

THE MISSIONS OF THE OBLATES
OF MARY IMMACULATE TO THE ATHAPASKANS 1846-1870:
THEORY, STRUCTURE AND METHOD

BY

MARY MARTHA CECILIA MCCARTHY

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of
the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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ABSTRACT

The Christian missions of the nineteenth century have usually been assumed to be entirely European impositions on passive native cultures, obliterating many aspects of those cultures, if not entirely destroying them. This thesis attempts to define the European content of the Oblate missions, and then to analyse the effect of that European content on the Athapaskans.

Aspects of the Roman Catholic theory, structure, and methods of missions, as first developed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and modified in the nineteenth century, are outlined, followed by an analysis of those aspects of mission theory more peculiar to the Oblates. This historical analysis is then considered in its specific application by the OMI in the field of their mission to the Athapaskans, during the first twenty-five years of experience, 1846-1870, before the assumption of Canadian control of the area. Any modifications to the Oblate mission ideas caused by the presence of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Church Missionary Society in the north, as well as those caused by the Athapaskans themselves, were searched for. The major sources for this were the extensive letters and writings of the Oblates themselves, as well as those of the men of the Hudson's Bay Company and of the Church Missionary Society. For the study of the Athapaskans, modern anthropological sources were also used.

The results of this research showed that the first twenty-five years of contact with the Athapaskans, a period of Hudson's Bay

Company control of the area, caused the Oblates to make only minor adaptations to their European ideas of missions, and these were only in the methods used, not in the theory or structure of their missions. The contact and conflict with the Hudson's Bay Company and the Church Missionary Society also exerted no pressure for changes in theory, although it did effect some change in emphasis. This led to the conclusion that the OMI missions to the Athapaskans were indeed almost entirely European in content.

Yet research also showed that this European content did not entirely overwhelm the Athapaskan culture, in part due to aspects of that culture which resisted the imposition, and in part due to aspects of the mission theory of the OMI which did not stress the civilizing impulse as essential to Christianization. Some Athapaskans willingly adopted Christianity, while maintaining their own culture relatively intact, others combined Christianity with their aboriginal religion, developing a dualism in religion, while still others, the "prophets", attempted to syncretize Christianity and the aboriginal religion to form a new religion best-suited to their people. While the OMI preached a European form of Christianity which allowed almost no scope for indigenization, the Athapaskans themselves did attempt to indigenize Catholicism, some to the extent of being called heretics by the OMI. The Oblate missions to the Athapaskans were then not the overwhelming force that more colonialist missions of the nineteenth century were.

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(Maps adapted from that of A. G. Morice, O.M.I., in History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada . Toronto: The Musson Book Co., Ltd., 1910).

INTRODUCTION

In common with other nineteenth-century Roman Catholic missionaries, the Oblates made no intensive study of past Roman Catholic theory and practice in the missions. The scientific study of mission theory, missiology, only appeared in the early twentieth century in the Church. But the Church of the nineteenth century had three centuries of experience in the foreign missions behind it, and these had left structures and ideas which marked the nineteenth century expansion of missions of which the Oblates were a part. Mission theory, though unexpressed as such, could be deduced from the practices and structures accepted by the Church in the mission fields through the centuries of experience there. It is in the history of modern Roman Catholic missions that the ideas motivating the nineteenth century Roman Catholic missions, including those of the Oblates, must be sought.

The mission effort of the Church was derived from the words of Christ "Go forth and teach all nations". From this the principle was deduced that all men were suitable subjects for evangelization, and that the Church had a mandate from Christ to accomplish that evangelization. The same Gospel message should be transmitted by the Church to all who shared the same human nature. In the early Christian era this transmission had been relatively easy, with no great cultural differences

to interfere with the preaching and acceptance of the message.

Evangelization was made easier with the acceptance of Christianity as the state religion of Rome by Emperor Constantine, and the spread of the diocesan structure of the Church. In this situation, of course, the Church had lost a great deal of its character as a missionary Church.

In the early Middle Ages, some evangelization was carried out by individual missionaries acting more or less on their own initiative, especially the Irish monks. Others were sent by the Pope, as Gregory the Great sent St. Augustine of Canterbury to the Anglo-Saxons, (with instructions to interfere no more than was necessary with the accepted customs of the people).¹ Other conversions were accomplished by force of arms, as Charlemagne's conquest of the Saxons. In all of these contacts there were some cultural variations between the evangelizer and the evangelized, but the Christianity preached was soon accepted and integrated with relative uniformity into the various regions involved. This process too was aided by the spread of a uniform diocesan structure, under the varying leadership and control of the papacy.

The situation was different in the modern era, when the missions of the Church spread beyond the confines of Europe, and encountered the vastly different peoples of the Far East and the Americas. The first contacts in America raised the fundamental problem of evangelization - whether the Indians were really human² and therefore entitled to be evangelized, and if they were human, to what extent did they share human nature? From observation of their customs and social

organization, which displayed rationality, the conclusion was reached that they were human, and therefore should have the Gospel preached to them, and be incorporated into the Church.

But observation of the Indians also led many Europeans to question whether their humanity was on the same level as that of the Europeans. This introduced a new factor into evangelization, because of the relative value of human nature deduced from varieties of customs. Some deduced that the Indians were inferior to Europeans, largely because of their non-literate culture and lack of hierarchical government, that they were barbarians in need of control by the Europeans, to lead them to accept European habits of life as well as Christianity.³ With this view, evangelization could no longer be simply the spread of Christ's message equally to all humans, but had to be accompanied or preceded by a change in the level of humanity of the evangelized, to raise them to European standards. When superiority is based on culture, then the others can be absorbed once they are cultured; when it is based on race, then integration would be impossible. The Gospel preached was not that of the primitive Church alone, but it too had been filtered through fifteen centuries of European experience. A measure of Europeanization was involved both in the preaching of the Gospel, and in the measures seen necessary to accompany that preaching.

In the mission field the arguments over the shared human nature of the Indians had effects on mission methods and actions. Despite the universality of the Gospel, early Spanish experience and thought showed a willingness to accept gradations and variations in culture, especially

in the religious aspects of culture, as validating both conquest and Christianity. Friar José de Acosta gave clear expression to this view in 1588 in his De procuranda Indorum salute. In this work he gave an ethnographic ladder placing "barbarians" at the bottom; with these the missionary should adopt an iron hand and start with the assumption of a clean slate, paying no attention to the religious beliefs of the people. Higher up the ladder were the peoples of the ancient American empires; with these the missionary had to modify his approach, and pay some attention to already-existing beliefs. At the top of the ladder were the peoples of the East, with a literature and a rich cultural heritage; with these the missionary had to convince as had⁴ the first apostles.

It is significant that the presence of a literate culture represented the highest ethnographic value in the foreign missions. The Reformation and Counter-Reformation in Europe were both marked by attempts to increase literacy through the Scriptures and catechisms, and to see in education a tool of evangelization. These factors in European thought were bound to affect the thought of European missionaries abroad, and to mark their approach to different cultures, and appreciation of them, even while in theory variations in customs were not considered integral to evangelization. As conquest and Christianity had appeared inseparable in the early years of modern missions in America, so education and Christianity became inseparable in the years thereafter, and the missionaries attempted to produce a literate Christianity comparable to that of Europe.

Other observers found much to admire in the customs of the Indians, and much to deplore in the conduct of the conquest. The loudest voice among these was that of Bartolomé de Las Casas. Las Casas spent years in Spanish America, at first as a secular priest, accepting and participating in the Spanish treatment of the Indians as right and just. But he became converted to the beliefs of the Dominican friars that the Spanish conquest did not justify the exploitation of the Indians, and became a Dominican himself. With the enthusiasm of the convert Las Casas launched an all-out attack on the Spanish treatment of the Indians. He was a formidable lobbyist for his cause. The injustice which he considered was evident in the treatment of the Indians led him to question the justice of the Spanish presence in America at all, and what rights could flow from a conquest whose validity he questioned. Las Casas concluded that the only justification of the Spanish presence in America came from the papal division of ⁵ 1485, and that this did not confer absolute sovereignty over the Indians or their lands, but only what was necessary to lead them to the faith.

Sepulveda led the attack on the theories of Las Casas, with their intimate connection between conquest and Christianity. This attack was based not on personal knowledge of the plight of the Indians, but on Sepulveda's study of Aristotelian philosophy. From this he concluded that the Indians were natural slaves, and the Spaniards had a perfect right to rule the Indians because of the superior genius of the Spaniards. If the Indians refused to accept this superiority and consequent domination, then the Spanish had every right to wage war to

enforce their claims - all the more so, since the control by the Spanish would ensure the easier spread of the faith, and root out the sins of idolatry and unclean living among the Indians.⁶ The link between faith, customs, and conquest was closely-forged in this argument, with each supporting the other.

In rebuttal Las Casas adopted the "noble savage" approach. Las Casas did not accept the notion of grades of humanity, but declared that

All the peoples of the world are men...all have understanding and volition, all have the five exterior senses and the four interior senses, and are moved by the objects of these, all take satisfaction in goodness and feel pleasure with happy and delicious things, all regret and abhor evil.⁷

Las Casas maintained that the Indians were very rational beings, with a system of government and a way of life which compared favourably with that of the ancients. They showed a devotion to their families, a natural virtue, and a sense of religion displayed particularly in the quality of their sacrifices. From these cultural aspects Las Casas argued that the Indians were not inferior to the Spaniards, and that the argument of natural slavery could not apply.

Other observers supported the contentions of Las Casas, and often compared the life of the Indians to that of the virtuous Romans of the Republic. Such praise of the natural virtues implied a criticism of European life and Christianity, although this was not articulated. Even these thinkers could see only benefits to be given to the Indians by the communication of the Gospel message to them, and by the establishment of the Indians in a settled way of life. Although

they questioned the justice of the conquest of the Indians and their control by European powers, they did not question the rightness of evangelization of them, only of the methods adopted to that end. The very presence of the missionaries in America depended on the permission and protection of the conquering powers, so that conquest and Christianity were inseparably linked, even for those who deplored the conquest.

In the Far East, where the Church extended its missions at the same time, the question of the humanity of the peoples did not arise, but was accepted without question, largely because of the presence of a learned and literate culture. Nor was there the same link between conquest and Christianity, since the European presence in the East was much more oriented to trade than to wholesale conquest and colonization. But mission experience in the East raised the problem of the adaptation of Christianity to non-European cultures far more than in America. Missionaries there could not ignore the presence of an ancient and literate civilization, and had to take some steps to make Christianity acceptable to its peoples, rather than expecting to change a culture to conform to European Christianity. These efforts at adaptation raised the problem of fitting the universality of the Gospel of Christ to all human nature within the context of a large variety of customs, into the particularities of human life. Could the evangelization of non-Europeans by Europeans transcend the varieties of life on either side to produce a common Christianity? Could the European bearers of the Gospel adapt it to already-existing non-Christian and non-European cultures without changing the actual content of the message?

In the missions of the East as well as in those of the Americas, the missionaries wanted to spread not only a knowledge of the faith, but the practice of that faith in a Christian life. If all are sons of Adam, all should share the same faith, and practice that faith with its accompanying rules of behaviour. This aspect of evangelization led to the emphasis on morality so characteristic of missions. Customs such as polygamy were held to be contrary to Christian morality, and conversion to Christianity involved rejection of them. Conversion to Christianity involved not only a change in belief, the primary aim of evangelization, and itself a large element in a culture, but also very often required a profound change in other, more surface aspects of a culture, even dress. The teaching and practice of the new Christian faith both led to profound changes in the customs of the people converted, whether in the East or the Americas.

To effect these necessary changes, mission techniques were developed. In the Americas, after initial attempts at integration of the indigenes, the policy of segregation of the indigenes under the direct tutelage of the missionary was adopted. The first years of contact had shown the need to protect the native from exploitation, and to remove him from the close European contacts which hindered the missionary purpose. The system of extension of the Church and realm as one unit, as in Europe, proved inadequate to meet the new situation in America.

This failure led to the development of the idea of reservations for the natives under the direction of a missionary. The most striking

application of this principle was to be found in the Jesuit reductions in Paraguay, so-called because the Indians were to be reduced to one place, rather than continuing to be nomads. The reductions were enclosed, self-sufficient villages under the direction of a missionary where the inhabitants could be protected against the exploitation or destruction meted out to them by some of the conquistadors. In these protected conditions the Indians could be taught Christianity along with a settled way of life.

Efforts at cultural change had been inherent in the previous attempts at integration through the encomienda-doctrina system,⁸ as a necessary prelude to incorporating the natives into the Spanish system of government and way of life. The reductions made greater cultural changes in this respect of settling nomadic tribes. On the other hand, the policy of complete segregation from Spanish life with no immediate thought of integration represented a different view of cultural change. The Jesuits envisaged the establishment of an ideal type of Indian Christianity under their tutelage, separated from lay Spaniards, and hoped to avoid a repetition of European Christianity with all its faults.

Although the Jesuits in the reductions had close control over the daily life of the Indians in their charge, they themselves were still subject to royal control. Even the choice of sites for reductions was often dictated by strategic considerations, and the missions were regarded as frontier institutions paving the way for the peaceful extension of Spanish influence, with nearby Spanish garrisons as

enforcers. As well the missionaries were dependent on royal financial support.

The idea of reservations for the protection of the Indians, with its aspect of necessary beneficial culture change, persisted in Catholic mission thought, and was reflected in the Jesuit experience in New France. The early French experience had led to attempts at francisation somewhat similar to the early Spanish experiments, and urged on by the state, as had been the case in New Spain. But the French were present in America much less as conquerors, and more as interdependent allies of the Indians of New France. They sought furs, a renewable resource, whose success depended on methods adopted by the Indians already, whereas the Spanish sought non-renewable resources, to whose extraction the Indians were not adapted, at least not to the extent demanded by the Spanish. The cultural changes demanded by the French in these circumstances remained necessarily minimal. In addition, the numbers of French and of Indians were much fewer than those of Spanish and Indians in Spanish America, keeping conflicts over land to a minimum in New France. Perhaps as a result of this the French were much less concerned than the Spanish over the origin of the American aborigine and the rights of European discovery.

An exception was Lescarbot, an avocat, who did consider the matter of the rights of the French to the land of New France. His conclusion was that the land belonged by divine right to the children of God, and since the Indians were infidels they had no claim to it. The integral connection of religion to legal status and rights is one

of the striking features of the age. To be Christian entailed certain rights as well as duties, and these rights the Indians could acquire by conversion.¹⁰ Unequal status then was based not on colour, but on religion.

Like the Jesuits in Paraguay, those in New France came to believe that segregation of Indians from Europeans was essential to mission success. In New France the primary impetus to this was the observed effects on the Indians of the brandy trade, and the unsuccessful attempt by the Church to persuade the government to stop it. Some attempts to evangelize nomadic Indians continued, but a life based on agriculture, in separation from the coureurs de bois, was considered to be a surer basis for Christianity. Settlement and stability ensured access to the missionary, and a more thorough teaching, understanding, and practice of the faith. As in Paraguay the Jesuits in the Indian villages of New France did not try to reproduce European Christianity as it was, but sought to produce an ideal type of Christianity, unsullied by European decadence. Their hopes for this were furthered by their recognition of the natural virtues of the Indians, especially their stoic endurance of the harsher conditions of northern life.

The missions of New France, though run by the Jesuits, were national missions under the control of the king of France, as the missions of Spain and Portugal were. Passages were provided for the missionaries, as well as many other special subsidies. The French crown expected the missionaries to turn the Indians into good French citizens, just as the Spanish crown had expected of its missionaries. But the

French crown did not give the same measure of financial support to the missions. Instead, much of the financial support of the French missions came from the devout laity of France. It was an age of intense religious mysticism and zeal, and the foreign missions as well as the home missions of France were natural outlets for the zeal of the dévots. To stimulate this zeal and draw support for their missions the Jesuits published the accounts of their missions in the Relations. To attract the attention of the curious the Jesuits included in these a great deal about the customs of the Indians which differed from those of Europe. ¹¹ The Jesuits recounted those Indian customs which they felt would hinder their work, that is, "barbarities", and also those natural virtues which they felt would help to make the Indians good Christians once they had heard the Gospel, and which could also serve as good example to the Europeans. The Relations had to draw a fine line between making the Jesuit task appear impossible, or making it appear too easy; in either case, they risked losing support in France. The Relations provide a fertile source for both the "noble savage" and the "barbarian" view in literature of the Indians, as well as in mission theory. Much of the "barbarian" qualities of the Indians was attributed by the missionaries to the work of the devil rather than to any innate depravity of Indian human nature, and their combat against this devil was engaged in very human terms. These two strains within the Relations of natural virtue and diabolical barbarity drew the support of the devout to combat the devil and spread Christianity, as a religious and charitable duty incumbent on them. By 1640, under this impetus, the missionary idea had spread beyond the first few early families involved to gain the support

of the clergy of France and of many charitable groups.¹²

The methods used by the Jesuits in New France for the evangelization of the Indians were those they found useful in actual experience. These were sometimes the methods used in the Counter-Reformation home missions of France, sometimes those used in other Jesuit foreign missions, and sometimes innovative. Gagnon claims that the Jesuit imagery was what appealed most to the Indians of New France, while to the Chinese it was their erudition, and to the Guarani Indians of Paraguay it was their music. This indicates the adaptability of the Jesuits to various mission fields, and their willingness to accentuate different aspects of Christianity to conform to different cultures.

In all their missions the Jesuits emphasized the learning of the native language in order to communicate the Gospel. In New France they combined the native love of eloquence with their own training in rhetoric to produce sermons in the native language which would be most appealing and striking to the natives. In their early years in New France the Jesuits introduced holy pictures from France, and by a process of trial and error discovered those most useful in that mission field. Much stress was given to pictures of the last judgment, with devils in prominent places. These pictures were popular in France also, indicating that mission efforts abroad bore many similarities to the work of reconversion at home. But the Indians of New France would not accept pictures of men in profile, or of bearded men, and the Jesuits adapted to these needs, and if necessary produced their own pictures.

Simple designs in primary colours were most often used, and some of these designs were later adopted for the home missions of France, illustrating the reciprocity and lack of distinction between home and foreign missions. ¹⁴ As in France, the holy pictures in New France were used as teaching aids to the illiterate in the work of evangelization. Also as in France with the most superstitious part of the population, the Indians of New France sometimes ascribed magical powers to these pictures.

Literacy was also an important part of evangelization, both in the Counter-Reformation home missions of France and in the missions of New France. The Jesuits tried to produce some measure of literacy in order to transmit a knowledge of the prayers and a simple catechism. Their efforts to go beyond this to achieve a higher level of literacy through the establishment of boarding schools on the French model were a failure, leading only to the disease, death, or desertion of the Indians. This failure made it impossible to hope for the establishment of an indigenous priesthood, which would have required some knowledge of Latin and a settled life-style.

Women were used as auxiliaries to the Church in New France in teaching and health care, but these activities were carried out under the aegis of the diocesan structure of the Church, rather than as mission activities in themselves. The Church in New France, as in New Spain, continued to function under the dual aspects of regular and mission church.

The missionaries did not totally ignore the variety of customs

which they encountered in the Americas. But they did regard them as just that - customs, any of which could be changed if necessary to adapt the Indians to the Christian life. They gave no thought to the effects of changing a few customs on the integrity of a culture. They did not think of themselves as carriers of cultural baggage, but only as missionaries of the Gospel; they could not conceive of the Indians as members of a different culture, but as souls to be saved. Evangelization as perceived by the Europeans seemed of its nature to demand some changes in the life of the Indians, as well as in their religion. Adaptability was shown by the missionaries in the techniques of evangelization they adopted with various groups, but the main thrust of adaptation was of the Indians to Christianity, not of Christianity to the Indians.

Consequent on the main purpose of evangelization, the teaching of the faith, was the effort to teach the Indians to live a Christian life. For the missionaries this necessarily involved settlement, and a changed way of life, often to agriculture. This by-product of evangelization also produced changes in the indigenes, and these too were regarded by the missionaries as beneficial to the Indians, because the settled life was regarded as superior to the hunting life, in itself as well as in its aid to evangelization.

The protection of the natives from Europeans, the teaching of the faith, and the effort to have the newly-evangelized live a more perfect Christian life than the Europeans, all combined to lead to the idea of reservations for the Indians as a good tool of evangelization,

and of direction by the missionary as essential. These ideas were to persist in Roman Catholic thought on missions, and to deeply affect the mission thought and efforts of the nineteenth century.

In addition to the factors of a universal Gospel for all human nature, to be transmitted to various cultures in the ways best-suited to them, the Roman Catholic missionaries of the modern era faced the further problem of integrating their converts into the highly-institutionalized structure assumed by the Church in Europe over the centuries. It was believed that only through the medium of the Church and its Sacraments could salvation be attained. To achieve this end, clergy and hierarchy were essential to the mission Church, and in the beginning these could only come from Europe.

The clergy of the foreign missions came from the religious orders of Europe. They were sent into the field of the national missions of France, Spain and Portugal by those powers. The Papacy was at first not directly involved in the foreign missions, but entered the field with the founding of the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith, more familiarly known as the Propaganda, in 1622. The Propaganda was founded with the purpose of reform of the Church in Europe, to seek closer relations with the Orthodox, and to undertake foreign missions. Its foundation was part of the Counter-Reformation thrust of the papacy, and was meant to be an instrument of the papacy in its responsibility for the evangelization of the whole world, and the bringing of all mankind into the unity of the Roman Catholic Church. The Counter-Reformation activities of the Church in Europe were linked in the eyes of Rome to its foreign mission, and aimed at universality

of the Church through reform in Europe, union with the Orthodox, and communication of the faith to those as yet in ignorance of it.

The founding of the Propaganda marked the first real attempt by the Papacy to exert control over the foreign missions of the Church in the modern era, though the seventeenth and eighteenth century Roman Catholic missions continued to be dominated by the national efforts and control of Spain, Portugal and France. But the Propaganda did lay the groundwork for the papal control of foreign missions, providing both a theoretical and historical basis for its expansion in the nineteenth century.

The Propaganda faced many problems in exerting its influence in the foreign mission field of the Church, both from the Patronage powers of Spain and Portugal¹⁵ and from the religious orders active in the field and jealous of their privileges. The position of Spain in America was too powerful for the Propaganda to challenge, and the missions there continued apart from the Propaganda, except for the modicum of control exercised over the religious orders there from Rome. The Far East posed a different problem, however. There the Portuguese control was weak and threatened both by Holland and by local powers. The Portuguese had not colonized the East as the Spanish had America, nor had they established the same strong diocesan structure. Yet their claims to patronage of the Church, and independence of Roman jurisdiction were no less. The Portuguese opposed foreign priests in the East, as well as indigenous priests, but were unable to supply enough priests themselves. In 1649 the Portuguese accepted the necessary

presence of religious orders in the East, and consented to open their territories to missionaries of all nationalities except Castilians, but their passage was to be by way of Lisbon, and religious were to be attached to the Portuguese province of their order. ¹⁶ In this way Portugal intended to maintain control of mission activity in the East, furthered also, of course, by the presence there of the Portuguese bishops of dioceses, from whom, according to canon law, the missionaries must seek facilities to perform their mission work.

The Propaganda also sought to exert control over missionaries of various orders. In 1623, one year after its foundation, reports were sought from papal nuncios and heads of orders on conditions in the field. These reported many irregularities. Some missionaries were so poorly supported from Europe that they turned to commerce to support themselves, causing scandal to the local populations. Problems also arose from lack of supervision and control of individual missionaries, and from quarrels between the various nationals imported from Europe, as well as many quarrels between religious and bishops. The Propaganda tried in the beginning to select or at least approve the sending of individual missionaries to the East, but was never able to enforce this requirement, which the religious orders saw as a violation of their privileges. To avoid the conflict of orders and bishops the Propaganda was able by the eighteenth century to appoint a Missionary Prefect for the religious in many territories, who provided supervision for the missionaries of his order as well as some independence of the local ¹⁷ bishops, as well as some connection to Roman control.

Besides sending European priests to areas technically under the control of Portugal, the Propaganda emphasized the need to obtain indigenous priests in the foreign missions. But such instructions needed the cooperation of the bishops of the East to perform the necessary ordinations, and this the Portuguese bishops refused. It was France in the seventeenth century which provided the essential support and clergy to enable the Propaganda to counter the Portuguese opposition. In large part the role of France in the missions of the Propaganda, as in the missions of New France, derived from the Counter-Reformation revival in France, with the ardour and mysticism which animated some of the most prominent men and women of the country. Such zeal could not be restricted to the reform of the Church in France, nor to the national missions of France, but applied itself to the whole world.

Especially evident in this respect was the Company of the Blessed Sacrament, founded in 1627 by the Duc de Ventadour, a former viceroy of Canada. This was a secret society of laymen, dedicated to the reform of the Church, the performance of charitable works, and the conversion of the ungodly and Protestants. The Company, in its purpose, like the Propaganda, reflected the lack of distinction between foreign and home missions in Roman Catholic thought, or between non-Christians and Protestant Christians.

As the Company of the Blessed Sacrament grouped the élite laymen of France, the élite of the clergy were also grouped in secret societies. Among these was the Aa, or Association des Amis, founded by Père Bagot at Laflèche in 1630. This group emphasized the apostolic

role of the clergy in society, their function as examples and evangelizers, rather than their role in the cult of the Church which was the more characteristic emphasis of the time. ¹⁹ With this stress on the apostolic role, the Aa members would naturally be drawn to mission work, the activity most apparently similar to that of the early apostles. Stress was laid on personal holiness and charity, characteristics most valuable in the foreign missions as well as in France. Members of the Aa were drawn only from those priests already belonging to the Marial congregations which flourished at the time in the seminaries of France, and were also dedicated to personal holiness in their members as well as devotion to Mary. The Aa members were therefore an élite within an élite, and this within a Church society which as a whole was marked by a strong spirit of piety.

It was because of the influence of these two societies, the Company of the Blessed Sacrament and the Aa, that the Propaganda was able to find the personnel, the influence, and the financial support to institute the new system of Vicars Apostolic in the foreign missions, by which it was enabled to counter the opposition of the Portuguese bishops to the ordination of indigenes. The Vicars Apostolic were bishops subject to the Propaganda and assigned to mission areas, but without defined dioceses there. Instead they were given the title to defunct dioceses in partibus infidelium. Diocesan bishops in Church parlance were called "ordinaries" of their dioceses; these Vicars Apostolic were "extraordinaries", formed to meet unusual situations, and expected to be a temporary measure. The system had already been inaugurated in the Protestant countries of Europe, and adumbrated abroad

with the powers given to Matthew de Castro, the Brahmin convert.²⁰ The Propaganda used the indefiniteness of the position of Vicar Apostolic to evade the Portuguese claims to patronage in the East, but made no attempt to do the same with the Spanish in America. In Europe the Vicars Apostolic were used to maintain the structure of the Church in Protestant countries where the Church had no legal status and could not use the territorial claims of dioceses. In the East the situation was different as the lands were claimed by a Catholic power, which provided some bishops and priests. But the vacuum of real authority led the Propaganda to step in and assert its authority in this unusual way. The Vicars Apostolic were endowed with all the powers of a local bishop to ordain priests and confirm converts and exercise jurisdiction over missionaries in the field. But since their only territorial claim was to dioceses long since lost to Islam, they would presumably not conflict with the territorial claims of Portugal, any more than their counterparts in Europe conflicted with the Protestant powers.

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The sending of the first Vicars Apostolic arose from pressure from Alexander de Rhodes, a French Jesuit who had spent the years 1624-1645 in Cochinchina and Tonkin. This experience had convinced him of the need for indigenous priests, closer to the people and better able to escape detection in times of persecution. He came to Rome in 1649 to ask for bishops for the East in order to ordain indigenous priests there, and also for more Jesuits, and more financial support. Rhodes spent three fruitless years in Rome on this quest, and left for France in 1652. There he obtained the support he sought. Several French

Jesuits volunteered for the missions, and financial support was promised by the Company of the Blessed Sacrament. The Company also supported Rhodes' appeal for bishops for the East, and promised their financial support of these. Three suitable subjects were recommended by Père Bagot of the Aa, one of whom was François de Laval. The integral links between the pious of France are shown in this chain of causality.

The cardinals of the Propaganda hesitated a long time before accepting the French candidates for the Apostolic Vicariates. None had experience in missions, and there were fears of Portuguese resentment of French influence, even though the Vicars were to be solely religious in their functions, and representing only the Papacy, not France. Such distinctions of religion from national power and prestige were unfamiliar to the age. But the zeal of the candidates, the need for priests in the East, and the promised financial support overcame these objections.

To provide the indigenous priests for the Vicars Apostolic to ordain, the Propaganda needed seminaries in the East to train those priests. To accomplish this aim, the Propaganda again turned to France. The Société des Missions Etrangères was set up in Paris to provide priests who would staff the new seminaries in the East. The Company of the Blessed Sacrament was again closely-involved in the preparations for this. The priests of the Société did not form a religious order; they were secular priests, linked only by their decision to go to the missions, not by religious vows. They were thus the first group of priests to specialize in the foreign missions.

Besides influencing the structure of the foreign missions by leading to the establishment of the system of Vicars Apostolic, the missions of the East also had profound effects on the development of mission methods. These came primarily from the efforts at adaptation to the Chinese and Indian customs and beliefs. Matteo Ricci, an Italian Jesuit who served in China from 1582 to 1610, presented himself to the Chinese as a learned Westerner and earned respect for his religion in that way. He decided that the Chinese ceremonies in honour of Confucius and of the ancestors could be incorporated into Christian practice. There were superstitions attached to these ceremonies, but Ricci thought that these were not intrinsic to the ceremonies, and not held by educated Chinese, and could therefore continue to be practised even after conversion to Christianity. Ricci also thought it possible to adopt the Chinese terms Tien and Shangti to the Christian God, without producing a new word in Chinese, or using European terms. These usages advocated by Ricci, and adopted by the Jesuits in the East, led other religious orders to complain to Rome of heresy. Similar accusations followed Robert de Nobili's efforts at adaptation to Indian customs. Gregory XV in 1623 pronounced in favour of de Nobili, and the Jesuits in India continued to follow his precedents. But complaints continued to be made to Rome, whether motivated by purely religious zeal or by dislike of the Jesuits, and in 1704 Clement XI decided that these rites could no longer be tolerated within the Church. This decision was reiterated in papal bulls of 1715 and 1742, indicating some difficulty in enforcing it, and was maintained until modified by Pius XI in 1936.

The instructions of the Propaganda to the Vicars Apostolic had emphasized most strongly that they should not attempt to change the customs of the people, unless they were evidently contrary to Christian morality. They were not to try to change the people of the East into Europeans.

Quoi de plus absurde que de transporter chez les Chinois la France, l'Espagne, l'Italie où quelque autre pays d'Europe? N'introduisez pas chez eux nos pays, mais la foi. ²³

These instructions considered the propagation of the faith as possible apart from European factors of national rivalries or European customs. No recognition was given then, of course, to the effect on a culture of changing some aspects of it, especially its religion, and to the accompanying side-effects. These changes were seen only as beneficial to the indigenes, and the Propaganda sought to bring the Church in the foreign missions to full bloom with indigenous priests. The Instructions to the Vicars Apostolic often remained a dead letter in the actual experience in the field, either because the missionaries could not, or would not, follow them. The growth of the Church remained under European direction and control, and motivated by European ideas, until the twentieth century, despite repeated instructions by various popes to encourage a thorough indigenization of the Church. In forbidding the use of the Indian and Chinese Rites, and in the actual practices which denied the encouragement to indigenize, the Church in the East continued to be an outside factor.

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had introduced the Roman Catholic Church to the field of modern foreign missions, giving

it a background of experience beyond that possessed by the early nineteenth century Protestant missionaries. As in any new venture, the Church had tried various methods, discarding some over time, and adopting others as useful. No single method or theory was used, nor were the missions under a single control. The Patronage missions and the Propaganda missions continued through the eighteenth century, sometimes in cooperation and sometimes in conflict. The Propaganda exerted some control of religious orders in the mission fields, but these were also independent in action. The Papacy did try to enforce the uniformity of forbidding the Eastern Rites, but the tight control of the nineteenth century was as yet impossible to maintain.

The national missions were based on European models, and sought to incorporate new societies within that of the European metropolis, though not on equal terms. Religion was a major factor within that society in Europe, and was to be extended also to the colonies. Uniformity of law and custom and religion were desirables. The Propaganda missions were also rooted in the medieval European notions of the primacy of the pope. But they were a foreshadowing of the modern approach to missions as a religious obligation, not a royal one, and a duty of the pope as a spiritual power, not as a secular ruler. Politics kept intruding, however, and the popes had to rely for protection of their Propaganda missionaries on the power of France. There was as yet no possibility of separation of Church and State, in Europe or abroad, nor of religious mission from lay protection.

These first centuries of experience presented the basic problem

of modern missions. In America the question was posed of whether the Indians were really human, and therefore suitable for evangelization. The answer was affirmative, but also usually included the view that their stage of humanity was inferior to that of the Europeans, and this feeling of superiority affected mission thought as well as colonial policy. On the other hand, some defenders of the Indians, usually missionaries, took the position that their customs had a nobility and simplicity lacking in European life. The dichotomy of "noble savage" and "barbarian" in need of tutelage continued to characterize the European views of the Indians. More efforts were made in the East than in America to accept the cultures there as valid in themselves and acceptable to the Church, and to allow converts to maintain certain customs of their heritage. But these efforts were eventually forbidden for fear of the development of heresy, and uniformity of belief and practice was the rule.

So far as the institutional extension of the Church was in question the hope of the missions was to lead to the establishment of the same diocesan structure as in Europe. In the Spanish possessions this was quickly accomplished, though the control of the king over the Church and bishops there exceeded that which he had in Europe. In the areas where the Propaganda was active, the regular diocesan structure was not used, but the new system of Vicars Apostolic. This was meant to be a temporary measure, to be replaced eventually by the establishment of the ordinary hierarchy and a self-supporting Church. The growth of an indigenous priesthood for that Church was slow. Encouraged by the Propaganda in the East, discouraged by the Patronage powers in

both the East and America, the mission church continued to be dominated and led by European missionaries, with some help from indigenous priests and native catechists, and from nuns in more settled areas. Such an institutional framework of necessity imposed a uniformity on the newly-converted which also transcended (or broke) cultural barriers. The nature of the Gospel message as it was presented and the nature of the Church as medium both gave a character of European universality which overrode the particularities of cultures.

All the modern missionaries of the Roman Catholic Church had to consider and weigh these three factors involved in their mission work - the evangelization of all human nature, the varieties of customs of the peoples, and the institutional Church. In the process of evangelization all three had to be fitted together, and the arrangement differed at times with different missionaries. But the experience of the nineteenth century Roman Catholic missionaries cannot be properly understood without some notion of this history of Roman Catholic missions which preceded them.

On the ideal plane, the missionaries sought to show the way to salvation, the same way for all men, and expected it to be accepted as such. On the practical level, they had to deal with individuals and societies much different from their own, and soon found they had to adjust their methods accordingly. Although in theory cultures were irrelevant to evangelization, in practice they had to be taken into account. The Oblates of Mary Immaculate in their first twenty-five years of contact with the Athapaskans present a demonstration of this process of adjustment.

CHAPTER I

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY BACKGROUND

I. Rebuilding the French Church

The nineteenth century was an age of renewal of mission effort for the Roman Catholic Church as it was an age of beginning for the missions of the Protestant churches. The zeal for both conquest and Christianity which had infused the sixteenth and seventeenth century missions had declined in the eighteenth century, as the Portuguese and Spanish empires declined and England took control of the seas, while France devoted its energies to continental politics. Both the national and Propaganda missions had continued through the eighteenth century, but with less initiative for new beginnings.¹

The era of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic years seemed to end any prospect of continuing the foreign missions of the Church. The Propaganda was closed by Napoleon in 1809, the Portuguese and Spanish colonies in America were in ferment, and the Jesuits had been dissolved by the Pope in 1773. In France itself, religious orders had been dissolved except for a few which were barely tolerated. Only those which performed useful educational or charitable works were authorized, and of these the majority were for women. Foreign missions tended to be regarded by the state as useful, and the Soci  t  

des Missions Etrangères, the Lazarists, and the Holy Ghost orders² were authorized to continue their work.

Napoleon's minister Portalis advocated the support of the foreign missions in 1802:

Missionaries have carried the glorious name of France to the ends of the earth, extended France's influence and built up links with peoples whose very existence was unknown. Missionaries have brought back with them, when they returned home, valuable knowledge for the arts and sciences. Missionaries have increased our means of subsistence by naturalizing the products of other climates. Finally, it is missionaries that we must thank for teaching us the little-known art of travelling and the important art of gathering useful information.³

This argument was designed to appeal to Napoleon, but it also reflects a reverse view of the missions from that of the earlier years. In this argument the utility of the missions to the mother country is emphasized, rather than the benefits the missions brought from the mother country to the indigenes, especially the benefit of religion. These more secular arguments in favour of the foreign missions became increasingly common through the nineteenth century. Despite the demonstrated usefulness of the foreign missions, however, Napoleon closed the Séminaire des Missions Etrangères in 1808, and the already slow flow of priests to the East ceased altogether.

With the Restoration in 1816 the French Church, the mainstay of the foreign missions of the Roman Catholic Church, faced an enormous task of rebuilding in France itself, where five thousand parishes were⁴ without priests, the hierarchy was split into factions and disorganized,

the financial basis of the Church of the ancien Régime confiscated or replaced by state support, and the Christian teaching of the populace⁵ disrupted or destroyed by the Revolutionary years and teaching.

Yet with the Restoration of the Bourbon monarchy, and preceding it in some cases, the Church renewed its resources. The Propaganda was reopened in 1817, the Jesuits were reestablished in 1814, and the Séminaire des Missions Etrangères reopened in 1815. The papal apparatus of the foreign missions which had been established in the sixteenth century was thus reconstituted to deal with the foreign missions of the nineteenth century.

But the major component of those papal missions had been the clergy of the French Church, and France had almost ceased to produce priests during the Revolution. After the Restoration the need for priests within France itself overrode all other considerations, and it seemed doubtful whether the French Church would be able to supply its own needs, let alone provide priests for the foreign missions. The years 1815 to 1830 were marked by a tremendous consolidation of the institutional framework of the French Church.⁶

The seminaries were staffed often with very old priests, survivors of the ancien Régime, or with younger ones who had received the cursory and interrupted training of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic years. The need to produce new priests as quickly as possible from these seminaries led to the teaching of "n'importe quoi par n'importe qui"⁷ for the first years of the Restoration. The seminary curriculum and books of the eighteenth century were continued, and the current

problems of the nineteenth century remained outside the field of study. Previously the seminary students had often taken their higher education at the University, but with the Napoleonic changes in the structure of the University the Church no longer had control, and the seminarians were not allowed to take their studies there. The seminaries became closed institutions, isolated from all contact with the outside world, and dedicated to producing zealous priests rather than intellectual lights. To further this aim, detailed lists of rules were drawn up to regulate every aspect of the student's life, and to lead him to a life of piety, by which he could serve as model and guide to his people. The clergy of the Restoration have been described as "pauvre, pur et dur"⁸ and although these priests were destined for the parishes of France, they were also ideal types to be willing to undertake the foreign missions if the opportunity came to them.⁹

A more intellectual approach began to appear in the seminaries in the 1850s, after the Falloux Law was enacted, enabling the Church to provide a recognized system of secondary education. Lesourd claims that the war against anti-clericalism also helped to spur the intellectual revival of the French clergy, by forcing them to marshal counter-arguments.¹⁰ Aubert claims that it was only with the foundation of Catholic universities under the law of 1875 that the French clergy finally received the theological training necessary to remedy the deficiencies of the earlier years.¹¹

The nineteenth century also changed the sources for clerical vocations, and this affected the education and outlook of the French

clergy. The Revolution had destroyed the system of benefices which had attracted the sons of the wealthy to the Church, and the Enlightenment had alienated many of these from the Church. The seminaries which were hastily reestablished after the Restoration provided many bursaries for the sons of the poor, recommended by their local curé. Many were sons of small shop-keepers who could manage to have their sons learn Latin from the local curé.¹² Most of these arrived at the seminary with a scanty scholastic background, some knowledge of Latin, and a great zeal. The change in the sources of vocations eventually reached the hierarchy also.¹³ Any foreign mission undertaken by the French Church would draw its personnel from this source.

The foreign missions of France would also draw heavily on the religious orders, if past experience was any guide. These religious orders also had a tremendous development in the post-Revolutionary years in France, despite the fact that they continued to be unrecognized by the State. In 1848 there were only three thousand monks in France, in 1861 there were over seventeen thousand, and in 1877 over thirty thousand. These figures do not compare with those of the ancien Régime, when the number was estimated at seventy thousand, but the rapid increase in numbers and in works ensured that their presence was felt.¹⁴ The rise in the number of women religious was even more striking, from about thirty-five thousand in 1789 to about one hundred and twenty-eight thousand in 1877.¹⁵ Most of these monks and nuns were in active orders, in works of education or hospitals or orphanages, rather than in contemplative orders. The women religious were easily authorized by the government, whereas the men were not, in part because

of the strong anti-clerical spirit of the time, and in part because of utilitarian sentiments that the women religious were performing more useful work.

The growth in religious congregations, despite the lack of government support, indicates the fervour of the ideal of monasticism and of the practical works of charity on the minds of the Catholics of France who supported those congregations. Religious congregations continued to grow, and many to originate, in France. Such a spirit was a natural seed-bed for the growth of the mission spirit also, for these required both fervour and practicality. Many religious congregations founded for specific purposes within France later undertook the foreign missions as an extension of their original purpose, not a contradiction to it. The Oblates of Mary Immaculate were only one among many of these.

II. The growth of ultramontaniam

There were other forces behind the rebuilding of the French Church besides the purely institutional ones. The most notable one was the growth of the ultramontane spirit among the French clergy and laity, and this too would greatly affect the foreign missions of France. Ultramontaniam was not a well-defined doctrine with a complete set of principles shared by its proponents, and unaltered over time. It was rather a general outlook which included many shades of opinion. It is used here as it related to the internal organization of the Church, not as it conceived the ideal relationship of Church and State. For the Church in France, ultramontaniam meant the seeking of the direction and control of the affairs of the Church in France from the Pope in Rome,

beyond the mountains, rather than from the king or the bishops of France. In this it stood in opposition to the surviving proponents of royal or episcopal Gallicanism, and eventually triumphed over them.

