-Canadian superiors and the alleged victims within the Native community whose trust he had worked hard to obtain. The Rossville scandal, limited financial resources, and a general lack of success seriously set back the Methodist cause in the west. In 1850, Steinhauer found himself alone at Oxford House, where the Hudson's Bay Company had agreed to the creation of a new mission to silence critics in Britain. The fact that Steinhauer was not ordained hindered his work among the local Natives. As a lay worker, Steinhauer could not perform the sacraments. Lacking the aura of an ordained minister and the authority of a Hudson's Bay Company trader, it was hardly surprising that Steinhauer had to struggle to win the respect of the Natives he had come to serve. Despite the frustrations of the limitations placed upon him, Steinhauer laboured stoically establishing a school, conducting services and preaching as he was able. The hostility of the local Hudson's Bay Company factor, the poor location of the mission, the failure of the local fishery, and the constraints he faced as a lay worker doomed the mission.<sup>15</sup> Throughout his career, Steinhauer was marked as both Native and convert and thus different from the Euro-Canadian, Christian-born missionaries with whom he worked. Although his Euro-Canadian superiors recognized the importance of Native workers in the field, their relationship with Steinhauer was one of subordination rather than partnership. Steinhauer thus found himself occupying an ambivalent position within a system of classification that distinguished between the advanced, modern, evolved and superior Euro-Canadian Christian self and the primitive, barbaric, childlike and inferior Native other.

After fifteen years of service as a lay worker in the western Canadian mission field, Henry Bird Steinhauer was ordained in 1855. No longer subordinate to a Euro-Canadian superior, Steinhauer used his autonomy to earn the trust and respect of the Whitefish band by living among them and joining in the hunt. He was free to teach and preach as he

wished and convey the Gospel in terms that were readily accessible to his Native audience. Fully ordained and able administer all the sacraments and admit persons to the fellowship of the church, he acquired among the Natives the aura of one in touch with supernatural world that had been denied to him as a lay worker. Not only could he speak Ojibwa and readily learned Cree, Steinhauer translated the Christian message into terms and concepts that paralleled Native tradition. For Steinhauer, the transforming power of the Gospel did not represent a rejection of Native identity but rather a dynamic evolution in how to be Native. The result was an indigenized Christianity that filtered the Christian Gospel through Native lenses and incorporated some elements of traditional beliefs and practice.<sup>16</sup> Far from upholding Euro-Canadian culture and society as a universal standard to live up to, Steinhauer counselled selective adaptation and was quick to isolate the people of Whitefish Lake from the destructive features of the “whiteman’s” world. He was quick to challenge claims that Natives were lazy, immoral, and unable to reason with laudatory portraits of Native work habits, virtue and wisdom. Steinhauer presented education and agriculture as key strategies for Native survival in a changing world. At White Fish Lake, the introduction of agriculture and education allowed the band to continue as a culturally cohesive group, on traditional lands, and with traditional leadership intact. As an advisor to Chief Pakan, Steinhauer quietly championed Native land claims and control over such important matters as education.<sup>17</sup> Freed from earlier restraints, Steinhauer came into his own as a dedicated Christian missionary and at the same time was able to reclaim his Native identity. As a liminal figure who came to straddle two cultures, Henry Bird Steinhauer stands out as an important reminder that Natives participated in both the transmission and reception of the Christian message and what it meant to be Christian.

In their pioneering studies of missions and indigenous peoples in southern Africa, John and Jean Comaroff have demonstrated that the motives behind conversion were complex, mixed and not always apparent and that Native converts translated the missionary message into their own social and spiritual realities for the fulfilment of their own goals. In many cases the Comaroff’s found that conversion provided indigenous peoples with a set of tools to navigate the new realities in which they found themselves and to reframe indigenous beliefs and institutions. Although the meeting of Christian missionaries and indigenous peoples was often one of unequal power, the encounter was nonetheless one of negotiation and contested meaning in which indigenous peoples adapted and incor-

porated the missionary message into their own social and spiritual identities.<sup>18</sup> Liminal figures such as Henry Bird Steinhauer were vital to the introduction, preservation and expansion of Christianity in British North America and were responsible for much of the modest success that the missions enjoyed.