There were many reasons for the growth of the ultramontane spirit in nineteenth century France, most of which arose from reaction to the effects of the Revolution in France and on the French Church. The intellectual foundations of ultramontanism in France came from the works of Maistre, Lamennais, and de Bonald. The Revolution convinced these men that the only salvation of France lay in the alliance of pope and king. Only in this way could a well-ordered society be maintained. Maistre was a layman, more concerned with the problem of restoring order in society after the Revolution than in theological insights into the Church. The supreme authority of the Pope was necessary, in his view, for the sound society he envisaged. His was a utilitarian idea, not entirely dissimilar from that of various governments, ready to use religion for their purposes. Maistre reasoned that public morals and national character required religion, that Christianity was the European religion, and the only true Christianity was Catholicism, and true Catholicism demanded the supremacy of the pope, with no interference from councils of the Church or assemblies of bishops. He therefore linked papal sovereignty with papal infallibility, preparing the way for the declaration of papal infallibility in 1870. Maistre also idealized the unity of medieval Christendom under the pope, and identified that unity with true civilization. Papal supremacy, for Maistre, rested not on hoary traditions of theology or canon law, but on the present needs for order and stability in the world of the

nineteenth century, to restore a social and religious order after the upheavals of the Revolution, an order similar to that which he considered had prevailed in medieval Christendom.

Lamennais, unlike Maistre, was a clergyman and preoccupied with the security of the Church, rather than that of the State. He thought the bishops of France were deluding themselves by seeking government protection for the Church, and accused them of sacrificing the liberty of the Church to that. The only true source of security for the Church, in Lamennais' view, lay in the power of the papacy to direct it, free from any attachment to temporal powers and states. Only then could it remain a guarantee of stability in a rapidly-changing world, and through all the changes in governments. Ultramontanism for Lamennais at this time was the doctrine which could contribute most to the self-preservation of the Church. A principle of authority was considered necessary by both Gallicans and ultramontanes; neither could conceive of a system of checks and balances within the Church, nor of democracy, and certainly never of a vacuum of authority. For Lamennais, without the Pope there could be no Church, without the Church no Christianity, and without Christianity no religion or society. With these ideas, it followed that attacks on religion were attacks on society, and to preserve religion was to preserve the fabric of society against the unbeliever. True patriotism required true faith.

This current of thought, which saw in the papal direction of the Church the only security in a troubled world, and the source by which to resolve the doubts raised by modern life, was to culminate in

the declaration of papal infallibility in 1870. Such a decision would have been almost inconceivable in the early years of the nineteenth century, even while Lamennais and Maistre were writing. Then papal infallibility was generally rejected outside Italy, except perhaps in Spain, and was even rejected as false in various catechisms of the Church.²⁰ By 1870, although infallibility was by then widely-accepted in the Church, it did not have the emotive power it had in France, where Veuillot made its acceptance a crusade, and branded those who opposed it as heretics.²¹ Although the French bishops at Vatican I divided over the question, the lack of real opposition to the declaration of infallibility demonstrates the failure of Gallicanism to survive in the face of the ultramontane wave of the nineteenth century.

Other factors also encouraged the growth of the ultramontane spirit in France. Although the Bourbons were restored to the throne in 1816, the Church was not restored to its former position, and thus the previous alliance of Altar and Throne could not be restored. Many of the clergy of the Restoration were staunchly legitimist, and sought the return of the alliance of Altar and Throne which was idealized as the proper one, but no such alliance was in fact possible, and the relations between Church and State were irrevocably altered. The Church had lost its lands and incomes, its legal position, and the Assembly of the Clergy. Although it was given legal status in the Concordat, it could no longer be the established Church. The Church under the Concordat was subject to the State in its budget, episcopal

appointments, and authorization of religious congregations, as well as in the field of education. The power of the Church and of the clergy within the political life of France was reduced to an indirect status, depending a great deal on the strength of the individuals on either side rather than on legal status. With such a system, a return to royal Gallicanism was impossible, especially after the 1830 revolution destroyed the hopes of the legitimists.

Episcopal Gallicanism was a possible alternative. This too had been a viable theory under the ancien Régime, but proved not to be so in the new circumstances of the nineteenth century. In the Concordat Napoleon, for his own purposes, had recognized the authority of the Pope rather than that of the bishops of France to speak for the Church in France. The power of the bishops after the Restoration was severely limited, since they had no power of assembly, nor had they the independent means of the bishops of the ancien Régime. Assemblies of the clergy were forbidden by both Church and State until the mid-²² century.

Despite their lack of power within the state, or over the body of the French Church, each bishop exercised a closer control and authority over the clergy of his own diocese than had been the case in the pre-Revolutionary years. Before the Revolution the bishop's powers were limited by such bodies as cathedral chapters, provincial parlements and various lay and ecclesiastical rivals. ²³ After the Revolution these had ceased to function, and the bishop was autocrat over the clergy of his diocese. The priests had no recourse against his decisions to any other body within France. This situation reinforced the

growth of ultramontaniam within the French lower clergy, who turned to Rome for assistance against episcopal decisions, when necessary,²⁴ and were often upheld by Pius IX against the bishops.

These were the institutional and hierarchical reasons which favoured the growth of ultramontaniam in France - the changed relationship of Church and State, the impossibility of coordinated action by the higher clergy, and the willingness of the lower clergy to look to Rome for support. An additional factor was the willingness of the nineteenth century popes to exert and amplify their authority within the Church, and this was all the more acceptable to the members of the Church, both clergy and laity, as the popes often suffered danger and exile and the eventual loss of the Papal States - all circumstances which earned the sympathy and respect for the Pope which Montalembert²⁵ before his death declared verged on idolatry. The enormous popularity of Pius IX with the Catholic population all over the world was a new factor in the nineteenth century. It was due not only to the personal qualities of the pope, and to his trials, but also to the great mass of Catholic publications, which spread word of his activities and decisions to every segment of Catholic society. The centralization of papal power and prestige was aided by the very factors in modern society, the improvements in technology, which were often held to be anti-Christian.

These improvements were also a factor in assisting the popes to exert their authority within the Church. Because of the improvements in transportation, especially the invention of the steamship, the popes

were able to enforce the requirement of ad limina visits on bishops, even those missionary bishops from far places. Such visits had been forbidden by the Spanish kings to their bishops in America, but that refusal was no longer a factor. The pope also, through his papal nuncios, intervened constantly in the relations between bishops and clergy in the countries to which he sent them.²⁶ Pius IX also encouraged the formation of the élite of the clergy from various countries in the seminaries of Rome, and conferred the Roman title of Monsignor much more often than had any of his predecessors. He also made more episcopal nominations independently of the recommendations of the local hierarchy, often giving preference to candidates educated in Rome. Since his reign was so long, these were the vast majority of the bishops by the end of his reign, making up a sort of old-boys network in the hierarchy. In addition, the pope could call the bishops of the world together, not only at the Vatican Council, but previously in the great assemblies of 1854, 1862, and 1867, displaying Catholic unity and papal power at one and the same time.²⁷ The close supervision which the pope thus exercised on the various branches of the Church led the bishop of Paris to protest against the tendency to surreptitiously introduce into France "la régime du pays de mission".²⁸ This presents an interesting insight into the view of missions, since the close papal supervision of mission countries was itself a nineteenth century phenomenon. It was but another manifestation of the increased centralization of power in Rome, not a situation peculiar to the missions.

This growing prestige and authority of the Pope within the

Church is the facet of ultramontane thought which affected the mission thought of the nineteenth century most directly. The other facet, which considered the relationship of Church and State, and claimed independence for the Church, and at least an indirect authority of Church over State in some matters, had little direct bearing on the mission field, except perhaps for its effect on the nationalistic ultramontanism of Quebec and Ireland, two regions which were later to provide many of the missionaries abroad. Perhaps the only direct effect of the political side of ultramontane thought on mission theory in the nineteenth century was on the willingness of missionaries to go into mission fields regardless of the secular power which controlled the area, depending on the higher spiritual power of the Church through the Pope.

The growth of ultramontanism also increased the gulf between Catholicism and the Protestant churches. "The period running from Pius IX to Pius XII was probably the one in which confessional barriers were at their most impermeable ever as far as the Roman Catholic Church was concerned."²⁹ This too had effects on the foreign missions, with the mutual antagonism and lack of understanding between Catholic and Protestant missionaries which embittered the struggle to evangelize the indigenes of other countries, not least of all in the Mackenzie District of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Ultramontanism also affected the devotional life of the Church which was communicated to the foreign missions. Pius IX defined the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of Mary in 1854, both furthering the

devotion and asserting his primacy at once. Requests for this definition had come as early as 1840 from the French prelates, for the belief had had great force in France and had been taught at the Sorbonne. Gregory XVI had held back from defining it then because of the opposition of Jansenist milieux to the belief, as well as that of the bishops of England, Ireland and Germany, where the theological faculties disagreed with the Sorbonne, holding that the evidence for the Immaculate Conception had not been established by science nor mentioned in Scripture, and could not therefore be accepted as conclusive. In 1849 Pius IX revived the matter, and asked the bishops of the world to give him their opinions on it; of the six hundred responses, nine-tenths were favourable. ³⁰ Eugène de Mazenod, founder of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate and bishop of Marseilles was one of those most in favour of a papal declaration on the subject. When he heard rumours that the Pope might delay the definition because of the opposition of some bishops, he urged the pope to go ahead: "Votre Sainteté pouvait tout décider, sans consulter en rien l'épiscopat". ³¹ Despite his consultation of all the bishops, the pope defined the dogma on the basis of his sole authority, not on that of a conciliar decision, and based his arguments on the traditional teaching of the Church and on his own authority. The spread of the devotion to the Immaculate Conception was given added impetus by the apparitions at Lourdes in 1858, which set a seal on the papal definition of 1854.

In his position as head of the Church Pius IX also gave a universal character to many of the particular devotions of the Church,

peculiar previously to one region. In this way too he reinforced the centralizing and uniformity so characteristic of the nineteenth century Church. He approved the new Italian form of devotion to the Blessed Sacrament in 1851; this devotion was popularized in England by Father Faber and in Quebec by Bishop Bourget, both ardent ultra-³²montanes, and shows the link between ultramontane beliefs and devotions of the Church approved by the Pope. The French devotion to the Sacred Heart was also encouraged by the Pope, who made the feast of the Sacred Heart a feast of the universal Church in 1856. The seventeenth century nun, Margaret Mary Alacoque, whose visions had led to this devotion, was beatified by Pius IX in 1864. The spread of all these devotions within the Church was assisted not only by the papal pronouncements on them, but by the improvements in communication which made possible the spread of the knowledge of the devotions and of the papal support of them, and also by the easier transport which made sites of pilgrimage more accessible. Again modern technology reinforced the growth of ultramontaniam in the Church.

Tied in with the currents of ultramontane thought and piety and reinforcing them was the spirit of Romanticism in the early nineteenth century. In these early years, Romanticism was imbued with notions of the medieval as an ideal society, of which the Church and Papacy were integral parts. Although the Romantic movement soon lost its attachment to medieval Christianity, nineteenth century French Roman Catholicism retained many aspects of that early connection. The supernatural and the marvellous were stock items in Romantic theater and literature, including the appearances of the devil, and such a mode of thought was

not at all foreign to the Catholic population of the time. The writings on the foreign missions of France assumed enormous popularity as part of this romantic attraction. Even during the fifteen years of the Empire, there were three reeditions of the Jesuit Lettres édifiantes et curieuses from their early missions. ³³ Bishop Grandin of the Oblates in the North West wrote that while in France he had heard often of the poverty of the missions as something admirable and poetic, but up close he found it very prosaic. The true poetry of missions he ³⁴ found in the singing of hymns.

Miracles and apparitions were the hallmark of nineteenth century French Catholicism, and the beginnings of many devotions. The appearance of Mary to Blessed Catherine Labouré in 1832 led to the worldwide devotion to the Miraculous Medal, and the formation of confraternities of prayer, encouraged especially by the Oblates. The devotion to the Sacred Heart which had originated in the seventeenth century took on in the nineteenth century a much greater emphasis on the human sufferings of Christ. By the 1870 Franco-Prussian War this had become a deep sense of the punishment earned by France because of its anti-³⁵ clerical and irreligious spirit. The need to make amends for these and to avert further punishment led to the building of the famous church of the Sacred Heart in Montmartre as a symbol of national reconciliation.

This piety of the nineteenth century was an emotional and romantic one, more akin to the Romantic spirit and to Italian customs than to the austere and intellectual French piety of the seventeenth

century. This change too was bound to affect the foreign missions undertaken by the clergy of the French Church. Aubert claims that it was in this field that the real triumph of ultramontanism lay - that it was able, in one generation, to transform Catholicism in countries outside Italy, substituting an Italian form of piety for the previous varieties, a more indulgent and superficial piety, but one also more human and popular, and therefore wider in scope. ³⁶ This piety gave much weight to sentiment and exterior practices, but also emphasized the Sacraments in Catholic life. In place of Jansenist rigorism and personal responsibility for one's own salvation, it provided for attendance at Sacraments and the multiplication of pious exercises, often through confraternities formed for specific purposes, as a means to achieve individual salvation. Though still responsible for one's own salvation, the means to reach that end became more slanted to the communal prayers and the practical works of charity. The foreign missions were ideally-suited to be regarded as the work of charity par excellence, and the piety transported to them was bound to be that of the missionaries themselves.

The fervour and certitude and Romanticism of ultramontane thought, as well as the increased direct control of the Papacy, were reflected in the foreign missions of the Church. In this enterprise France held and maintained a leading position through the nineteenth century, both in the provision of priests, brothers, and nuns for those missions, and in the financial support of them. ³⁷ As early as 1841 Provencher could write

Il faut avouer que la France joue un beau et grand rôle, dans le monde chrétien, dans ce tems(sic) ci. De tous les coins de la terre on va se pourvoir en France d'hommes apostoliques, pour avancer la gloire de Dieu. ³⁸

Both the clergy who staffed these missions and the laity who supported them were entirely submissive to papal direction and control of the mission field.

Besides the near-domination of the foreign missions by France, the next striking characteristic of the nineteenth century Roman Catholic missions was the widespread use of women as auxiliaries in the mission fields. This was in part due to the nineteenth century emphasis on the need for education and health care to accompany the Gospel message, a recognition which was not restricted to the Protestant missions, although perhaps given more emphasis there. Active charity at home and abroad was integral to nineteenth century French Catholicism, and schools and hospitals at home and abroad were natural results of this. The presence of women religious was also due to the very fact of the tremendous growth of female congregations, many devoted to health and teaching. This coinciding of mission theory and the facts of the French Church led to a mutual reinforcement, where the missions could draw on the woman-power available, and the attractions of the work in the foreign missions could draw more women to join the congregations devoted to that service. Within the Church women could perform useful service for their own and others' salvation, and at the same time be relatively free from the control by men which was the lot of women in secular society. ³⁹

The missionaries came from various religious orders and congregations, many of them newly-formed in the nineteenth century expressly for the foreign missions, and were assigned to their posts by their superiors within the order. The Roman Catholic Church had at its disposal, in the later nineteenth century, large numbers of dedicated, celibate clergy, disciplined to accept assignments at the request of their superior. The selection of orders to undertake missions in certain areas was made by the Propaganda which tried to restrict a mission area to one order to avoid the rivalries which had complicated earlier mission efforts of the Church. A mission order was sometimes asked to enter a new area by the local bishop, as Provencher asked the Oblates, but these missions were still subject to the Propaganda. The Propaganda usually assigned a Vicar Apostolic in the mission area from the order of priests active there, maintaining a unified approach so characteristic of the nineteenth century Church. This Vicar Apostolic was normally also appointed the religious superior of the missionaries of his order by his own superiors in the order. The growth into the regular diocesan structure of the Church, with the subsequent replacement of the Vicars Apostolic by ordinary bishops of dioceses was often a very distant prospect, especially in areas such as the Athabasca-Mackenzie. The Vicars Apostolic became an accepted part of the Church hierarchy, although even as late as the Vatican Council of 1870 some discussion ensued over whether the Vicars Apostolic enjoyed the same rank as the ordinary bishops of the Church. It was finally decided that they were on the same level as the ordinary bishops of the Church and no longer an extraordinary rank to fill a specific need for a

limited period of time.⁴⁰

In structure the nineteenth century Roman Catholic missions, with the exception of a few survivals of the Portuguese Patronage in the East⁴¹ were all controlled by the Propaganda. There was little possibility of an alternative. The Spanish and Portuguese colonial empires had broken up, and France had lost her colonies in America. The earlier alternative to papal direction had thus disappeared. More important than the simple lack of any alternative was the positive influence on the mission thought of the Church of the growth of the acceptance of ultramontaniam as the proper framework of the Church. Missionary correspondence with Rome was voluminous, and missionary bishops such as Taché were able to make the journey to Rome quite often. Questions which arose in the mission field, such as the marriage status of converts from polygamous unions, were referred to Rome, and the advice from Rome was accepted by the missionaries to ensure orthodoxy and fidelity to the teaching of the Church. There was no scope for individual decisions on such matters, nor any need for them, in the view of the missionaries.

Unlike the earlier missions of the Church, a close supervision of each missionary could be exercised by his religious superiors. Mazenod insisted that his missionaries should write to him each year, even when he could not reply to each. He wrote often to his Oblates, and kept himself aware of their personal problems and achievements. Each local superior of the Oblates was expected to keep similar contact with the men under him.

As they had in the seventeenth century, the Papacy and the Propaganda continued to encourage the development of indigenous clergy in the mission fields, to be integrated within the uniformity of structure and belief of the Roman Catholic Church. Some indigenous clergy were developed, but throughout the nineteenth century these continued to serve in subordinate positions, and the Church abroad continued to be controlled by European bishops and priests. This was probably due in some measure to feelings of European superiority, even in the ministry. It was also due to the practice of assigning mission areas to religious orders and vesting control in a Vicar Apostolic chosen from that order. Indigenous priests were least likely to join or rise in such a system, as opposed to the regular diocesan structure of the Church where their connection to the people was more of an advantage. The very outlook of the Church of the day, with the emphasis on salvation through participation in the Sacraments and devotions of the Church, which were the same all over the world, and the necessity of priests to administer those Sacraments and lead those devotions, made it appear irrelevant whether the priest was European or indigene.

Papal supervision of the foreign missions of the Church through the Propaganda was facilitated by those same factors which had encouraged the growth of ultramontaniam in Europe - the increased ease of travel and communication resulting from the technological advances of the nineteenth century. And these also enabled the papacy to send missionaries to far places, independently of state support or permission.

But state support was welcomed when available. Under the Second

Empire French missionaries were granted free passage on French ships to the missions, and such Oblate bishops as Grandin and Faraud took advantage of this, as did the rest of their French missionaries.⁴² As well, the missionaries relied on the Pax Britannica.⁴³ The Oblates were especially conscious of the protection of British law, since all of their early missions, except for those in Texas, were in areas under British control. The protection of British force and law was also often accompanied by British financial assistance to the missions, especially in the sphere of education, or by passages given to missionaries in British ships. In the East France in the later years of the nineteenth century exercised a protectorate over all the missions of the East under the 1860 Treaty of Peking.⁴⁴

Despite the freedom of the Church to act independently of the various States in the mission fields, that freedom was still circumscribed by the realities of power politics. Even the need for the protection of the missionaries by the states led the Church to emphasize those aspects of her mission work which most appealed to European governments, the educational and civilizing influences of the missions, rather than the purely spiritual.

Although the mission thought of the nineteenth century was dominated by the currents of ultramontaniam which were so especially strong in the French seminaries, there were other factors also present. Many of the characteristics of the sixteenth and seventeenth century missions persisted into the nineteenth century. Again no distinction was made between Protestant and pagan as subjects for evangelization,

and in the foreign missions this was exacerbated by the struggle with Protestant missionaries for the souls of the indigenes, a struggle which was new in the nineteenth century. Mission thought was also affected by the mentality of the siege which dominated Catholic thought in Europe under pressure from the lay states of the nineteenth century, the revolutionary movements, the attacks on the Papacy and the Papal States, the prevalent anti-clericalism, and the increased secularization of life. It is a strange paradox to witness the defensive character of ultramontaniam in Europe vis-à-vis its triumphalist aspect abroad, to see a beleaguered majority in Catholic Europe, and an intransigent minority in the foreign missions. Mingled with this were some eschatological strains, with hopes for the conversion of England roused by the Oxford Movement, and even hopes for the conversion of the Emperor of China. These led to the expression of millennial ideas similar in some ways to the utopian notions of the seventeenth century. On the other hand, a deep pessimism was also present in some missionary writing, apocalyptic in tone about the future of the world and the unwillingness of the indigenes to accept the word of God brought to them at such cost of men and money. ⁴⁵ As in earlier centuries the stress on morality in missions continued, with special emphasis on chastity before marriage and monogamy during marriage. Divorce did loom as a possibility in the missions, because of the conversions of men involved in polygamous marriages, and the decision to be made as to which wife should be recognized as the true wife, and what to do with ⁴⁶ the others.

The nineteenth century missionaries continued to hope for the

establishment of an ideal and universal Christianity, as had the earlier missionaries, though with more emphasis on conformity with Rome as the means to achieve that end, and with less pessimism about the state of European society, or at least of European Catholic society. As the earlier missions had been characterized by hopes of making up abroad for the losses to the Church in Europe through the Reformation, so in the nineteenth century the French missionaries often tended to view their work in foreign missions as reparation for the sins of republican and anticlerical France, and thus to persuade God to avert His vengeance from France. In this respect Quebec was often held up as a model of what a true Catholic France faithful to its heritage would be like; "le Canada c'est encore la France; non pas, il est vrai, la France d'aujourd'hui, mais la France du siècle qui a précédé la Révolution."⁴⁷

III. Civilization and the missions

The most striking difference between the seventeenth and the nineteenth century missions was the developing emphasis on civilization as a necessary prelude or accompaniment to evangelization proper. This notion was foreshadowed in the earlier missions, but the concentration there, though also in an era of European expansion, had been weighted in favour of absorption into a Christian universal society, where religion and society were inextricably linked. This society then was expressed as "civility" rather than civilization, considered as marked by a certain level of urbanity or courtesy, opposed to rurality or barbarism.⁴⁸ The missionaries of the sixteenth and seventeenth

centuries sought primarily to elevate the human nature of the indigenes through the Christian beliefs and practices, and only secondarily to improve their human condition. Their attitude to European customs was much more pessimistic than was the nineteenth century missionary view, and the European customs which they did try to inculcate in the indigenes were those practised in an idyllic past, to be adopted by the indigenes in isolation from contemporary Europeans. In the nineteenth century, on the contrary, the burgeoning effects of the Industrial Revolution, the growth in wealth, the belief in progress and the expansion of Europe over the world, resulted, even among Catholics opposed to much of modern secular civilization, in an optimistic belief in the mathematical progression of the benefits of civilization. Such a view would have been impossible in the seventeenth century, with the static acceptance of the state of the society of the day. The increasing separation of religion and society in Europe led the Church to stress the benefits of religion to society, both at home and abroad, rather than the acceptance of religion as an integral part of the structure of society. This separation of thought resulted in the stress on the works of education and health care which were combined with evangelization in the missions.

The word "civilization" was first used in the late eighteenth century, and is an anachronism applied to earlier centuries. Its use implied a relative view of cultures, not entirely lacking in the earlier views of civility versus barbarism, but with more emphasis now on the possibilities of development and change, indeed on the necessity of such change. Civilization was many and varied, sometimes considered

to be a European quality, sometimes considered as best exemplified in certain countries of Europe. Civilization as a motivating force had much more of a missionary character to it than had the earlier civility, and was meant to draw others up to it, rather than radiating down to them. Though egalitarian in this sense, it was yet elitist in its view of the superiority of a certain civilization. It had some universalist tones also, in accepting European culture in general as the supreme level of civilization, but this was also affected by the national pride which considered one brand of European civilization as the highest expression of the general Europeanism.

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Education was a major tool of the evangelizers of civilization, as it was for those of religion. And just as earlier religious missions had included European non-Catholics as suitable objects of evangelization, so now the evangelizing fervour of the civilizers was extended through education to the poorest and most backward parts of European countries as well as to the colonies abroad.

This missionary impulse, like that of ultramontanism, was aided by the growth of centralized states and better communications and transport. By means of these, the European engineers of the nineteenth century became more efficient than the conquistadors in toppling societies. They were able to overcome all the physical obstacles in their way, and concluded that they could also deal with the human obstacles, and create a new type of humanity, a universal man, all sharing in the benefits of European civilization. Such an outlook was a secularization of the Church's attempt to unify all of humanity within

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the fold of the Church, with Progress replacing Providence as the guide. As the Church held that outside the Church there could be no salvation, so the European expansionists of the nineteenth century held that outside Europe there could be no real civilization.

This notion of civilization was common to England, France, and Germany in the nineteenth century. ⁵² In France, however, the notion of civilization developed in two distinct ways in the nineteenth century, reflecting the deep divisions within French society. On the one hand, it was used in the strictly secular sense, referred to as the mission civilisatrice of France, popularized by Guizot in his lectures of 1828 and 1829. Guizot defined civilization as the broadening and improvement of life, for both the individual and society. To Guizot civilization was a proselytizing force, much akin to Christianity in this respect. For this task of conversion, France was best-suited because of the French instinct for sociability, its sympathy for generous ideas, and the clarity of its language. ⁵³ The messianic purpose of France in the world had not ended with the secularization of her government, but continued with civilization replacing religion as the motivating force. To civilize others was to humanize them and to perfect their basic shared humanity to the French model.

Catholic France shared much of this sense of the mission civilisatrice of France, but the France it wished to share with the world was Catholic France, and the civilization it wished to spread was the civilisation Chrétienne of France. Catholics shared the pride of secular Frenchmen in French language and culture, but the essential basis of

civilization for them was religion, and without it there could be no true civilization. "J'en ai assez l'expérience pour pouvoir le dire, il n'y a que la religion qui civilise",⁵⁴ according to one of the OMI missionaries of the north. Catholicism itself was the civilizing force, the basic element which had produced the European civilization of the nineteenth century.

As in the secular concept of civilization, civilisation Chrétienne depended heavily on education as its tool, and this accounts for the many conflicts which ensued between Church and State in France over the control of education. Like the English public schools of the nineteenth century, the French Catholic schools emphasized the formation of character as their primary responsibility.

Transposed to the foreign mission this outlook would seem to lead to the acceptance of Christianity there, the formative element in true civilization, as a possibility apart from any developed European technology or education. The way of salvation could be brought to all humans, uniting all within the Church, and in this way reflect the true civilization. Taché illustrates this view:

avec des représentants de la civilisation des deux mondes, des membres de plusieurs nations sauvages ne formant qu'un peuple veillant, priant, chantant, aimant en Dieu auteur et fin.⁵⁵

True civilization here lay not in technology or language or manners, but in the practice of true religion. To lose that religion was to relapse into savagery, as Père Bermond found on his return to France:

il me semble qu'en France le peuple est devenu sauvage; on reconnaît en voyageant que la religion est étranger à la plupart des âmes qu'on rencontre⁵⁶

In actual fact, however, the missionaries often emphasized the secular concept of civilization as a necessary step to achieving Christian civilization, and as a means to draw government support of missions. Because of this there could be no real possibility of accepting other cultures as they were, even apart from the religions which the missionaries sought to replace with Christianity. The catechism taught that man was made in the image and likeness of God, but the European missionaries tended to conceive of that image as expressed in European models. Culture on either side of the evangelization process often obscured the basic similarities. Then too, Catholicism was not simply a belief to be shared with those deprived for centuries of the light of revelation; it was also a moral way of life, involving changes in the way of life of those evangelized. Integration into European civilization or into Christian civilization necessarily meant changes on the part of the indigenes.

It is in the writings of Chateaubriand that the link between ultramontanism, the foreign missions, and the civilisation Chrétienne⁵⁷ can most clearly be seen, with much accompanying romanticism. For Chateaubriand the progress of European civilization derived from the influence of the Church, which had extended that influence even beyond Europe to the foreign missions. In Paraguay, he maintained, the Jesuits had shown that "c'est avec la religion, et non avec des principes abstraits de philosophie, qu'on civilise les hommes et qu'on⁵⁸ fonde les empires". Although Chateaubriand clothed his exhortation of the value of missions in romantic terms, his basic approach was nationalistic and utilitarian. Religion to him was a means to humanize

the savages, an idea which prevailed in later writings on the missions. The Bishops of Quebec assured the Hudson's Bay Company that public opinion would be against the Company if it learned that "elle n'use pas de toute son influence sur les Natifs pour les civiliser", and especially if it became known that the Company put obstacles in the way of the missionaries who sought "pour faire des hommes de ces habitants des forêts".⁵⁹

The words used by Chateaubriand to describe the foreign missions, such romantic words as charme, solitude, sauvage, inspired the French bishops writing on the missions for the next fifty years.⁶⁰ They also infused the missionary writing on the missions, especially in the first flush of enthusiasm. Mr. Laflèche, missionary in St. Boniface, described his reading before he came to the North West, where other missionaries described the Indians as "beaux comme le jour, aimables comme des anges, dociles comme des enfans, fervens comme des religieuses".⁶¹ Laflèche went on to say that closer contact had destroyed this first impression. Père Petitot too found that close contact had destroyed more than one poetic illusion, although it had also fanned his zeal, for he found in the Indians "l'image de notre commun Dieu et Père,⁶² et qu'elle a été rachetée au prix de tout le sang de l'Homme Dieu".

Chateaubriand also stressed the missions as a social value, especially noting the work of the Grey Nuns and Ursulines in New France.⁶³ In this he presaged the great development of the use of women in the mission fields of the nineteenth century, in part because of the romantic appeal, and in part because of the apostolic value of such work.

Because of the evident goodness of mission work, Chateaubriand claimed it could only come from God. And God worked through the pope, who was responsible therefore for the civilizing of Europe and of the rest of the world. In this way the foreign missions contributed to the centralization of the Church under the papacy, and to the notion of the papacy as responsible for the growth of true civilization in the world.

The combination of messianisms in the French Roman Catholic mission thought of the nineteenth century derived from a sense of the mission of France to civilize the world by spreading the benefits of its language and culture. Yet the culture the missionaries wanted to share was the culture of only a part of France, and not the official part, and the religion essential to that culture was a world religion, though its universalism bore traces of nationalism. The spread of French Roman Catholic missions was often aided by the very governments which restricted the growth of the Church in France, for the mixture of motives was not restricted to the missionaries. The French government often regarded the missionaries as the pioneers of French influence abroad, especially through their schools and the use of the French language. The missionaries in turn often catered to this outlook by stressing their influence on the spread of the French language and culture, and deemphasizing their religious role.

The foreign missionaries of the Church were united as apostles of "one, holy, Catholic and apostolic Church". They shared the same faith, the same outlook, a complete uniformity of ritual and institution, and all under the direct supervision of the Pope in Rome.

IV. Financing the foreign missions

The foreign missions of the Church could no longer rely on the financial support of the wealthy of France, nor of the crowns of Spain and Portugal. Instead, in the nineteenth century the mass of the Catholic laity assumed responsibility for the maintenance of the missions of the Church. They were organized into societies such as L'Oeuvre de la Propagation de la Foi, the archetype of many such groups in the nineteenth century. The Propagation de la Foi was formed in 1822, only six years after the Restoration, under the leadership of a pious laywoman of Lyons, Pauline Jaricot, who had the idea of collecting a small sum weekly from devout men and women to aid the renewed work of the Société des Missions Etrangères. She organized groups of ten, with a leader collecting the weekly donations. These were then forwarded to the leaders of hundreds, and then to the leaders of thousands. From there they were forwarded to headquarters for distribution to needy missions.⁶⁴

The small groups which Pauline Jaricot founded were strengthened and enabled to grow to world-wide support of missions by the addition of the support of the Congregation of Lyons. This was a secret society founded in the Napoleonic years for the survival of the faith and the sanctification of its members, a role similar to that of the Company of the Blessed Sacrament in the seventeenth century. Prominent among the members of the Congregation in Lyons was Benoît Coste,⁶⁵ who was also prominent in the foundation of the Propagation de la Foi.

The Congregation of Lyons and Lyons itself were notoriously

ultramontane.⁶⁶ The members of the Congregation were almost omnipresent in the early mission activity of France in the nineteenth century, just as the members of the Company of the Blessed Sacrament had been in the seventeenth century.⁶⁷ The influence of the Congregation in furthering the work of the foreign missions was recognized by the Superior of the Société des Missions Etrangères in 1821, when he wrote to Coste

Maintenant que Paris, Lyon, etc., c'est-à-dire ce que nous avons de plus fervent, nos zélés congréganistes, donneront le mouvement et l'appel à la charité au nom de J.-C. pour en porter la gloire chez les gentils, la France deviendra je l'espère l'objet des complaisances de Dieu.⁶⁸

This is also an early statement of a theme which dominated much of the later French writings on the missions - that the zeal of the French for the foreign missions would make reparation in the eyes of God for the sins of France.

The founding of the Propagation de la Foi arose from requests for help both from the revived Société des Missions Etrangères,⁶⁹ and from the bishop of New Orleans in the United States, Dubourg, who faced an enormous task in his new diocese.⁷⁰ The call to Lyons in these early years was from both the Far East and America, in many ways a call to resume the former mission activity of France. But the French sources of financial support of those missions had disappeared and there was no possibility in the immediate future of the Church in those areas becoming self-supporting.

Coste is said to have made sure that the society formed would

do more than just support either or both of these mission efforts. Instead he advocated placing no restrictions on the scope of the efforts of the Propagation de la Foi, since only in that way could it be re-
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garded as truly catholic or universal. There was some concern at first over whether the work should include the conversion of Protestants as one of its aims. The primary emphasis was on the conversions of infidels, but this task necessarily involved, in the nineteenth century, an effort to counter Protestant efforts, and part of that countering was to attempt to convert the Protestants. The Propagation de la Foi was always conscious of the support given to the Protestant missions by their supporters, and often drew comparisons invidious to the Catholic support through the Propagation. The first volume of the Annales de la Propagation de la Foi stated "Notre Association française doit toujours avoir en regard la Société anglaise, et s'efforcer de lui faire
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contrepoids."

The Lyon group of organizers felt that it needed the support of Paris, and got in touch with members of the Congregation there and also with the aristocrats who belonged to the Chevaliers de la Foi. This was a group based on the ideas of the Congregation, but much more politically involved, and primarily aristocratic in membership. It had organized opposition to Napoleon, and arranged publication of papal
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bulls despite Napoleon's edicts against such action. Although the Chevaliers dissolved themselves in 1826 because of the attacks on secret
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societies, they did support the Propagation de la Foi in its first crucial years, and their founder, Bertier, became the first president of the Paris branch of the Propagation. Over the Paris and Lyon groups

in the early years was the Superior Council based in Paris, and made up of some of the most prominent men in the realm, many belonging to the Chevaliers.⁷⁵ The Superior Council dissolved itself in 1830, and was never revived; like the monarchy and the hierarchy, the Propagation de la Foi came under bourgeois control. In its initiation, the Propagation de la Foi had had some similarities to the supporters of the missions of France in the seventeenth century, but after the 1830 revolution it derived the mass of its support from the middle-class of France and other countries.

The Propagation de la Foi was very early to seek the approval of the Pope for its work, and received this in 1823 from Pius VII with his authorization and indulgences attached. This support was continued and amplified by later popes. In 1840 Gregory XVI in his bull, Probe nostis, placed the Propagation de la Foi in the ranks of universal Catholic institutions⁷⁶, a great encouragement to the faithful to join the work of the Society.

The Propagation de la Foi, with its universalist and ultramontane outlook on the foreign missions, soon spread in its membership beyond France. In this it was quite different from the seventeenth century supporters of missions, who had remained on nationalistic lines. The first foreign branch of the Propagation was formed in Belgium in 1825, and by 1836 the Association had spread over most of Europe. The approbation of the popes had much to do with this rapid increase, for the ultramontane spirit of France and Lyon had its counterparts in the rest of Europe and America. Provencher of St. Boniface encouraged the

formation of branches in Quebec.⁷⁷

Most of the bishops of France, after some initial hesitation, encouraged the formation of branches of the Propagation in their dioceses, and the taking of special or annual collections for the work. Eugène de Mazenod, founder of the Oblates, while Vicar-General in Marseilles and later as bishop did much to encourage the growth of the Propagation there.

The support of the foreign missions united all segments of Catholic France, all concerned with the salvation of the world, and often with the salvation of France through that task, just as works of charity were emphasized for the achievement of individual salvation. The Propagation grouped the laity as the religious confraternities of earlier centuries had, but with far more emphasis in the nineteenth century on the apostolic character of their work than on prayer alone. In this way it conformed to the interests of the time, with the stress on active charity rather than on contemplation. The Propagation also adapted to the changing circumstances of the nineteenth century. In its early years it made much of the royal and aristocratic support given it during the Restoration. After 1830 it emphasized the social worth of its work, and much later in the century, as colonialism increased, it took on overtones of this spirit.⁷⁸ It managed to survive the troubles of 1830 despite its links to the great of France, and also survived the various anticlerical attacks on it as a Jesuit plot. The control of the society remained in lay hands until 1922, when it was moved to Rome and placed under the direct control of

the Propaganda.

In the first one hundred years of operation the decisions on allocation of the funds collected were made by the two Councils of Paris and Lyon. The directors of the Propagation were business-men and business-like in their approach to the allocation of funds to the missions, making every effort to assure themselves and their members of a good return on their investment. The missionary bishops who requested help had to make out their requests each year, and fill out detailed lists of baptisms and conversions, set in relation to the numbers of pagans and heretics in their territories. They were also to show the number of churches, chapels and schools which would reflect the growth of the institutional church in their territories, and be a hopeful sign that at some point they would be contributing to the resources of the Propagation instead of receiving.

Bishop Taché of St. Boniface and Bishop Faraud, Vicar Apostolic of the Athabasca-Mackenzie, had difficulties justifying their support by the Propagation, since their populations were so sparse that small returns could be expected. This accounts for the emphasis given in the reports of the OMI to the extreme hardships they endured in the northern missions, which they often described as "les plus pénibles du monde". As such they justified continued support from the Propagation, because of the hardships endured to win even a few souls. The Oblates often thought, however, that these arguments failed to convince the directors of the Propagation de la Foi, and that these men favoured the missions of the Far East, which not only offered far larger populations, but also

the opportunity for martyrdom of the missionaries. The links with the East were also strong for Lyon because of its involvement with the silk trade with China, and, of course, the long French tradition of missions in the East. Bishop Grandin, auxiliary to Taché, expressed the sentiments of the northern Oblates about this bias:

Les pays que nous évangélisons ne sont pas peuplés comme le Chine et le Japon, nous ne pouvons vous parler de nombreuses conversions, nous pouvons nous mourir de faim et de froid, mais nous n'avons pas la chance de mourir martyrs, nos pauvres missions n'ont pas même cette poésie là...Le martyr que nous souffrons est un martyr long un martyr tout à fait prosaïque.⁷⁹

The missions of the OMI in the north lacked both romantic appeal and utilitarian hopes, severe drawbacks in their efforts to win the support of the Propagation de la Foi.

The Propagation de la Foi served as the model and pioneer in the nineteenth century support of the Roman Catholic missions. As the mission effort increased, many other societies were formed to fill a more specialized role within the mission activity of the Church. These too usually originated in France, and like the Propagation de la Foi spread from there to the rest of the Catholic world. L'Oeuvre de la Sainte-Enfance was founded in 1843 by the Bishop of Nancy, Forbin-Janson, who had just returned from a preaching tour of Quebec and the United States. In this association, Forbin-Janson sought to involve the children of France in the salvation of the pagan children, by donating their small sums weekly just as their parents did for the Propagation de la Foi. L'Oeuvre Apostolique was founded in 1838 by Zoë de Chesne to supply the vestments and other needs of missionaries

for saying Mass. L'Oeuvre des Ecoles d'Orient was founded after the Crimean War to aid in the establishment of schools in the East.

All of these works reflected the great missionary zeal of the laity. The foreign missions were regarded as an integral part of the mission of the Church in the world, which was to show the way of salvation to all men, and the laymen were enabled by their contributions and prayers to share in that apostolic endeavour. Their zeal was stimulated further by papal blessings and indulgences for the members of these societies. The growth of these societies and the consequent growth of the Catholic foreign missions in the nineteenth century cannot be separated from the currents of spirituality within France and the growth of ultramontanism there as well as in other parts of the Church. The very presence of French missionaries in various parts of the mission fields was bound to encourage the growth of ultramontanism there, since ultramontanism was so integral to their vision of the Church to which their new converts would belong. The ultramontanism behind the formation of these new societies to support the missions persisted in their branches beyond France, and the spread of such a common endeavour helped to link the various national branches of Catholicism more closely in thought and action.

To rouse missionary fervour within the populace and to attract more members to the Propagation, a journal was soon published, Les Annales de la Propagation de la Foi. This publication filled in the nineteenth century the role filled in the seventeenth century by the Jesuit Relations from New France, and the Lettres édifiants et curieuses.

The Annales, however, were on a world scale, covering all the missions supported by the Propagation, regardless of which order of priests was involved in them. The journal printed the reports of various missionaries on their fields of action, with their need for support and their hopes of building the Church, as well as the curious and interesting details which would attract the attention of many. The Annales also printed each year the amount of funds collected, where those funds came from, and where they were assigned. Mazenod urged his Oblates to write frequently to the Annales, to keep their missions in the public eye. The Annales were soon printed in various languages, and this too reinforced the community of outlook which was ultramontane, and the universality of effort in the nineteenth century missions, in contrast to the more nationalistic bias of the seventeenth century.

Despite the power of the purse which gave so much strength to the Catholic lay societies involved in the nineteenth century mission effort, there was no lay control over the organization and staffing of the mission fields. The distinction between laymen and ecclesiastics was carefully preserved, and each had a specific role to play in the mission effort. Provencher wrote to Mr. Cazeau of Quebec that he was asking France (the Propagation de la Foi) for more money because of the expenses incurred in sending missionaries to the Columbia;

Mais je ne leur demanderai d'y envoyer des prêtres, ce qui n'est point de leur compétence. Ces braves gens s'occupent de gérer l'association, et d'en distribuer l'argent et s'arrêtent là.⁸⁰

The theory of Roman Catholic foreign missions in the nineteenth century was deeply affected by the growth of ultramontaniam, and the consequent centralization of authority within the Church. The Roman Catholic missionaries, including the OMI, were convinced that all the peoples of the world should be evangelized and integrated into the Roman Catholic Church under the primacy of the Pope. At the same time, this evangelizing mission was the only way to spread true civilization and to establish the proper social order. Secular civilization spread to the foreign missions was important only insofar as the missionaries could adapt its tools, education and health care, to help spread the Gospel and draw government support. These benefits of religion, education, and health care were perceived as only beneficial to the non-Europeans of the world, and any changes they caused could only be for the good of the other peoples of the world.

The missions of the OMI were deeply influenced by their strong ultramontane beliefs, and by the need they perceived to remain faithful to Rome in doctrine, practice and spirituality. The ecclesiological structure of their missions naturally conformed to that decided by the Propaganda, with much more centralization and uniformity than had been the case in the earlier modern missions of the Church. Like most other nineteenth century Roman Catholic missionaries, the OMI were French, influenced by the romantic French literature on the missions, with the views of the Indians presented in these. Such limited understanding was all that was available to those inaugurating the renewed mission effort of the nineteenth century. The Oblates who went to the foreign missions were also affected by the emphasis on active charity so strong

in nineteenth century French Catholic circles, both clerical and lay. In part, too, the foreign missions attracted those who saw them as a possibility for a new beginning of the faith, far from the pressures exerted on the Church of the nineteenth century in Europe, and also a way to make reparations for the harm done by those irreligious powers.

There was then a complex of ideas which motivated the nineteenth century Roman Catholic missionaries, including the OMI. These ideas in the early part of the nineteenth century were entirely derived from the European background and experience. The actual experience of the foreign missions of the nineteenth century was too limited to influence mission thought. A consequence of this European complex of ideas was that no idea of the value of other cultures in themselves could really be expected to result from it.

CHAPTER II

THE FORMATION OF THE OBLATES

The Oblates in the Athabasca and Mackenzie Districts of the Hudson's Bay Company in the years 1846 to 1870 were almost entirely of French origin, except for Taché, Lacombe and Gascon from Quebec, and a few Irish lay-brothers. Their mission undertaking must be placed within the general context of French Roman Catholic Church developments of the nineteenth century, and the currents of thought which dominated it. But in addition, the Oblates had their own special formation and spirit, which characterized their congregation, and distinguished it from others of the same period.

For the Oblates this special spirit was rooted in Restoration France. The founder of the Oblates, Eugène de Mazenod, a son of the noblesse de la robe, had spent many years in exile during the height of the Revolution, in Sardinia, Turin and Naples. He returned to France¹ in 1802 and entered the Sulpician seminary in 1808. Mazenod finished² his studies and was ordained in 1811. Like the small number of other priests educated during the turmoil of the Revolution and Napoleonic years, in a seminary under constant threat of closure, his education suffered, and exile had embittered him against the Revolution and the ideas which had led to it.

Although Mazenod received his education in the Sulpician seminary, which had a reputation for Gallicanism, the events of the Revolution had mitigated this teaching somewhat, and the suffering of the Pope at the hands of Napoleon had increased the respect for him. The Sulpicians recognized the primacy of honour and jurisdiction of the Pope, but held to the belief in the superiority of Pope in Council,³ rather than Pope alone, in matters of Church discipline. At the same time, the Sulpicians resisted the strict control of the Church which Napoleon wanted to exercise. Napoleon ordered the Sulpicians out of the seminary in 1810, as a result of which Mazenod was asked to become a director of the seminary, and for that reason had to hasten his own ordination.⁴

Mazenod himself, even at this early stage of his career, was much more of an ultramontane than his professors. He used his knowledge of Italian to assist the "black cardinals", those who had refused to assist at Napoleon's marriage to Marie Louise, whom Napoleon had then ordered not to wear their red robes or appear at court.⁵ These cardinals were the representatives of the Church opposed to those who collaborated with Napoleon. They were not strictly speaking necessarily all upholders of ultramontanism, but were opposed to the Gallicanism of Napoleon. Mazenod himself, however, did have an ultramontane outlook, and this continued to dominate himself and the members of the congregation which he founded. He had no tolerance for the Constitutional clergy, nor for any who questioned the supremacy of the Pope. In later years "l'ultramontanisme sans nuance et parfois sans charité d'Eugène de Mazenod"⁶ raised much opposition to his missions in Provence.

Mazenod himself best expressed what he expected of his congregation as an attitude to papal supremacy within the Church:

In our Society, one must have simplicity enough to renounce his own opinions when they do not conform, I will not say merely to the decisions of the Holy See, but even to its mind. We recognise no other doctrinal teacher and we adopt its opinions even before any dogmatic pronouncement has been made. ⁷

At the time of the Vatican Council in 1870, after the death of Mazenod, the Superior of the Oblates, Fabre, wrote to the pope declaring the support of all the Oblates for the declaration of papal infallibility. ⁸

But if Mazenod did not succumb to the semi-Gallicanism of the Sulpicians, the years in the seminary were very influential on his development in other ways. Many of his classmates were hoping to go to the foreign missions; prominent among these was Charles de Forbin-⁹Janson, with whom Mazenod's career would be closely linked. Both belonged to the Aa within the seminary, the élite group dedicated to improving their own and others' spirituality. ¹⁰ Mazenod and Forbin-Janson shared a desire for the foreign missions, and hoped to pursue this option after ordination. But the Pope told Forbin-Janson that he should first concentrate on the needs of the Church in France, before worrying over those in China. Forbin-Janson accepted this advice, and ¹¹urged Mazenod to do the same.

To accomplish their aim of regeneration of the Church in France both Mazenod and Forbin-Janson formed home missionary groups. This approach was not unique, for many such groups were formed in Restoration France, and their work and influence was a characteristic

feature of the revival of the Church in France after the Revolutionary and Napoleonic years. Forbin-Janson, in cooperation with the King's chaplain, de Rauzan, formed the Missionnaires de France, dedicated, as their name would signify, to the rechristianization of the whole of France. This group sought and obtained legal recognition from the King¹² in 1816. Most religious congregations of men had been outlawed in the previous years, and the Missionnaires de France were unusual in receiving authorization during the Restoration, when most of the male religious congregations existed on the fringes of the law, unauthorized and with no legal status. Mazenod did try to get legal recognition for his group of missionaries but was unsuccessful.¹³ This lack of authorization eventually proved beneficial to Mazenod's group, sparing them the attacks made in 1830 on the Missionnaires de France because of their too close connection to legitimist politics.

Mazenod had returned to Provence from Paris in 1812, and began his work at Aix, although he did not form a group there until 1816. He knew the Provençal language, which the revolutionaries had tried to suppress as a barrier to national unity,¹⁴ and decided to give his special attention to those who spoke it. These were the poor of Provence, especially the rural poor, who had often been left without any religious instruction. Mazenod began preaching in Provençal in Aix, causing great indignation among the high society of the town, which looked on this as a repudiation by Mazenod of his nobility. Mazenod however was convinced of his mission to the poor, and ignored these protests. In his notes for his first sermon he wrote

The Gospel must be taught to all men and in a way in which it can be understood. The Poor, that precious part of the Christian family cannot be left uninstructed.¹⁵

Within a few years, in 1816, Mazenod sought out some other priests to share his vision of apostolate, and formed a group he called the Missionnaires de Provence. These were not yet a religious congregation, but a loose association of diocesan priests to work within the diocese of Aix, under the jurisdiction of the bishop there. There were five of these priests at the beginning, given canonical status by the vicars-general of Aix on Jan. 29, 1816. Mazenod chose as the motto¹⁶ for this group "Evangelizare pauperibus misit me". The poor referred to were not only the materially poor, but also the spiritually poor,¹⁷ including uninstructed Catholics.

In 1818, however, Mazenod was asked to send two priests to undertake the care of the shrine at Notre Dame de Laus, in the Hautes-Alpes region, which was outside the diocese of Aix. Such a division of duties required a reassessment of the goals of his group. Mazenod himself had preferred a regular religious life, but had felt unable to win acceptance of this from his early confreres, who had chosen to be secular priests, not bound to the vows of a religious order. To send two of these priests off to form an independent house would, in Mazenod's view, destroy the unity of the Missionnaires de Provence, unless they could agree to follow a rule, and form one body with the group at Aix. Some of his followers were much opposed to this, but in the end they accepted this change in their lives.

Opposition also arose from the vicars-general of Aix, who felt Mazenod was abandoning the strictly diocesan purpose of his beginnings. At this time Mazenod was actively seeking help to acquire the new diocese of Marseilles for his uncle, Fortuné de Mazenod. This took several years to accomplish, because of the disagreements between the Pope and the French government over a new Concordat, in which the number of new dioceses would be included. In 1823, however, Fortuné was installed as Bishop of Marseilles, and named Eugène de Mazenod and one of his missionaries, Père Tempier, as vicars-general of his new diocese. Eugène de Mazenod had decided by this time that his fledgling community could not survive the hostility of the diocesan priests at Aix without the protection of a bishop such as Fortuné, and was delighted to settle at Marseilles. As continued to happen in later years as various Oblates became bishops, Mazenod and Tempier were accused of allowing the Oblates to suffer because of the diocesan responsibilities they had undertaken. Two of Mazenod's priests left because of this in 1823, encouraged to this action also by their local bishops. These priests were regarded by Mazenod as "apostates", a term he continued to apply to those who left his congregation in later years.

Mazenod decided that to set his group on a firmer basis he would have to seek approval of it from Rome. This was a bold step to take, since Rome had not approved of any new congregations in France since 1800, and Mazenod's group was very small, with no immediate prospects of rapid growth or security of existence. Mazenod travelled to Rome in 1826 to seek papal approval of his group, which he had re-named the Oblates of St. Charles as they spread beyond Provence making

the original name inapplicable. Mazenod did manage to get Roman approval of his group, largely through the personal intervention of the Pope, Leo XII,¹⁸ and the group was renamed the Oblates of Mary Immaculate.

This Roman approval of the OMI was an early example of Mazenod's ultramontane approach. It was carried out in opposition to the wishes of the local bishops of Gap and Aix, where the Oblates were working; these bishops wanted to maintain control of the Oblates as subjects of their dioceses. They complained of the vow of perseverance demanded of the Oblates, a vow to remain with the Oblates, and from which only Mazenod or the Pope could release them, not the local bishop. The bishops claimed that this requirement contradicted their rights as local bishops, and was contrary to the civil law of France, which gave¹⁹ them jurisdiction over exempt religious.

Mazenod was further involved in ultramontane developments when his uncle, Fortuné de Mazenod, then eighty-five years old, was faced by liberal threats to have the diocese of Marseilles suppressed when he died. Fortuné wrote to the Pope urging that his nephew should be named a bishop in partibus to assist him and eventually succeed him as Bishop of Marseilles. Gregory XVI agreed to this, and named Eugène de Mazenod Bishop of Icosia and Apostolic Visitor of the mission countries of Tunisia and Tripoli, but to remain in residence at Marseilles. All of this was done contrary to precedent, without consulting the French government, because of fears of the revolutionary influence there after 1830. It was an attempt by the papacy to circumvent the anticlerical

French governments as the earlier popes had used the system of Vicars Apostolic in the East to evade the Patronage claims of Portugal. But it placed Mazenod, a French citizen, in jeopardy with his own government, and he lost his citizenship for a few years over it. Eventually he was reconciled with Louis-Philippe and was even named a Senator.²⁰

The ultramontane tendency to accept the ruling of the pope over either that of the local bishops or that of local governments is evident both in the formation of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, and in Mazenod's elevation to the bishopric.

Although not so prominent, an early desire to undertake foreign missions was also shown by Mazenod in seeking papal approval of his congregation. He gave as one of his main reasons for asking for papal approval "précisément le désir que nous avons de porter, dans toutes les parties du monde, le bienfait du ministère auquel se consacrent les membres de notre institut", and described his missionaries "qui se sont consacrés à Dieu et n'ont d'autre patrie que l'Eglise catholique, apostolique et romaine!"²¹ The universality of religion, far more important to Mazenod than considerations of nationality, is evident in this statement, and fits into the rising tide of ultramontanism in France.

Mazenod declared that many of his Oblates would gladly go to preach the Gospel to the infidels as soon as their numbers were large enough, and that he might then send them to America, whether to bring help to Catholics there deprived of their faith, or to seek out new converts to the faith. In this same letter to the pope, Mazenod asked that

the name of his congregation be changed to "Oblats de la Très Sainte
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et Immaculée Vièrge Marie" , a name which fit into the great devotion
to Mary shown in the nineteenth century. Although the foreign missions
were clearly unavailable to the Oblates at the time, with their very
small numbers, their lack of financing and government recognition, the
desire was there, and the availability if numbers and financing were
found. Mazenod saw no contradiction between the home missions in which
he was engaged, and the wish to extend to the foreign missions. Both
offered souls to be saved, and poor to be rescued. He did not consider
his group limited to the geography of Provence, or even that of France.

The task of rechristianization of the people of France, who had
been left for many years without priests or adquate instruction, was
similar in many ways to that of the foreign missions, which sought to
evangelize those without any Christian tradition. "Par suite de l'insu-
ffisance du nombre des pasteurs, il se trouvait des régions retournées
23
en quelque sorte à l'état sauvage." The distinction between savagery
and civilization, based on the presence or absence of the Christian
religion, was an accepted idea.

The method employed to rechristianize France, the home missions,
was not a new phenomenon of the Restoration period. It had roots in the
seventeenth century Counter-Reformation missions of St. Vincent de Paul
and St. John Eudes, both of whom had formed religious congregations for
mission work in France; St. Vincent had also hoped to undertake foreign
missions, and had made no distinction in his thought between those at
home in France and those abroad. These home missions had continued in

eighteenth century France, though more as an accepted part of the ordinary routine of Church life, and less as directed against the Huguenots. Napoleon had outlawed the home missions in 1809.²⁴ In resuming the work of home missions after the Restoration, the nineteenth century missionaries adopted many of the techniques found useful in the seventeenth century, sharing the same zeal to win back souls to the Church, though lost at this time because of the Revolution, not the Reformation. The continuity of French Church history is well-illustrated in the connection between the home missions of these different eras. This is not to assume identity of the two, but an acceptance of certain ideas, structures, and methods which had stood the test of time, and could be adapted to the new circumstances of the nineteenth century.

Mazenod's journal of one of the earliest missions he gave was reproduced in the Oblate periodical Missions in 1865.²⁵ This was an account of a mission given at Marignane in 1816, and gives a clear account of the methods used to reawaken the faith of the people of the parish. The missionaries stayed in the parish five weeks (the period of missions varied from two to six weeks), giving an intensive course on religion. Mazenod had three companions with him, and stated that this was not enough for the population of sixteen hundred. Sermons were preached daily, two or three times each day, on the truths of religion. Mass was said at five A.M., and hours were spent in the confessional, since the missionaries heard each person three or four times before giving absolution. Confessions were stressed not only as a Sacrament by which to obtain absolution of sins, but as a means whereby the missionary could give spiritual direction to the penitents, and assist

him to regulate his life according to Christian standards.

In some Restoration missions, sermons were enlivened by the questions of one missionary seated in the audience, presenting the doubts of some unbelievers. The preacher would then resolve those doubts by demolishing the argument. ²⁶ Mazenod did not follow this technique in his missions, because his audience was too simple and rural.

The teaching of the faith was accomplished through the sermons and catechism lessons, but was accompanied, and sometimes overwhelmed, by an appeal to the emotions. Hymns were an essential part of this, and the Oblates preached and sang in both Provençal and French. The missionaries of the Restoration made up their own hymns, often setting them to popular tunes. ²⁷ The opponents of the missions often attacked the missions because of this practice.

Fear was a characteristic weapon of the missionaries. A part of the mission was a sermon on death, preached by an open grave, the missionary holding a skull in his hands. The grave was ready for the next person in the audience to die, a powerful incentive to repent and be prepared. This was usually enough to convince all but the most hard-hearted. In extreme cases, the missionary would form a penitential procession, with himself in the role of scapegoat for the sins of the people. Mazenod followed this custom at Marignane, hoping by means of this ceremony to avert the wrath of God from the people who had done so much to deserve it. The hope to move the hearts of the people by this ceremony was secondary to that aim. ²⁸ Mazenod proceeded through the

streets of the town, a rope around his neck, barefoot and carrying a cross, accompanied by the hymns sung by his audience. He found the good results of this well worth his trouble.

Much of the time of the Missionnaires de Provence at this mission, as at others, was spent in visiting each house. This was a technique peculiar to them, and seems to have been Mazenod's own idea. He thought that in this way the missionaries would be closer to the people; as a result of these visits in 1816, the missionaries discovered many cases of concubinage, and succeeded in winning back many of these
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to the Sacraments. Mazenod was convinced of the importance of personal contact with the missionary as a means of rechristianization of the people. This was accomplished through the visits to each house, and through the contact in confession. These were techniques which were well-adapted to serve in later years in the foreign missions, to begin the task of evangelization of those peoples.

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The missions had the most effect on women, although the missionaries adapted their timetable to the hours of labour, and gave special talks to men and women separately. Victor Gelu described the effect of the great mission at Marseilles in 1820 on his mother. Despite the extreme cold of that year his mother was at the door of the church at five A.M. and often did not get home until nine P.M. The meals were neglected, and the mother preached at the children when she
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did get home. In this way, through the women, the missionaries reached beyond the actual congregation at their sermons, although perhaps not always with the good effects they intended on the children.

To ensure the continuance of the good results obtained from the mission the missionaries formed the various groups of the community into religious organizations called congregations. Confraternities for special devotions had existed for centuries, and confraternities of Penitents had been particularly prominent in Provence, forming both a social and spectacular part of life with their processions. These declined later in the nineteenth century, as the élite of society began to prefer the more secularized forms of confraternities. The congregations formed by the missionaries were not so spectacular as those of the Penitents. They were small groups separated by age and sex, with special devotions applicable to their state in life. The young girls were especially warned against dances and promenades, so popular in Provence, and were urged to follow the example of Mary. By forming groups dedicated to the same ideals, and with a program of special prayers and devotions, the missionaries hoped the members would reinforce each other, and become a permanent force for good in the parish, rather than have the mission pass as a fleeting revival. This practice of forming congregations was not new; it had also been done in the seventeenth century home missions, with the aim then of combating heresy. Like the other practices of the mission, the reality fell short of the ideal, and the missionaries found on returning to a parish that there were usually many back-sliders.

The climax of the mission came with the planting of the cross in a public place to serve as a lasting reminder of the mission. Public officials were expected to accompany this procession, since religion was not regarded by the missionaries as a private affair, nor a matter

for the individual conscience. The mission crosses were often very large, requiring many men to carry them. At the 1820 great mission at Marseilles, the mission cross was accompanied by ten military bands,³³ and eighty thousand spectators lined the route. The cost of the cross was borne by the faithful, though the Oblates in general had less spectacular ceremonies, because of the poverty of their people. The crosses were often crudely-sculpted and highly-coloured; they were also often decorated with fleurs-de-lys, lending credence to the accusations that the missionaries were too closely-associated with legitimism, confusing religion and politics. The missions were also accused of fiscal irresponsibility, because of the money spent on medals and crosses.³⁴ Mazenod did not go so far as some of his contemporaries in the direction of rococo romanticism; although the Oblates went beyond what would today be considered good taste, they were more re-³⁵strained than the other home missionaries of the Restoration. Like the congregations and the stress on personal contact with the missionary, the erection of the cross as a symbolic and moving ceremony was easily adaptable to neophyte Christians, and the Oblates then expected it to be as acceptable as an instrument to move souls.

The link with politics in the Restoration missions was very close, though here again Mazenod was more restrained than some of his contemporaries, perhaps held back by his ultramontanist from too close identification with the political regime. Many missionaries sought to restore the old alliance of Altar and Throne, as the only way to rechristianize France. Many of them taught the hymn in their missions:

Vive la France!

Vive le Roi!

Toujours en France

Les Bourbons et le Foi! 36

Some also established tribunals of reparation, with no official sanction but with the moral authority of the missionary, to attempt to settle the matter of debts of confiscations arising from the Revolution. Those who disrupted the mission processions were sometimes arrested and served time in prison. The local guard were often involved in the processions, and sometimes went to Communion in a body at the urging of their

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commandant.

Omodeo claimed that the Restoration missions exalted the methods of rural France to become the norm of all French Catholicism - a norm which would be extended to the foreign missions by French priests. Theirs was not an intellectual approach, aimed at convincing the individual of the truths of faith by exposition and reasoning. It was a method relying on crowd psychology to move the individual. The primary emphasis was on the conversion to a Christian way of life, to the practice of Christianity rather than just to acceptance of the belief in Christ. The home missionaries could assume a basic substratum of belief in their hearers, or at least in their culture, and concentrated their attack on changing the way of life of those listeners. In the foreign missions, the same concentration could be applied even where there was no basic substratum of belief, and the same methods could be used to induce the practice of the faith. The individual conversions to the faith resulting from these techniques might often be surface ones,

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motivated more by timidity or apathy than by genuine zeal. The techniques of denunciation from the pulpit, personal questions, and other sanctions against backsliders used by the Restoration missionaries resembled those of Jansenism, and yet aimed at the opposite effect of achieving mass conversions rather than individual. The practice of the faith was held to create conviction as well as to display it, and evidence of the existence of the faith was to be seen in the many pious practices which grew around the basic religious practices of the reception of the Sacraments and attendance at Mass. Faith for the Restoration missionaries was the evidence of things seen.

Langlois and Mayeur regard the embedding of the religious fact into a culture, so that the two become inseparable, or at least indistinct, as one of the subtle form of secularization which the historian of religious history should not ignore. ³⁹ In the nineteenth century in France, this took the form of overattachment to the folklore of a culture, a movement for which the missionaries of the Restoration bore considerable responsibility. Yet that religion, with its attachment to folklore, was the same which would be transported to other cultures by the foreign missionaries of France; perhaps that very secularization of the religion transported accounts for its lack of full acceptability to other cultures with different folklores.

The Oblates gave more than one hundred missions between 1815 and ⁴⁰ 1830. The home missions were attacked all through the 1820s and were the object of much of the anticlerical outbursts of the revolution of 1830. As a result, they were outlawed briefly on Dec. 25, ⁴¹ 1830. Their close connection to legitimist politics, their advocacy of the alliance of Throne and Altar, the civil punishment for attacks on

missions, their hymn Vive le Roi, their tribunals of justice, the strife they caused between the various segments of society, all of these meant that at one time or another they had antagonized almost everyone. Not even the Church in France extended a universal welcome to the missionaries. Some curés resented that interference by the missionaries in their parishes; the Bishop of Avignon referred to them as⁴² "les cosaques du fanatisme".

The primary focus of the attacks of 1830 on the missions came in the form of attacks on the mission crosses, the public symbol of the missions. At least one hundred and ten incidents involving mission crosses were reported from August 1830 to October 1832, not all in⁴³ opposition to them, but many of them associated with violence, giving witness to the depth of feeling aroused by the missions.

The home missions resumed after peace was restored, but never⁴⁴ with the same spirit as during the Restoration. Crosses were reerected, but no longer in public places. Instead they were placed on church grounds, or within churches, and without the participation of local governments. These crosses were generally called calvaires, and were more often erected in rural areas than in urban. Some were put up⁴⁵ as a sign of reparation during the cholera epidemic of 1832. After 1848 the home missions became even rarer. The home missions of the Restoration would seem to be a thing apart, typical in many ways of the special circumstances of the first post-Revolutionary years, and not likely to recur in the Church. But the post-Restoration missions, though toned down considerably, and more separated from politics, kept

many of the techniques and methods of approach to rechristianization adopted in the Restoration, and deriving ultimately from the seventeenth century; these could be expected to continue in any foreign missions undertaken by groups involved in the home missions.

Besides the political factors which led to the changes in emphasis on the home missions in France, there were also internal changes within the Church in France which led to the shift in emphasis. The diocesan clergy had begun to be rebuilt by 1830, making the home missionaries more extraneous to the maintenance of the faith. Changes were taking place in the practice of the faith also, and though missions continued to be viewed as an essential part of Church life, more stress was laid on such events as the sermons of Lacordaire, with their more intellectual appeal to a more urban and sophisticated faithful. There was a marked rise in cults of the Virgin, replacing to some extent the devotion to the cross of the missions. ⁴⁶ The clergy of France were also strengthened in numbers and in spirit by the return of the old monastic orders to France. The Dominicans were reestablished there in 1838, the Benedictines in 1832, and the Franciscans in 1838. The Benedictines achieved an enormous influence over the development of the Church in France with the liturgical reforms of Dom Guéranger, which led to the abandonment of the old Gallican rites, replaced by the uniformity of the Roman rite. The Jesuits had reached a considerable number even by 1830, and continued to grow thereafter, despite the paranoia they caused in the ranks of the anticlericals. All of these orders existed without benefit of government status, nor did they ask permission to reestablish. They drew many recruits from the pious of France, and their prestige

detracted somewhat from the newer groups such as the Oblates.

The Oblates did not make any basic changes in their occupation or mission approach in the 1830s. They had extended their field of operations beyond France to Corsica, and by 1840 had six houses in France and two in Corsica. Their houses in France were restricted to the area around Provence, and they were largely unknown in the rest of France. They had undertaken the care of some pilgrimage sites as an extension of their mission work, not a change in it. They had also undertaken the direction of seminaries, including the grand seminary of Marseilles, confided to them by Fortuné de Mazenod; in this seminary both diocesan priests and Oblate priests were trained, with accusations of favouritism to Oblate vocations often cast against Mazenod. Seminaries too were regarded as logical sequences to mission activities, since they were to train the parish priests necessary to complete the work of the home missionaries, by a continued care for the religion of a parish. Mazenod resisted any calls to undertake the direction of schools, however, considering this to be outside the "job description" of the Oblates.

The growth of the Oblate Congregation was slow, and a constant source of worry to Mazenod. Yet as early as 1830 his zeal had led him to offer his small congregation to the Propaganda to serve in Algeria,⁴⁷ newly-conquered by France. The Propaganda did not accept the offer. It had been a natural offer for Mazenod to make, in his position as Vicar of Marseilles, and assistant to his uncle the bishop, as well as Superior of a congregation of priests and brothers dedicated to the

missions. Marseilles was a port city, and Algeria was a natural extension for its consideration. Mazenod had not lost his zeal for the foreign missions either, and the coincidence in time of the attacks on the home missions must have only increased his willingness to extend his congregation outside of France.

The first foreign mission which the Oblates actually did undertake was that of Montreal in 1841. The invitation to come to Montreal was extended by Bishop Bourget as the result of a chance meeting with Mazenod while Bourget was in Marseilles on his way to Rome. Bourget was in France seeking various kinds of help for his diocese, and had already arranged for the Jesuits to go there. As a result of the success of Bishop Forbin-Janson's preaching and mission tour of Quebec and the United States Bourget hoped to persuade the Pères de la Misericorde, the successors of the Missionnaires de France, to undertake home missions in his diocese. The Pères did agree to go to Montreal, but not for two more years. The contact with Mazenod, with his Congregation devoted to the home missions, seemed providential both to Bourget and to Mazenod. Bourget thought the Oblates would provide the home missions he felt so necessary in his diocese after the troubles of 1837, and with the task of extending the Church into new areas there, while Mazenod considered Montreal as the opening to the foreign missions he had long desired for his group. Mazenod told Bourget he would consult his missionaries to see whether they would be willing to accept the mission offered by Bourget. All were eager to go, and Mazenod wrote Bourget of this acceptance. In December of that same year, four Oblate priests and two brothers arrived in Montreal to begin their missions, the first

foreign order of priests to establish themselves there since the British took over in 1763.

At this time, the whole Oblate Congregation numbered only
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forty-one priests and four lay-brothers. The number sent to Montreal was a significant drain on Mazenod's slim resources. This was especially so because Bourget's diocese of Montreal was not included within the areas supported by the Propagation of the Faith, since he had refused to mix his receipts with those of France. The Propagation of the Faith did allow Mazenod some money for this first convoy to Montreal, but told him this was because of consideration for Mazenod personally,
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and could not be considered a precedent.

Yet when Mazenod died twenty years later, the Oblates had six bishops, two hundred and sixty-seven priests, fifty-three scholastics, and eighty-nine brothers, a total of four hundred and fifteen members. From the eight houses of 1841 they had increased to fifty-four. The membership was no longer entirely French, but included twenty priests, nineteen brothers, and thirteen scholastics of English or Irish nationality, and nine priests, three brothers, and two scholastics of Canadian
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nationality, as well as members from other European sources. Such an extension indicates the force of the foreign mission ideal in moving vocations to the congregation, and also shows the strength of the publicity given to the Oblates because of their foreign missions, in comparison to that of the home missions.

The acceptance of Bourget's invitation in 1841 was the beginning of the extension of the Oblates over the whole of British North America,

and into the United States, fulfilling Mazenod's initial hopes that "Montreal is perhaps only the gateway leading the family to the conquest of souls in several countries"⁵¹. Pioneers of the faith in many of those areas, they were responsible for the early missions which developed into the modern dioceses of the Roman Catholic Church in many parts of Canada, and the whole of the West.

The first step beyond Montreal was to Bytown in 1844, and an Oblate, Guigues, became the first bishop there in 1847. It was some years before the Archbishop of Quebec invited the Oblates into his diocese, but in 1844 he did invite them to undertake missions in the Saguenay district, and in 1853 invited them to establish themselves in Quebec City. Mazenod attributed the first invitation, to the Saguenay, to the good offices of Bourget and Provencher on the hesitant Signay of Quebec.⁵² Just after being invited into the Saguenay Mazenod received Provencher's pressing invitation to undertake the Indian missions of his vast diocese. Mazenod felt bound to accept this mission because of the important new field it opened up, and because of the obligation he felt to Provencher for recommending the OMI to the Arch-⁵³bishop of Quebec. Guigues, the local superior of the OMI in Canada, had written a glowing report of the possibilities of Provencher's missions. Mazenod recognized that Provencher's invitation gave the OMI the chance to become specialists in the Indian missions, whereas in Montreal and Quebec much of their work was similar to their home missionary work in France.

Mazenod did not accept these missions without some qualms about

exhausting his resources. In 1847 he wrote to Bourget "if this keeps up much longer, very dear Monseigneur, there will soon be nothing left in France of our poor little Congregation".⁵⁴ Despite his reservations Mazenod continued to accept foreign missions for his Congregation. He had had to refuse Bishop Norbert Blanchet's invitation to take over the Oregon missions in 1845, but in 1847 he felt able to accept the call of Bishop A.M.A. Blanchet of Walla Walla, rejoicing that now his Oblates extended from sea to sea in America.⁵⁵ In 1849 the Oblates spread from Canada to a mission in Texas, and undertook the direction of seminaries in Plattsburg and Buffalo.

In the same years as this expansion in America the Oblates established themselves in England in 1842,⁵⁶ and visited Ireland, but were unable to establish themselves in Ireland until 1855 because of the opposition of the Bishop of Cork. Although not established in Ireland the Oblates became very popular with many of the Irish, including Daniel O'Connell, who became an affiliated member.⁵⁷ Mazenod hoped to gain the English-speaking priests he needed in England and Ireland, though he was somewhat disturbed by the "English manners"⁵⁸ adopted by his French priests in their time in England.

In 1847 Mazenod accepted the request of the Bishop of Jaffna to aid him in the island of Ceylon, and the Oblates soon had the charge of two missionary Vicariates there. From 1848 to 1850 the Oblates were in Algeria, but never came to an agreement with the bishop there about their status. The bishop wanted the Oblates to live and function as parish priests subject to his complete control, while Mazenod insisted

they should be missionaries and live the Oblate rule of community life. Because of this conflict, and also a scandal involving one of his missionaries, Mazenod withdrew his men from Algeria in 1850. Just at this time the Propaganda offered Mazenod the mission of Natal in South Africa, which Mazenod accepted. Within the space of ten years the tiny congregation from Provence had extended beyond the frontiers of France to several continents. Mazenod had a great deal of faith in Providence, but even he had to turn down some requests for help as too much strain on that faith.

Mazenod was always conscious of the precarious financial position of the Oblates in their foreign missions, and of the need for more members to staff those missions. Yet more members caused more expenses, and the spread of mission work always threatened to outstrip the supply of missionaries.

Notre Congrégation n'est pas celle des Jésuites qui surabonde et qui ne sait pour ainsi dire que faire de son monde. Nous sommes une très petite famille qui s'est épuisée pour planter ses tentes en Amérique.⁶⁰

Mazenod always wanted to establish his missionaries in a city where they could hope to draw local vocations. This was the reason he was so anxious to get into Quebec City, to be there before other religious orders, especially the Jesuits, might siphon off possible vocations. Local vocations were necessary to maintain and grow in the mission fields; France alone could not continue to supply all the necessary labour.

Even the expense of the trip to the foreign missions was a source of worry to Mazenod. He wrote to the Propagation of the Faith

in 1845 that the sum allotted by them for the trip to Canada, twelve hundred francs per missionary, was not enough to cover the expenses, and the Oblates had had to add over one hundred francs. He also recommended that such letters as Père Aubert's, describing his trip to St. Boniface with Taché, should be published by the Propagation of the Faith; the unknown country described in it would draw the interest of the curious, and would teach a new geography, while at the same time it would inform the members of the Association for the Propagation of the Faith of the beginning of a new mission which gave great promise for the future. ⁶¹ Mazenod was well aware of the role of publicity in gaining support for any foreign missions, and often wrote to the Propagation urging them to publish the reports from his missionaries, and to be sure to publish the lists of departures of Oblates for the foreign missions, since this would attract interest and possible vocations.

One of the best ways to draw support for the Oblate missions, both in the form of vocations and finances, was the preaching tours of France by the missionaries themselves. This practice was begun for the Oblates by Père Léonard Baveux in 1846. Baveux was a French Sulpician who had spent many years in Montreal, and had entered the Oblates there in 1842. With Mazenod's consent he toured France and Belgium in 1846 seeking candidates for the missions. The results of this were so striking that the Oblates had to open another seminary to provide training for the new recruits garnered by Baveux. In later years this custom of preaching tours was followed by all the missionary bishops, such as Taché and Grandin of St. Boniface. The increase in numbers in their vicariates following these tours was quite noticeable, many being

brought back in the company of the bishop on his return to the West. These preaching tours were so successful that they roused some opposition from French bishops who saw them as a threat to their supply of diocesan priests, since local work might lose out to the glamour of the foreign missions. The Propagation of the Faith also insisted that such tours should not be restricted to the preaching of the cause of the Oblate missions alone, but should be of general interest concerning the whole mission work of the Oeuvre de la Propagation de la Foi.

Mazenod was always conscious of the need to cooperate with the Propagation de la Foi, from which so much of the financial support of his missions came. He was also always very conscious of the need to get along with the various bishops with whom his missionaries came into contact. He assured the bishop of Quebec that "les Missionnaires Oblats de Marie sont essentiellement les hommes des Evêques".⁶² The troubles he had with the bishop in Algeria and with Blanchet in Oregon, both of whom wanted to treat his men as diocesan clergy completely at their disposal; led Mazenod to the belief that the best system in the mission fields would be one where the bishop was also an Oblate and could combine the functions of diocesan bishop and religious superior. This structure in the mission field was also that considered best by the Propaganda, with its experience of the quarrels between religious and bishops in the mission fields in earlier years.

Guigues, Bishop of Bytown, was the first of these missionary Oblate bishops, selected for the post in 1847. Mazenod reminded Guigues⁶³ "you will be the first Oblate bishop in a free country". Guigues

could therefore issue official documents identifying himself as an Oblate as well as bishop, a practice forbidden in France to Mazenod and other bishops of the Oblates there. Taché was the first of many Oblate bishops in the West, and his selection set the pattern of the next fifty years of growth of the Roman Catholic Church in the West, both in the Indian missions and in the diocesan structure of the Church.

In all of these missions established by the Oblates all over the world, they were expected to conform to the Oblate rule and customs, and even to the methods for missions developed in France, and sanctioned by long usage and success there. Mazenod was pleased in 1858 to report that "in England and even in Ceylon they use the method we follow in France and gather the same fruits"⁶⁴. But the French customs did not always travel well. Père Telmon, preaching in Vermont, burned Protestant bibles publicly, causing a great deal of furore in the American press, and even upsetting Bourget. Mazenod apologized to Bourget, saying he was sure Telmon had not known that Bourget disapproved of this practice. Mazenod himself was surprised to find that it was unacceptable, since he had read good reports of such ceremonies carried out in America in the Annales of the Propagation of the Faith⁶⁵ - an indication perhaps that missionary reports should have been taken with a grain of salt.

France as yet had no colonial empire, and all the foreign missions undertaken by the Oblates were in English-speaking areas of government, either British or in the United States. The Oblates from

France had the added task of acquiring a knowledge of the English language as well as that of the various indigenous peoples with whom they came into contact. The problem of ensuring a knowledge of English to his men was a continual preoccupation of Mazenod, as it was also for Provencher and Taché. Mazenod soon included English in the course of studies in his seminaries. He wrote to Guigues that there were thirty Oblates at the seminary, all learning English, and speaking only English in their recreation periods. He was very annoyed with the Oblates in Montreal and Quebec, who had not taken advantage of their position there to learn English.

What does Father Telmon mean by protesting on the grounds that he does not know English? This is a new mentality consonant with the republican spirit of our time. Formerly missionaries were sent all over the world; not one knew the language of the people he was going to evangelize. They set to with courage and they succeeded.⁶⁶

Mazenod also took advantage of the establishment of the Oblates in England to ensure some study of English by his men. He wrote to the Propagation of the Faith in 1850 about these plans:

L'expérience nous a démontré que nous ne pouvions atteindre ce but en France. Nous avons adopté le parti de faire passer nos sujets destinés aux missions étrangères au moins un an en Angleterre où ils pourront se former tout à la fois à la langue et aux usages du pays. Avons dans ce but fondé près de Birmingham Missionary College of Mary-Vale.⁶⁷

In practice, however, the demand for priests in the missions meant that many of the Oblates were forced to forego this year of training, and go ahead to the missions without a knowledge of English. Some acquired this knowledge in the field. Grandin learned some English with the help of the clerk at Good Hope⁶⁸ although he never felt at ease with the language. Taché too learned English after a few years in the West.⁶⁹ Faraud, Vicar Apostolic of the Athabasca-Mackenzie, also

learned enough English to enable him to preach at Liverpool and in
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Ireland.

The problem of nationalities in sending French priests into English-speaking areas did not occur to the Oblates in the beginning. They came to Montreal of course at the invitation of Bourget, and were the vanguard of many French orders to arrive there at Bourget's invitation. In this particular area their French language was an asset, despite some difficulties caused by their different accent and religious customs.

When the OMI spread beyond Montreal problems of nationalities did arise. These did not arise from the opposition of the English state to the French Catholic priests, but from opposition within the members of the Church itself. Some of the Quebec priests resented the French manners and customs and accents of the Oblates, and this resentment coalesced around the selection of Guigues as the first Bishop of
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Bytown, expressing itself in terms of nationalism. Guigues was also the object of the resentment of the Irish Catholics, who made no distinction between French from France or from Quebec. In the North West the problem of nationalities was not so acute. There the Oblates dealt primarily with the Indian missions, and only secondarily with the French-speaking people of St. Boniface; their French accents and customs were not a handicap there. In St. Boniface at the time the numbers of English-speaking, or of Irish Catholics, were too small to raise any problems. Only Bishop Grandin appears to have thought of changing his

citizenship, primarily at the suggestion of a friend in the Hudson's Bay
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Company, and not because of pressure from within the Church.

No special training was given in the seminary to those who hoped to go to the foreign missions. The same program of studies was followed by those who planned to remain in France with the home missions as for those who dreamed of the foreign missions. In fact no one was selected for either field until his course was finished and he was to be ordained. Indeed the foreign missions were not recognized as a special purpose for the Congregation, apart from their primary purpose
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of evangelizing the poor, until 1909. Students found out their assignments only on ordination, and were expected to receive the special training needed for their specific mission in the field.

Some exceptions to this were made. Some were chosen near the end of their course of studies and sent ahead to be ordained in the field. Faraud, Vicar Apostolic of the Athabasca-Mackenzie, was an early example of this policy. Mazenod found, however, that these men were sometimes too hastily ordained and sent into the field, before they had been properly formed as priests and Oblates. "Under the pretext that it is not necessary for them to know many things to evangelize
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the Savages, they are sometimes sent too soon into their territories."

Others were sent to complete their seminary training abroad, as Grouard, a cousin of Grandin's, was sent to finish his seminary training in Quebec. This procedure was somewhat cheaper for the Oblates, since the cost of the seminary training was provided by the diocese abroad, and was considered as giving a more specific final training to the OMI

meant for that area of foreign missions.

Not all who desired to go to the foreign missions were selected to go. Mazenod refused to send any whom he thought would be unable to persevere or accept direction in the foreign missions, which often required much isolation for the missionary. Those who were selected to go to the foreign missions were all volunteers. Sometimes one volunteer would be happy to go to a warm climate such as Ceylon, but feared the extreme cold of the north, and Mazenod accepted this as a valid reason for suiting those preferences.

The continued demands on him for more and more missionaries tried Mazenod's zeal, and his patience, to the limit. He realized the need for a solid foundation for any priest, but especially for one who would spend long years in arduous activity, with constant travelling, and no opportunity to read and reflect or fill any gaps left in his training. As a preacher himself, Mazenod was also very aware of the need for his missionaries to communicate effectively. They had not only to know the truth, but to be able to present it properly to be useful missionaries, "car un missionnaire ne doit pas se persuader avoir le privilège de prêcher en dépit du bon sens, sans style, sans méthode et sans doctrine".⁷⁵

Like the study of English, these requirements too were sometimes passed over in the greater need to send someone to staff the mission fields, though Mazenod kept hoping that these stop-gap measures could later be remedied. In 1851 he wrote to Santoni in Canada that all recognized that they had sometimes been too quick to use their men,

before they were sufficiently formed, and that Santoni should take steps to remedy the situation in Canada as they had in France. There they had taken men already active in the ministry and doing good work, and set them to their studies again, in a sort of tertianship like the Jesuits. Mazenod would agree even to removing a missionary from the field for a whole year if necessary to achieve this end. ⁷⁶

The source of vocations to the Oblates was the class of small shopkeepers and peasants, few of whom brought any money with them to the seminary. The Congregation even had to help out their families at times, or had an Oblate leave the Congregation because he had to support his family. ⁷⁷ These men were already used to a life without luxury, but Mazenod insisted that the life in the seminary should accustom them further to the sort of deprivation they could expect in the foreign missions.