### **Endnotes**

1. This paper originated when I was asked to write an introduction to Isaac Mabindisa's forthcoming *The Praying Man: Henry Bird Steinhauer, Ojibwe and Methodist Minister* to be published by Athabasca University Press. The book is based on Mabindisa's doctoral dissertation. Completed in 1984, Mabindisa's dissertation was written before the appearance of the many new works on the encounter between indigenous peoples and missionaries that have significantly revised our understanding of the role of indigenous peoples in missions and their contributions to the emergence of indigenized Christianities. This paper draws upon Mabindisa's work but interprets Steinhauer's life and career in light of the new literature, particularly in the use of Victor Turner's concept of liminality.
2. John McLean, *Vanguards of Canada* (Toronto: The Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, c. 1918), 101-18.
3. On missionary literature see Sarah Carter, "The Missionaries Indian: The Publications of John McDougall, John Maclean and Egerton Ryerson Young," *Prairie Forum* 9, no. 1 (1984): 27-44; Terence L. Craig, "The Missionary Lives: A Study in Canadian Missionary Biography and Autobiography," *Studies in Christian Missions*, vol. 19 (Leiden: Brill, 1997); Gail Edwards, "'The Picturesqueness of His Accent and Speech': Methodist Missionary Narratives and William Henry Pierce's Autobiography" in Alwyn Austin and Jamie S. Scott, eds., *Canadian Missionaries, Indigenous Peoples: Representing Religion at Home and Abroad* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 67-87; and C.L. Higham, *Noble, Wretched and Redeemable: Protestant Missionaries to the Indians in Canada and the United States, 1820-1900* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000).
4. See Sarah Carter, "The Missionaries Indian," 27-44; and Myra Rutherdale, *Women and the White Man's God: Gender and Race in the Canadian Mission Field* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2002). For an international perspective see Leon de Kock, *Civilising Barbarians: Missionary Narratives and African Textual Response in Nineteenth-Century Africa* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand Press, 1996).

5. Victor Turner, "Liminality and Cummunitas," in *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (New York: Aldine de Gruyler, 1969), 95.
6. Victor Turner, "Betwixt and Between: Liminal Period in Rites de Passage," in *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967), 94-95.
7. On the impact of the War of 1812 on Native society in Upper Canada see Donald Smith, *Scared Feathers: The Reverend Peter Jones (Kahkewaquonaby) and the Mississauga Indians* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987) 37-38; and Neil Semple, *The Lord's Dominion: A History of Canadian Methodism* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), 150-51.
8. *Christian Guardian*, 20 December 1854.
9. See, for example, John Webster Grant, *Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter since 1534* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984); and Robin Fisher, *Contact and Conflict: Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1977).
10. *Christian Guardian*, 20 December 1854.
11. Susan Neylan, *The Heavens are Changing: Nineteenth-Century Protestant Missions and Tsimshian Christianity* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), 27-29.
12. On Steinhauer's education and Methodist formation, see Isacc Mabindisia, "The Praying Man: The Life and Times of Henry Bird Steinhauer" (PhD dissertation, University of Alberta, 1984), chapter 1.
13. Winona Stevenson, "The Journals and Voices of a Church of England Native Catechist: Askenootow (Charles Pratt), 1851-1884," in Jennifer S. Brown and Elizabeth Vibert eds., *Reading Beyond Words: Context for Native History* (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 1996), 305-29.
14. Mabindisa, "The Praying Man," chapter 2.
15. Mabindisa, "The Praying Man," chapter 3.
16. Steinhauer frequently taught Christian lessons by retelling traditional Native stories. See, for example, "The Wonderful Story of Wee-suh-ka-chaak: An Indian Legend," in *The Missionary Outlook* 3, no. 1 (January 1883).
17. "Petition from the Indians at White Fish Lake Wesleyan Mission," in *The Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, 1866-67* (Toronto: Printed for the Society, n.d.), xv-xvii.

18. John and Jean Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); and *Of Revelation and Revolution: The Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