Je tiens à une éducation mâle. Il faut qu'ils se disent tous qu'ils peuvent être appelés à des travaux pénibles. Point de délicatesse; l'esprit de mortification ne s'en accommode pas; qu'ils pensent à ce qu'endurent avec joie nos missionnaires de l'Orégon et de la Rivière Rouge. Qu'on s'accoutume de bonne heure à une vie de privation. ⁷⁸

For this purpose, those who hoped to go to Red River were to spend their recreation on the north side of the courtyard to become better used to the cold. ⁷⁹

A further method of drawing vocations to the priesthood was to establish juniorates to give young boys their last few years of education before they could enter the seminary. Mazenod was reluctant to begin this system, since it involved a great deal of extra expense, a

long period of training, and considerable uncertainty as to the eventual numbers to be gained for the priesthood. He was also afraid that it would draw the Congregation away from mission work to teaching, since they would have to provide the teaching staff. When Mazenod overcame his reluctance and established the first juniorate at Lumières in 1840, before the commitment to the foreign missions, almost all the students were admitted free of charge, selected from those with a firm desire for the priesthood. Henri Faraud, the future Vicar Apostolic of the Athabasca-Mackenzie, was the first to enter this school.⁸⁰ Despite the success of the juniorate, Mazenod closed it in 1848 after Baveux's preaching tour had filled the major seminaries, making the juniorates seem no longer necessary. It was reopened in 1859, however,⁸¹ and others were also established.

Despite Mazenod's best efforts to secure a solid foundation for his missionaries, complaints continued to come to him about the quality of the men sent to the foreign missions. Taché apparently complained and Mazenod reminded him that "la perfection n'est pas facile à rencontrer".⁸² Considering the great difficulty in finding men willing to undertake those missions, he felt happy when one volunteered; "je les prends alors tels qu'ils sont lorsque je les crois vertueux et dévoués".⁸³ Mazenod continued to say that if anything were lacking to these volunteers, they would acquire it with a little practice, with good will aided by the help of God.

Besides providing missionaries for such varied foreign missions, the Oblates by 1850 found it necessary to reform their structure to

deal with the complexity of their growing organization. As a result of the votes of the General Chapter of 1851 the Congregation was subdivided into four provinces (France-midi, France-nord, England, and Canada), and four mission vicariates (Ceylon, Red River, Natal, and Oregon). These were all still parts of the one Congregation, but were each given a large degree of self-government. The division was not made on the basis of foreign versus domestic missions, for no such conceptual or juridical split of the Oblate work was as yet envisaged. Mazenod was aware of some distinction between home and foreign missions, but it was one of degree rather than of kind.

Les Missions Etrangères comparées à nos Missions d'Europe ont un caractère propre d'un ordre supérieur puisque c'est un véritable apostolat pour annoncer la Bonne Nouvelle aux nations qui n'avaient pas encore été appelées à la connaissance du Vrai Dieu et de son Fils, Notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ... C'est la Mission des Apôtres: Euntes, docete omnes gentes! ⁸⁴

In 1853 Mazenod issued his Instructions on the Foreign Missions,⁸⁵ a first attempt to treat the foreign missions as a special field for consideration. These instructions do not deal with the theory of foreign missions, but show the practical results of twelve years of experience by the Oblates in the foreign missions, and the consequences both in organization and development of personnel and methods. Insofar as Mazenod was concerned with the theory behind the foreign missions, he considered them a means to gain salvation for souls, greater glory for God, a proof of the divinity of the Church, and a means of increasing the glory of the Oblate Congregation. To staff the missions, the Oblates should choose priests who were zealous, full of

charity, cheerful, firm and healthy. In the foreign missions these Oblates must be sure to keep to the Rule of the Congregation, and to keep in close touch with their superiors by letter.

With their converts Mazenod outlined the basic approach to evangelization. He reminded the Oblates that they should not be too hasty to baptize and give Communion, but should ensure first a knowledge and commitment to the faith. Of course, illness or long and dangerous journeys to be undertaken obviated this necessity of waiting. The Oblates should as soon as possible write a catechism of simple questions and answers to teach the basic religious truths in the native languages. This they should give their neophytes to learn by heart, and explain it to them in the way best suited to them. They should teach the neophytes to sing the same truths set to music, as well as presenting those truths in pictures or images which would stay in the memory more easily. They should also help their people to live a Christian life, with Christian habits of marriage and temperance.

Mazenod was not opposed to some sort of civilizing methods along with the pure preaching of the Gospel. This he declared was not incongruous with the Oblate vocation, but closely connected to the welfare of the mission, helping to ensure better results. The missionaries should therefore try to get nomads to settle down if possible, to cultivate fields, "and practise the elementary crafts of civilized life".⁸⁶ Each mission should have a school if possible. The missionaries should try to keep peace among the tribes, see that they worked hard, and should visit their neophytes, especially when sick, to

bring both spiritual and medical consolation when possible. But Mazenod warned very strongly against any involvement on the part of the missionaries in the government of tribes.

For those tribes who could not be settled, Mazenod outlined a course of action to follow for the missionaries who saw them only intermittently. This method was basically that of the home missions of France. The missionaries were to follow the same practice of sermons, confessions, visits as they did in France. At the end of the mission they were to perform the closing exercises with as much solemnity as possible. There was as yet no thought that other cultures might require different techniques, nor that religion should be adapted at all. The content of the religion was assumed to be the same in the Athabasca as in the south of France, and since some techniques had been found through experience to work there, Mazenod naturally thought them best-suited to wherever the Oblates worked.

Mazenod's Instructions reflect in capsule form the nineteenth century Roman Catholic approach to missions. The basic theory of missions, that all are called to know God through the Church, is fundamental. The necessary structure in which to achieve this aim is outlined - that is, the incorporation of new Christians into the Church through the labours of priests. Then Mazenod dealt with the practical ways in which the missionaries could achieve this end. Eurocentrism was clearly shown in this, or Oblate-centrism. The Oblates were urged to use the same methods as in France, and also to improve the civil life of their converts, by education but not by meddling in politics.

The Oblates of Mary Immaculate in their years of experience in France and abroad had shown a willingness to adapt their structures to new conditions, and to undertake new works which they felt were simply extensions of their original aim of evangelizing the poor. Those who reached the Athapaskans came with a background of experience and thought, however, which dictated their approach to foreign missions, and it was questionable whether this could be adapted in any way. The unity and universality of the Catholic religion was their motivating force and goal. All possibility of adaptation by the Roman Catholic Church to other cultural observances had been ruled out by papal pronouncements on the Rites Controversy. In the ultramontane cast of thought of the nineteenth century no such possibility could be expected to be revived, certainly not by the Oblates. To introduce a measure of civilization was considered by the Oblates, in common with other nineteenth century missionaries, as a measure which could only be beneficial to the Indians and to their missions. They came then with ideas which would induce absolute uniformity in religion, and relative uniformity in culture.

Although the Oblates differed among themselves in personalities and effectiveness as missionaries, they presented a united front in comparison to the peoples they hoped to evangelize. They confronted the Athapaskans, nomadic and disparate, with the full weight of a centralized European religion, institution and civilization, as expressed in a characteristic way in the south of France. Such a force would seem to be irresistible to the Athapaskans, unless they had some of the qualities of an immoveable object, or could simply avoid the force.

CHAPTER III

THE OBLATE EXTENSION TO THE NORTH WEST AND THE CHOICE OF THE ATHAPASKAN MISSIONS

The invitation from Bishop Provencher to Bishop de Mazenod to send his Oblates to the North West to undertake the missions there to the Indians seemed providential to Mazenod. It gave the Oblates the chance to become specialists in the Indian missions, rather than diffusing their energies on parish missions and lumbercamp missions as they had in the Montreal diocese. Such specialization was an attractive outlet for the zeal of the Oblates, drawn, as was much of the French Catholic world, to the opportunities of evangelizing les sauvages, and of gaining these souls for Christ through the Church, while at the same time exercising the true patriotic and messianic purpose of France in the world. This opportunity would not only stimulate the zeal of the Oblates, but it would also serve to draw financial support and further vocations to the as yet small congregation. It also offered the chance for the Oblates to extend themselves over the whole of British North America, and Mazenod was not blind to the future possibilities offered the OMI by being the first congregation of Roman Catholic missionaries in the field.

Mazenod told Guigues, in charge of the OMI in Canada, to send two missionaries to Provencher, and not to worry about his shortage of personnel, that the Oblates had begun all their establishments with

such small beginnings.¹ Guigues had at first encouraged Mazenod to accept the missions of the North West, but hesitated when it actually materialized. This hesitation angered Mazenod, who had already publicized the undertaking in France, and had requested funds for it from the Propagation de la Foi. He also regarded Guigues' wavering as a slight to his authority as Superior, and wrote Guigues that the matter had been decided, Guigues had no authority to change that decision, and "il n'y a plus à discuter".² Mazenod took it upon himself to name Père Aubert to go to the North West from Montreal, and told Guigues to select a Canadian Oblate to accompany Aubert. Since there were very few of these as yet, Frère Taché was plucked from the seminary to take the long canoe trip from Montreal to St. Boniface with Aubert, to be ordained a priest there. After his ordination, Taché would be received into the Oblate Congregation by making his vows as an Oblate in the presence of Aubert.

Although Mazenod was by 1848 to share Guigues' qualms about these new missions, and to question their providentiality for the Oblates, and even to consider withdrawing from them as an apparently fruitless mission field, his first view became justified, as the Oblates did indeed become the Roman Catholic evangelizers of the Northwest of British North America.

From the point of view of Provencher the arrival of the Oblates in his vicariate was equally providential. Provencher had been consecrated Bishop of Juliopolis in 1822, four years after his first arrival in the North West. As such he was Vicar of part of the diocese of

Quebec, and Quebec bore the responsibility of providing priests and finances for Red River and its missions. But on April 16, 1844, Red River and Columbia were both detached from the Quebec diocese by Rome, and became separate Apostolic Vicariates. Provencher was named Vicar Apostolic of Hudson's Bay and James Bay; in 1847 his title was changed to that of Bishop of the North West, a title he always detested,³ and which he and Taché managed to persuade Rome to change to Bishop of St. Boniface in 1852. Although now called Bishop of a city, the title usually accorded diocesan bishops, Provencher was still subject to the Propaganda for direction, and his was still a missionary area of the Church.⁴

Despite the canonical detachment of the St. Boniface area from the diocese of Quebec, the clergy and people of Quebec continued to feel a responsibility to the North West. The journal of the Propagation of the Faith in Quebec, the Rapport des Missions du Québec, in 1845 assured its readers that the Canadian Catholics would continue to be interested in the North West because many of their compatriots were there, the church there had been established by the clergy of Quebec, and the alms to finance it came from Quebec. Taché was especially conscious of the obligation owed by Canadians to continue to support the Church in St. Boniface and its missions. He wrote to his mother that the Canadian removed from his parish and the advice of his parish priest became another man, and that his conduct in a savage country was a regrettable page in Canadian history. Taché considered it only right that he should devote his energies to the attempt to counter that demoralizing influence of his compatriots, and to try to regenerate their descendants.

In doing this he felt there could be no justification to any accusations that he was "a traitor to my country" or "forgetful of my duty to my gracious sovereign" by entering the Oblate Congregation which had sent him there; rather he was fulfilling a patriotic duty, since to make the subjects of the Queen better and more enlightened was to render them more faithful subjects. Patriotism, civilization, and religion were integrally-connected for Taché, as they were for the rest of the Oblates, although the focus of his patriotism was Canada.

Yet such moral responsibility by Quebec for the support of the missions of the North West was not a very solid basis for Provencher, and he felt his position more precarious than ever. His attempts at finding indigenous vocations in the West had never succeeded, and his financial position was very weak. In 1829 he had learned of the existence of the Propagation de la Foi from M. Thavenet in Paris. The Propagation continued to send money to Provencher after his initial appeal for aid to those "at the extremity of the world". When the Quebec branch of the Association was formed in 1836, partly through the influence and encouragement of Provencher, this support came through Quebec. Although this financial support was invaluable to Provencher, his allocation varied from year to year, and depended on the decision of Council made each year, which in turn depended on the total resources of the Propagation and the total needs of its missions. Provencher's position was threatened more in 1840 when Bishop Signay of Quebec wrote him that the Propagation de la Foi in Quebec would be unwilling to send him funds unless it could show its members that Provencher's principal aim was to undertake new missions different from those

established at the time or soon after his arrival in Red River.

Provencher was faced then with demands to expand his works, at a time when he could barely cope with the responsibilities he already had. In a later letter to M. Cazeau in Quebec Provencher showed some of the resentment he felt at the pressure from Quebec, asking if Quebec had asked for information on his missions to draw associates to the Propagation there in order to use their donations to colonize the townships of Quebec.

More worrisome even than finances for Provencher was the question of providing priests. In the previous twenty-five years, even under the responsibility of Quebec, Provencher had never had more than four priests at any one time. Provencher constantly complained of their lack of dedication, and claimed that they only got to be of some use to him when they asked to be recalled to Quebec. With such a turnover, Provencher had had little chance to extend the Church into the field of Indian missions. The few priests he had were occupied with the Métis of St. Boniface and St. François Xavier, and did not usually remain long enough to learn the native languages necessary for evangelization of the Indians. The early supposition that the Church should radiate out from St. Boniface was impossible of realization in the first twenty-five years in the West, and Provencher was very conscious of this lack of accomplishment.

J'ai fait peu moi-même pour les sauvages, mais j'ai tâché de leur procurer des missionnaires. J'ai été peu sécondé, parceque tous les prêtres venus ici n'avaient pas intention d'y rester.¹⁰

Provencher informed the Propagation de la Foi that he could use many more missions, but to do so would require him to feed and clothe the

missionaries, for the Indians thought they were doing a favour by listening to the priests, and had no idea of supporting them.¹¹ Any missions in Provencher's vicariate were bound to be dependent both for finances and for personnel for the foreseeable future.

Provencher's attempts at providing an education for the priesthood for those local boys who seemed most apt had never succeeded. A seminary preparation was required, and those few who were sent to Quebec did not stay the course. It is unclear whether they were inadequately prepared on the intellectual level. It is more likely that the confines of seminary life, far away from home and relatives, added to the requirement of celibacy, were enough to convince those sent down to Canada that the priesthood was not for them.

Provencher felt himself at a loss, with the lack of priests from Quebec, and the impending separation from Quebec making this source even more unreliable, added to the impossibility of foreseeing a local supply of priests, and the conviction he had that only Canadian priests¹² would be acceptable to the Hudson's Bay Company.

In his search for some solution to these pressing problems, Provencher travelled to Quebec at the end of the summer of 1843 to look for priests to help him. He also wrote numerous letters to various religious communities of women, seeking all the help he could get to provide education and clergy for his community. All his initiatives seemed useless, as he continued to get negative replies. In Quebec he did receive the promise of assistance from M. Laflèche and M. Bourassa, two secular priests who agreed to return with him to St.

Boniface the following year, and the Grey Nuns also agreed to send some nuns then.

Provencher continued on from Quebec to France to seek both financial aid and priests. He received the promise of financial support from the Propagation de la Foi, but was unsuccessful in his quest for a religious order to undertake his missions.¹³ In the spring of 1844 he returned to St. Boniface with Laflèche and Bourassa and four Grey Nuns, invaluable allies, but inadequate for his projected plans and responsibilities. Shortly after his return he learned of the death by drowning of one of his most useful missionaries, M. Darveau,¹⁴ and this added to Provencher's urgent need for help.

Provencher was by this time convinced that the only hope of any continuity of evangelization efforts in his vicariate was to entrust them to a religious order. In this way Provencher would be relieved of a large share of the responsibility of financing and staffing such missions, tasks his vicariate by itself was unable to accomplish. Although such missionaries would be ultimately responsible to him, the religious order would act as subcontractor, and relieve the bishop of a great deal of care. The Jesuits in France had felt unable to accept Provencher's missions because of other commitments. It was natural for Provencher to think first of the Jesuits; the traditions of New France were strong in his memory, and the Jesuits were increasing greatly in numbers in France and elsewhere in Europe, as well as having accepted Bishop Bourget's invitation to return to Canada. The Oblates were a newer and relatively unknown quantity, not as yet linked in the

popular mind to the Indian missions, but rather to the parish missions and the missions to the lumbercamps along the Ottawa River. But Provencher had met Mazenod in Paris in 1836 when both were staying at the Séminaire des Missions Etrangères¹⁵, and had heard of their work in Montreal.¹⁶ Yet Provencher had not visited Mazenod when he was in France for the winter of 1843-1844 seeking priests for his missions. It is unclear exactly what process led him to ask in 1844 for assistance from the Oblates. It was probably a combination of his extreme need, the lack of any alternative, and his increased awareness of the activities of the Oblates in Montreal. Although untried in the Indian missions, the Oblates were a congregation of priests, which fulfilled Provencher's first requirement, and could be trusted to learn what was necessary for the missions. No other order had had experience in the missions of the North West, and the Oblate lack of experience could not be regarded as a real drawback in the light of nineteenth century views of the requirements for foreign missions. Provencher therefore asked Bishop Bourget to intercede for him with Mazenod in his request for help from the Oblates, and this intercession led to acceptance of the task by Mazenod.

Although Provencher asked for the assistance of the OMI, he strongly emphasized the need to send Canadian Oblates. He stressed that Canadians were better-adapted to the climate and labour involved, and more acceptable to the people.¹⁷ He worried that the Oblates were becoming more and more mal vus in Quebec, and that this would deny them the Canadian vocations he required. This feeling of unease with the

presence of French priests was not restricted to Provencher nor to
the people of Red River, but was prevalent in Canada at the time. ¹⁸

Mazenod too wanted to ensure Canadian vocations to his congregation, and worried constantly about the shortage of vocations there. The college of Bytown was established, contrary to the usual practice of the Oblates, to provide a higher education, and thereby to attract vocations to the Oblates. Mazenod considered that every province of the Oblates ought to be self-sufficient for priests as soon as possible, to relieve the demands on France, but he lamented in 1854 that not one student from Bytown had yet joined the OMI. ¹⁹ Even worse than that in Mazenod's eyes was the fact that some Oblates, after arriving in Canada from France, decided thereafter to leave the Congregation. The problem of providing priests for the Indian missions of Provencher's vicariate had been transferred to the Oblates, but remained a problem even for them, and no surplus was ever achieved.

A further consideration for Provencher in importing French priests was his dependence on the support of the Hudson's Bay Company in his missions. Opposition from the Company would have made his task impossible, in a region where the Company was not only the legal authority, but also the sole means of transport, communication, and supplies. Provencher brought up this problem in a letter to Governor Simpson before his recruiting trip to Quebec and France in 1843. He informed Simpson that his vicariate would probably soon be detached from Quebec, and that he would then have to provide for the spiritual needs of his vast territory himself. Such a responsibility would of necessity

require outside help, since none could be expected from St. Boniface, and Provencher assured Simpson that he had no hope of receiving the help he needed from Quebec, and that therefore Europe appeared to him to be the only possible source. Provencher told Simpson that he assumed there would be no objection to this, as there had been no objection to similar cases in other British territories.²⁰

In this assumption Provencher was more hopeful than realistic. Simpson replied two days later: "I do not feel authorised to assume any responsibility in the matter of introducing foreign priests."²¹ Simpson claimed that the situation in the Hudson's Bay Company territories was not the same as in the other British territories alluded to by Provencher, and that the acceptance of a foreign priesthood did not therefore automatically apply.

With an imaginary boundary to the South, with the ignorant simplicity of a primitive people, and with the difficulties of superintendence which, notwithstanding yr. lordship's loyalty & firmness & discretion, would render your authority almost as nominal as our own²²

- because of all these factors Simpson found it impossible to approve of Provencher's plan at all.

Simpson's refusal to countenance the importation of foreign priests was not just in reaction to Provencher's proposal and the conditions of Red River. It also reflected his assessment of events in the Columbia region, and his fears of United States' expansionism. The two Canadian priests, M. Blanchet and M. Demers, had been sent there in 1838 with the cooperation of the Hudson's Bay Company, to look after

the servants of the Company there. But at the same time as Provencher was requesting approval of his plan to import French priests into Red River Simpson heard from John McLoughlin of Columbia of the arrival there of the Jesuit Father De Smet to begin missions. Simpson told McLoughlin to withhold from De Smet any other facilities than that of purchasing supplies from the Company shops; he said that he had just refused to sanction the introduction of a foreign priesthood into Rupert's Land, without even the complication caused by De Smet's²³ connection with the United States and the Jesuit order "which has²⁴ long been an object of just suspicion even among the Catholic Powers." Despite Simpson's refusal to the request of Provencher, and his attempts to limit the activities of De Smet in the Columbia, the foreign priests continued to come into both the Columbia and the Red River regions, highlighting just how nominal Simpson's authority could be in the face of a determined opposition which claimed a higher authority as justification.

Although Provencher went ahead and invited the Oblates to undertake his Indian missions despite Simpson's strong statement against importing foreign priests, he was never careless of the reaction of the Hudson's Bay Company. In this instance he felt he had no alternative source to evangelize the Indians, having exhausted all other possibilities, and that his duties in this respect preempted his duty to respect the wishes of the Company. But his insistence on the need for Canadian priests derived in part from his obligations to the Company, as well as from the feared reaction of his French-speaking populace to the priests

from France. The actual arrival of the French Oblates did not result in any official protest from the Company or Sir George. Individual protests came later, especially in the Mackenzie region as the Oblates extended their missions and their presence there, but these were more a matter of personality than of policy.

The desire of the Oblates to undertake the Indian missions, and the feared reaction of the populace of St. Boniface to the French priests, as well as the hope to avoid antagonizing the Hudson's Bay Company, led Provencher to continue using the priests he could get from Quebec in the parishes of St. Boniface, while assigning most of the Oblates to the various Indian missions developed. There their French accents would presumably not be a problem in speaking the native
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tongues, and their French religious customs would not conflict with the Indian habits of life as they might with French-Canadian ways. This early division of duties seemed to envisage a clear separation of diocesan and mission church, though united under one bishop, but in actuality no such clear distinction was possible. The Oblates required a supervisor for their missions at St. Boniface, to make sure they obtained the necessary supplies, and this priest was always of use to the bishop in local needs also. A few secular priests were assigned to the Indian missions as they arrived from Quebec; Lacombe and Gascon were the only two of these in the early years, and they soon applied to join the Oblate Congregation. With the appointment of the Oblate Taché as auxiliary bishop to Provencher, and more especially after Taché succeeded to the see of St. Boniface, the distinction between diocesan and

mission Church became further blurred. But in the northern missions the Church retained its missionary character throughout most of the nineteenth century, and there the Oblates were the specialists, or monopolizers, of the Roman Catholic Church missions to the Indians.

Although Provencher was delighted to receive the Oblate support, he was not uncritical of the actual men sent. He claimed that a priest who could not sing would not be esteemed by the Indians. Amenable characters were absolutely necessary in the mission fields, where harsh or rude characters only made enemies, doing no one any good. Above all,²⁶ Provencher thought the major requirement for the missions was zeal. None of the Oblates seem to have lacked zeal, but Provencher found them short on some of his other requirements. Provencher judged them as he saw them at St. Boniface, where they often spent at least a winter in transit to the northern missions. In this context he found them not well-suited to be curés, especially the younger ones. They often had physical defects which would make mission life difficult for them; one priest, according to Provencher, was deaf in one ear and could²⁷ hardly hear with the other. He told Bourget that the Oblates had sent him three or four young men without any training in theology or experience in the ministry, and these ill-equipped young men would have to go two hundred leagues away from St. Boniface without any community life to sustain them, to live among Protestants and savages. They had no training in speaking in public, and had no idea of the customs of the country, or even of the world. He concluded: "En France on n'a aucune idée des missions de ce pays. On croit que tout est bon pour

le but de monde."

Yet despite all Provencher's reservations about the importing of French priests, and about the quality of those he did import, he recognized the contribution of a religious order to the Indian missions of his diocese as of paramount importance. The original instructions given to Provencher and Dumoulin by Bishop Plessis of Quebec in 1818 had insisted that the primary object of their assignment was to evangelize the Indians, and stressed "la connaissance de l'Évangile comme le plus puissant moyen de hâter leur civilisation".²⁹ These instructions had, however, never been carried out. Provencher and Dumoulin had concentrated on the Métis of Red River and Pembina, and the shortage of priests thereafter as well as the physical impossibility of travelling far in search of Indians, and the refusal of the Hudson's Bay Company to countenance missions beyond the Red River without the express permission of the Company,³⁰ had resulted in the concentration of Roman Catholic efforts around the small colony, with St. Boniface as the centre, and St. François Xavier at White Horse Plains to serve those Métis who returned from Pembina to settle there. Provencher insisted that the lack of Indian missions was not the result of any repugnance he felt for les sauvages (apparently to counter rumours he thought Belcourt might be spreading against him), and that the only reason he had not undertaken such missions was the chronic shortage of priests in³¹ the West.

In 1831 the arrival of M. Georges Belcourt had marked the beginning of attempts to evangelize the Sautaux Indians around the Red

River colony. Belcourt soon learned their language, and was ready and eager to begin the missions. In 1833 he began a mission called St. Paul's, at Prairie des Fournier, on the Assiniboine River past White Horse Plains, near the site of present-day Ste. Eustache.³² Belcourt asked Simpson for a grant of land for this mission, and claimed in 1835 that Simpson had granted him five miles frontage on either side of the Assiniboine River and two miles in depth, although this would have to be sanctioned by the London Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company.³³ This was probably not done at this time, for Simpson wrote to London in 1841 that Belcourt had asked for a grant of land for his mission at St. Paul's, but Simpson thought the mission there of insufficient importance to justify such a large tract of land.³⁴

In 1838 Belcourt began another mission at Wabassimong on the Winnipeg River, and visited Rainy River, Duck Bay on Lake Winnipegosis, Lake Manitoba, Swan Lake, Fort Pelly and the Pas. He requested permission from the Hudson's Bay Company to build houses and establish missions at Duck River in the Swan River District, and at Wabassimong. Simpson felt it would be impossible to prevent these, but that it would be inexpedient for the Hudson's Bay Company to give their authority to them.³⁵

Provencher was at first delighted with Belcourt's zeal for the Indian missions, but the two men were soon at odds over mission methods. Belcourt placed great importance on the necessity of some measure of civilization being promoted among the Indians before there could be any real hope of evangelization. To this end he insisted on the need to

build a chapel and school to serve as a fixed point of gathering for the Sauteux, and demanded seeds and implements to teach them how to cultivate the soil and lead a settled life. Provencher at first cooperated with Belcourt, and provided him with the agricultural implements and seeds he requested, although village life was foreign to the Sauteux way of life, since they lived in family groups, always on the
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move.

Belcourt thought these customs of the Sauteux could easily be changed. He claimed the Sauteux were very fond of vegetables and could easily be led to cultivate the earth, and had showed him a suitable spot
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for this. Belcourt said that the Indians at Duck Bay only grew potatoes for lack of other seeds, and that he would send them grains of pumpkins, Siamese cabbages, and Indian corn. He also said that there was much salt around Duck Bay which the Indians boiled down in the
38
winter. All of these activities Belcourt took as evidence of the preparedness of the Sauteux to live a settled agricultural life, the necessary prerequisite to teaching them the truths of the faith. Provencher, on the other hand, maintained that Belcourt did most of the work in these missions himself, or that Provencher had to hire men to
39
do it, and the Indians would not take on the responsibility themselves.

Provencher disagreed with Belcourt's approach for several reasons. As bishop, he was responsible for the finances of his vicariate, and for the support of the priests there. His finances were invariably precarious, and he had a horror of going into debt. Belcourt's schemes in Provencher's eyes would lead only to his certain

financial ruin. In 1838 he claimed that Belcourt's mission of St. Paul's had already cost him more than six hundred pounds, far too much for a mission with so little security, and that he had only allowed it for the sake of peace and so he would not be accused of being stingy.⁴⁰ Belcourt did think Provencher was stingy, and that he should rely more on Providence. Belcourt had considerable support among the bishops and priests of Quebec, and managed to secure a separate allocation to him from the Propagation de la Foi in Quebec, making him independent of Provencher in finances.⁴¹ This was a severe blow to Provencher's authority and control as bishop within his own vicariate, but he submitted with as good grace as he could muster.

Besides the question of financing missions, Provencher differed with Belcourt on the basic theory of missions, and of the relative place of civilization in respect to evangelization proper. Provencher held that evangelization should precede civilization, and that Belcourt should preach and make converts rather than spend all his time in building a mission and farm in order to draw the Indians. "Pour moi j'ai toujours jugé que des vaches et des moutons instruiront point les Sauvages ni sur l'agriculture, fabrique d'étoffe et encore moins sur la religion."⁴² Provencher claimed that God wished for order, and did not bless things done outside the road He traced,⁴³ - the implication being that Belcourt's methods were outside God's road, perhaps in part because Belcourt acted contrary to his bishop's wishes, and also against the practice elsewhere in missions, according to Provencher's interpretation of the Annales of Lyon. Provencher thought a missionary ought

to follow the Indians in their travels, or at least go where they could be expected to congregate in large numbers, rather than establish and wait for them to come to him as Belcourt was doing.

Provencher complained that Belcourt only gave sermons and instructions on Sunday at St. Paul, and left all the other instruction of the Sautaux to the small school run by Angélique Nolin. Provencher claimed that Belcourt worked in haste, and nothing was solid, that he should spend more time in study and the other duties of his priestly state, rather than continually working with his hands, and that he should especially not sell his works of carpentry to others as he had been doing at St. Boniface.

Provencher was insistent that the Gospel should be preached and the Indians converted to the belief in Christ and His Church apart from any attempts to change their way of life; that could come later, if necessary. The first requirement was "de semer à force la parole de Dieu dans ces coeurs abrutis par toutes les passions. Il convient qu'ils sont effrayés par le récit des vérités terribles du christianisme."

Provencher also asserted that Belcourt greatly exaggerated the number of his converts, an exaggeration which was published in the Rapport des Missions du Québec, and helped to influence the bishops of Quebec in favour of Belcourt. Belcourt had claimed in this report that instructions were given twice a day all year at St. Paul, and that the number of Christians or neophytes was already three hundred, with about one hundred and fifty catechumens. Provencher denied these claims of Belcourt, saying that Belcourt's figures were grossly

inflated, and that in actuality he probably had no more than fifty
adults, including both Christians and catechumens. ⁴⁸ Belcourt wrote
in his report that about two years of trial were required before bap-
tism, and another year or so before admitting to Communion. Only
twenty had so far been admitted to Communion; Belcourt claimed that
their faith and piety would confound those born and reared in the
Catholic Church. They wore the rosary around their necks and said the
prayers of the rosary every day, sang hymns composed by Belcourt, and
were particularly devoted to the Blessed Sacrament and to the Virgin
Mary. All of this sounds very similar to the early reports of Jesuit
missions in Spanish America, and it is not surprising that Taché should
refer to Belcourt as having established "quelques réductions". ⁴⁹

Although the conflict between Provencher and Belcourt cannot
be isolated from their personalities, and from the challenge to his
episcopal authority posed by the "turbulent priest", it also presented
a case history of the conflict of ideas over mission methods which was
to dog the nineteenth century missionaries of both the Roman Catholic
Church and the Protestant churches. Belcourt and Provencher represent
the extreme views in this conflict. Belcourt maintained that
Christianity must be preceded by a settled way of life, whereas
Provencher asserted the supreme primacy of the preaching of the Gospel
as the object of mission efforts. For him the universality of the
Gospel message to all human nature took priority over any cultural
variations, and was independent of them. Belcourt held to the contrary
view that the Gospel could only be preached and understood by those who

were to some extent civilized, that is, who had settled in one spot and become agriculturalists rather than hunters. It could be expected that Provencher's views would carry more weight with the Oblates, new to the mission field, and willing to accept direction by the bishop who had brought them there.

Belcourt did use his knowledge of the Indian language and customs to teach Aubert and Taché their first winter at St. Boniface. In this way he bridged the gap between the first tentative missions of St. Boniface under the leadership of Quebec, and the extension of those missions by the OMI. When the Oblates began to visit Belcourt's missions after his departure for Quebec in 1846 they agreed with Provencher's assessment of them as having had little success, and of offering little hope for the future. Belcourt would seem to have been guilty of some hyperbole in his descriptions to the Quebec Propagation de la Foi, not unexpected since he was seeking the support of the bishops of Quebec versus Provencher.

Wabassimong was abandoned in 1847 after Pères Faraud and Aubert
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had visited it in the summer. The Pas was abandoned in 1848 as a possible field because of the presence there of a minister who had more
51
prospects of success. In 1848 Père Bermond decided to move the mission of Duck Bay to Lake Manitoba, where he built a mission called Notre Dame du Lac with material from the buildings of the Hudson's Bay
52
Company post abandoned there, claiming that he had authorization from Sir George for this. But this mission at Lake Manitoba was shortly abandoned also, when Bermond was recalled to St. Boniface to replace

Aubert there as superior of the Oblates. Bermond's recall to St. Boniface was not the only reason for abandoning this mission, however. Bermond wrote that he did not leave because of the threats made against him by the Indians, but "à quoi bon tenter éternellement l'impossible et s'obstenir plus longtemps à dépenser son argent sans résultat".⁵³

After Belcourt returned to Quebec his old mission of St. Paul was visited from St. François Xavier or from St. Boniface, and Belcourt himself made a few visits when he established himself at Pembina, but the buildings of St. Paul were torn down and transported to St. François Xavier in 1850,⁵⁴ and no further effort was made to reestablish a permanent mission there until 1874.

The major reason for abandoning these early initiatives of Belcourt was not only the faulty methods he had followed, and the lack of a solid foundation, both material and spiritual, but the character of the Sauteux themselves, ruined by white contact. "Ici les sauvages sont perdus par le Wiskey et la Bière que chacun fait par spéculation."⁵⁵

Bermond recommended the abandonment of the mission to the Sauteux:

Vraiment, ces Sauteux sont une race maudite de Dieu, il me faut la foi pour dire qu'ils sont faits à l'image de Dieu et capables de prendre place dans le ciel. 56

European preparation for the evangelization of the Indians was often inadequate for the reality. Tissot reported to Mazenod that the Sauteux wanted no religion but that which they already had, that of hell. They were not at all like the savages portrayed in Europe, who became timid and docile at the sight of a priest, and the priest could draw them with music and discourse on God and religion to convert them.

Tissot said the Sauteux said to the priests "You hold the place of God on earth, and you know if God were on earth He would not let us lack for anything: so if you are in His place, give us to eat." In this the Sauteux reflected a notion of God and of salvation quite different from that of the Oblates. They recognized their entire dependence on God, and His duty to reciprocate by loving care for them on this earth. This earth was for them not a "vale of tears" through which men passed on the way to a better life. Nor did they reflect the docility of les sauvages as portrayed in the romanticized mission literature.

In 1859 Taché summed up the reasons for abandoning the meagre Sauteux efforts begun by Belcourt and Provencher:

Le contact habituel avec les blancs (honte aux Chrétiens), l'usage des liqueurs enivrantes, une profonde et universelle dégradation morale, l'abus criminel des grâces, etc., ont placé ce peuple dans les circonstances les moins favorables à sa conversion... Si nos Missionnaires, en petit nombre, n'étaient pas plus utiles ailleurs; si nos ressources étaient plus considérables, je tenterais, en faveur de ces sauvages, l'exécution d'un projet qui auraient peut-être quelque succès; mais dans les circonstances actuelles, tout cela n'est qu'une rêve...actuellement les Catholiques n'ont pas ici d'autres Missions sauvages que celles qui sont établies dans l'intérieur de mon Diocèse, à plusieurs centaines de lieues de la Rivière-Rouge. On a choisi ces postes parce que les sauvages y sont mieux disposés, et aussi parce que leur isolement les soustrait aux influences délétères de leurs rapports avec les blancs. 59

The Sauteux missions were abandoned then primarily on utilitarian grounds. No missions were ever gladly abandoned, but since the prospects of success were so poor, and personnel so slight, Provencher decided to send his missionaries to areas with more hope of success. This decision was similar to that of the early Jesuits in Paraguay, to set up controlled reductions in isolation from the pernicious

influence of other Europeans. Provencher could not hope to establish similar settlements, but he could hope to find Indians isolated from European contact by geography and circumstance, and to pursue them in their isolation to obtain more fervent Christians than could be hoped for close to Red River.

The most important positive incentive to the abandonment of the Sautaux missions was the glowing reports on the Chipewyan Indians sent back to Provencher by his missionary Thibault. In 1841 a Métis from the foot of the Rocky Mountains, called Picher (or Pichet), had come to St. Boniface to see Provencher, and to ask him to send a priest to the
60
Crees there. Thibault spoke Cree, and instructed Picher by means of Blanchet's Catholic ladder, sending a copy back with Picher to use to instruct the Cree there. The exact motivation of Picher's visit to Provencher is unknown. Provencher wrote the Bishop of Quebec that Picher had said that the Indians wanted to know what the priests had to say, before they decided to join the Methodist faith proffered to them
61
by John Rundle. Provencher told the Propagation de la Foi that the Crees in the Rockies refused to listen to the Protestant missionary already there, because they thought he did not speak of the true religion. This belief among the Crees, according to Provencher, originated with the influence of the French-Canadian servants of the Hudson's Bay Company; "les Sauvages ont cette idée partout, ils la tiennent des
62
Canadiens au service de la compagnie". A further influence might have been the Iroquois who had reached the West in the service of the Northwest Company or the Hudson's Bay Company, hired from the mission

villages of Quebec; these had later become freemen in the West or
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integrated into various Indian groups.

In 1842 Provencher sent Thibault to the West, apparently without
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seeking the cooperation or consent of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Thibault was guided to Edmonton by Jean-Baptiste Laframboise, and was
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met there by Picher, according to prior arrangements. This was pri-
marily a scouting trip; Thibault was to find out the possibilities
for Roman Catholic missions in the area while responding to Picher's
request. Thibault spent six months on this trip in 1842. In 1843 he
returned to the West, again visiting Fort Edmonton, and spent the
66
winter of 1843-44 in a small hut he built at Frog Lake.

Although these trips by Thibault were unauthorized by the
Hudson's Bay Company, Provencher appeared ready by 1843 to make a more
formal commitment to the field, and wrote a lengthy letter to Simpson
about it, the same letter in which he brought up the question of
67
importing foreign priests. He told Simpson of the request made to
him by the Crees from the foot of the mountains for a priest, and of
his subsequent sending of Mr. Thibault there to see if those tribes
would be disposed to listen to the word of God. In this letter
Provencher was concerned only with extending his missions across the
plains, and did not yet consider the northern missions. He told
Simpson that Thibault had been favourably received everywhere, and that
this put a strict obligation on Provencher to procure for the Indians
the religious instruction they desired. Such an obligation, to
Provencher, superceded any obligation to accede to the wishes of the

Hudson's Bay Company.

To provide that religious instruction to the Indians required missionary establishments where the Indians could gather, at least for a time, and procure their living by hunting or fishing. Provencher was not yet ready to adopt Belcourt's idea of civilization, or an agricultural way of life, as a necessary prerequisite for evangelization, but he was realist enough to recognize the need for self-support of such missions established beyond the Red River colony. But self-support of such missions would be impossible without the support of the Hudson's Bay Company. The religious obligation to instruct the Indians, though paramount, was accompanied by the secular obligation to secure the support of the Hudson's Bay Company in the fulfilment of that religious duty. Provencher asked Simpson if the Hudson's Bay Company could go further than just the simple permission to establish a mission, by providing the mission with aid, utensils, and merchandise. 68

Simpson replied that Thibault could get supplies on the way if he kept his requests as simple as possible, since the difficulties of transportation meant that the inland posts were not always provided with a surplus of merchandise or supplies. Simpson also gave permission for Thibault to look after the wants of the Roman Catholic servants of the Company at the various posts on his way. If Thibault were to establish a permanent mission, Simpson urged that he choose a fishing site, rather than one dependent on the hunt. Provencher should impress upon Thibault that "as the tacit conditions of our acquiescence in yr. Lordship's views, that he must to the utmost extent of his ability prevent

all trading with Indians unless for provisions"; Thibault was also to "avoid as far as in him lies that collision of Creeds which is as unnecessary in so wide a country as it is inexpedient among so ignorant a race".⁶⁹ Simpson reflected here the Company's pervasive concern for the monopoly of trade, and for the avoidance of religious quarrels, which were feared to affect the trade adversely. At the same time, he also reflected the freedom of religion which the Company publicly advocated for the Indians, and the attempt to avoid sectarianism in its policies, if not always in its practices. Simpson may have been urged to this compliant position by the suggestion in Provencher's letter that he might have to import foreign priests, and his kindness to Thibault could be seen as a sop to offset the refusal to countenance foreign priests. A further factor influencing Simpson was the presence of Methodist and Anglican missionaries beyond the confines of Red River, and the inability to refuse similar permissions to the Roman Catholics to extend their missions.

Thibault went to the West again in 1844, travelling in the boats of the Hudson's Bay Company this time. Provencher had asked for this passage for Thibault, assuring Christie at Fort Garry that it was agreeable to Simpson; Christie had agreed "upon a distinct understanding, of not visiting the Indian settlement at Norway House, or in any respect entering upon a controversy with Protestants en route".⁷⁰ Mr. Bourassa, who had accompanied Provencher from Quebec just that spring, also went to the West, accompanying John Rowand.⁷¹ Thibault and Bourassa chose Lac du Diable as the site for their permanent

mission, renaming it Lac Ste. Anne. This was a spot where the freemen of the district gathered to hunt and fish, and the missionary presence there was often a thorn in the side of the Hudson's Bay Company, whose men regarded it as a nest of free-traders.

From Lac Ste. Anne Thibault travelled to Cold Lake in 1844. Roderick McKenzie of Ile à la Crosse accused John Rowand of sending Thibault to Cold Lake to draw away the Chipewyans of Ile à la Crosse to the Saskatchewan District and the Plains life.⁷² Rowand adamantly denied this, saying that he and his son John "never, never gave any encouragement to the Rev'd Mr. Thybeault or any one else to go to the Saskatchewan".⁷³

In the spring of 1845 Thibault travelled to visit the post at Ile à la Crosse. Within the Hudson's Bay Company there was considerable controversy over this trip. Simpson wrote to Roderick McKenzie that John Rowand had informed him that McKenzie had invited Thibault there, and that "no such invitation ought to have been given without the consent and approbation of the Company".⁷⁴ McKenzie worried constantly about the tendency of the Woods Indians of Ile à la Crosse to be drawn to the life of the Plains, and replied to Simpson in this vein to justify his invitation to Thibault. McKenzie stated that when the Chipewyans of his post heard of the accidental shooting by Mr. Evans, the Wesleyan missionary, of his interpreter Thomas Hassel, while on his way to visit Ile à la Crosse, they had come to McKenzie in a body, saying they would join the priest at Cold Lake for instructions. McKenzie told them if they did that they would have to return all the

goods they had on credit from Ile à la Crosse. Rather than do that, they asked McKenzie to invite the priest to visit Ile à la Crosse in the spring. "I did so, Necessity (which has no law) obliged me to ask for him, for every Indian at Ile à la Crosse would have been in the Plains, had he not come." ⁷⁵ Although McKenzie was not enamoured of missionaries, and had written earlier that he considered them "the greatest enemies to the success and wellbeing of the Fur trade, that ever came to the Northwest Country", ⁷⁶ he was willing to use them when necessary to keep his post flourishing. He was insistent that the missionaries should not begin a mission at Cold Lake, ⁷⁷ fearing their influence and attraction on his Indians.

This half-hearted invitation of McKenzie's, given without the sanction of the Hudson's Bay Company or of Simpson, was a decisive one for the future of the Oblate missions. Although McKenzie's invitation was to visit Ile à la Crosse, not to establish a mission there, since he could not authorize such, this visit marked the first real contact of Mr. Thibault with the Chipewyans, known as Montagnais to the ⁷⁸ French-speaking.

Thibault did not speak the Chipewyan language, but he did speak Cree, and was able to give a mission to the Cree of Ile à la Crosse. Despite the language barrier, Thibault did make contact with the Chipewyans also, and taught them the prayers in French. The Chipewyans were very much attracted to the religion presented by Thibault; according to Thibault there were about eighty families trading at Ile à la Crosse, and all were zealous and wanted to learn the way to heaven.

The old urged the young to take advantage of the means of salvation God had sent them; the first one to learn a prayer taught the rest, and they wanted to be baptized as soon as possible in order to be able to see God after death. Thibault heard the confessions of those who spoke Cree, but found that the rest were very upset, and even cried, because they were unable to confess. Thibault concluded after this experience:

Il n'est pas possible que jamais peuple sauvage soit mieux disposé à embrasser la foi que les montagnais, que de bons prêtres qui auraient le talent d'apprendre la langue montagnais viennent donc exercer leur zèle ici. ⁷⁹

The precise reasons for the welcome given to Thibault's preaching by the Chipewyans must remain speculative. Thibault himself attributed it entirely to the natural good "dispositions" of the Chipewyans. The more secular-minded fur-traders were more inclined to attribute it to the novelty of the missionary presence and message. Colin Campbell claimed that the trade was down because of the "Indian 80 minds being much drawn by the Novelty (to them) of Religious affairs". He claimed that his post had got almost nothing in the way of provisions because a large number of Indians had gone to meet Mr. Thibault at 81 Portage La Loche. The Chipewyans had had long exposure to the European fur-traders, but a missionary such as Thibault was a new factor. Donald Ross had observed the effects of Thibault's presence at Norway House on his way to the West, writing that "it was quite astonishing to observe how their untutored imaginations were captivated by the appearance of his long Robes, careworn and cadaverous looking visage, and his ability to address them in their own language with 82 fluency and effect". The Chipewyans had a reputation for being

willing to adopt new techniques; theirs was a culture which was open to innovation. They had engaged in the fur-trade, and had accepted European styles of clothing to some extent, and become fond of the imported tobacco and tea. It could be expected that some, at least, would be willing to accept the new religion imported to them, if it could be preached to them in their own language.

Another reason for the great attraction exercised by Thibault on the Chipewyans could have been that they considered him to possess a great medicine. The Chipewyan religion was not exclusive of others as nineteenth century Roman Catholicism and Protestantism were. The Chipewyans appeared to have no concept of heresy in relation to their religion, and any possibility for improved contact with the spirits who guided their life would be welcomed. Colin Campbell held this to be a factor in the Chipewyan acceptance, "for in the hurried and ceremonious way of teaching them, the Indians are quite confounded & think it is some great Medicine similar to their own Idolatry".⁸³

This notion of religion as medicine could be expected to be an important factor in times of scarcity of food or in periods of epidemic diseases. There is some evidence that this could have been a contributing factor in 1845 at Ile à la Crosse. The Journal of Ile à la Crosse for July 26, 1845, reported that the hunters had come in starving the previous day, unable to kill anything, and that they intended to stop at the post for a few days until the Priest would pass.⁸⁴ The Chipewyans had traditionally sought to solve the problems of failure of the hunt by the use of magic and the placating of the spirits which

controlled the hunt - a placation often accomplished through the confession of transgression of taboos. If they considered Thibault as possessing great powers of medicine, it would be natural for them to seek his help, even though he was a member of another culture, perhaps especially because he was so. Close contact with the spirits was the source of power and prestige in Chipewyan society, but a prestige which was only accorded so long as the contact with the spirits was proved fruitful by success.

A third suggestion would be that the fur-trade had already despiritualized the Indian world-view to some extent, breaking the aboriginal unity of man and animals. If this were so, the Christian teaching would conceivably be closer to the more dualistic world-view which would then prevail. "Christianity furnished a new, dualistic world view, lending spiritual support to the fur trade by elevating man above Nature and making the hunt profane".⁸⁵ This, however, could not be the cause of the welcome given to Thibault before he could even communicate his beliefs to the Chipewyans, but might account in part for the success of the later missionaries. Thibault's success would seem to have derived from the combination of the inclination of the Chipewyans to accept new things and their dependence on spiritual contacts in times of stress.

After his successful visit to Ile à la Crosse, Thibault went on to Portage La Loche (Methye Portage), where he encountered some of the Mackenzie River Indians, who had come there with the Mackenzie Brigade. After meeting these Indians, Thibault concluded that all the nations

from Ile à la Crosse to the pole had the same desire to know God. He said that the Mackenzie River Indians wanted to learn the good news like the Chipewyans of Ile à la Crosse, to learn to know God and to go when they died to the beautiful country where God puts those who lead a good life.

Thibault hoped to be able to visit these far nations the next year, and promised those at Ile à la Crosse and La Loche that two priests would settle among them the following year, learn their language, and be able to instruct them and hear confessions. Thibault must have been counting on the Oblates when he made this commitment, for he knew Provencher had no other priests available at the time. He stressed to Provencher: "Occupez-vous, Mgr., de ces missions lointaines et nouvelles elles sont certainement les plus importantes de toutes celles qui se font dans notre vicariat Apostolique". Thibault also reminded Provencher that the Methodists still hoped to go to Ile à la Crosse, and it was necessary to seize the opportunity and forestall them.

But the most important incentive for undertaking these far-away missions remained for Thibault in the dispositions of the Chipewyans, so contrasted with those of the Sauteux and Plains Indians Thibault had encountered. Thibault said that the Plains Cree around Edmonton, to whom he had originally been sent, were willing to listen when he spoke of God, but never remembered what he said, and that they were demoralized by drink and occupied with theft and war with their enemies. Thibault thought it would not be impossible to do some good

with the Cree or Blackfeet if he could follow them in their travels,⁹⁰
but he considered it more useful to help the better-disposed Chipewyans.
His pessimistic appraisal of the Plains tribes was shared by John
Rowand, who wrote "I think it will take all the ministers in H Bay
three to four Hundred years to make the Plains tribes leave off
murdering one another & stealing Horses."⁹¹

The Chipewyans had never been attached to liquor, and it had
been withdrawn as an article of trade in the Athabasca and Mackenzie
Districts, which as yet did not have the opposition of free-traders
with their use of liquor as an incentive to trade. The way of life of
the northern Indians precluded trading for such a luxury item as
liquor, although they would accept it as a gift.⁹² The skeptical
might think that some quantity of liquor might be traded despite the
regulations against it, but the missionary writings show no evidence
of drunken behaviour at the time of trade-gathering in the northern
districts. Provencher also attributed some of the success of his
missionaries there to the fact that no rum was sold.⁹³

The Chipewyans were also a peaceful people, not engaged in war
like the Plains tribes. They also did not possess horses, nor have
occasion for the large gatherings characteristic of the plains. War
and stealing horses could be regarded as luxury occupations, only
possible to a people with some leisure time. Laflèche noted that when
one saw the life of the Plains Indians, one could appreciate the value
of work in God's plan to save man from the result of laziness.⁹⁴

Apart from their natural dispositions, then, the Chipewyans had cultural aspects which were favourable to the preaching of the Gospel, in the opinion of the missionaries.

Besides these natural and cultural reasons for concentrating on the northern missions, there was the additional factor, so important in all nineteenth century missions, of forestalling the Protestant missionaries in every place possible. It seemed providential to the Catholics that Mr. Evans' trip to Ile à la Crosse had been aborted by the accident to Thomas Hassel, leading to the invitation to Mr. Thibault to come there. Evans had been equally anxious to be the first on the scene, and had undertaken the trip without the authorization of the Hudson's Bay Company. ⁹⁵ Simpson wrote Donald Ross that he was glad Ross had refused "Mr. Evans' unauthorised demands for passages and other facilities to establish missions at Isle à la Crosse and elsewhere." ⁹⁶

The efforts made by each branch of Christianity to forestall the other in the race to the north had its repercussions on the Hudson's Bay Company. Officially impartial, the Company was the object of accusations of favoritism from each side. The Company tried to separate the missions of the various churches, stating that the conflict of ⁹⁷ religions was harmful to the Indians and therefore to the trade. Thibault had been given passage by way of Norway House with the promise that he would not bother the Wesleyan Indians there, but Christie feared that "both Catholic and Protestant, would not consider a promise under such circumstances of much consequence, and from the present

feeling of opposition towards each other, the natives are not likely to benefit much, from the doctrine they inculcate". The impartiality advocated by the Company and the segregation of one branch of Christianity from the others had little weight with missionaries convinced of the truth of their cause and of the errors of the opposition, and of the overriding necessity to convert the Indians to the true religion.

Neither side was convinced of the impartiality of the Hudson's Bay Company. Evans claimed that he had heard from one of the gentlemen of the Company that its intentions were "to establish the Catholic Religion in the rich and valuable Districts of the country - and the Protestant, in the poor and exhausted parts of it - for this reason, that the Catholic mode of conversion did not interfere with the successful hunting of the Indians, whilst the Protestant Clergy were collecting them in villages, and rendering them useless as hunters."

On the other hand, Provencher was convinced that the Hudson's Bay Company favoured the Wesleyans, and that that was why the London Committee had refused permission for Thibault to establish at Fort des Prairies in 1840. He declared:

Cette compagnie n'a plus un air de bienveillance pour nous qui sommes aussi Canadiens, quoique personne ne parle politique. On ne veut que de l'anglais, que du protestant, on suivra ici la marche du Gouvernement." 100

Where the Protestant clergy found commercial reasons to lie behind any opposition by the Company to their missions, the Catholics tended to attribute Company attitudes to their missions to political, national,

or religious reasons.

Bishop Anderson of the Anglican Church in his turn accused the Company of favoritism to the Catholics. Simpson found this hard to accept, reminding Anderson that it was due to the Company that the Anglican Church had been established in Rupert's Land, and a bishopric set up, in an area where most of the population belonged either to the Roman Catholic Church or to the Church of Scotland.¹⁰¹

In general the Hudson's Bay Company would have preferred to have Protestant missions, if they had to have any, but because of the pressure of public opinion and of Catholic persistence they were unable to prevent Catholic expansion, and at times could see advantages to the Catholic missions (usually on grounds of relative economy) over the Protestant ones. No single undeviating policy by the Company was possible, but it displayed a changing reaction to varying circumstances and personalities. The Papal Aggression controversy in England had repercussions on the Company attitudes, as it had in Canada. Simpson wrote to Bishop Anderson that the Catholic bishops of Quebec had requested permission to establish a mission at Moose, "adopting a high tone quite in keeping with the footing assumed by their brethren in England".¹⁰² The Company had replied that since there was now an Anglican bishop in Rupert's Land, and plans made to extend the missions of the Church Missionary Society there, the Company had no fear of suffering from public opinion by "preferring protestants to Roman Catholic missionaries as religious instructors to the native population."¹⁰³

Complicating the religious question in Rupert's Land was the fact that most of the Catholics and all of the clergy were French-speaking, and the priests all came from Quebec or France. Provencher had indicated some feeling against Quebec in 1840, ¹⁰⁴ probably in relation to the Act of Union. But the feeling against French priests was a greater factor in the Northwest, and any personal conflicts seemed to exacerbate nationalistic feelings. Taché could find no other explanation for the tirade he was subjected to by James Anderson; "poussé par je ne sais quel vertigo, Mr. Anderson me parla de Napoléon III et d'une invasion des Français dans cette contrée et cela parceque quelques uns ¹⁰⁵ de nos Missionnaires sont Français". Père Grollier, an extremist on the subject, felt that the Hudson's Bay Company "persecuted" the Catholics, ostensibly because they were Catholics, but actually because they were French, and that the English ministers were agents ¹⁰⁶ of the British government to establish her power all over the world. Grollier's view should not be taken as representative, but was probably shared to some extent by many of his confrères.

The Hudson's Bay Company did not lay restrictions on the Roman Catholic Church about bringing in the priests from France, and in fact often provided passages and other help. The policy appears to have been to regard their mission as strictly religious, and neutral in that respect to the Company interests. Nationality of missionaries would then not be considered relevant. But in the field, some conflict of nationalities was bound to ensue, where the missionaries and the Company men each had many preconceptions of the other nationality and

religion, bound to make understanding difficult. On the other hand, many were able to overcome their preconceptions, and there were many cases of mutual help and respect between Protestant Factors and Catholic Oblates, with efforts to learn each other's language. These cases owed a great deal to the individual personalities involved, with men such as Taché developing a great fondness and respect for men such as Roderick McKenzie. The theory of the religious mission as solely concerned with religion, and independent of varieties of culture and of governments perhaps came closest to realization in this northern field, where the governing body was a trading monopoly, with its own drawbacks, but not concerned with colonization as a contribution to national prestige, and where the religion preached was also almost entirely missionary in character, concerned with saving souls rather than with the connections to national power and prestige which accompanied the missions of colonial powers.

The Company regulations of 1838 had ruled that no assistance should be given to either the Catholics or Protestants to go beyond the Red River colony without the special permission of the Company,¹⁰⁷ and this policy was maintained.¹⁰⁸ When Provencher was ready to send Taché and Laflèche to Ile à la Crosse in 1846, and had arranged for canoes and men to transport them, Sir George offered him free transport on the Company boats for his missionaries. Provencher was delighted to accept this offer, not only because of the financial savings it represented to him, but because of the support it meant from the Hudson's Bay Company; he had feared that Belcourt's involvement in the

Métis petition of grievances to the Queen might have alienated
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Simpson.

With Simpson's permission to establish at Ile à la Crosse,
and his offer of free transport to Taché and Laflèche, Provencher was
anxious to ensure the continued support of the Company. He asked
Simpson a series of questions, the answers to which he felt would serve
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as a guide to his priests on this new venture.

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Simpson replied promptly to Provencher. The two missionaries
would be maintained on the trip free of expense the same as members of
the Hudson's Bay Company. They could stay at the fort at Ile à la
Crosse, again free of expense, until they could erect their own
buildings. Company servants would be assigned to help them in their
building as soon as they could be spared, and the food and wages of
those servants would be charged to Provencher at the ordinary rates.
Simpson would also provide the letter of introduction requested by
Provencher to serve as the missionaries' passport.

The missionaries could minister to the Catholic servants of
the Company, but no attempt at converting non-Catholics would be
countenanced. Simpson claimed that he could see no grounds for
Provencher's reference to obstacles to freedom of conscience and
worship. He could not imagine anyone in a responsible position in the
Hudson's Bay Company deterring the heathens from becoming Catholic.

The missionaries could not be allowed to trade with the
natives at all except for their own provisions, especially since they

were already benefitting from the Company trade, and that trade depended on the Indian trade. Their supplies could be brought in by the Company boats, insofar as there was room for them, at the ordinary freight rates, or on reasonable terms. Simpson could not change the price of provisions the missionaries might want to buy from the post, but they could get food from the natives for their own establishment.

The main lines of the relationship between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Oblates were drawn up in this correspondence between Provencher and Simpson. The dependence of the missionaries on the cooperation of the Company was evident, and the fears of the Company that the missionary presence might infringe on the monopoly of trade. Provencher, and later Taché, were well aware of the harmful effect any trading activities by their missionaries might have on their missions, and urged each missionary to avoid even the appearance of free-trading. This was in line with the policy of the Propaganda, which also forbade the combination of mission and commerce which had marred some of the early modern missions of the Church.

The problems of transportation, supplies, and building of missions continued to raise difficulties, and each mission established had to cope with them on an individual basis, although on the general lines laid down by Simpson to Provencher. Simpson's initial help to the mission at Ile à la Crosse was not a guarantee of future attitudes and policies, but it was significant for the first establishment of the Oblates in the Northwest, and for its success which led to further extensions. Provencher assured Simpson that when the people saw that

the governor himself had approved of the Ile à la Crosse mission, everyone spoke favourably of it, and the Indians, already well-disposed to the priests, listened voluntarily to them.

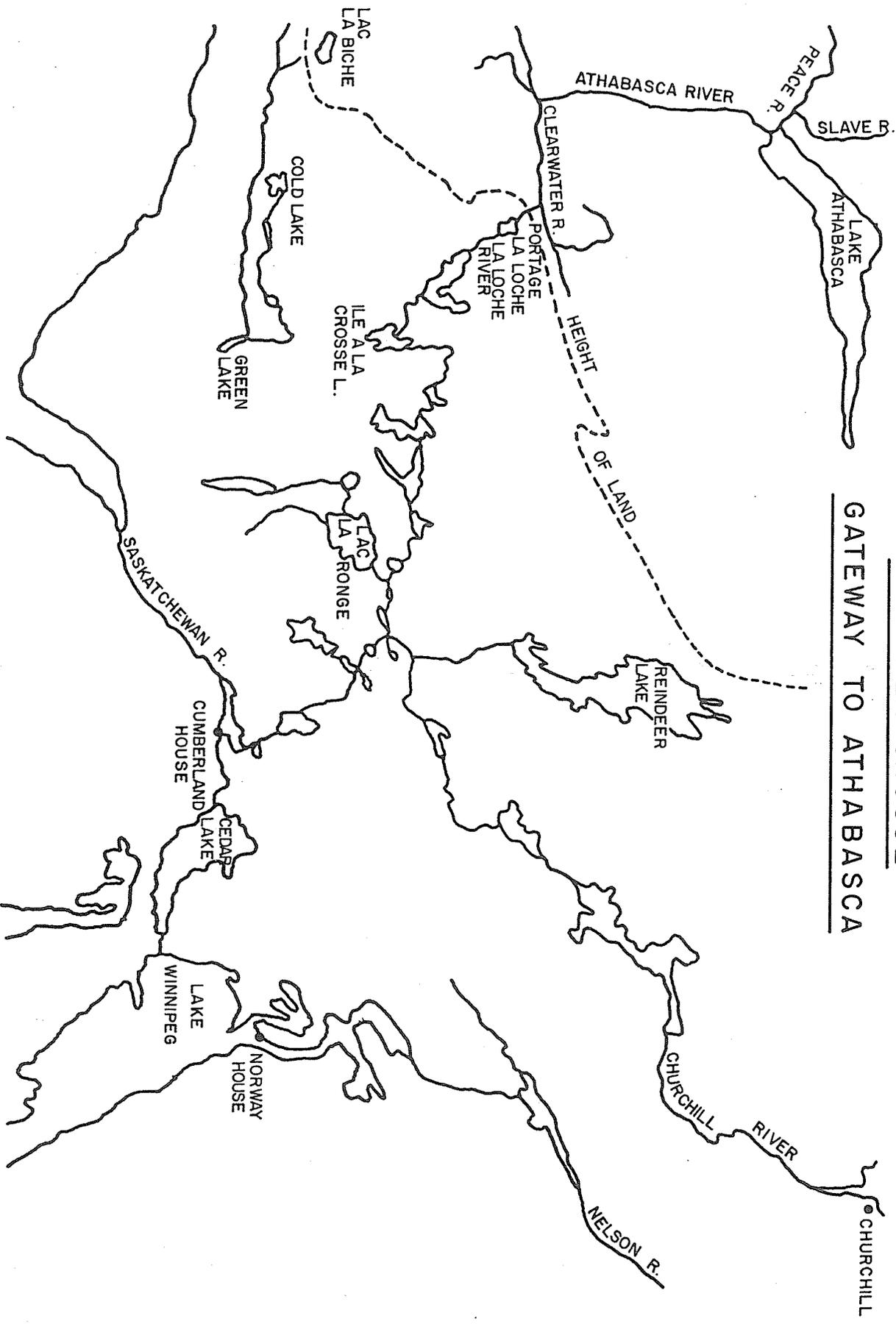
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In addition to the invaluable help and moral authority given to this new mission by the cooperation of Sir George, the establishment at Ile à la Crosse gave Provencher a decided advantage by its geographical position in his efforts to gain an advantage over the Protestant missionaries. By establishing a mission so far to the north, Provencher managed to leap-frog over the Methodist and Church Missionary Society missions. As the first missionaries on this scene, the Roman Catholics had a decided advantage with the Chipewyans of Ile à la Crosse. Unless antagonized by some action on the part of the missionary, the Indians tended to adhere to the first messenger of the Gospel who reached them. In addition, the Hudson's Bay Company discouraged competing missionaries from establishing missions in the same area.

Besides these advantages with the Chipewyans of Ile à la Crosse, the mission established there had the further prospect of contact with the Mackenzie Indians at Portage La Loche. This was the point on the watershed to the Mackenzie where the brigades from the Mackenzie exchanged their furs for the supplies brought to them from Norway House. Ile à la Crosse, situated a short distance from this portage, was the ideal spot for communication with the Athabasca and Mackenzie Districts, as well as being close enough to the Saskatchewan District to obtain pemmican from it for the brigades. Communication with Red River, though necessarily infrequent, could be maintained from there also, enabling

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ILE A LA CROSSE
GATEWAY TO ATHABASCA



Provencher to direct the missionary effort.

By establishing at Ile à la Crosse, Provencher's missionaries were enabled to reach the Athabasca District of the Hudson's Bay Company relatively easily, and from there the transition to the Mackenzie District was also relatively easy. In reaching these districts of the Company the OMI contacted the Athapaskan groups related linguistically and culturally to the Chipewyans whom they had first contacted at Ile à la Crosse, and none of whom had had missionaries among them for any length of time.

All of these groups lived in the Arctic drainage system, with its many lakes and connecting rivers, its rolling hills, forested by white spruce, some pine, and poplar in the better-drained areas, and by black spruce, tamarack and willow and alder in the swampier areas. The subarctic environment produced very long cold winters and short hot summers, made difficult by swarms of flies and mosquitoes. The severe cold of winter and the insects in summer required a great deal of adjustment for the Oblates, arrived there from the south of France, and were often regarded by them as aspects of a slow martyrdom which they suffered, unappreciated by those more impressed by the spectacular martyrdoms of the East. Others found the beauty of the winter nights on the trail, with the spectacle of the northern lights, a very attractive feature of their life in the north.

The various groups of Athapaskans had adapted to this environment both in their use of its resources, and in their culture. The OMI

in their turn would be required to adopt some of these Athapaskan adaptations in order to survive in their environment. They had to learn to travel by canoe in summer and on snowshoes in winter, to wear moccasins and mitts and warm winter clothing. But they could not adopt the way of life of the Athapaskans, dependent on the hunt, and were in this way closed off from an understanding of many of the cultural adaptations which the Athapaskans had made to their environment.

For the Athapaskans the hunt was the primary means of subsistence, augmented by fish, and trapping for the Hudson's Bay Company. Some berries and birds' eggs were available in the summer, and the birch trees were tapped for syrup. The caribou was a major source of food for most of the Athapaskans, who followed them in their annual migrations. Some sought the caribou on the tundra, setting up pounds in which to catch them for slaughter. This method required a fairly large cooperative effort, and a larger community structure than was the case for most of the Athapaskans most of the time. Others sought the woodland caribou, shooting them with arrows, often from canoes while the caribou were crossing rivers. Moose were also hunted, as were bears, foxes, muskrats, beavers, and hares.

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Apart from the hunting of the caribou on the tundra, the other activities of the Athapaskans, including trapping for the Company, could be carried out by small hunting groups, and in fact could only effectively be pursued by such small groups. The hunting life and the ecology of the subarctic environment dictated the impossibility of the survival of large settlements exploiting the limited resources of any

one area. Although environment in itself does not determine culture, the severe subarctic environment did set very confining limits to the cultural possibilities.

The aboriginal population of the Chipewyans has been estimated at four to five thousand, ranging the taiga-tundra from Hudson Bay to the Coppermine River, depending almost exclusively on the caribou for their subsistence. In the late eighteenth century some moved into the boreal forest beyond Great Slave Lake and Lake Athabasca to as far south as the Churchill River drainage system, in order to take advantage of the opportunities offered by the fur-trade. The Chipewyans were encouraged in this move by the fur-traders, and by the peace which had been made between the Chipewyans and the Crees, which in turn owed much to the decimation of the Crees by the small-pox epidemic of 1781.¹¹⁶ Those who remained on the traditional lands and followed the caribou became known as the Caribou-Eaters, distinct from the other Chipewyans, and more independent of the fur-trade.

Those who moved to the boreal forest were brought within the orbit of the fur-trade, with all the effects of white contact, dependence on the Hudson's Bay Company, increased technological change, and the consequent changes in the aboriginal culture. Even the diet of the Chipewyans was changed from almost exclusive reliance on the caribou to the larger variety of fur-bearing animals found in the boreal forest. The lack of dependence on a single resource was offset by the increased dependence on the posts for supplies, and the Caribou-Eaters came to be recognized as the most independent of the Chipewyans.

Taché gave a long description of the Chipewyans to his mother, and this serves as the best Oblate source for a view of the Chipewyan culture at the time of their first contact. ¹¹⁷ Taché gave the etymology of the Cree word Tchipau-weyan-oji as meaning pointu peau canot.

Taché thought the Cree called the Chipewyans this because of the shape of their canoes, which were made from skins, because they had no birch-bark, and which were very pointed at each end. ¹¹⁸ But Taché noted that others attributed the word to the shape of the clothing worn by the Chipewyans, with the upper garment pointed at the bottom, and this is the accepted etymology today.

Taché could give no reason why the French in the country called these Chipewyan Montagnais rather than some French version of the Cree Tchipau-weyan-oji. They lived about as far from any mountains as it was possible to get, and bore no resemblance to the Montagnais of the Quebec region. The real reason for the appellation is lost to us, but it was the accepted usage among the French-speaking long before the Oblates arrived on the scene, and must have been applied by the early voyageurs.

¹¹⁹
Bernard Ross of the Hudson's Bay Company thought the best way to describe the northern Indians, including the Chipewyans, was their own word Tin-neh meaning "the people". When referring to allied groups, such as the Slaves, the word used would be Tess-cho-tin-neh, meaning "the people of the Great River". Within "the people" other allied groups were always recognized by their geographical location.

When Taché met the Chipewyans, he considered them quite different from their neighbours. He thought they should not properly be called sauvages at all, for that meant fierce or barbarous, and the Chipewyans were gentle and abhorred violence. ¹²⁰ This gentleness made the Chipewyans especially suitable to receive the Gospel, in the estimation of the Oblates.

Ces Sauvages, doux par caractère, confiants à ce qu'on leur dit, désireux de bien vivre, étaient prédisposés à embrasser la religion chrétienne. Ils croient à l'instant tous les dogmes qu'on leur annonce; un très-petit nombre élève quelques objections qu'on peut résoudre d'une seule parole. ¹²¹

Taché reported that in the ten years he had lived among the Chipewyans, there had not been a single murder, or notorious act of cruelty, or large theft. ¹²² The Chipewyans did have some spirit of vengeance, but this was satisfied by some blows to the chest of the offender, or by hair-pulling. ¹²³ Both Taché and Bernard Ross described the Chipewyans as timid and cowardly, ready to run away at the least imaginary danger. Both also contrasted this behaviour with the cruelty shown by the Chipewyan men to their women. ¹²⁴

The Athapaskans had no tribal organization and only a very limited sense of tribal identity. ¹²⁵ Their sense of identity derived in large part from the very small hunting groups of two or three related families in which they spent most of their time. These were bound together only by kinship, and followed the direction of the best hunter among them. All were free to leave the group and join another, or to refuse to follow the leadership within the group. To the Europeans, especially perhaps to the missionaries accustomed to the

hierarchical structure of their Church and Congregation, such a social system seemed absolutely chaotic. Even within the family there seemed no real principle of authority to the OMI. The mother had very little authority over the children, especially the boys, after the first few years. The father exerted such authority as there was while he had the strength to maintain it. Taché thought this very limited measure of authority was the only one in the Chipewyan society, and that they had no sense of public interest. Nor did they recognize any rank or distinction among themselves. ¹²⁶ Such a social system was a polar opposite to that viewed as the norm by the Oblates.

Taché found the Chipewyans honest, although very attached to their own possessions. Faraud agreed with this, saying

Ils aiment les biens de la terre et même beaucoup; mais ils ne les aiment pas à la façon européenne. De la viande pour manger, un habit pour s'habiller, voilà où se borne leurs désirs. ¹²⁷

With such an outlook, the Chipewyans could be seen as especially suited to the Oblate intention to evangelize the poor of the earth. The Chipewyans were not entirely selfless in their view of material things. They would share with each other, but Taché thought that this was always with the hope of a return on their investment. He also found the Chipewyans to be great beggars from those they thought were better-off, and said a proverbial expression in the north was effronté comme un Montagnais. ¹²⁸ Later missionaries also found that the Chipewyans expected them to give away such "extra" possessions as a second shirt or blanket. Again the sharing concepts of the native culture were opposed to the private property concepts ingrained in the Europeans.

Taché noted the adaptation in dress which the Chipewyans had already made at the time of his first contact with them. In the fall when taking credit at the fort, Taché thought they looked very fine, in their blue or white capots, with black, red, or white mittens, Scots bonnets and coloured belts. In the spring, however, Taché found that this finery had not survived the winter very well, and he considered the condition of the natives then to be pitiable.

In sexual morality, a matter of great concern to the missionaries, Taché found the Chipewyans often immodest, but thought they never offended against nature by such sins as sodomy. He also remarked that they never bragged of their sins, showing no lasciviousness. To them, however, polygamy was the natural way to live, and good hunters had as many wives as they could afford to support. This was to cause many difficulties for the Oblates in their task of converting these people to the Catholic faith and Church in which monogamy was a sine qua non.

Petitot summed up the Chipewyan character: gentle, peaceful and honest people, comparatively chaste and religious, though they may perhaps be accused of being a little too morose in disposition and fond of solitude.

The later years of contact beyond the first mission at Ile à la Crosse led the OMI to distinguish among the various groups of Athapaskans, distinctions which they based primarily on their varying attitudes to Catholicism, rather than on observation of other cultural differences.

The Caribou-Eaters were contacted by the Oblates at Deer Lake and at Fond du Lac (Athabasca), as they ranged their ancestral territory of the Barren Grounds between Lake Athabasca and Churchill. These were described as better-off and more independent than the other Chipewyans, and living in larger groups than most. They were described as perhaps even better-disposed to religion than the other Chipewyans, since they had always lived "sur les terres proprement dites des Montagnais" preserving them from contact with neighbouring tribes. This the Oblates thought had enabled them to preserve their natural goodness. But the initial enthusiasm for religion did not last, and the Oblates soon complained of the progress of indifference among the Mangeurs de Caribou. This they blamed on the sporadic contact with the Oblates, and on the influence of the Protestant missionaries.

The Dogribs at Fort Rae Père Faraud found to be very fervent, eager for instruction, and zealous to defend Catholicism against Protestantism. The country around Fort Rae was only suitable for caribou to live, and Faraud considered it to be a poor country, but also maintained that the poorer the material aspect, the better the spiritual. This argument was not universally-accepted by the OMI, who often held that they could achieve much more with the Indians if they had the financial resources of the Church Missionary Society. Faraud also found some difficulty in instructing the Dogribs, because their language was different enough from the Chipewyan to make it impossible to use the same books, and the priests visiting them did not know the Dogrib dialect well. A further difficulty portrayed by Père

Gascon was the prevalence of medicine-men among the Dogribs. These jongleurs, both male and female, and libertinage, were the main obstacles to conversion among the Dogribs, according to Gascon. In other respects, they were gentle and religious and gave great hope for the future.¹³⁴

The Hare Indians Faraud also found eager to become Christians, but they made the priests work very hard to achieve this. Faraud declared they were prurient, deceitful, superstitious and vicious - all qualities on which it would seem difficult to build conversions. Yet their redeeming feature in Faraud's eyes was their willingness to acknowledge their sins in confessions at the time of missions.¹³⁵ Père Séguin found that the Hares at Good Hope mission only came to the mission on Sundays, and spent the rest of the time in feasts, dances, and hand-games, leaving prayer for the old. This behaviour Séguin naturally attributed to the work of the devil; "le démon a encore bien de la prise sur eux."¹³⁶ Séguin also thought that the Hares could not understand the things of the other world, that if they could not see or touch something it was like a dream to them.

Faraud found the Slaves to be "les meilleurs sauvages de toute l'Amérique, doux, charitables, humains, obéissants, généreux".¹³⁷ Later Faraud described the Slaves as naturally apathetic and gentle,¹³⁸ perhaps indicating that later experience had dimmed a little his first estimation of the Slaves. Gascon declared that the Slaves did not have the ardour of the Chipewyans for religion.¹³⁹

The Beaver Indians along the Peace River received infrequent visits from the Oblates for many years, and often threatened to ask for a minister if the priests would not stay with them. Faraud said it was hard to establish a mission among them, because they spread out and visited three posts. Although the Beavers loved religion and respected the priests, Faraud thought little progress could be made with them because of their attachment to games and magic. ¹⁴⁰ Faraud said that the Beavers awaited death with "imperturbable calm" and made no efforts to help others to save their lives - both attitudes incompatible with European efforts to forestall death. Faraud said they would share in times of plenty, but not in times of distress when useless mouths were not wanted. He also thought their passion for games was destroying ¹⁴¹ them. Petitot was more sanguine about the Beavers, and proclaimed that they were "now as gentle and inoffensive as they were thievish, shifty, and faithless twenty-five years ago. This is the natural effect of the commercial relations and religious habits acquired since that ¹⁴² date by those child-like tribes."

The Loucheux or Kutchin (Alexander Mackenzie's Quarrellers) were the northernmost of the Athapaskans reached by the OMI. Their primary contact came with those of the Mackenzie Flats, and those who lived along the Peel River and the Porcupine River. The Loucheux were regarded by the missionaries and by the fur-traders as more intelligent and energetic than the other Athapaskans. ¹⁴³ Hardisty attributed this intelligence to the Loucheux way of life as traders rather than ¹⁴⁴ trappers - a natural inference for a Company man to draw. The

Loucheux exchanged their beads for the furs of other tribes, acting as middlemen, although they were good hunters themselves. Beads were used by them as a form of money, quite unlike the other Athapaskans, who traded only for goods and provisions. The beads were used to pay for skins, to pay for the services of a shaman, to measure personal wealth, and to distribute after death. They were also used as decorations.

The Loucheux would trade first for beads, and then for guns and ammunition.

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By the 1850s, however, when the OMI reached the Loucheux, guns were in great demand and were the most expensive item of the trade.

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The Church Missionary Society missionary, Mr. McDonald, described the Loucheux destruction of beads and other property including guns at a time of great sickness among them. He thought this was either to

"propitiate the Deity", or to show how little they regarded property in

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comparison to life. The Loucheux lived in fairly large groups, with more emphasis on wealth and rank than the other Athapaskans. To display this wealth and rank, women as well as beads were used, so that men of rank would have several wives, leaving none for the younger and poorer men. Hardisty attributed much of the decline in the Loucheux popu-

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lation to this practice. Séguin declared that the god of the

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Loucheux was tobacco and women.

In general, despite the various adaptations to particular circumstances by each group of Athapaskans, all led most of their lives apart from Europeans, in very small bands based largely on kinship. Custom dictated that after marriage a new family should live in the same location as the bride's family for the first few years of marriage, but

this was the only residential rule. The willingness to change residences as needs or desires dictated, including even the option of changing hunting groups or regional band affiliation, plus the wide choice of marriage partners, including, but not exclusively, cross-cousin marriages, meant that the Athapaskans could develop connections of blood or marriage over a very wide area, and these connections could prove an aid to survival if resources in one region failed. ¹⁵⁰ Such a social system of wide-ranging contacts could also prove an advantage to the efforts of the missionaries, with the conversion of one family affecting missionary contact with many others.

Within these small kinship hunting groups leadership roles were assigned to the best hunter, the best sorcerer, etc. Suitability for these specialized roles was shown in the qualities of the persons selected, and had to be repeatedly demonstrated to maintain the position of leadership. Leadership for the Athapaskans depended on the consensus of the group, not on any official or hereditary position. This leadership was never authoritarian, and no person felt obliged to follow the decisions of the leader, and could freely leave the group if inclined to do so. Even in trade the Athapaskans were individualists, forming no large bands for the purpose, but trading separately in small groups. Theirs was a culture strongly marked by individualism and taciturnity. The only occasions for large gatherings came in the spring and fall to trade, and these were also the occasions for the leisure activities of games and dancing. Missions were also held at this time, so that the Oblates had to compete with both trade and games for the attention of

the Athapaskans.

As the severe subarctic conditions had set limits to the varieties of cultural options open to the Athapaskans, so the conditions of Athapaskan life set limits to the varieties of mission efforts open to the Oblates. They had to attempt to evangelize a people whom they could see only intermittently, for very short periods of the year at the best of times, and not at all at others. No large-scale or long-term settlement was possible. The Oblates were also faced with a culture which had no leadership roles comparable to those of the Europeans, and no priestly roles, except that of sorcerers. The relative poverty and the very real isolation of the Athapaskans from other Europeans were the advantageous aspects of their culture in the eyes of the OMI, while the lack of prolonged contact and of strong leadership roles were drawbacks to evangelization.

The choice of the Chipewyans as the focus of Oblate efforts had not been made from a thorough knowledge of these aspects of their culture. The choice was initially made by Provencher, as bishop, rather than by the Oblates themselves, who came at Provencher's invitation, to serve wherever he assigned them. Provencher chose to direct their efforts there because of the lack of success with the Sauteux, and because of the threatened moves of the Methodists and Anglicans into the northern areas, but most especially because of Mr. Thibault's enthusiastic descriptions of the readiness of the Chipewyan to receive the Gospel. The actual undertaking of the mission would have been impossible without the cooperation of the Hudson's Bay Company.

A variety of factors contributed to the arrival of the Oblates in the North West, and to their choice of the Chipewyan mission. For them, this combination of character and circumstance was regarded as the working of the design of Providence, rather than the evolution of historical events.

This chain of events fits into the normal way of expansion of the nineteenth century Roman Catholic missions. The missionaries were all members of a French religious congregation, invited to the area by a bishop subject to the Propaganda. As such, they were typical of the structure of missions abroad in the nineteenth century Roman Catholic Church. Some concerns over importing French nationals into areas under British and Hudson's Bay Company control were expressed by both Provencher and Sir George Simpson, but for Provencher these paled into insignificance in comparison with the immense expected good to be done to the souls of the Indians. Political considerations or Church-State relations took a minor place when it came to extending the Gospel and the Church, according to the ultramontane tenets of the proper relationship of Church and State, and of priorities. The competition with Protestantism for those souls was also a very important consideration, as for most nineteenth century Roman Catholic missions. And the hopes for conversions raised by the amenable dispositions of the Chipewyans reflected the more utilitarian view of missions which was also a factor in Roman Catholic mission theory, and which was reinforced by the need for support from the business-like French Society for the Propagation of the Faith.

CHAPTER IV

THE EXTENSION OF THE INSTITUTIONAL CHURCH

TO THE ATHAPASKANS

I. Missions established - in cooperation and conflict with the Hudson's Bay Company and the Church Missionary Society

Basic to the extension of the institutional church in the north was the permission, tacit or expressed, of the governing body of the area, the Hudson's Bay Company. The old joke that the letters HBC stood for Here Before Christ was a truism in this respect, and a prime factor for the consideration of those who came after it with the Gospel of Christ. Although the Company, through Sir George Simpson, had actively assisted in the establishment of the Roman Catholic mission at Ile à la Crosse in 1846, its attitude to further extension of the Church was often ambivalent. Simpson himself was very supportive of the establishment at Ile à la Crosse, but was very surprised and somewhat annoyed to learn that year of Bourassa's visit in 1845 to the Peace River posts of the Company, and insisted " I have to beg you will understand that no passages or facilities of any description are to be afforded to those gentl^m to overrun the country without special authority to that effect."

Many of the Company Factors worried about the effects on the

trade of missionary efforts in their territory. Colin Campbell wrote Simpson that "the Indians seem to look up to them for instructions in more than religious matters; but it is to be hoped these Priests will let the Company's business alone."² In the following year he complained again that "with their fawning, crossing and praying etc. etc., they have got quite in the Indians confidence & they (the Indians) run to them with imaginary grievances against us when formerly they looked up to us as their sole protectors."³

Simpson told Campbell that the novelty of the missionary presence would soon wear off, and then the Indians could be expected to resume their usual hunt; in the meantime, the gentlemen of the Company should ensure that their "legitimate influence" over the Indians was maintained.⁴ Simpson also assured Rowand, who was very angry at the free-traders who congregated around Lake Ste. Anne, that missionary interference in purely secular matters would not be tolerated by the Company, although the Company would continue to encourage and assist the missionaries in the purely religious sphere of their occupation.⁵ But as the missions continued to expand, the problems of defining spheres of secular and religious interests in a way which would suit both the missionaries and the commercial interests of the Hudson's Bay Company continued to recur, and accusations against the Oblates continued to be made by some of the Company men.

The accusations against his missionaries roused Taché to make their defence to Simpson, a defence based primarily on utilitarian grounds. He told Simpson that he could prove that some of the missions

often greatly served the commercial interests of the Company. He⁶ probably meant their position at Ile à la Crosse, in preventing the Woods Indians being drawn to the Plains, although he did not specify this. He also would have meant the general encouragement by the missionaries of the paying of debts, in conformity with Catholic morality as well as with good trade practices.

Grandin assured the Governor that although the OMI were determined to make known their religion, they did not want to cause trouble to the Company nor meddle in commerce. He said the OMI tried to have the Company rights respected by their Catholics; in fact, with the arrival of free-traders the Indians accused them of being more the missionaries of the Company than of the Indians.⁷ Taché assured Governor Dallas that he thought free trade would be disastrous to the Indians, and that he favoured Red River remaining under the jurisdiction of the Hudson's Bay Company.⁸ Simpson himself had suggested to Taché that at Ste. Anne's mission the priests might encourage obedience to trade regulations, which had the force of law.⁹ There was a coincidence of Christian ethics and commercial ethics which both the Hudson's Bay Company and the OMI recognized as a common meeting-ground. It was natural for Taché to emphasize to the Company those arguments deriving from that community of interest, rather than the purely religious arguments on which he could expect to find little agreement.

Other Company men sometimes upheld the missionary activity as good for the trade, asserting much the same arguments as Taché.

Roderick McKenzie assured Simpson that the priests urged the Indians
to be industrious and pay their debts. ¹⁰ George Deschambeault agreed
with this. ¹¹ Even Bernard Ross, no friend to the Catholic cause,
praised Père Grollier's zeal in "inciting the natives to habits of good
order and industry". ¹²

Taché was especially incensed at this time by the accusations
against his missionaries and himself on the part of James Anderson.
Anderson had written to Simpson that

These missions seem to have the effect of spoiling all the
Indians with whom they come in contact - the Resolution Indians
have become very troublesome and those at Athabasca & Isle à la
Crosse are by all accounts unbearable. ¹³

Taché had met Anderson at La Loche, and had received the brunt of
Anderson's anger at Père Faraud's attempt to establish a mission at Ft.
Resolution. Anderson had told Faraud he could not establish a mission
there without the express permission of Simpson or Governor Colville.
At this, Faraud, never a very meek person, had "entered into a dis-
quisition on Civil and divine rights, questioned the Co's right to
prevent him and concluded by saying that he had referred the matter
to the decisions of Bishop Taché who I could see at the portage -
this was pretty well for an alien Priest". ¹⁴ Anderson told Taché that
he did not want any missionaries in his district, but if he had to
have any he would prefer Protestant missionaries, because he was him-
self a Protestant, and because they were less trouble and expense to
the trade. Anderson did not cite British nationality as a grounds for
preference, although he did rail against the French priests. ¹⁵

Taché was concerned to counter Anderson's accusations, since he was in the midst of plans to extend his missions to the north, and Anderson was in charge of the Mackenzie District. He insisted to Simpson that his missions were not a trouble to the trade, that the only right they asked was the right to fish for their subsistence in the country, and the favour of transportation of their goods, a favour for which they paid the required price. "In return, we expend for the advantage of the country life, strength & health having only the consolation of being useful, of procuring the salvation of souls & the glory of the God we serve."¹⁶

In common with other missionaries, Catholic and Protestant, of the nineteenth century, Taché was anxious to assure his government of the utilitarian value of his missions, and therefore emphasized the values they brought to the Indians which were shared by the men of the Hudson's Bay Company, rather than the differences of religion which divided the Oblates from the Company men. Since the government he dealt with was a chartered Company rather than a sovereign power, these values tended to be commercial ones, rather than the educational, health, and even national ones stressed in other foreign missions.

But more important than these shared values in Taché's eyes was the duty of evangelization which he considered had been assigned to him and his missionaries by God, acting through the direction of the Roman Catholic Church.

C'est là, je le répète le plus sacré et le plus impérieux de mes devoirs. Dieu lui-même m'en fait une obligation si étroite, qu'il ne me permet pas même de le soumettre à un control humain ¹⁷

Because of this attitude the zeal of the missionaries continued to outrun the caution of the Hudson's Bay Company, and could not be contained by the simple necessity to conform to Company wishes in order to obtain supplies and transport. The Company itself had often little choice but to comply with faits accomplis. Company rules said that all new missions, Protestant or Roman Catholic, must first be authorized by the Governor and Council.¹⁸ But without actually establishing a mission, the missionaries would often ask for transportation to a new site, or obtain their own transport, sometimes ask for hospitality there or provide their own food and shelter. After scouting out the land, and staking some sort of claim through contact with the local tribes, the missionaries would then ask for permission to establish a mission there.¹⁹ The first missionary on the scene had the advantage and the Indians would usually adhere to him, and request his presence again, especially after he had warned them against listening to opposing missionaries. The Company had no choice, in the face of this acquiescence by the Indians, and of public opinion in England in favour of the civilizing purpose of the missions, but to accept the establishment of a mission there. Simpson expressed his idea of the Catholic mission efforts; "where they once obtain a footing they never retreat and every concession they gain merely forms the ground for further demands".²⁰

Simpson insisted to Taché, in reply to his complaints about Anderson's attitude, that no officer in charge could either prevent or facilitate the establishment of a mission in his district, that only the Council had that authority. This was less than candid on Simpson's

part, since even if the officer could not authorize a mission , he could certainly make it easier for some than for others. Simpson also stressed to Taché that both the Roman Catholic and the Protestant missions were, by their unrestrained zeal, threatening the resources of the country, and thus the well-being of the Hudson's Bay Company. The Company would have to insist that any requests for missions must be sent to the Council, giving details of the locality in which they hoped to establish, the means there to maintain a mission, and the prospects of a mission being useful to the Indians there. If the Council agreed with what the bishops outlined to them, then it would direct the officer in charge to assist in the establishment of the proposed mission. Simpson also reminded Taché "that so far you have not sought or obtained sanction of Council for the establishment of new missions²¹ either in the Athabasca or Mackenzie River region".

On the same day Simpson wrote to James Anderson about Taché's complaints of Anderson's behaviour, and in this he presented the dilemma facing the Company. He agreed with Anderson on the inadvisability of unrestricted extensions of missions in the north, and on the need to control the zeal of the bishops and prevent their independence of²² action. Yet Simpson felt obliged to remind Anderson to keep a conciliatory tone with the missionaries, and if he had to refuse them assistance, to explain it was only in obedience to orders from the Governor and Committee, not from any personal bias. Simpson also reminded Anderson that while the missionaries could not be allowed to act independently of the Company, the Company itself was not unrestricted in its actions. If the missionaries were to accuse the Company of

interference with them, and of thus hampering the cause of Christianity, such charges would influence public opinion a great deal, and would be of a kind which the Company would find it impossible to refute adequately. Especially because of the impending expiry of the Company license to trade the factor of public opinion was one of considerable weight with the Company.²³

Throughout these years the Roman Catholic missions continued to expand into the Athabasca and Mackenzie regions. Much of this expansion was made possible by the personal contacts and good-will of the men of the Hudson's Bay Company. Eden Colvile in his few years at Red River showed marked favoritism to the Catholic missions. Through him Provencher obtained lodging for priests at the Company posts at Fond du Lac (Athabasca) and at Ft. Resolution on Great Slave Lake.²⁴ Colvile explained some of his reasons for this to Simpson, maintaining that it was out of the question for the Anglicans to establish a mission in the Athabasca of Mackenzie regions because they had to have a wife and about two boat loads of goods, provisions and luxuries. He contrasted the small cost of the Catholic mission at Ile à la Crosse with the heavy expenses of the Church Missionary Society mission at the Pas, and concluded that with the limited resources and transportation to the Athabasca and Mackenzie regions, the Company could not possibly encourage Protestant missions there. In his opinion the Catholic missionaries were "much better fitted for missionaries in this country, than members of the English Church - from their self-denial, and the way they accommodate themselves to the circumstances of the country."²⁵

Colvile might have been motivated in favour of the Roman Catholic missions by the presence of his wife, who was a Catholic; the Oblates certainly hoped that this would be so. ²⁶ A more important incentive to Colvile in favouring the Catholic over the CMS missions was his anger at the Anglicans of Red River, whom he characterized as "the most intolerable medellers and idiots I ever had anything to do with", ²⁷ although he excepted Mr. Hunter from this condemnation. This feeling persisted, and in 1857 Taché informed Faraud that Colvile in London had suggested a Catholic mission be established at Good Hope on the Mackenzie River, and had promised all possible help. Taché said the Company men were furious at the ministers "who run them down in England in astonishing fashion". ²⁸ Colvile's suspicions of the Anglican clergy were shared by men such as Donald Ross, who said that Bishop Anderson and his clergy were anything but loyal subjects to the Company after all that was done for them; Ross was also suspicious of the Catholic clergy, who were then very quiet, he thought, but had always had a great deal of radicalism among them, which the Company ²⁹ could not afford to forget. Colvile himself was not entirely enamoured of the Catholic clergy nor blind to their faults, but he was ready to encourage their missions as the cheapest, better-adapted to the country, and preferable to the Anglicans.

Simpson disagreed with Colvile in his attitude to the extension of the Roman Catholic mission effort. He told Colvile that he deplored the rapid spread of Roman Catholic influence along the Canadian frontier and from the missions of Red River; from a letter

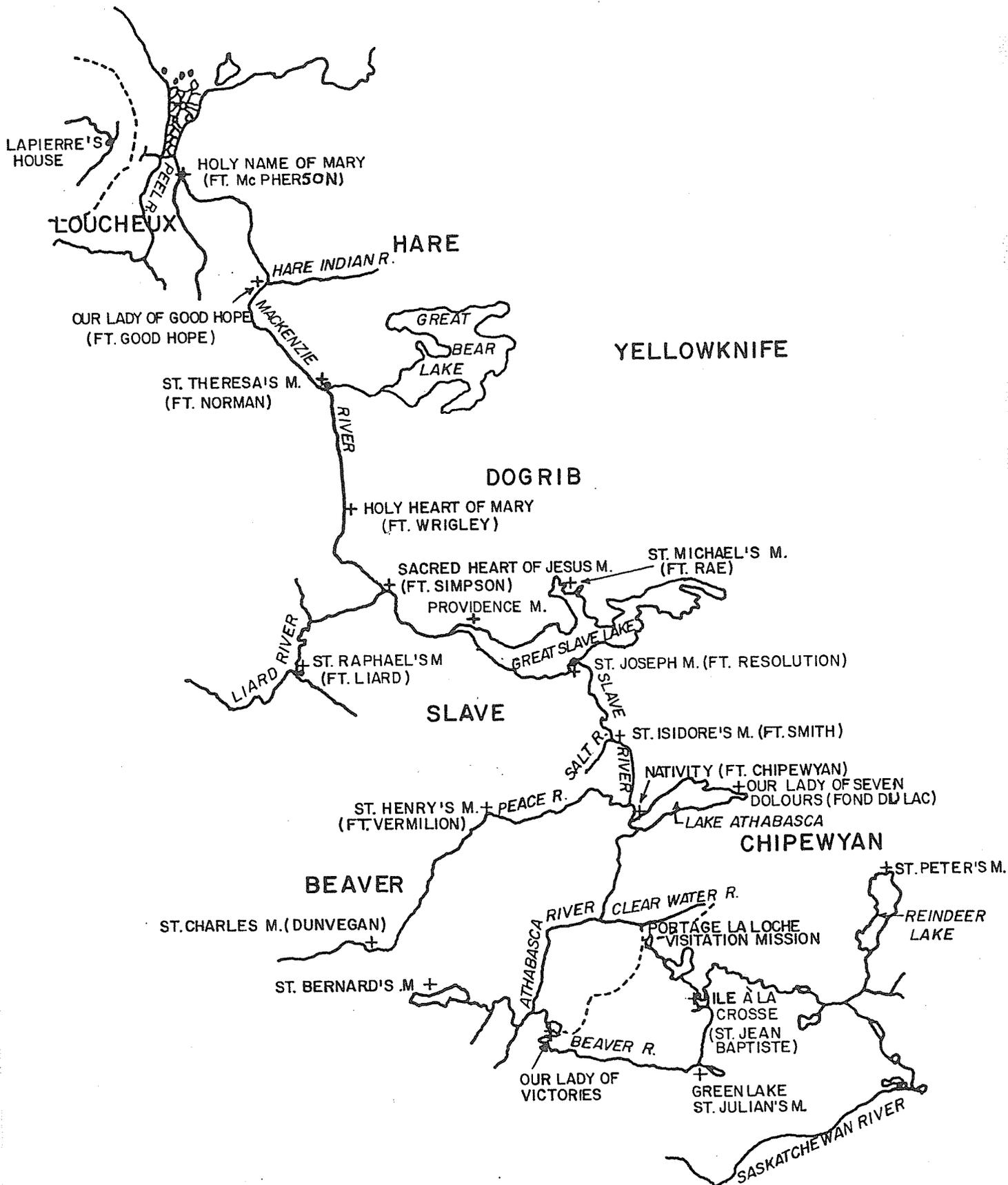
he had received from James Anderson, Simpson thought the Roman Catholics intended pushing into the Mackenzie District and claiming the whole region. Simpson wrote that, speaking from his long experience of Canada and of the Hudson's Bay Company territories, he could admire the zeal and perseverance of the Roman Catholic missionaries, but that their teachings did not produce as solid and permanent effects on the natives as did the Protestants. Simpson also thought that since the Company had been active in promoting the establishment of the Bishopric of Rupert's Land it ought to favour the Anglican missions over those of the Roman Catholics. ³⁰ But Colville's position on the spot, and the lack of alternative missions by the Anglicans as yet, as well as the zeal of the OMI, meant that the Roman Catholic missions continued to expand.

Personal contact by Oblate bishops in London was often helpful in securing the cooperation of the Company in the establishment of further missions by the Oblates. The mission at Good Hope, far down the Mackenzie River within the Arctic Circle, owed much in its origin to Taché's visit to London in 1856, as well as to the influence of Colville there. On this visit Taché contacted both Colville and Simpson, as well as the London Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, and secured their authorization to establish at Good Hope as soon as he could. It was also due to this visit that free passage was given the following year to York Factory from London for Pères Frain and Eynard, and for Frère Kearney. In 1859 Taché wrote Simpson that he now had a priest to go to Good Hope, Père Grollier, and asked for passage for him in the Company boats to Good Hope, board and lodging for him there, and ³¹ assistance to establish a mission without delay. Simpson wrote to

Bernard Ross and all the officers in charge of the Mackenzie District authorizing Grollier to establish the mission at Good Hope, granting him passage in the Company craft, and hospitality at the Company post for the ensuing winter.³² This aid by the Company was a tremendous financial assistance to the Oblates in furthering their missions, as well as a legal and psychological benefit to their position in the north.

In 1863 Bishop Faraud, on his way to France for his consecration, met Governor Dallas and Mr. McTavish at St. Claude, and declared he had never met English so "gentils".³³ Faraud thought Taché should take advantage of this good personal contact he had made, for he thought Dallas had agreed with Faraud's plans for the extension of his missions in the Athabasca and Mackenzie regions. Faraud asked Taché to request Dallas' permission to build a house for the Oblates at Ft. Liard, Peel's River, and Ft. Esquimaux. Dallas was not quite convinced of the need for this, but did tell Wm. Hardisty that "we certainly find the Roman Catholics more moderate in their requirements, and that they support us generally better than the protestants do".³⁴ Dallas felt that three stations to each denomination were enough to have in the region.³⁵

Despite the varying attitude of the Company and the threat from the Church Missionary Society missionaries, the missions of the OMI expanded rapidly, and by 1860 had reached almost all of the Athapaskan groups living beyond the Chipewyans and east of the Rockies - the Yellowknives, Beavers, Dogribs, Hares, Slaves, Loucheux - and had made attempts to reach the Eskimos. From the first mission at Ile à la Crosse, named the mission of St. Jean Baptiste, the Oblates visited La



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Loche when the brigades were there, and also visited Green Lake and Lac la Ronge. Taché travelled far north from Ile à la Crosse in 1847, his second year in the north, to begin a mission on Deer Lake, which was called St. Peter's.³⁶ In that same year Taché visited Ft. Chipewyan on Lake Athabasca, inaugurating the Oblate activity in the Athabasca District, an initiative followed up the next year by Père Faraud who began to build a mission there, called the Nativity Mission.³⁷

From this mission of the Nativity, Père Grollier travelled in 1853 to begin the mission of Our Lady of Seven Dolours at Fond du Lac. This mission had the blessing of the Hudson's Bay Company, and Simpson enclosed a letter of recommendation for it in a letter to Taché.³⁸

In 1853 also Père Faraud travelled from Nativity to the Peace River, visiting the Beaver Indians at Dunvegan and Vermilion, spots previously visited by Mr. Bourassa. Faraud thus inaugurated the OMI missions on the Peace River, which later came to be called the missions of St. Henry (Dunvegan) and St. Charles (Vermilion). No permanent establishment was made on the Peace River, however, until 1868 when Père Tissier was sent to Vermilion.

From Nativity the Oblates also visited Salt River, where the Beaulieu family lived; when a mission was later established there it was called the mission of St. Isidore. The Hudson's Bay Company established Ft. Smith there.

From Lake Athabasca the Oblates quickly extended into Great

Slave Lake. Faraud visited Ft. Resolution in 1851, apparently with
the permission of Governor Colvile. Faraud intended to return to
build a permanent mission there in 1854, but James Anderson had told
Faraud he could not build a mission without the express permission of
Sir George or Governor Colvile, which Anderson felt would not be forth-
coming because of the lack of resources in the Mackenzie District.
This refusal had roused Faraud's ire and led to the quarrel between
himself and Anderson over the rights of missions versus those of the
Company. In 1857, however, Simpson did send a letter with Père
Faraud to help him establish a mission at Ft. Resolution. Misunder-
standings ensued also from this. Simpson assumed his letter was only
to ensure the assistance of the officer there in meeting the Indians,
not necessarily his assistance in erecting the buildings of a mission.
He told Bernard Ross to treat the priests with civility and attention,
giving them no excuse to complain of the Company officers impeding them.
Beyond this negative support, the missionaries had no claim on the
Company; "they are making their way into McKenzie River on their own
responsibility and must themselves find the means for carrying on their
operations." But in 1858 after Taché had asked for more positive
support, Simpson wrote Ross to provide the assistance the priests
needed to have timber sawed and other materials provided for building.
This was not done at Company expense, but was paid for by Taché.
This mission at Ft. Resolution was dedicated to St. Joseph.

With this mission at Ft. Resolution the Oblates had taken their
first step into the Mackenzie District of the Hudson's Bay Company,

which appeared to them to offer great hopes for their missions. The Oblates were impressed by the vastness of the region, by its importance as a resource area for the fur-trade, and most especially by the numbers of new tribes it offered to be evangelized and won to the Church. This presented the Oblates an unparalleled opportunity to reach new "savages" before the Anglicans could, and before too much European contact could ruin them.

The Oblates continued to assume authority when not expressly denied it. In 1860 Ross scolded Taché for the high-handed way in which Père Eynard had embarked on the boats of Ft. Rae.

Your clergy had, my Lord, better act very quietly with the Gentlemen of the District. And not take anything on themselves, without my assured authority, when of course they are quite secure, as the generality of the officers are rather bigotted religionists and would not be unwilling to see one of your creed placed in a false position.⁴⁵

In this case again the demands of God's work assumed a much higher priority with the Oblates than the regulations of the Company, especially when as in this case it coincided with efforts to forestall the Protestant missionaries.

Providence Mission was established by Bishop Grandin in 1861 at the outlet of Great Slave Lake into the Mackenzie River, at a spot called the Rapids, previously visited by the OMI, but destined now to be definitively established and given new importance as the episcopal headquarters of the new Vicar Apostolic of the Athabasca-Mackenzie, Henri Faraud. This mission was unlike most of the others established by the Oblates in the north, for it preceded the establishment of a post there.⁴⁶

From St. Joseph's mission at Ft. Resolution the Oblates had travelled often to Ft. Rae, at the north end of Great Slave Lake. These visits began in 1858, although the mission of St. Michael at Ft. Rae was not a permanent mission until 1870. In 1869 the Oblates hastily established a permanent mission at St. Ann's, Hay River, a spot also frequently visited in previous years. Their haste in this case was prompted by rumours that the Church Missionary Society planned⁴⁷ to establish a mission there. In this way the OMI covered Great Slave Lake with their missions, and were able to maintain contact with all the surrounding peoples.

Along the Mackenzie River the Oblates established missions at all the important posts. At Ft. Simpson, the headquarters of the District, although they were unable to build a resident mission, they did visit frequently after the first visit by Père Grollier in 1858. The mission at Ft. Simpson they called the Sacred Heart Mission, a name chosen as suitable to the headquarters of the district, and the site of the most formidable opposition from the CMS. This choice of name reflected the deep French devotion to the Sacred Heart, and perhaps somewhat of its political overtones of connection to legitimate authority. It also was connected with the hope that such devotion would be rewarded by spiritual benefits, the adherence of the Indians of Ft. Simpson to the Roman Catholic Church rather than the Anglican.

Père Grollier was in the forefront of the Oblates along the Mackenzie, beginning most of their missions there. Despite the severe

asthma from which he suffered and was soon to die, and despite, or perhaps because of, his abrasive personality, he was an indefatigable founder of new missions. Besides Ft. Simpson he visited Fr. Wrigley in 1858, beginning the Holy Heart of Mary mission there. As the number of Indians there was relatively small this was not a permanent mission, but was visited frequently by the Oblates from Ft. Norman and Ft. Simpson on their travels. Grollier visited Ft. Norman on his way down to Good Hope in 1859, and began the mission of Ste. Theresa there to serve the Indians from Great Bear Lake who came there to trade. He also visited Ft. McPherson at the junction of Peel's River with the Mackenzie in 1860, beginning the Holy Name of Mary mission there, the first of the Oblates beyond the Arctic Circle. This mission also was the first time the Oblates had contact with the Eskimos of the Mackenzie region. Grollier claimed to have reconciled the Eskimos and the Loucheux there in 1860. Grollier was perhaps the most "ultra" of the ultramontane Oblates, convinced that error had no rights, and that the Church had perfect freedom to act in the cause of religion, and that governors had no right to oppose it in this. He worried constantly about the inroads of the CMS into the Mackenzie, and made every effort he could to counter them, even when he could barely walk with his asthma. The other Oblates recognized his zeal, though they were sometimes embarrassed by it. Faraud told Mazenod that Grollier was always full of zeal, but not always directed by wisdom, and drew the hatred and laughter of many, yet God knew how to use him for His glory, and the whole of the Great River was for the Oblates.

From the Mackenzie River posts the Oblates also served Ft. Liard on the Liard River, beginning the mission of St. Raphael there with visits from 1858, and a permanent establishment in 1868.

The Oblates also extended southwards to Lac la Biche in 1853, a mission which had been visited by Thibault and Bourassa in the 1840s and by Père Lacombe in the 1850s. Père Rémas was sent there to establish a definite mission residence in 1853. This mission served a mixed population of Métis, Cree, and a few Chipewyans. Its primary function for the Athabasca and Mackenzie regions was to serve as an entrepôt and supply route for them. In later years this mission was a bone of contention between Bishop Grandin, in whose diocese of St. Albert it belonged by geography, and Bishop Faraud of the Athabasca-Mackenzie to whom it had been assigned at the division of Taché's diocese in 1868. Grandin had at first agreed to assigning this mission to Faraud, because of its function as entrepôt for the northern missions, but regretted his acceptance soon after, and tried for twenty years to get it re-assigned to his diocese. Faraud declared it was absolutely essential to the survival of his vicariate, and held on to it until the advent of steamships on Lake Athabasca made transport to the northern missions simpler and more reliable.

The Oblate extension of the institutional Church to the Athapaskans by way of all these missions fitted in to the accepted mode of nineteenth century expansion of the Roman Catholic Church. It extended to the Athapaskans the same faith and the same religious services which were offered to the people of Europe, Asia, and Africa. Though

these services were not continual through the year in the north, the content of evangelization was to be the same as all other Roman Catholic missions, and the converts were to share the same faith. But in extending the Church to the north, the Oblates had also to conform to some extent to the circumstances of the country and people there which differed from the rest of the world. Missions in the north had to be situated near trading-posts, both for the survival of the missionaries, dependent on the posts for supplies, communication, and transport, and for the missionary contact with the Athapaskans which was the primary purpose of their presence in the north.

To the modern eye the logical extension of the Church would have been to radiate out from St. Boniface across the prairie. But having accepted the impossibility for the present of converting either the Sauteux or the Plains Indians, and the readiness of the Athapaskans to receive the faith, as well as the urgent need to forestall the Protestant hopes to extend to the north, it was logical then for Provencher, and later Taché, to extend the Church to the north along the Company lines of transport, and with at least the initial consent of the Company. The fur trade then dictated the actual sites of missions, as the railroad and settlement would later dictate the sites of parishes.

Each mission established by the OMI was not just an end in itself, but served as a bridgehead for further expansion. Each group of Indians contacted roused hopes for the conversion of the next group, and each dialect learned furthered the opportunities for more contacts.

Not all of the missions named by the Oblates were permanent missions with resident priests. They had neither the finances nor the personnel to maintain so many. But by strategically siting their permanent missions, and by shifting personnel around to meet opportunities or needs (primarily the need to combat the CMS), the Oblates were able to visit most of their missions at the time of trade-gathering, and to give intensive missions then similar to those given in their French home missions. Even the permanent missions which they did establish did not resemble diocesan parishes with a priest always in residence, but preserved the characteristics of a mission. The priest was often called away to other localities, to visit the sick or give a brief mission, sometimes leaving a lay-brother in charge of the mission residence. This was not considered a good thing to do, nor suited to the Oblate Rule which insisted that neither a priest nor a brother should be left alone. Yet isolation was for long a continuing and unavoidable problem in the northern mission, regrettable but acceptable to those in charge as part of the necessary price to save the souls of those Indians threatened not only by their own unbelief but by the efforts of the CMS to draw them into "heresy".

The institutional extension of the Church into the districts of Athabasca and Mackenzie would have been impossible without the consent of the Hudson's Bay Company. This consent was sometimes assumed to be forthcoming, however, and the Oblates acted upon the assumption, without waiting for the reality. The Company did not forbid the missionaries to visit sites, but did not always provide

facilities for them. The missionaries resented any denial of facilities, although the Company was under no legal obligation to provide them. The zeal of the missionaries refused to be bound by the caution of the Company, and the Company could not effectively counter that zeal with its commercial arguments. In the end, the Oblates established themselves almost everywhere they wanted to, and the Company accepted these establishments, seeing no alternative. As early as 1849 Hudson Bay House had informed Simpson:

The Roman Catholics appear to be extending their influence with their usual pertinacity on both sides of the Rocky Mountains, which we concur with you in thinking is far from desirable; but unless Protestant Missionary societies show a desire to pre-occupy the field, we do not see how they can be prevented.⁵⁰

Besides the problem of whether or not to allow the various missions to be established in the territory which they governed, the Company also faced severe problems of supply and transportation, which gave considerable difficulties for their own posts, difficulties complicated considerably by the establishment of so many missions. Self-support through agriculture was impossible in the north, and the Company as well as the missionaries depended on the meat supplied by the Indians and the fish from the fisheries. In the early years in the Athabasca the Company had agreed to supply three rations of fish per day to the Catholic mission. This was discontinued in 1857 although⁵¹ the meat ration was still to be given. Taché apparently complained of this, for Simpson wrote him in 1858 that the arrangement made between Provencher and Colville for two free rations of fish per day in the Athabasca was not meant to be permanent, but only as a form of

assistance in the first years of establishment in the district.

Now that the mission had its own establishment with its own servants
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for fishing, the time had come to discontinue it.

Connected with the problem of provisions for the missions was the problem of trade. Simpson had ordered in 1846 that the missionaries could only trade with the Indians for their own provisions, but for this they needed something to trade, a selection of goods which would not in any way interfere with the Company business. In 1853 Boucher at Ft. Chipewyan asked Faraud not to give the Indians debt in provisions and leather; Boucher said this would be against Company wishes, and the missionaries had no need to do it, because the Company already pro-
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vided them with rations. Hardisty complained in 1863 that the Indians would scarcely give any Grease to the Company because they had exchanged it at the mission for ribbons and other fineries. He suggested that the mission should only give tobacco and ammunition for
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Grease as the Company did. In 1866 he complained that Père Séguin at Peel's River the previous summer had traded a large number of moose-skins from the Indians in exchange for printed cotton and handkerchiefs,
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causing Mr. Flett at the post to run short of leather. In these cases, the missionaries were not violating Company regulations, but only differing with the Company men on the interpretation of what was permissible to trade for provisions.

There were a few individual cases where the missionaries did trade with the Indians in ways which the Company would have found illegal. But the official policy of the Oblates agreed with that of

the Company, and Taché felt obliged to remind some missionaries of this.

Je ne veux pas que vous achetez des pellêteries ni par vous ni par d'autres. Comme premier pasteur j'ai personnellement la responsabilité du succès des missions et je regarde comme très nuisible aux missions en général et à la vôtre en particulier l'achat qui se ferait de cet article.⁵⁶

The sorest point for both the missionaries and the Company was the question of ammunition as an article of trade by the missionaries. The Company wanted to maintain control of this, as vital to the trade. Simpson told Taché he would send in the supplies requested by Faraud except for the ammunition; this he could obtain from the Company store⁵⁷ for his own personal use, but not for use as a trade item. Taché reminded Simpson in 1858 of his promise that the missionaries would have a sufficient supply of ammunition provided for them at the posts in the interior, thus preventing the necessity of importing it, and declared that the judgment of how much was sufficient should be left⁵⁸ to the missionaries. Ammunition was the most valuable article for trade, and a supply of it in the interior saved the cost of importing heavy loads of other trade articles.

Besides articles to trade the missionaries required Mass wine, vestments, altar supplies, their religious habits and other clothing,⁵⁹ rosaries and crosses to give to the Indians, books for themselves and catechisms and ABCs for their schools. The arduous nature of the Portage La Loche meant that the Company had great difficulty in finding men to undertake it, and the importing of too many goods in the boats endangered the fragile lifeline to the north. Yet if the mission goods were left behind, as occasionally happened, the missions could be in

serious trouble, and their complaints were bound to be vociferous.

Provencher asked Simpson as early as 1852 for more definite arrangements about the transportation of goods such as habits, nets and Mass wine, the absolute necessities for the missions. Provencher claimed that too often these were left behind at Brochet River, or were overcharged. He implied that he would have to use free-traders if the Company could not be more secure in its arrangements, but was sure that Simpson would not want that. Taché repeated this request for a definite arrangement, again using the argument that he was sure the Company would prefer that to forcing Taché to use Red River Métis to supply his missions. Although the Church would welcome Company transport, and wanted to conform to Company wishes as much as possible, Taché felt he could not leave the survival of his missions to the "caprices" of boatmen or guides.

Simpson replied to Taché that he was happy to make definite arrangements for the transport of mission property (ignoring the implied threat of free-traders). Taché was to designate the amount of freight he required each year, and where the pieces were to be sent. His property would then be carried "as if it were part of our own outfits for those places, to be delivered as regularly, charging freight according to the scale established by the Council."

To save the trouble and expense of freighting in goods, the missions were encouraged to obtain as much of their provisions as they could from the Company's inland posts. In the same letter in which

Taché had asked for definite arrangements for the transportation of goods he had also asked Simpson if he could check on the price of the provisions inland to the missionaries. Taché thought they had been promised to the missions at inventory prices, but were being charged at fifty per cent more. ⁶⁴ Taché was apparently right in this, for in 1849 the Council had decreed that Country and Colonial, Red River provisions should be sold to Missionaries and Strangers at inventory prices. ⁶⁵ All purchases made by missionaries on the east side of the Mountains were to be charged at Clerk's Tariff. ⁶⁶

The Company found itself in increasing difficulty with these regulations as the number of missions multiplied, and as increasing numbers of "strangers" came to visit the northern posts. Simpson told McTavish in 1854 that the Company would soon have to change the arrangements and charge the missionaries the same price as strangers, and not allow them to send their orders to York Factory like those in the service. "The time is past for patting missionaries on the back & shewing them every indulgence at the cost of the concern." ⁶⁷

Faraud complained bitterly of the change in the Company attitude:

La compagnie nous souffre parce qu'elle ne peut pas faire autrement mais d'un autre côté elle cherche à nous viser tant qu'elle peut. ⁶⁸

Faraud went on to say that each year the Company passed new laws. The past year the law required the Company authorization before the OMI could establish any new mission. This year (1855) they required payment of passage based on an estimated weight of three hundred pounds

per missionary! Another Company rule determined the quantity and quality of the articles the missionaries could have, and denied them the very powder on which their lives depended. Faraud lamented the fact that the missionaries were at the mercy of the Company, since they had to travel on Company boats. The difficulties of communication and the lack of provisions forced the OMI, according to Faraud, to act contrary to their aim of the good of souls. He would have preferred a more independent position for the Church vis-à-vis the Company, a better way in his mind to secure the evangelization which was the purpose of the OMI in the country.

Such an independent position for the Church was as yet impossible to attain, and the Company continued to pass regulations governing the transport of missionaries and their goods. In 1858 the charges for passages for the first time set missionaries on the same level as members of scientific expeditions and tourists. For an adult the charge was equal to five pieces of freight at the established tariff, and for children under twelve at three pieces. These passengers were also to be charged for their baggage as freight, at the usual tariff for freight.⁶⁹ Another resolution the same year did give the missionaries some advantage over "strangers" by ruling that the tariff for freight by the Company boats should be the same for missionaries as for the Company Officers and Servants, and slightly higher for strangers.⁷⁰

In 1865 changes were made in the rules governing provisions and freight.⁷¹ Resolution 75 of that year ordered that all

missionaries of any denomination be warned that on and after June 1, 1866 the tariff on goods sold to missionaries inland would be increased because of the increased costs of transportation to the interior, and the charges from York Factory to the inland posts would also be increased. Missionaries who wanted their supplies furnished by the Company should send their orders to York Factory or Red River. In 1866⁷² the regulations became more stringent, and Resolution 74 of that year ruled that henceforth no sales were to be made to missionaries inland except in cases of absolute necessity, and when such sales were made they were to be charged at one hundred per cent of prime cost. The tariff on sales to missions from York Factory was to be fifty per cent of prime cost, and a scale of freight to the interior was attached. From York Factory to Lake Athabasca this was to be at forty shillings for Company men, and at seventy for missionaries and other strangers. From York Factory to Mackenzie River the rate was to be fifty-five and seventy-five respectively. This resolution was repeated in 1867. In 1869 Bishop Faraud thought the Company had refused to be responsible⁷³ any longer for the transport of goods to the Athabasca-Mackenzie, a sad prospect. This refusal of the Company was not maintained, however, and the Company did continue to be the main source of transport in the north through the 1870s.

The changes in the rules through the 1860s reflect a changing relationship between the Hudson's Bay Company and the missions. In part this was due to attempts to formalize the more casual and ad hoc relationships of the early period. In part, also, it reflected the

increasingly heavy burden on the inadequate transportation system of the fur-trade days - a system which had been stretched to accommodate the early missions in addition to the fur-trading posts of the north, and which was further stretched by the failure to obtain a consistent supply of labour for the heavy work of the transport brigades. The early dependence on personal good will and accommodation of either side to the needs of the other was unable to cope with the greater demands of the 1860s. Yet the missionaries resented the more commercial emphasis of the Hudson's Bay Company in the transport system of the 1860s, and the ranking of missionaries with other persons outside the Company.

To avoid their absolute dependence on the Company for the supplying of their missions, the Oblates tried to work out alternative means. This usually meant some form of overland transport, but these were never successful enough to replace the Company in the years before 1870. Taché and Faraud were convinced that supplies could be brought to Lac la Biche overland by cart from Red River, winter there, and be sent to the northern missions in the spring by the La Biche River.⁷⁴ It was because of this conviction that Taché had ensured that Faraud should have the Lac la Biche mission in his vicariate, at the division of St. Boniface in 1868. Faraud made heroic efforts to construct a cart road between Lac la Biche and Lake Athabasca, after the river proved unnavigable,⁷⁵ but found the terrain very swampy. Some of the Chief Factors of the Company had apparently promised support for this road,⁷⁶ but the Company never gave official sanction to it, and Faraud eventually had to abandon it.⁷⁷ In 1870 the OMI were still dependent on the Company for transport, independence in this respect lying some

years in the future.

Connected to the problems of transportation and provision was the problem of hiring help for the missions. The missionaries preferred the assistance of a lay-brother, consistent and dependable, as well as being a member of the same religious congregation, but there were never enough lay-brothers for their purposes. Instead the priests had to do much of the heavy labour of constructing missions themselves, especially in the early years. But they had to hire servants to hunt and fish for them, just as the men of the Hudson's Bay Company did. These engagés were a heavy expense to the missions, for to hire a Métis or Indian man meant the support of his entire family. Often the wife would do the laundry or cooking while the husband did the hunting and provisioning, but these hirings were seldom long-lasting or stable enough for the missionary needs. The missionaries preferred to hire retiring servants of the Company, whom they thought made the best workmen available. But the Company required these men to work out their contracts by going out on the brigades, and then returning inland if they wanted to work for the missions. The missionaries protested against this, and wanted to hire the men on the spot, since once out of the area, they were less inclined to return to the missions, and their fare back had to be paid or worked. Simpson told Faraud in this connection that the Company could not do without the men to man the boats to the depots, but if the retiring servants then wanted to return to work for the mission the Company would supply them with the return passage.

Besides hiring retiring servants of the Company, the

missionaries also often wanted to use the active servants of the Company during the winter when they were not so busy at the posts. Eventually the Company made arrangements for this, and the men were paid by the missions for the labour involved, saving the Company the cost of their wages for that period of time. Such help was at the discretion of the servant in charge of the post, but the bishops tried to enlist the support of the governors of the Company for it.

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The problem for the Company of the obligation enforced by public opinion of encouraging the growth of Christianity and civilization among the Indians, and the apparent growing monopoly of the missions of the north by the Roman Catholic Church in the persons of the Oblates, and regardless of Company attempts to limit that growth, led the Company to encourage the Anglicans to extend their missions into the Mackenzie District. The Company had already contributed to the establishment of the Church of England in the Red River settlement, and thought it should extend from there as the Roman Catholics had from St. Boniface. The Bishop of Rupert's Land, David Anderson, shared this view, as did many of the men of the Mackenzie District, especially James Anderson. Anderson had accepted the presence of the Oblates in the Athabasca District when he was there, although he had not encouraged them. But Anderson was quite convinced that the Mackenzie District could never support missions. A Protestant mission he felt would be far too expensive because of the enormous supplies it would require, while a Catholic mission, although cheaper, would antagonize most of the men, since all the officers and most of the servants were Protestants.

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The appearance of the Oblate missions in the Mackenzie overcame Anderson's scruples about the expense of Protestant missions, and he wrote to Bishop Anderson on behalf of the men of the district, requesting a Protestant minister in the Mackenzie to regularize marriages and baptize children. Bishop Anderson agreed with this, and assigned Archdeacon Hunter to go north, asking for a free passage for him
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"which is, I believe, usually granted to the RC priests". Hunter was given free passage to Ft. Simpson where he was to be entertained as a guest for the following winter while he collected information
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and made the necessary arrangements for a permanent establishment there.

The CMS mission faced the same problems of transport and supplies which the Roman Catholics did. Simpson insisted to Bishop Anderson that the mission could not be supplied by the Company but must be self-supporting, especially since the Anglicans planned to have a school and collect the Indians about the mission. A site should be selected not too near the post, and, as Simpson constantly reiterated to missionaries, it should be near a fishing spot. The Anglican task was complicated by the problem of finding an unmarried missionary to go to the Mackenzie, or a married one who would leave his family for a time. Mr. Kirkby of the CMS found in this respect that the Roman Catholic system of celibacy showed a "worldly wisdom", since it was
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better-suited to that difficult country.

The CMS mission had other advantages, however. After Hunter's arrival the men of the Mackenzie District united to petition for the permanent establishment of the Church of England, and only the Church

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of England, in the district. They were so committed to this that they raised a large sum of money for a church and house to be built at Ft. Simpson. Because of this request and financial aid, Bishop Anderson felt able to send Mr. Kirkby, accompanied by John Hope, to build a mission there. He asked Simpson for passage for Kirkby and Hope, and for freight for ten pieces. This request was granted, and Kirkby and John Hope were granted passages; at Ft. Simpson Kirkby was to be treated as a guest until his own buildings were erected, while John Hope, being "to all intents & purposes an Indian" was not to be treated as a messmate.

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Despite the aid by the men of the Mackenzie District to the beginning of the CMS mission there, Simpson reminded Bernard Ross, then in charge, that he must be impartial to both creeds. Taché had complained to Simpson of Ross' treatment of his Oblates, and of his trying to prevent the Indians from going over to the Catholics in preference to Hunter. Taché claimed that the Indians had asked for the Catholic priest, had received him with enthusiasm because he spoke their language, and had paid no attention to the minister, who did not speak their language.

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Simpson himself had always felt that the collision of creeds could only unsettle the minds of the Indians, who could not be expected to understand the fine points of doctrine separating them, and would instead suspect the motives of all missionaries. Such unsettling effects and suspicions could have repercussions on the relationship between the Indians and the Hudson's Bay Company, and Simpson was

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anxious to avoid any such detrimental effects on the trade.

The Oblates were determined, however, not to cede ground to the CMS in the Mackenzie. Bishop Grandin assured the Governor that the way to get rid of the Oblates was not to call in the Protestants, for that only forced the Roman Catholics to increase their forces. Besides he was sure that the Company did not want to alienate all the Catholic servants and Indians of the Mackenzie District by attacking their religion or their priests. Grandin was here outlining the difference in support for the two faiths - the Catholic upheld by the lesser servants and many Indians, the Anglicans by the officers in charge.

Despite the Company policy that its men should be impartial, the OMI often complained of interference in favour of the CMS missionaries by individual factors or postmasters. In some cases these complaints appeared to be justified. At Ft. Yukon all the facilities of the post were extended to Mr. McDonald, whereas Père Séguin had to fend for himself. In addition to the facilities of the post, the CMS mission there could rely on the influence of the postmaster and his wife with the Indians. McDonald noted that the work of the Gospel continued at Lapierre's House and Peel's River even though he was not able to be there himself. Andrew Flett and his wife at Peel's River held services for the Indians and warned them against popery, as James Flett and his wife did at Lapierre's House. The OMI often remarked on the influence of the Company wives over the Indians, and their freedom to act in favour of their religion despite the restraints of impartiality imposed on their husbands by the Company policy of non-

interference.

Nationalism became more marked in the conflict between the two religions than it had been between the Oblates and the Company alone. Père Grollier claimed that the Protestants wanted to get rid of the OMI, and make the Mackenzie River their "Paraguay", and that they sought to extend English domination along with their missions.⁹¹ To counter this, Grollier thought, "Dieu a besoin de montrer surtout en ce moment qu'il n'est pas protestant"⁹² - a variation on the theme that God is an Englishman! On the other hand, Catholic attacks on the Protestant religion were often assumed to be attacks on England by French men. Bernard Ross wrote in this vein to Simpson about Grollier's attacks on Hunter;

they find it rather hard that an alien, a frenchman, should be allowed to run down, not only their religion, but their country as well to the natives, and this upon British Territory.⁹³

The rivalry of the Anglican and Roman Catholic missions in the north was a protracted struggle for religious supremacy over the Indians with overtones of nationalism. This conflict led to many accusations of unfair practices, such as buying "tobacco Christians", or seducing the weak with gifts of tea. The Hudson's Bay Company was in the uncomfortable position of being caught in the middle of this conflict. It tried to prevent the two mission enterprises from establishing at the same posts, and ordered its men to show no bias. But it was not an era of ecumenism, and each side was equally convinced of its messianic purpose in the world and in the Mackenzie. Neither side was ready to give quarter on the Mackenzie, and each tried to forestall the other all the way down the Mackenzie and into the Yukon.

II. Missionaries

In the evangelization of the peoples of the Athabasca and Mackenzie, the first prerequisite was to provide priests, far more important to the institutional extension of the Church than buildings or sites of missions. The provision of the latter was influenced both by the Hudson's Bay Company and by the presence of various groups of Indians, while the provision of clergy in this period depended almost entirely on France. Until 1870 the Oblates had a total of twenty-six priests and eight lay-brothers who worked in the Athabasca and Mackenzie Districts. Two of these priests, Gascon and Lacombe, had come to the West as secular priests from Quebec, but soon joined the Oblates. These two priests and Taché were the only Canadian Oblate priests in this period, while the others all came from France. Of the lay-brothers Frère Bowes and Frère Dubé came from Quebec, while Frères Kearney and Hand came from Ireland, and all the others came from France. This heavy dependence on France for personnel was typical of nineteenth century Roman Catholic foreign missions. In treating of the Oblate approach to missions the fine nuances of distinction between French Catholic thought and that of Quebec has been ignored in favour of the weight of the French influence in the spirit of the Congregation and in the presence of the French priests and brothers. This predominance of the French influence over local feelings was reflected in 1870 when the missionaries of the north virtually ignored the annexation of the territories by Canada, and even the troubles at Red River, because their minds were preoccupied with the effect on France and on its support of the foreign missions of the

Franco-Prussian War, and of the effect on the Church of the loss of the Papal States and the declaration of Papal infallibility.

The first years of experience in the north showed the Oblates the kinds of personalities which were needed in their missions, but unfortunately these were not always available. Faraud described the ideal to Mazenod : Because of the continual and necessary contact with the men of the Hudson's Bay Company, the missionary should have an amenable character. Because of the need to learn several different native dialects of one difficult tongue, he needs a good memory. Because of the severe fatigues of northern life, he should have a strong temperament. Because of the desolating solitude to which he would sometimes be exposed, he should be an energetic person, not subject to melancholy. ⁹⁴ Later experience caused Faraud to discover that "Ce n'est pas assez à mon avis d'avoir connu un sujet en France. Ici les caractères changent et c'est à l'oeuvre qu'on les connaît ⁹⁵ mieux."

Mazenod was aware of the needs in character of missionaries, but as he wrote to Taché "il n'est pas facile de faire des recrues pour votre pays!" ⁹⁶ Taché's missions required stronger health than was ⁹⁷ possessed by most of his young priests. Even those who did volunteer to go sometimes regretted their choice and sought to return to France. The only grounds for doing so were severe ill-health, or the decision to leave the Oblate Congregation. Those who decided to leave were called apostates by Mazenod, even when their alternative choice was the hard life of a Trappist or Carthusian monk. Mazenod was convinced

that when missionaries accepted these missions, it was a permanent commitment, a lasting farewell to the climate of France; he was shocked to find Père Frain and even Faraud dreaming of a return to
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France.

The life in these distant missions to the Athapaskans was one for which the Oblates from France, and even those few from Quebec, were bound to be unprepared. Neither the Romanticism of mission literature nor the talks given by missionaries active in the field could really inform the individual of the reality of the harsh climate, the poor diet, the long and arduous winter treks, nor most of all of the isolation of northern life. Isolation was contrary to the community rule of life, but this was often ignored because of the higher needs of the evangelization mission. If the isolation were prolonged the Oblates suffered a great deal not only from the lack of companionship, but also from the lack of someone to hear their confessions or assist them in their spiritual development. Gascon found the isolation so hard to
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bear that he was inclined to leave the Oblates because of it , saying
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"Je ne suis pas fait pour vivre seul."

The isolation of the north led the Oblates and the Company men to provide some companionship to each other. The barriers of different languages and faiths fell before the shared European culture, when there was goodwill on either side. The Company men in the field often went out of their way to assist the missionaries, providing them with extra food or lending dog-teams, or giving passage in the Company boats. The missionaries returned the Company hospitality when they could, sharing

meat or vegetables when they had extra. Perhaps the most appreciated gift which the Oblates could give to the Company men was wine or brandy.

In the missions, especially in the early years of travel and building, the poverty of the OMI was reflected in their diet. It was impossible to bring in large supplies of food, and attempts to grow vegetables and grain took some time to succeed. Grollier, dying of asthma at Good Hope mission, described his diet

du maigre poisson bouillé à manger, sans pain, sans pommes de terre, sans aucun saisonnement; que d'un autre côté, je n'ai pas même un petit morceau de sucre à mettre dans ma bouche pour en ôter la mauvaise odeur, je mourrai bientôt de faiblesse¹⁰¹

This diet was mitigated somewhat in later years, but continued to depend heavily on fish. The Oblates had also to learn what foods to avoid. Grollier, Eynard and Brother Perréard at Great Slave Lake ate some foie de loche despite the Indians' warning against it. All were sick, and the brother nearly died from eating it, losing a great deal
102
of his skin and nails.

Another danger to the health of those in the north was the use of copper kettles. If these were not properly taken care of the tin lining disappeared, and slow poisoning could ensue from verdigris.
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The cold of winter forced the Oblates to adopt some northern clothing instead of their religious habits. They had to wear deerskin pantalons on the trail, and mittens and moccasins. To keep out the cold in winter and the mosquitoes in summer many began to grow beards
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and to discontinue the tonsure. This was contrary to French custom, but was accepted as realistic in the north, and many of the Oblates

assumed a patriarchal aspect with their long beards. Further adaptations to northern life were made in the use of tea and tobacco. These were not only useful as gifts to the Indians, but were used by the Oblates themselves, again contrary to French custom. Even for saying Mass, some adaptation had to be made, for the water and wine had to be kept warm somehow to prevent it from freezing during the Mass. 105

The long snowshoe trips in winter were extremely hard for those unused to such travel, and newcomers were often in severe pain from the trips. Père Petitot spent six weeks on one trip, in three feet of snow, in which he had to lead his dogs, in a cold of -39 to -47 Centigrade. 106 During this six weeks he crossed 336 lakes, 68 of them twice. Others suffered from snowblindness on the trail.

Such a mode of life precluded much time for reading or study. The missionaries did manage to do some reading, however. Veuillot's L'Univers was popular, 107 and Church histories were sought, as well as polemical works with which to oppose the Anglicans. 108 The works of Father Faber, the famous convert from Anglicanism to Catholicism, were much in demand. 109 The tastes of the Oblates in reading material show the ultramontanism they shared with Veuillot and Faber, and the wish to receive the kind of material which would help them in their combat with Protestantism, both aspects typical of nineteenth century Roman Catholic missions.

Although the lay-brothers were invaluable to the priests, when they could obtain them, much of the heavy labour of the early missions devolved on the priests themselves. Faraud was one of the great

builders of missions, doing much of the carpentry himself. Taché felt obliged to remind him not to do more manual work than was necessary, keeping in mind the example of "poor Mr. Belcourt", which had shown how this detracted from the missionary work. When lay-brothers were available, they did the building, the fishing, looked after the farm and animals, and occasionally gave catechism lessons. They were regarded as so valuable that Faraud even discouraged Brother Alexis from continuing his studies in the hope of becoming a priest. The priests much preferred the lay-brothers from France to those who came from Ireland.

In addition to providing priests and lay-brothers, the Oblates had to have someone to supervise them as religious, in addition to the general supervision by the Bishop. All were subject to Provencher as bishop, and through him to the Propaganda in Rome. In this control by the Propaganda the whole diocese was regarded as a mission church, and yet there were distinctions in thought between the part of that church centred around St. Boniface and the parts consisting of Indian missions. The distinguishing feature was the element of "civilization" attached to the church around St. Boniface. Within the structure of the Church, this civilization component was found in settled parish life, with daily contact between priest and parishioners. This more nearly resembled the diocesan structure of Europe than the foreign missions. The Athapaskans were expected eventually to be absorbed into a similar system, but the Roman Catholic Church had by now, with its three centuries of experience with the system of mission churches under Vicars

Apostolic, accepted the reality of the slow growth of the Church abroad into the full diocesan system. The mission churches were by now regarded as ordinary parts of the Church, and there was no hurry to change them into the full diocesan structure. The Athapaskan missions must be regarded as participating in the regular structure of the nineteenth century Roman Catholic Church.

Yet within this uniformity of structure were included the diverse interests of the diocesan or secular clergy in the parishes, and the regular or Oblate clergy in the missions. Quarrels between monastic and secular clergy and between orders and bishops had plagued the Church over the centuries, and it could be expected that these might recur in St. Boniface.

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The first such contentious issue arose over the selection of an auxiliary bishop for Provencher. Provencher's first choice for this post was Mr. Laflèche, a secular priest from Quebec, but Laflèche's ill-health made this impossible. Provencher then selected the young Oblate Taché as his choice for auxiliary and successor. A large factor in this choice was the question of nationality. Provencher was convinced that a French priest chosen as his auxiliary would be unacceptable to the Hudson's Bay Company, or at least to Sir George Simpson, as well as to the people of St. Boniface. Because the new bishop would eventually reside at St. Boniface and include the diocesan works among his responsibilities, he would need the support of both the Hudson's Bay Company and the people of Red River. Provencher outlined the reasons for his choice of Taché to the Archbishop of Quebec. He said

the Bishop of Red River should be an English subject and a Canadian, at least for some time to come; the clergy would be foreigners, but their chief should not be. In a country which did not provide its own priests, the bishop should be chosen from the religious body which did supply the priests. Also the new bishop should know the country and its privations. Taché, in Provencher's opinion, was the only person who fulfilled these requirements. Provencher stated that Mr. Laflèche and Père Aubert supported him in this choice. Taché had the two further advantages of knowing the native languages, and of being in robust health.¹¹⁴ In more settled areas Taché's youth would have been a drawback, but in the north, where Taché would be stationed until the death of Provencher, his youth and strength were assets.

The selection of Taché as his successor was more of an asset than Provencher could foresee. Mazenod had been considering withdrawing his men from St. Boniface because of the very poor prospects of much success there.

Ce sont quelques petites tribus excessivement éloignées les unes des autres, où la présence du missionnaire donne lieu qu'à quelques discours et à très peu, infiniment peu de conversions.¹¹⁵

The revolution of 1848 had threatened to jeopardize the foreign missions of France, and Mazenod thought it pointless to waste his resources on this apparently fruitless mission. But Provencher's letter to inform Mazenod of his choice of Taché as auxiliary never reached Mazenod, and the formalities of appointment by Rome were carried out before Mazenod could object. Mazenod told Provencher if he had known of it, he felt sure both he and the Council of the Oblates would have vetoed it. But

in the circumstances, and with the bulls of appointment already issued,
Mazenod accepted the choice of Taché as the will of God. ¹¹⁶ Mazenod
did insist, however, that Taché should come to France to be consecrated
by Mazenod himself.

Despite his reservations about the possibilities in the St.
Boniface vicariate for conversions, Mazenod was convinced of the advan-
tage to his missionary Oblates of having one of their own men as their
bishop. In this way alone, he felt, could such conflicts with the
bishops as had marred the early attempts in Algiers and Oregon be
avoided. Mazenod could foresee no conflict between the duties of a
diocesan bishop and those of a superior of missions. He himself com-
bined the functions of bishop of the large city of Marseilles with
those of Superior of the growing Congregation of Oblates throughout the
world. Not all the rank and file of the Oblates shared this view,
however, and Oblate bishops often encountered opposition from within
the Oblates. As well, they often met with accusations from the secular
priests of their dioceses of favouritism to Oblates over seculars. The
system of combining in one person the religious superior and diocesan
head may have been the ideal one in extending the Church in an area
where mission and diocesan Church coexisted, but it was never idyllic.

Provencher had thought by his selection of Taché to avoid any
possibility of conflict with the Hudson's Bay Company over choosing a
French priest as his successor, or of discord among the Catholics of
St. Boniface, whom he thought would prefer a Canadian. ¹¹⁷ But some of
the French Oblates resented the choice of Taché, a situation which
Provencher apparently did not foresee. In part their resentment arose

from Taché's youth, for they had not expected such a young man, relatively untried in the religious life, to become their superior. But much of the feeling against Taché was caused by their belief that he was too Canadian, too nationalistic, in opposition to their French pride. Some also felt they were better qualified for the position than Taché. This uneasy situation did not disappear with the consecration of Taché, but rumbled on beneath the surface for many years.

Père Bermond was the leading instigator of the animosity against Taché, declaring "ce n'est qu'un sentiment de nationalité
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poussé à l'excès qui l'a fait choisir". Bermond's position at St. Boniface gave him the chance to prejudice newcomers against Taché before they had even met him. Mazenod knew of this, and felt obliged to warn
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priests such as Grandin not to listen to stories against Taché. Despite the influence of Mazenod, Bermond seemed incurable in his dislike for Taché, and Mazenod eventually felt compelled to recall him, after a letter from Grandin had informed him of Bermond's continuing unrest.

Mazenod noted that "on l'accuse d'être plus Canadien qu'Oblat"
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but that this was not so. Père André informed Fabre, Mazenod's successor as Superior, that Taché's sentiments and intentions were frequently misunderstood, but that it could not be denied that he had often allowed himself to be dominated by party and national spirit, causing many of his priests to become restless and lose confidence in
121
him. No details of the complaints against Taché appear to have survived, and it is difficult to know in what way his nationalistic prejudices were perceived by his French priests as detracting from his

loyalty to the Oblate Congregation.¹²² Yet these feelings of nationalism did exist, and did continue for some time.

After the death of the founder, Taché faced more conflict within the Oblates, partly due then also to the influence of Bermond, now in France. Faraud claimed to have defended Taché against Bermond's insinuations on his visit to France in 1863.¹²³ Taché wrote to Fabre to protest against the questions asked of Faraud about him, and also to protest the plans made in France to assign a procurator for the Oblates in his diocese, whom Taché thought would derogate from his own authority over the Oblates. Taché had also been ordered to build a residence for the Oblates separate from his own episcopal residence, which he had just finished building large enough to fill both functions.¹²⁴

Fabre insisted, however, despite Taché's protests, that both these measures should be carried out. He assured Taché that the procurator was only to relieve Taché of some administrative detail, not to make decisions on expenses nor take away from Taché's authority over the Oblates of his diocese. Fabre told Taché that civilization would soon reach St. Boniface and it would cease to be a mission country, and then no one could tell whether the bishop would remain an Oblate. It was then essential for the security of the Congregation to have a separate residence.¹²⁵

When Provencher died on June 7, 1853, Taché succeeded him as Bishop of St. Boniface. Within a few years the weight of responsibility for his immense diocese, his inability to visit all parts of it, and the knowledge of the complications which would follow for the

Church in such a remote place if he died without a successor in place led him to request an auxiliary bishop. This request had to be sent to Rome by the Archbishop of Quebec, and Taché travelled to Quebec in 1856 to secure this support. In an unusual step the bishops of Quebec agreed to leave the selection of Taché's auxiliary to Mazenod from among the Oblates, instead of the usual step of the Archbishop of Quebec naming three candidates in preferential order with the final selection left to Rome. Taché brought the necessary papers with him from Quebec to Marseilles, and Mazenod then chose Grandin as the most suitable of the Oblates.¹²⁶ Mazenod had always greatly esteemed Vital Justin Grandin, who had been in the missions since 1854, and Taché shared this opinion. The request for Grandin as coadjutor was sent on to Rome, but because of the unusual nature of the case, with only one choice indicated, and that by a religious superior rather than by the Archbishop of Quebec, a long delay ensued while Rome made sure that this choice was agreeable to Quebec.

There were no suggestions that Grandin's French nationality might be an impediment, indicating that Taché was not so nationalistic as he had been painted. The acceptance of the Hudson's Bay Company was taken for granted, as was that of the people of St. Boniface. The circumstances had changed since Provencher had felt it necessary to choose a Canadian successor. Of course, succession to Taché did not appear imminent, and this made a difference. But the presence of the French priests and of French bishops in Canada was more commonplace, and presumably more acceptable as the novelty wore off.

Grandin was expected to fulfil the functions for Taché which Taché had filled for Provencher - to look after the northern missions and strengthen them. His youth and good health were assets to this task, as were his pleasing personality and his zeal for the missions. Grandin was consecrated Bishop of Satala in 1859 by Mazenod, and used his trip to France to publicise the northern missions and to attract vocations. The presence of a bishop in the north was essential to supervise the missionaries, and to provide the Sacrament of Confirmation as the converts became ready for it. The CMS also considered the bishop as an asset to the Catholics, lending them prestige and authority.

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Within a few years Taché and Grandin decided that the responsibilities of St. Boniface should be further divided. A paramount consideration in this was the inaccessibility of the farthest missions of the Athabasca and Mackenzie, with the consequent difficulty of close supervision of the missionaries there, as well as the increasing competition there from the CMS missions. The Oblates in the region, especially Père Grollier, agitated to have a resident bishop, to be what Grollier called an "évêque-roi", a combination which would counter both the Protestant missionaries and the Hudson's Bay Company men in authority and prestige with the Indians.

All of these factors weighed with Taché, as did the hope of increasing the support for his missions from the Propagation of the Faith, by having two bishops making requests, instead of only one. Grandin and Taché met at Ile à la Crosse in the fall of 1860 to

discuss the matter, and their choice fell on Faraud, Taché's early companion in the mission field. As with Grandin, no consideration was given to his French nationality, nor was there any real alternative to choosing a French priest from among the Oblates. Taché went to Quebec in June 1861 to ask for the support of the bishops there to request Rome to divide his diocese, and appoint Henri Faraud as Vicar Apostolic of the Athabasca and Mackenzie. The Archbishop of Quebec agreed to support Taché's proposal, and the selection of Faraud.

In Quebec Taché learned of the death of Mazenod, and the calling of a General Chapter of the Congregation to select his successor. Taché travelled to France for this Chapter, and found some reluctance on the part of the Oblates to support the division. Mazenod had thought before his death that the Oblates might be taking on too many bishoprics with those in Ceylon and British Columbia expected soon. Taché managed to convince the Chapter to support him, however, and then went on to Rome. There he had an interview with Pius IX who agreed to support his request. In May, 1863 the districts of Athabasca and Mackenzie were removed from Taché's jurisdiction and made into a separate vicariate under Faraud, who was named Bishop of Anemour.

Faraud put up some resistance to accepting the new responsibilities, claiming that his health was much too poor for it. He had suffered for years from rheumatism, and had also been tempted to leave the Oblates to join the Trappists or Carthusians. Taché and Grandin both thought Faraud inclined to exaggerate his illness, but that he was also a man of talent and devotion, and of sound judgment. Faraud eventually accepted the arguments of Taché and Grandin, and was

consecrated bishop in France in November of 1863.

In Rome after his consecration Faraud received from the Pope a very unusual permission to name his own coadjutor bishop because of his poor health. ¹³³ When Faraud returned to his vicariate, and after consulting his missionaries, he chose Isidore Clut as his auxiliary. Faraud apparently did not consult the advice of Grandin, who had been looking after his vicariate while he was in France, a slight which rankled very deeply with Grandin and Taché.

In 1868 a further change was made in the structure of the Church, as Grandin was named Vicar Apostolic of the Saskatchewan. Grandin had spent many years as Taché's auxiliary with the right of succession. Most of those years had been spent in the north, but Grandin feared that he might succeed to the St. Boniface See and have to cope with the problems raised by increased immigration and colonization. He preferred the Indian missions, and Taché agreed to the division of his diocese. In St. Albert, Grandin's new headquarters, he had to deal with the missions new to him, those to the Plains Indians, as well as with the Métis missions. In the event his efforts to avoid being saddled with the responsibilities consequent on immigration were only postponed. With this appointment of Grandin Taché was left without a successor in the St. Boniface diocese.

The hierarchical structure of the Church was completed with the erection of St. Boniface into an archdiocese in 1871, with Bishop Grandin of St. Albert, and Bishop Faraud, Vicar Apostolic of the Athabasca-Mackenzie, as suffragan bishops. ¹³⁴

III. Finances

The first division of his diocese was supposed to ease the burden on Taché, but its immediate effect was quite the reverse. When Taché had sought the division he had sought relief not only from the burden of staffing those missions and of administering them, but had also hoped for better financial support by having two bishops making requests from the Propagation of the Faith. Instead the division led to a protracted and acrimonious debate between Taché, Faraud, and the Propagation of the Faith. Faraud was determined to secure all the financial support he could for his missions, and felt that Taché had sought an easy way out by handing them over to Faraud. Faraud had written even before becoming Vicar Apostolic, that the northern missions cost at least twice what the other missions did. ¹³⁵ Convinced as he was of the needs of the northern missions, Faraud could be expected to make all efforts to ensure that he received his fair share, at least, of any aid that was available.

On his way to his consecration Faraud had accused Taché of unfairness to the northern missions by spending too much on Red River. ¹³⁶ Taché replied to this that of the total of 72,000 francs revenue for St. Boniface the previous year, 60,000 had been spent exclusively for the missions of the north. Of that 72,000 francs, one-third came from diocesan funds which belonged to him as Bishop, while the rest came from the OMI, and none of that was used at Red River. Faraud asked about sharing in the endowment of St. Boniface, but Taché replied that ¹³⁷ that was not customary with divisions of dioceses. Faraud appears to have had a good supply of thrifty French business acumen, and in

1866 Taché had to write the Superior, Fabre, that Faraud had no right to share in the funds of Taché's vicariate in Canada, since all that money had been given to the Oblates of St. Boniface by the Bishop of St. Boniface.
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In France Faraud appeared before the Council of the Propagation of the Faith to appeal for support for his Vicariate. While those missions were under the care of Provencher, the Propagation had allotted him funds to support them as bishop, while at the same time allocating funds to the OMI in support of their activities in the vicariate. This system continued when Taché became bishop of St. Boniface, despite the fact that he was an Oblate. But the Propagation of the Faith had begun to question this system as early as 1860. Mazenod wrote then to Taché that the Council of Lyon was raising difficulties about Taché's double function as bishop and as superior of the Oblates in his diocese, and that Taché should be sure to specify his needs separately, according to which of his functions was concerned.
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The presence of another Oblate bishop, Faraud, making double requests as bishop and regular superior brought matters to a head, and the Council decided that both Faraud and Taché should receive their total allocation through the Oblate Congregation, as was the custom with other missionary bishops who were also religious.
140 Taché's allocation for 1864 was thus reduced from 22000 francs to 10000, and Taché accused Faraud of being responsible for this cut by his words to the Council.
141 The Propagation of the Faith justified their action to Taché by saying that in supporting more than sixty missions, one or two were without population or future, and Taché's topped this list.

Therefore the Propagation had had to make "desolating calculations" and assign their funds to places with more prospects, despite their appreciation of Taché's apostolic labours.¹⁴²

Faraud and Taché both objected vehemently to the decision of the Propagation of the Faith, and even thought of resigning. Both tried to convince the Council of the distinction within their areas of diocesan works and mission works, but to no avail. The Council considered all works supported by it to be missionary, and that it should make the decision on which missions offered the best prospects. There was not a clear concept of a distinction between diocese and mission; for their purpose all those who received funds from them were to be considered missionaries. Faraud and Taché reflected the reality of the growth of the institutional Church in the mission field, however, where priests and mission were soon accompanied by the sub-structures of schools and hospitals, and where the priests themselves were divided between seculars and regulars, with parishes as well as missionary churches to maintain, and yet far from being able to be supported by the faithful.

In their extension of the institutional Church to the Athapaskans the Oblates had had to consider many different factors. In the first place, of course, were the Athapaskans themselves, and the need to establish missions where the people gathered. The OMI had also to consider their dependence on the Hudson's Bay Company, their opposition to the CMS, and their need for the continued support of the Propagation of the Faith.

The Hudson's Bay Company was the governing body of the region at this time, and the OMI could not hope to extend their missions into the north without Company cooperation. Since the Company was almost the sole means of transport and supply, the OMI depended greatly on the Company to maintain the missions which it, as governing body, permitted to establish. Church and State relations in the Athabasca-Mackenzie were complicated somewhat by this infrastructure. To some extent it tempered the ultramontane view of the independence in action which the Church should have, since in this case the Church was clearly very dependent on the "State" for support, and the reality dictated some abandonment of the ideal. To secure this state support, the OMI claimed good effects from their missions on the trade of the Company, and also emphasized the cheapness of their missions. This was a utilitarian approach, but effective. The side-effect of the "civilisation Chrétienne" for the Oblates of the north was the inculcation of the morality of paying just debts, rather than the works of education and settlement which dominated mission utilitarianism elsewhere.

Yet in large part the OMI also claimed, and exercised, a great deal of freedom from Company control, by calling on the higher authority given them by God, an authority which had precedence over that of the Company, and dictated that the OMI must reach the Athapaskans with the Roman Catholic faith and prevent the triumph there of Protestantism. The relationship of the OMI to the Hudson's Bay Company was then an ambivalent one, governed both by their religious mission and by the needs of trade. Very few problems of nationality

arose to complicate this relationship, even though the Church and its priests were alien to the Hudson's Bay Company.

It was in the struggle with the CMS that problems of both nationality and class arose to complicate the religious struggle for the souls of the Athapaskans. The OMI were French, and were aided in their mission effort by the Métis servants of the Company. The CMS were English, aided by the men of the Hudson's Bay Company in the higher echelons, and by official urging to go into the Mackenzie. Each religion envied the other the advantage it had, and this envy often took the form of nationalistic prejudices.

In addition to the interaction with the Hudson's Bay Company and the CMS involved in the extension of Roman Catholic missions to the Athapaskans, the OMI faced internal problems in establishing the Roman Catholic hierarchy in the new missions. In 1845 when the missions began, they were under the direction of Provencher, Vicar Apostolic for Hudson Bay and James Bay, responsible for the Church in the entire West and north. By 1871 this vast terrain had become the archdiocese of St. Boniface, with the Canadian Oblate Taché as Archbishop. Bishop Grandin of St. Albert and Bishop Faraud of the Athabasca-Mackenzie were suffragans to him. The subordinate bishops, as well as Faraud's auxiliary bishop, Clut, were all French Oblates, as were most of the clergy.

The Athabasca-Mackenzie was still almost entirely a mission church, and staffed entirely by Oblates, who by this time had become the "specialists" in the Indian missions, making up for their original lack of experience. The Athabasca-Mackenzie also had the beginnings

of schools and hospitals, the more obvious "civilizing" components of missions, and more associated with a settled church. The dual role of religious superior and bishop became more complex as these new responsibilities were added and as the difficulties with financing increased. These works did not belong to the OMI, but came under the jurisdiction of Faraud as bishop. Yet he was expected to finance them out of money received from the OMI, and ultimately from the Propagation of the Faith. He had little hope in his lifetime of establishing a self-financing church in his vicariate, and had to persuade the Propagation of the Faith of the needs of his isolated vicariate, with its extremely sparse population, which offered little hope for large numbers of converts.

The establishment of the institutional church among the Athapaskans still seemed precarious to Faraud in 1871, and worries over staffing and financing these missions preoccupied him until his death in 1890. Yet the basic lines of the institutional framework laid down in the first twenty-five years in the north continued. The first missions established continued, and more were established when possible. The basic lines of division among Protestant and Catholic Athapaskans continued very much along the lines of the first missions. The hierarchy and the priests to staff the missions continued to come from France, as did the financial support. Insofar as the institutional Church was concerned, it was a European enclave, imported to the Athapaskans, but not indigenized.

CHAPTER V
THE OBLATE MISSION METHODS WITH
THE ATHAPASKANS

I. The preaching of the Gospel

The European influence in the theory of the Roman Catholic missions of the OMI and of the structure of the Church within which they wished to include the Athapaskans has been shown. There could be no thought of changing these in any way to adapt to the Athapaskans. The only possibility for adaptation from the point of view of the Oblates was in the field of evangelization methods, for it was in this field that there was some scope for individual or group initiative to adapt to particular circumstances.

In beginning their evangelization of the Athapaskan peoples, the Oblates used basically the same methods they had used in France since the Restoration. They had as yet no experience in the foreign missions to influence them to consider alternative approaches. They were also convinced of the universality of the Gospel, and of the need for uniformity of rites and practices within the Church. Convinced as they were that all who shared the same human nature should hear the same Gospel and be included within the same Church, it was natural for them to use the same methods to achieve that goal as had already proved useful in France, and in which they were trained. Taché considered the

Chipewyans as "these children of the woods members of the great family of the children of Adam created in the 'image and likeness' of God".¹ With such a view, varieties of culture were irrelevant to the basic unity of the human race and of the Gospel. Cultural variations not opposed to the universality of the Gospel or the uniformity of the Church could be regarded as curiosities, interesting in themselves, but with no need of adaptation to them. The missionaries thought in terms of customs still, as had the seventeenth century missionaries, and not yet in terms of cultures. They considered it necessary to change those indigenous customs which were inimical to Christianity, and had no recognition of the effect the changing of some customs would have on the integrity of a whole culture. They viewed the customs only in the relationship of those customs to the practice of Christianity, not in their relationship to the way of life of a people, nor of its outlook on the world.

At the time of missions when the Indians were gathered to trade, the pattern of evangelization was very similar to that of the home missions of France. The missionary would shake hands with each person "touch hands all around", as they put it, just as in France he had made sure to visit each house in the mission parish. As in France the missionary remained unperturbed by any poor reception by the Indians, but continued his attempts to evangelize them, hoping for future results if none were forthcoming immediately. Taché after thirteen years of experience insisted to Père Vègreville that the main necessity was to love the Indians, that the Indians loved those who loved them, and listened to those who liked to instruct them, while they avoided and

distrusted those who seemed to dislike them. So it was essential at the time of the mission that the missionary drop everything else and make himself always available to the Indians.²

The missions lasted roughly the same length of time as the home missions of France. At Ft. Rae, for example, Grollier preached a mission from April 17 to May 7 in 1859, with eighty-nine baptisms resulting. Eynard returned there from Sept. 11 to Sept. 28 of that same year with twenty-two baptisms resulting. In 1860 Gascon stayed from Apr. 22 to June 19, with one hundred and nine baptisms, and Eynard from Aug. 3 to Aug. 24, with eleven baptisms. In 1861 Eynard visited from Apr. 19 to May 6 with fifty-two baptisms. In 1862 Grandin was there from Apr. 27 to June 19 with one hundred and thirty-four baptisms.³ This pattern continued through the 1860s at this and other missions of the OMI. Of course in these missions of the OMI, unlike those of France, there were no parish priests to supervise the daily religious life of the people, and the Athapaskans for most of the year were left to their own devices to maintain the new faith.

Instructions were given each day of the mission, confessions heard, and prayers taught. As in France great stress was laid on the catechism as the essential means of instruction in the faith; "les catéchismes par demand et par réponses sont le grand moyen d'instruction".⁴ The catechisms used were those of the Quebec diocese, and simple ones composed in the native languages by the missionaries. The questions and answers could be learned by rote, although some were taught to read, and given small books to help others during the winter.

The Oblates made great use of syllabics to compose their books for the Indians, and taught them to read and write in that way. Faraud said that the Chipewyans had no chants in their language, and were glad to hear the missionary hymns; these the missionaries wrote out for them as the best means of teaching them to read, and each person taught could then teach others, thus spreading Christianity. The printing of the syllabic characters was more difficult and expensive than in French or English. Grandin advised Faraud not to try to get his big book printed in its entirety, because it would be too expensive, and also because some of the material would disturb the Indians, with reports of wars etc. in Christian history. Grandin thought the history of Creation, the Flood, the calling of Abraham, the ruin of Sodom, the history of the principal patriarchs, of Joseph, Daniel, and some others, plus a detailed history of Jesus, and some of the Acts of the Apostles would be plenty for the Indians. Even this amount would seem to contradict the popular view that Catholicism did not require a knowledge of the Bible (although that knowledge was to be presented in commentary rather than in the original). It also reflected a heavy emphasis on the Old Testament.

Besides teaching the questions and answers of the catechism, and the Biblical stories, the OMI adopted the Catholic ladder as a tool of catechesis with the Athapaskans. This was one mission method which did not derive from French experience but was indigenous to North American missions. It had been developed by Blanchet in Oregon, motivated by the varieties of Indian languages there which Blanchet had no near possibility of mastering. The Catholic ladder was a chart which

represented the history of the Old and New Testaments and that of the Church in pictures and through an ingenious chronological scale. Forty bars represented the four thousand years from the Creation to the birth of Christ, standard in the nineteenth century interpretation of Scripture. At the proper times in history according to this chronology were pictured the Ten Commandments, the Seven Sacraments of the Church, the Flood, the Garden of Eden, etc. By means of this pictorial chart Blanchet hoped to teach those to whom he could not communicate in their language, or by way of books.⁷ Blanchet's ladder was greeted with enthusiasm in Quebec, and was reprinted in the Rapport des Missions du Québec, the journal of the Propagation of the Faith there, in 1843.

The Archbishop of Quebec had it lithographed and distributed copies of it to his missions, including fifty copies to Provencher. Provencher⁸ had already used it, and the first Oblates would learn of it in St. Boniface. There were frequent requests for copies of the chart.

Grollier asked for some to give to his Indians, so that they could instruct others, and combat the chart which Mr. Kirkby, the CMS missionary,⁹ had drawn up to counter the Catholic version of sacred history.

The Catholic ladder served the same function as the small catechisms given to some of the literate Indians, by serving to extend the teaching of the faith by using some of the natives as catechists, to continue the work of the priests.

A further technique developed by the OMI with the Athapaskans was a kind of calendar to remind them of Sundays and feast-days, which they were to observe while in the woods and separated from the priest.

As the Catholic ladder and the catechisms had the purpose of continuing the work of the priest in the teaching of the faith, so these calendars continued his work in the teaching of the practice of the faith. ¹⁰

But as in France, the major way of teaching the faith by the Oblates was through their mission sermons. Petitot reported on his mission to the Hare Indians, which had lasted for more than a month. During that period Petitot preached three times a day, with the morning sermon given to dogma, the evening ones to morality, and the third conference, at 11 o'clock, devoted to an explanation of sacred history. ¹¹

As in France, and perhaps with more force on the Athapaskans so often so close to death from disease at this time, the OMI gave much emphasis in their mission sermons to the last judgment. Clut thought the Chipewyans did not fear enough the terrible judgment of God, perhaps from lack of instruction. ¹² The sermons on the last judgment were held to be particularly effective at the times of critical epidemics; Clut referred to "la mort, missionnaire éloquente" which had made the Beavers at Vermilion zealous for religion. ¹³ This fear of death and of the last judgment was also a tool of conversion in France, and it was not necessary to adapt it to the Athapaskans, nor change the outlook of the missionaries themselves.

Yet some of the missionaries were conscious of the need not to be too hard on the Indians. Grollier was uncompromising to other Oblates and to Protestants, and it is not surprising that his confreres found him too rigorous in his attitude to the Indians. Faraud thought this attitude would only discourage the Indians, and that "la gaité et

la rire convertirent souvent plus de sauvages que les plus belles
paroles".¹⁴ In part this more kindly attitude to the Indians was dic-
tated by the paternalistic outlook of the OMI, who regarded the Indians
as children in need of total guidance for years to come, and paterna-
lism could vary between kindness and harshness. Tissot reported that
almost all the Cree who prayed with the OMI at Ile à la Crosse would
ask permission of the missionary to go to the Fort, and that they saw
in the priest the representative of Jesus Christ, and would not do any-
thing without asking his advice.¹⁵ The paternalism of the OMI to the
Indians was also affected by the romanticism of mission literature.
According to Petitot "j'ai pour les sauvages une affection toute
paternelle et même par trop poétique."¹⁶

As in the earlier centuries of mission experience, the new
Christians among the Athapaskans were considered by the OMI to be a
good example to Europeans. Père Séguin wrote to his family that the
missionaries were making excellent Christians, and he had never been so
edified in any church in France as he was in the little chapels filled
with Indians. He said that some of the Indians lived one, two, or even
three years without even seeing a priest, and yet when they came to
confession it was hard to find a sin requiring absolution.¹⁷ Tissot
found that the Indians mortified themselves in ways that would put to
shame the good Christians of civilized countries. Some gave up smoking
on Sundays and feast days, despite their great fondness for smoking;
one had told him they would rather fast than give up their pipes, yet
they made the sacrifice willingly without being forced to it by the
priests.¹⁸ Grandin assured the directors of the Propagation of the

Faith that "si nous ne pouvons faire de nos sauvages des hommes bien civilisés, nous en faisons d'excellents chrétiens."¹⁹

Like the earlier missionaries of the Roman Catholic Church, the OMI were ambivalent about the effects of civilization on the Indians. They found some measure of civilization helpful in evangelization, especially some level of literacy. But the habits of civilization they often found opposed to those of Christianity. The representatives of civilization in the north were usually the Métis Catholics, and the men of the Hudson's Bay Company. Clut claimed that some of the Indians were becoming like the French, unwilling to come for instruction during the week, and only coming on Sunday.²⁰ Grollier wrote of his desire to flee further into the woods to find the true sauvage. He found it too difficult to work with those who had become too civilized, with too many bad habits picked up from the French.²¹ This attitude would explain Grollier's push down the Mackenzie, always seeking new fields for missionary endeavour, and his hopes to make of those remote spots exclusive missions for the OMI, protected from the influence of other Europeans, especially the CMS missionaries. But even the Mackenzie Indians he eventually found too Frenchified because of the large numbers who made the trip to Portage La Loche each year.²² The "noble savage" never seemed to materialize for the OMI, although he was often sought.

Despite their distrust of the habits of civilization, the OMI still tried to make the religious habits of their missions conform as much as possible to French Catholic practice, to inculcate the true civilization, the civilisation Chrétienne. This was quite distinct from the habits of civilization which were to be avoided as much as

possible. Their use of French religious customs was especially evident in the processions of the north. These had been used in France as part of traditional customs, and as both a display of faith and an incentive to faith among the huge crowds drawn to them. The OMI tried to make their processions in the north as beautiful and elaborate as possible, describing the best of these as "truly worthy of France".²³ This account by Père Vegreville referred to the procession of Corpus Christi in June. Vegreville gave a detailed description of it which shows the similarities of the northern processions to those of France. Twelve young boys marched behind the Cross, each carrying a little flag, then came the women and the Sisters with the girls from the boarding school. Behind the Sisters came the members of temperance, then the other men, and finally the clergy. Bishop Grandin carried the Blessed Sacrament, with Père Moulin and Frère Dubé accompanying him, while four of the communicants held a canopy over it, and four more held the ribbons attached. Vegreville directed the procession and the singing. All the employees were there, and all the nations -French, Canadians, Métis, Crees and Chipewyans. Hymns were sung in the various languages. One excommunicant cried because he could not take part. The similarity to France is shown not only in the decorations used, but in the grouping of various sections of the Catholic community, segregated by sex, with temperance having a special group, and in the emphasis on hymn-singing. As well the encouragement of the representatives of government, in this case the men of the Company, was reminiscent of Restoration France.

Faraud told Fabre it was the custom at Nativity to have two processions for the Indians at the time of reunion, one of the Blessed

Sacrament, and one to the cemetery.²⁴ Petitot had some difficulty with the latter at Good Hope. He tried "some of the beautiful ceremonies of our missions in France", but the Indians did not like the "fête des morts", the procession to the cemetery, with its meditation on sin and death. "Nos Indiens ont trop peur de la mort pour venir de propos délibéré s'attrister par le spectacle d'ornements et de cérémonies lugubres."²⁵ In general, however, the missionaries found the processions effective in drawing the Indians.

Despite the values of primitive Christianity lauded by the OMI, their technique of mission work relied heavily on French experience, and was expected to achieve the same results with the Athapaskans as it had with the poor of Provence. This showed sound psychology on the part of the OMI, although they would have called it an understanding of human nature. The poor of Provence were illiterate and uninformed of their religion, were often at the mercy of the elements in making a living, and were probably much closer to the Athapaskans in world-view than to the citizens of Paris. The poor of Provence were anxious to secure control of their environment, and had traditionally sought this through the use of magic, as the Athapaskans had sought it through the guidance of their spirits. Processions had also attracted the poor of Provence, with the display of colour and ceremony to enliven their days, and provide an occasion for a holiday. It is not unusual, then, to discover that the same techniques could be useful with the Athapaskans.

The same devotions of the Church were stressed by the OMI to the Athapaskans as were customary in France, especially those to the

Cross and to the Blessed Virgin. The same ceremony of the erection of the Cross was used to mark the closing of a mission as had been used in Restoration France. Local difficulties sometimes made this impossible, however, as the frozen ground prevented it.²⁶ Séguin described the ceremony which accompanied the erection of the Cross. He made the cross himself the week before, a large one forty feet long. He decorated it with all the ribbons available, and the people had shot off guns during the benediction. Séguin thought the Indians were very impressed by this ceremony, for they kept talking about every detail of it, which ribbon was where, and who shot off the guns, etc.²⁷ Guns were also shot to welcome the arrival of a missionary, and may have been adapted from this to the use during the ceremony. Guns had also been fired in France during processions, but had a military and state connection there which was lacking in the Athapaskan use.

Devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary was stressed not only because of the general current of devotion in the Roman Catholic Church of the time, into which the Athapaskans were to be integrated, but also because of the personal convictions and special orientation of the Oblate Congregation. A further factor in the north was the use of this devotion by the missionaries to improve the lot of Athapaskan women. The missionaries often complained of the inhumane treatment meted out to their wives by the Athapaskan men, so gentle otherwise. The OMI considered that devotion to Mary, and recognition of the respect due to her as the mother of God, should improve the lot of other women. Special prayers to Mary were scheduled in May, as they were in Europe. The Athapaskans were grouped into congregations of Mary, with special

prayers to say, and medals to remind them of their devotion and its obligations, just as was customary in the OMI missions in France. The missionaries felt that this effort on their parts was slowly taking effect with the Athapaskans. Séguin told his family that the Christian men were beginning to help their wives a little, but it was obvious that it was difficult for them.

A further, more negative import from France was the decided emphasis by at least some of the OMI on the evils of dance. This had been one of the characteristic emphases of the Restoration missions, which had condemned the dances as leading to sin for the young people involved. This same attitude characterized the Oblate view of the dances held at the forts. Grollier railed against "des dances où des nuits entières où jusqu'après le lever du soleil hommes et femmes ne cessent de s'embrasser". The Indian women persisted in going to these dances, despite Grollier forbidding it, and Grollier hoped Taché would ask the Governor to forbid all dances at the posts. Taché does not appear to have followed up on this. Vegreville worried also about the Indian dances, those accompanied by jonglerie, or with great smoking and feasting and words addressed to the spirits. In these cases it was the association with magic rather than any fears of too much close contact of the sexes which raised the missionary anxiety.

The celebration of the feasts of Christmas and Easter attracted those Athapaskans who lived near enough to attend. Some even came a distance of eight or ten days walk, in the coldest weather, and without enough food for the journey. This attendance became increasingly common as the missionary experience in the north continued.

In 1870 at Good Hope Séguin reported that although the Indians there did not usually come for Christmas they had come that year; about thirty of them living about twelve days from the fort had come, and had been so "enchanted" that they had promised to come in larger numbers the following year. ³³ This practice of coming in to the big feasts of the Church was one of the few real changes introduced into the Athapaskan way of life by the acceptance of Christianity. The seasonal emphasis of the Roman Catholic religion, with its different liturgies and devotions throughout the year, differed from the aboriginal religion in that respect, but perhaps coincided with the awareness of the different seasons for hunting different species, and of the different customs associated with those.

In an effort to draw the Athapaskans, and also in conformity with European custom, the Oblates made these ceremonies as beautiful and spectacular as their means would allow. All the candles they could spare were lit (and they were often short of these for their own use), all the pictures they had were put up, and processions through the chapel were held. The Christmas Crib with the Infant Jesus became a practice wherever possible - again an import from Europe. The OMI found the Indians were very attracted to this, and also found the crib useful in inculcating the idea of self-support of the missions among the Indians. The Crib was accompanied by a box for donations, and the Métis at first, and later the Indians, began to give gifts to the Infant for the support of the mission. ³⁴

Music was an integral part of all the ceremonies of the mission. As in France, the missionaries often composed their own hymns, using

French tunes and Indian words, as the seventeenth century Jesuits had. These compositions were passed around among the Oblates, with a premium on the better ones. ³⁵ Vegreville said that the Indians were made very happy by his singing of a great many Indian hymns, and that they found French music much more agreeable than English. ³⁶ Again the rivalry of French Catholics and English Protestants was reflected, even in the sphere of music.

The OMI valued those missionaries with musical aptitude. Père Grouard was one of these; Clut wrote that with Grouard and the lay-brother, they were able to make the church resound with duos and trios in Latin, French, Chipewyan or Cree, to the admiration of all the Christians. These had never heard part singing before, and one old Chipewyan assured Clut that if he had not seen it he would have thought it came from heaven. ³⁷ Again in rivalry with the English Protestants the OMI ridiculed those CMS missionaries who were unable to sing properly. Faraud claimed that the Indians laughed at Bompas' singing, ³⁸ since he had a nasal and feeble voice.

Musical instruments to accompany the singing were much in demand by the missionaries, and later by the Grey Nuns. Again these instruments were imported to the Athapaskans; no use appears to have been made of the native drums, probably because of the connection between drumming and sorcery. Many requests were made for harmoniums or concertinas, though the size sent was not always acceptable. A good deal of time was spent in teaching the hymns to the Indians, and these hymns were seen as a tool of catechesis as well as an addition to the ceremonies of the Church. The use of these hymns reflected both the

European influences and the Athapaskan in the mission field, since they were French imports translated into the Athapaskan languages. They were common to much of the Catholic Church, and used in many places, but adapted in language and as a means of teaching and as an attraction to the Athapaskans. The basic unity of faith and of human nature, in the eyes of the OMI, was shown in this use of hymns, as were the minor modifications made to suit the Athapaskan tastes and language. Fundamentally for the Oblates the hymns were seen as a means of integration of the Athapaskans into the practice of the faith, more or less on a par with Europe.

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Not all of the missionary hymns from Europe were received with acclaim by the Athapaskans and the Eskimos. Petitot reported that the Eskimos had the same reaction as the Indians to his rendition of the Requiem, the prayer for the dead, on his concertina, calling it jonglerie. When he began to play the Dies irae, an even more mournful dirge, they left.

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One technique of missions used by the Oblates derived more from practice in Quebec than in France. This was the effort to enlist the Christians in temperance societies. The Catholic bishops did use what pressure they could on the Hudson's Bay Company authorities to prevent all sales of liquor to the Indians. But the temperance movement within the Catholic Church of the time was also a purely religious movement, linked to improvement in individual morality rather than to social conditions through political pressure. Much of the impetus for this movement came from the work of Father Matthew in Ireland, and this was taken up with enthusiasm by the rest of the Church. The

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movement involved taking the pledge to abstain from liquor, a promise which was reinforced by the obligation to say certain prayers, and by the formation of congregations of temperance whose members were to sustain one another, much like the modern Alcoholics Anonymous. These congregations had special banners to carry in church processions, and medals to wear to remind them of their pledge. This bore many resemblances to other devotions within the Church, with the temperance members forming a "special interest" group within the larger Catholic community.

With the Athapaskans the temperance movement was primarily used by those missionaries closer to "civilization" where liquor was more available. At Ile à la Crosse Grandin reported to Mazenod that almost all the Indians, and all the employees of the fort, even one Protestant, had taken the temperance oath. To remind them of that promise Grandin had erected a Cross forty feet high on a hill facing the mission.⁴³ Like many other devotions, this too had problems with back-sliders.⁴⁴

As the earlier missionaries had, the OMI used holy pictures as teaching aids. The nineteenth century improvements in the printing process made these more accessible in large numbers for use in the mission fields. Most of those used by the Oblates were printed in France, still another manifestation of European influence in the foreign missions, and of the conformity of foreign missions to even the minor practices of European Roman Catholicism. As in the earlier missions of New France, the OMI found some of these pictures more useful than others with the Athapaskans, and to this extent varied their approach in this particular mission.

Grandin recommended his pictures of the devil to Faraud, telling Faraud he was sure Faraud would like his "beaux diables". Grandin claimed he had been able to make the devil work for him; "le diable avec moi est devenu missionnaire", making the priest feared and respected, and reconciling spouses.⁴⁵ Clut put a picture of the dying sinner on the door of the chapel, with a list of excommunicates under it, explaining to the Indians that it was not he who was sending them to the demon pictured there but their own actions. In this way he expected to convince them to return to their religious duties.⁴⁶

Clut asked Faraud if he could make sure that each mission got one of the "grands images communes de Metz" such as Grandin had. Clut thought these did almost as much good as a sermon with the Indians.⁴⁷ Vegreville claimed that these pictures from Metz, painted with all sorts of colours, were those the Indians liked the best.⁴⁸ Vegreville wrote of the great good done in his mission by the large red pictures, especially the ones of the devil taking the soul down to hell. The small ones also did much good, especially those showing the mysteries of the Catholic religion, its ceremonies, the life of Jesus, and the help of the saints. Vegreville explained that he put the large pictures around the room like a gallery, where the Indians could look at them, and ask questions about them. In this way they learned, and could repeat what they were told.⁴⁹

In 1863 Vegreville repeated much of this, and claimed that the use of the pictures was one of the best ways of spreading religion among the Indians, and of implanting it deeply. All of the Indians wanted the pictures, even those who did not pray with the Catholics, or who

claimed to be Protestants. The Indians liked best the large pictures with a great deal of colour, and had taken almost all his large red ones. Each family was to get one large picture, while the small ones were given to those who could read to put in their catechisms. At this time Vegreville claimed that he was not using the pictures of the devil
50 much. According to Vegreville the Indians were always ready to ask for a holy picture in which an animal appeared, of any kind except a demon or a serpent. The missionary had to give them these pictures, after explaining every detail down to the last leaf of a tree or blade
51 of grass in it.

Besides the function of frightening the Indians into virtue by the pictures of the devil, the primary purpose of the use of holy pictures was to teach sacred history and doctrine, in a more detailed way than the Catholic ladder could. Eynard was convinced that with about thirty pictures to show the main truths of religion he could take up the whole period of a mission and draw the indifferent Indians to listen to the preaching of the missionary. Without the pictures to fix the Indian ideas on Herod, Pilate and Caiphas it seemed almost impossible to him to really make them understand the Passion and death of
52 Christ. Grandin requested pictures with flowers and with persons
53 dressed in red and blue, and said nothing was better for the missions. Séguin wrote "il faut dire que nous faisons tout notre possible pour
54 frapper leurs sens car ce n'est que par les sens qu'ils comprennent".

As the Jesuit missionaries in New France had done, the OMI in the north sometimes also made their own holy pictures and decorations. Père Petitot devoted a great deal of his time and energy to this at

Good Hope, and frequently requested supplies for painting.⁵⁵ With the help of Séguin Petitot constructed at Good Hope what he referred to as a Gothic altar, with golden cut-outs containing several paintings. Lights behind these made it look like a Gothic edifice of many colours. Petitot had also painted for the chapel some pictures of Christ on the Cross, of heaven, hell, and of the Nativity of Christ. For Great Bear Lake he made a portable altar complete with a canopy, also in Gothic form, and ornamented with several paintings.⁵⁶ There is no evidence of any attempts to adapt these pictures of the OMI to the depiction of the saints or Jesus in any but the European forms already familiar from the imported pictures.

The only form of adaptation was in the use of those pictures which most appealed to the Indians, and the attempt to avoid what displeased them. In this the missionaries were caught between the Indian dislikes and European customs when it came to the depictions of the devil. The Chipewyans objected to the word "serpent" in their hymns, or to representations of serpents in holy pictures. The common usage in Europe was to show Mary standing with the head of the serpent crushed beneath her feet, and the devotion to Mary advocated by the OMI would naturally rely on these pictures. But Clut reported that the Chipewyans told him it was this use of the serpent which made them "fous", and asked to exchange their pictures with serpents for others. One brought in the body of his mother-in-law, along with a large picture of the Immaculate Conception which Grandin had given her, but the lower part of the picture with the serpent had been cut off.⁵⁷ Many continued to detest this particular picture despite all the Oblate explanations of its meaning in the Roman Catholic religion.

This would seem to indicate that the aboriginal meaning of serpents as evil spirits persisted, despite the European allegories of Mary's triumph over the devil, and remained stronger. It may also indicate that the Athapaskans attributed magical significance to the picture itself, rather than just to the reality it symbolized. The Oblates would agree with the Athapaskan notion of the serpent in the pictures as evil, but considered the pictures as reminders of devotion, not as objects of worship or fear in themselves.

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Like the holy pictures, rosaries and medals were also stock items to be given to the Indians by the missionaries. The rosary and many of the medals were connected to the devotion to Mary of the whole Church, and their usage in the Athabasca was in conformity with the general encouragement of that devotion. But they were also especially useful with illiterate peoples, who could easily be taught the repetitive prayers of the rosary, or of the special significance attached to particular medals. Sometimes special medals were given for membership in particular congregations, such as those of the Blessed Virgin Mary, or those of temperance. Like the holy pictures, these too were physical reminders of particular facets of belief, and especially adaptable to a non-literate culture. It was an appeal to the soul through the senses, as had been done in Restoration France, rather than an intellectual appeal to reach faith through reason. The appeal through the senses was meant to be the means to the higher end of true faith, but it could be expected that with some the higher end would not be attained. Tissier reported that the Beavers of Peace River had great confidence in their medals and crosses, after an autumn fire had burned all around

but had not struck them as they prayed, and they attributed this miracle
59
to their medals. The roasaries, medals, and holy pictures were gift
items for the Indians, and could perhaps be compared to the gifts given
by the fur-traders to encourage trade. They did not replace anything
similar in the aboriginal culture; perhaps the closest equivalent there
would be totemic symbols, which were not a large factor in the Athapaskan
culture. They were an addition to the Athapaskan culture, attractive in
themselves, and because of the religious significance attached to them,
perhaps most of all because of the protective functions assigned to them.

The CMS missionaries recognized the effect the OMI were able to
achieve through their pictures, medals and crosses. Kirkby reported
that the Indians were very fond of pictures, and had shown him the ones
given to them by the priest at Good Hope, many of them of Mary. Some
Kirkby thought were good, while the others were "mere daubs". But
Kirkby thought it advisable to adopt the use of pictures to express the
Gospel truths to the Athapaskans, for "among the Irish, the lower orders of
English, and heathens similar to the Indians here they would produce the
60
very best effects."

Kirkby also claimed that as soon as a priest baptized an Indian,
or even before, he would put a cross around the neck of the Indian and
61
tell him he was now a Catholic, and not to listen to the Protestants.
This double use of medals and crosses as reminders of the truths of faith
and as warnings against dealing with the Protestants was another charac-
teristic which the OMI missions to the Athapaskans shared with the rest
of the nineteenth century foreign missions of the Church, one of its
distinguishing marks in comparison to the earlier modern missions of the

Church.

These physical facets of religion can be viewed as the technology of religion, a means by which to earn salvation more quickly and surely, as the fur-trade had provided traps and guns for the improved technology of the hunt. Both technologies aimed at simplifying tasks already customary to the Athapaskans. The Hudson's Bay Company bound the Athapaskans to it by providing the tools for easier and more productive hunts, and by inducing a dependence on those tools and on the supplies of the posts. The OMI bound the Athapaskans to the Roman Catholic Church by providing the facilities and tools for contact with God, in a more organized way than the Athapaskan aboriginal religion had offered, while at the same time discouraging any adherence to the other branch of Christianity offered to the Athapaskans. The OMI also induced a dependence on the missionary to perform the sacred rites necessary for the more perfect contact with God and to ensure salvation. In this way the OMI, like the Hudson's Bay Company, reduced the self-sufficiency of aboriginal life, leading to dependence on Europeans. But because of the hunting and trapping way of life, with its limited contact with Europeans, this was a minimal dependency, with the seeds of greater dependency still latent. To a great extent the Athapaskans had taken the technology of the Fur-trade, without adapting it in any way, but also without greatly changing their own lives. It was possible that they would do the same with the technology of religion, adding it to their culture, without changing either their culture or the new religion. Such a reaction would be acceptable to the OMI, except for the changes they found necessary in Athapaskan customs to make them conform to Christian observances.

Another essential ingredient of OMI evangelization methods was acquisition of a knowledge of the Athapaskan languages as quickly as possible. This willingness to use the local language conformed to the Oblate practice of preaching in Provençal in France, a language frowned on by the rich and powerful, but in use among the poor.⁶³ The use of the native languages was not peculiar to the Oblates in the evangelization of the Athapaskans; the CMS missionaries also tried to acquire the languages, although the OMI linguistic background might have prepared them better for the task. Bishop Provencher too had been convinced of the need to know the native languages in order to evangelize the Indians. He had insisted that Mr. Belcourt teach the Sauteux language to Taché, Aubert, and Laflèche, during their first winter in St. Boniface.

This was of some use to the missionaries at Ile à la Crosse with the Cree, but Taché and Laflèche there also had to acquire a knowledge of Chipewyan, a language quite different from Cree. Chipewyan was found by the missionaries to be a much less-appealing language to the ear than Cree, less musical and much harsher-sounding. It was a difficult language to learn, "langue tellement difficile qu'un étranger ne pourra jamais parler facilement qu'avec les plus grands efforts et le secours de Dieu".⁶⁴ In addition the missionaries found the rules of grammar and usage difficult to follow. Eynard lamented "ce Montagnais est si rebelle à la logique et au raisonnement!"⁶⁵

The presence of the French-speaking Métis was invaluable to the Oblates in their efforts to learn the new language. The Indians often laughed at the efforts of the newcomers to speak their language, but most of the OMI gained a working knowledge of at least one of the native

tongues. Séguin described his way of learning the Loucheux dialect. His interpreters were two women who spoke a little French and understood Loucheux although they did not speak it. They in turn could communicate with a Loucheux who spoke the jargon of the country (a mixture of Cree, Chipewyan, Slave, French and English, used primarily for the trade, and it would seem of limited value for preaching). It was in this round-about way that Séguin acquired enough knowledge of Loucheux to compose
66
some hymns for them.

The missionaries had also to introduce some words into the native languages. Clut wrote that because the Friday abstinence could only be observed by eating fish, since there were no other options to meat in
67
the country, the Indians called Friday "the day one eats fish".

A single mission station might require a knowledge of two or three Athapaskan dialects, and good linguists among the OMI were prized. Not all were able to become fluent in the native languages, and this was a cause of great personal anguish to men such as Eynard. Superiors of missions insisted often to their priests that they must study and learn the language to be useful in their ministry. The CMS missionaries in their later entrance into the Athapaskan mission field recognized the advantage possessed by the OMI knowledge of the native languages. Kirkby wrote "It is astonishing to see how quickly & deeply the Priests obtain
68
an influence over the Natives, and also the extent of that influence."

Bompas also stressed the importance of a knowledge of the language, and claimed that the Indians attributed his learning of their language to
69
magic or medicine. In the Indian view, such knowledge came from the gift of the spirits, not from the independent initiative of men, and it

was a manifestation of power, not of personal aptitude for languages.

To some extent the Oblates shared this view of language as power. Bernard Ross asked Grollier for a few Chipewyan verbs which he wanted to give to the American naturalist Kennicott, but Grollier assumed this to be a ruse to obtain the words to hand over to the CMS and refused to give them to Ross.

Those missionaries with the best knowledge of the language were urged to produce dictionaries for the use of incoming OMI. As knowledge and experience deepened the early efforts were often found defective by later missionaries. Clut found that Faraud's grammar of the Chipewyan language had been written too quickly, before he had enough knowledge of that difficult tongue, and in an effort to please Taché. With the large number of different languages encountered along the Mackenzie, Petitot, an able linguist, thought it advisable to construct a polyglot dictionary. He wrote that the study of the Dènè languages had led him to "a singular discovery through the comparative study of languages - a world of logic, metaphysics and philosophy". Most of the other OMI were content to use Petitot's dictionary just for learning the language, without delving deeper into his ideas of philosophy.

II. Incorporation of the evangelized Athapaskans into the Church

After using all the applicable techniques they had at their command to teach the Athapaskans the basic knowledge of the Catholic faith, the Oblates had to incorporate them within the structure of the Church. This meant, besides providing the clergy and the buildings of

the Church, fitting the Athapaskans themselves into the role assigned by the Church to the laity. This required participation in the life of the Church, following its rules, and receiving its Sacraments. The first Sacrament to be received was Baptism, followed by Penance, the Eucharist, Confirmation, Marriage, and Extreme Unction when near death.

The seventh Sacrament, Holy Orders, was not a factor with the Athapaskans before 1870, nor for long after. ⁷³ The Oblates hoped for an indigenous priesthood; Grandin was especially concerned about this, declaring "Que je serais heureux si jamais je pouvais voir un de ces pauvres sauvages devenir prêtre, quel bien ne ferait-il pas auprès de ses frères!" ⁷⁴ The early attempts by the Oblates to produce indigenous priests always ended in failure. Provencher had believed that the natives of the country had the capacity to become priests, and would be ⁷⁵ better-suited to the Indian missions than strangers to the country. Provencher had in mind the Métis as possible priests, but none of his attempts at this succeeded, and he died without seeing the development of an indigenous priesthood for St. Boniface. In 1856 Taché sent a Chipewyan boy, a protégé of Grandin's, for whom they both had high hopes, to live with his mother and be trained in Quebec. This boy soon fell sick and died. This pattern was to recur, as the various boys either left because of homesickness or other reasons, or fell sick.

Grandin was aware of these difficulties, but maintained that it was impossible to form the boys for the priesthood in their own country, and that the other Indians would have no confidence in them unless they had been away for a time. Grandin also noted it was easier for the Protestants to form an indigenous clergy, because they were not required

to be celibate, but he also asserted that the Indians did not respect
the Protestant married clergy, simply because they did have wives. ⁷⁶

Grouard said that the Indians told him they would tell the minister if
he came again "Amène ta femme et ta famille avec toi et donne tes
filles en mariage à nos garçons: peut-être qu'alors nous prierons avec
toi." ⁷⁷ The ministers countered the Catholic claims of the advantages
of their celibacy with the Indians by telling the Indians that the
priests were really married, and even that they had several wives. ⁷⁸

The closest the Oblates were able to come to the development of
an indigenous priesthood in this period was a very limited use of
Indians to teach the faith to other Indians who had no contact with the
priests. One of these was an old man called Emmanuel who taught the
Indians around Churchill about religion. Clut met some of these Indians
at Fond du Lac in 1860, and found them well instructed enough for baptism.
According to Clut, they considered Emmanuel almost as their priest. ⁷⁹
No official status was given to these teachers of religion, however, and
the clergy of the Church mission to the Athapaskans continued to be
European or Québécois.

The other Sacraments of the Church continued to be open to the
Athapaskans, as they were to all laymen of the Church. With the Athapas-
kans confession assumed a great importance. As in France the mission-
aries spent long hours at the time of missions in hearing confessions.
This technique was often used with Indians who had not yet been baptized,
and was not a sacramental confession then. It was used, instead, as a
psychological service to direct and encourage a life-style suitable to
a Christian, or, more specifically, a Roman Catholic Christian. The

practice of such confessions was also peculiarly adaptable to Athapaskan culture, which had encouraged public confession to rid a person of guilt and of the consequences of that guilt on the person, the hunt, or the welfare of the entire community. The sin in primitive societies was the breaking of a taboo, and this could be done consciously or unconsciously. Thus it was not the will to sin but the act itself which was important and had to be recalled in order to rid the person of guilt. ⁸⁰ By his sin he had upset the sacred order of things; by his confession he restored that order. It was not really a question of confessing in order to do penance for sin, but confession had as its purpose the evoking of the evil done by recalling it in words, and thus being able to get rid of it.

Despite the differences between aboriginal confession and Catholic concepts of confession, the Athapaskans seemed in general very willing to confess their sins to the priest. Grandin said the Indians were always anxious to go to confession, not caring about absolution, but desiring the priest to know all their faults, often told with abundant tears. They always told everything in confession, although told this was not necessary for those not yet baptized. In order not to forget anything, they wrote down their sins ahead of time on paper, bark, or little boards. One blind old woman came in with a long string of knots differently-formed; Grandin thought it was a rosary she had made, but ⁸¹ it was her means of writing her confession.

The privacy of confession required by the Catholic faith was a new factor to the Athapaskans, and not always welcomed or understood. Faraud reported that at St. Raphael, Ft. Liard, some new Indians arrived asking to confess. They told the old wife of the fort interpreter all

their sins, including cases of cannibalism, and told her to tell the père. The old woman tried to tell them not to tell their sins to her,
82
but to speak in a low voice to the priest.

This privacy of confession also raised problem for the priests with the women. Taché insisted they should avoid all appearance of scandal and never see a woman alone in a lodge, and should be sure to have a grille between them at confession. 83 Nevertheless the practice of private confession did occasionally lead to accusations against the priests, similar to those used by the anticlericals in France. 84

The practice of confession also led the new Christian Indians to have many scruples, arising from the differences between the new faith and that of their ancestors. They would ask the priest if it were a sin to punish a child on Sunday, or if after Baptism it was alright to eat tripe or fish eggs, or whether it was a sin to eat lice or dogs. 85 The taboos of aboriginal religion and the fasts of Catholicism caused many of these doubts. Further scruples were raised by the Catholic teaching on marriage. Husbands would come and ask if it were alright to beat their wives or even change them when they were impossible to live with. Grandin thought that the Montagnais women knew that the priest would not pray with their husbands if the men changed wives, and took advantage of this to be difficult with their husbands, avenging themselves for the sort of slavery they had endured before becoming Christians. 86

Baptism, as for the early seventeenth century Jesuits in New France, raised problems for the Oblates because of the fact that it was

most freely administered to the dying in the early years of contact, and therefore produced in the Indians the notion of a causal relationship between the sacrament and death. Grollier lamented the Indian lack of faith, saying there had been no more deaths among them than usual, but that the Indians blamed those deaths on the presence of the priest, and thought that if he baptized them they would all die. ⁸⁷ Yet, for the missionaries, some form of preparation for the Sacrament and commitment to live a Christian life were required of the living before receiving the Sacrament, whereas for the dying this was not required. The connection between death and baptism was an unavoidable one in these circumstances.

Not all the Indians were opposed to baptism, even with the connection to death implied in it very often. Grollier declared that if the Indians lived badly, they still regarded religion as useful, unlike those in older countries. If death came on them, they were anxious to die under the eyes of the priest and to receive baptism. Grollier said that since the OMI were careful only to baptize those who seemed worthy, ⁸⁸ and after good proofs, baptism became for them "la planche de salut". The Athapaskans appeared to have an ambivalent attitude to Baptism, some regarding it as "good medicine" and some as bad. As experience continued in the north, the acceptance of baptism prevailed over the refusal of it as causing death. Then even the CMS missionaries felt obliged to conform to the wishes of the Indians, and baptized more ⁸⁹ readily in the north.

Rebaptism of those baptized by the CMS by the Catholic priests

or vice versa was a thorny problem, and caused many long and bitter
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theological arguments. Theological arguments on each side were buttressed by accusations of hastiness to baptize against the other side, or of buying baptisms by gifts of tobacco or tea, making "tobacco Christians" comparable to the "rice Christians" of China. Some of the Indians were willing to accept Christianity along with gifts. One told Grouard at Ft. Liard "Qu'il vienne, disait-il, nous donnera du thé du sucre et du
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tabac - voilà qui est utile, mais toi tu ne donnes rien!"

Within the new branch of the Catholic Church, participation in the Sacrament of the Eucharist did not automatically follow on baptism. Some proof of perseverance in the faith was first required. Before Taché returned to the north from his consecration in France, the natives
92
had not generally been admitted to communion. The hesitation to give Communion to the new converts derived in part from European practice, where infrequent communion was still customary. But it also reflected an awareness of cultural differences, and of a new beginning in the north with the consequent uncertainty about procedure. In France, however, Mazenod convinced Taché that the Indians should be admitted to Communion wherever possible, and Taché carried out this policy on his
93
return. The Oblates later frequently remarked on the usefulness of Communion in changing the lives of the Indians. Clut assured Mazenod that "la première Communion chez nos Indiens est comme un préservatif
94
assuré pour leur bonne conduite à venir".

The last Sacrament, Extreme Unction, was administered to the dying. The missionaries found in this that the Indian attitude to death was very edifying to them. The Indians appeared to fear the

epidemics which recurred in the north, and tried to avert death in any ways open to them, but when death came near they accepted it without the terror of death and judgment which the Oblates found in more civilized men. Grollier praised this attitude:

On voit que Dieu ne vient pas à lui comme un juge mais comme un tendre Père, tant est grande la confiance avec laquelle le Sauvage quitte la vie. Si pendant sa vie il a été moins favorisé du côté de la nature aussi à la mort est-il bien dédommagé du côté de la grâce. ⁹⁵

Faraud was convinced that the Indians expected to go to glory right away. One told him "Hâte-toi d'entendre ma confession, fortifie-moi par la Communion, accorde-moi toutes les médecines du bon Dieu, et je pars". ⁹⁶ This attitude contrasts with those who claimed that the Indian fear of death, especially at the time of epidemics, was a useful tool in convincing them of the faith and of the judgment of God. It may indicate that it was only the extraordinary death which was feared. Or it may simply reflect the basic fatalism of the Indians, and the stoic acceptance of what they could not change. One told Taché "We are not like the whites, death is strong against us, it does not let us have slight illnesses". ⁹⁷

The Sacrament of Marriage presented the most problems to the missionaries in their task of integrating the Athapaskans into the life of the Church. The other sacraments did not require such deep-rooted and public cultural change as did the Christian teaching on marriage. Roderick McKenzie noted that "the Chipewyans cannot put up with the idea of being deprived of a plurality of Women, and the Priest very properly, will not allow them to keep more than one". ⁹⁸ McKenzie went on to say that it was because of this demand of the priests that some

of the best Chipewyans had gone off to the Barren Lands and would not return for several years, and not because of the fear of death as the priests claimed. Moulin introduced another reason for the reluctance to abandon polygamy, when he declared it was because of the fear of relatives of abandoned wives.⁹⁹ With those who were willing to abandon polygamy, the question arose of which wife to keep. John Bell told Simpson that Faraud was making some progress at Ft. Chipewyan in insisting on monogamy, although Bell claimed the young bucks wanted to leave the old and ugly wives and keep the young and bonny.¹⁰⁰

Petitot described the marriage customs of the Chipewyans before the arrival of the missionaries. He said two young people would decide to marry, with no formalities, and if they did not get along they would separate. "L'amour et la poésie" had no place in their lives, according to Petitot. Woman was above all a slave, useful for labour, and a good woman should be obedient to her husband and skilled at the necessary tasks. Petitot claimed that the Chipewyans did not want to marry relatives, even distant ones, but that the Slaves preferred close relatives, which had led to the prevalence of strabism among them. The Loucheux custom of dividing themselves into three groups, and forbidding marriage within that group, was a custom Petitot found praiseworthy.¹⁰¹

Although the first customs the missionaries found were of youthful marriages, Petitot later reported that the young men preferred to choose older women, perhaps widows. These they found more stable and better-suited to the required work than the young and untrained. Petitot thought this change might have come about because the missionaries had spoken against the previous custom of taking a young girl of

eleven or twelve into the house to be trained as an auxiliary wife. ¹⁰²

Among the Dènè-dindjié Petitot found that bigamy, polygamy, and even a sort of communism of wives had been frequent. A woman was traded by her father for a blanket, a gun, or one or two dogs. If the husband rejected her he could take back anything he gave her, but not the gifts ¹⁰³ he gave her father.

Besides insisting on monogamy, the OMI teaching on marriage also stressed the rehabilitation of the status of women. This too raised great difficulties for them. Petitot declared that if you wanted a good laugh, just speak of conjugal love to the Dènè-dindjié; this was a sentiment the priests had to create and it was very slow work. Petitot believed that religion alone could "reconstitute the family, and lift woman from her long abjection, by teaching her she had a soul just as ¹⁰⁴ much as a man". Petitot thought that by now the Savage could, by virtue, not hate his wife or throw her out of the tent in a moment of anger or jealousy; he could also refrain from assaulting her with blows of his axe-head, and from cutting her nose in vengeance. But Petitot declared that the Indian man was incapable of giving her the respect, affection and attention which make the happiness of civilized peoples. Nor did his wife expect this of him. Yet despite this lack of civilized characteristics of marriage, and although the man often called the woman a slave and treated her as such, he also often called her "sister", an ¹⁰⁵ attitude which Petitot compared to the times of Abraham. The characteristics of the "noble savage" were not entirely lacking in the north, even in marriage customs, although the missionaries in general found

these incompatible with Christianity. In trying to inculcate the respect for women essential to the Christian view of marriage, the OMI conflicted with the uniquely masculine role stressed by a hunting culture. They could make no changes in this, nor did they try to, so that the respect for women taught by them had to coexist with the respect for hunting ability and providing for a family which ensued from Athapaskan culture. The two were not irreconcilable, but did require some readjustment on the part of the Athapaskans.

Premarital chastity was also stressed by the missionaries, again in conflict with aboriginal custom. This led to attempts to hide the results of illegitimate pregnancies by destroying the child. Grandin found this a common crime at Ile à la Crosse, due, he said, to the fear of excommunication or public humiliation by the missionary. He said the girl was often helped by her father or mother to do this. He sought to destroy this practice, but thought it better to preach with too much gentleness than with too much severity.

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Besides the teaching of Christian attitudes to marriage and to women, the Oblates had also to enforce the Catholic rules of marriage. This too was a source of difficulty for them. Those who abandoned their wives or lived in concubinage were refused admission to the sacraments and the church, as they would have been in Europe. Lists of excommunicates were put on the door of the chapel. But the discovery of these relationships, and the enforcement of excommunication were much more difficult in a region where the young people led wandering lives than it had been in the stable and settled communities of Europe. Clut claimed that some of the young people of Nativity mission moved to Deer

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Lake to hide out from the demands of the priest about marriage. He told Vegreville at Deer Lake that he would send him a list of those excommunicated from Nativity, so that Vegreville would not admit them to St. Peter's mission there, and asked Vegreville to send him a list of those in trouble at St. Peter's who might turn up at Nativity. ¹⁰⁸ The standard of religion appeared to be as difficult to maintain as the standard of trade, and required the same exertion of a centralized and hierarchical authority.

Grandin wrote of the need for sanctions against those Indians who wanted to abandon their wives and take new ones. He found it necessary to excommunicate them, to chase them from the church, to refuse to touch hands with the guilty ones, or to inflict other public penances. He found that not to touch hands was the worst punishment for them. It was the custom to touch hands on arrival and departure, and some excommunicates whom he did not know therefore came to touch hands with him, ¹⁰⁹ knowing he would not recognize them.

It was in the exertion of their authority in the Sacrament of marriage that the OMI ran into difficulties with the Factors of the Hudson's Bay Company, who had authority over civil marriages. ¹¹⁰ The single marriage case which raised the greatest problems of conflict of authority was that of Lamalice. Both Lamalice and the woman he wanted to marry, Nancy Hoole, had been married to others by Mr. Campbell. James Anderson asked Faraud to look into the case, since Lamalice had promised to abide by Faraud's judgment, after first threatening to take Nancy and retire to Beaulieu's place on Salt River. ¹¹¹ On investigation

Faraud decided that both the marriages of Nancy and Lamalice were invalid, and they were then free to marry in the Church. Grandin and Faraud wrote up the results of their investigation and sent this report to Anderson. Unfortunately they sent it unsealed and in the care of Lamalice, who soon knew the contents. Anderson reacted in outrage, claiming the priests were undermining the authority of the Factors in the region. Anderson wrote Simpson that the paper of Grandin and Faraud incited the Company servants to break the law, and assumed an authority not enjoyed by any British subject, not even the Queen herself. Ross assured Simpson that since this "Bull" none of the Roman Catholic servants of the Company in the Athabasca or Mackenzie would consider Company marriage contracts as legal, and they would set about debauching the wives of Protestants. Grandin assured Anderson that he had not given permission to Lamalice to marry, but had simply given him a paper setting out the illegalities of his marriage to give to Anderson who could give him permission to marry. But Grandin took exception to Anderson's accusations against Grandin of thus encouraging immorality, "because in attacking me you attack my society and my religion".

Although the whole case bore characteristics of a tempest in a teapot, it highlighted on a small scale the problems of setting boundaries between church and state in matters of morality. The ultramontane Church claimed a higher authority, and in exerting that authority over its own members, sometimes conflicted with the state authority over the same individuals. The authority of the Company Factors was not clearly-defined enough to provide a strong counterpoint to the authority

of the priests, but the ideas reflected in the correspondence show their reliance on British law versus foreign religion. The controversy petered out after both sides had made their point, and no similar cases followed in the Mackenzie, indicating that both sides learned something
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from it.

In their mission methods in the north the OMI relied heavily on the traditional practices of their community developed in Restoration France. These aimed at integration of the Athapaskans into the unity of the Catholic Church and faith, and stressed devotional practices common to nineteenth century Catholicism. Very little was changed in these practices for the Athapaskans, since they were considered suitable for all men, and since efforts at adaptation of doctrine had long since been ruled out of mission theory. As the same message was to be delivered to all who shared the same human nature, and all were to be incorporated into the one Church which could lead them to salvation, the only scope for variation or adaptation to different cultures was in the field of mission techniques.

The OMI did adopt some innovative techniques with the Athapaskans besides the tried and true techniques of France. These were the Catholic ladder, and the calendar they developed for the Indians to keep track of feast days and Sundays in the bush. These were called for because of the circumstances in the north, where the Indians led much of their lives apart from priest and chapel, unlike the population of France, or the early reductions of the Jesuits. The Catholic ladder, the calendars, the holy pictures and simple catechisms used by the

Oblates with the Athapaskans, all performed for them the function filled in France by resident priests, church functions and decorations, and processions. Their portability suited the Athapaskan hunting life, but the performance of the necessary duties of a Christian life depended for the Athapaskans greatly on personal conviction rather than on social pressure. This left a great deal more room for individual variation than was possible in France.

But insofar as the Oblates themselves were concerned, their approach to the Athapaskans was based almost entirely on European ideas and methods. They themselves did very little in the way of adaptation to the Athapaskans, except what was absolutely necessary to the task of evangelization. The methods they used were rooted in rural Restoration France (methods which in turn derived greatly from the seventeenth century missions against the Huguenots, which had also shared the same methods with the foreign missions of that era). Of course the OMI stressed those methods of these which most appealed to the Athapaskans, but these coincided with those most popular and effective in Provence. The Athapaskans were not regarded by the OMI as a different cultural group requiring a different mission approach, but as another branch of the poor of the human race, whom the OMI had a special duty to evangelize, following their motto "Evangelizare pauperibus misit me". The extension to foreign missions was sometimes justified on this basis - that the OMI had a special mission to the poor, and that the Indians were the poorest of the poor, and were therefore peculiarly suited to the OMI. And as the Oblate mission methods had worked with the poor of France, they could also be expected to work with the poor of North America.

The paternalistic attitude displayed by the OMI in the north was also not different from that common in Europe, although perhaps more intensified in the north, and marked by a degree of romanticism there.

Especially valuable to the OMI in the north was their linguistic aptitude, which made it possible for them to learn the native languages and compose hymns and catechisms and sermons to teach the Roman Catholic faith to the Athapaskans in their own languages. Also useful to them was the presence of the French-speaking Métis as intermediaries.

Once instructed in the faith the converts were expected to participate to some extent in the Sacraments of the Catholic Church, just as in Europe or in any of the foreign missions of the Church. The Sacrament of Holy Orders remained for many years a dead letter as far as the Athapaskans were concerned, but not because of the unwillingness of the OMI to consider ordination of indigenes. Rather it was due to the requirement of celibacy, seminary training and a move away from the native habitat to secure that training. The other sacraments were all open to the Athapaskans, after some initial hesitation over Communion. Confession was particularly appealing to the Athapaskans, used to the confession of transgression of taboos. But many balked at maintaining monogamous marriages, and at changing their attitudes to women. In these cases the OMI were attempting to change basic cultural traits or customs which they found irreconcilable with Catholicism.

In some ways the Oblate missions to the Athapaskans reflect a search for Utopia like the seventeenth century missions. Like them, they sought to establish a branch of Roman Catholicism free from the

defects of European civilization. The very poverty of the Athapaskans and their geographical isolation encouraged the realization of this ideal, without the necessity of setting up reductions. The Athapaskans were, however, to be integrated into the Roman Catholic Church, with all its ultramontane characteristics. There was no thought of establishing any kind of national church among the Athapaskans, nor of integrating them into a national church based on a European metropolis.

CHAPTER VI

AUXILIARIES TO EVANGELIZATION

I. Education

Besides the extension of the services of religion to the Athapaskans through the structure of the hierarchy and the sacraments and devotions of the Church, the OMI missions also included those auxiliaries to purely evangelical work, the works of education and health care. For these they relied heavily on the Grey Nuns. The use of women religious in isolated missions was a nineteenth century phenomenon and, like the rest of nineteenth century Roman Catholic mission effort, derived its impetus largely from France.¹ The nineteenth century use of women in the mission fields used the status of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the devotion to her so characteristic of the nineteenth century as a basis and example for justifying the presence of women in the missions. This attitude was expressed by the Rapport des Missions du Québec:

Car, dans ce siècle où la Bienheureuse Vièrge Marie a été proclamée Immaculée, il faut qu'il y ait partout de nouveaux apôtres, des Vièrges innocentes et pures, qui prêchent à leur manière la Vièrge toute puissante qui, dans sa² Conception sans tâche, a écrasé la tête de l'ancien serpent.

The Grey Nuns came not from France but from Quebec, and represented the largest contingent of Quebec influence in the north in these

years. They served the missions in many ways - as examples of dedicated virgins, as maintainers of chapels and residences, forming choirs to enhance the liturgy, cleaning the altar linens, and so forth. But their primary practical purpose with the Athapaskans was to teach and to look after the old and sick. They were the congregation of nuns probably best-suited to the far north, because they were not specialists in either education or health-care, but were willing to undertake both. As women, as educators, as healers, they were on the second stage of evangelization, associated to the primary stage but not directly concerned with the pure preaching of the Gospel. They were witnesses and auxiliaries, not leaders.

To support the work of the Grey Nuns, the OMI bishops and priests had to be willing to share their already meagre resources, since the Grey Nuns could not finance the missions. The Grey Nuns were familiar to the OMI, for they had been at St. Boniface since 1844. In 1860 they extended to the north by establishing a convent at Ile à la Crosse, at the invitation of Bishop Grandin, and in 1862 Taché established them at Lac La Biche. Grandin, who took charge of the Athabasca-Mackenzie while Faraud was in France for his consecration, thought the district had great need of the nuns there to complete the work of the OMI. Grandin considered that Kirkby feared the nuns even more than the priests - a good argument in itself for bringing them into the Athabasca-Mackenzie. On a more spiritual level, Grandin also thought that it was only through the nuns that mothers of families could be formed, and it was only through such mothers that civilization could reach firmly to the family.⁴ Grandin also thought the nuns could counter the influence of

the Protestant wives of some of the Hudson's Bay Company men who
acted as ministresses.⁵

Faraud did not at first share Grandin's enthusiasm for the work of the Grey Nuns, whom he encountered during his winter at Ile à la Crosse in 1861-2. He saw little future for their school there, where the children left before they were adequately instructed, and where the mission had to feed and dress the children, something he thought would be impossible in the Mackenzie. Faraud thought the Sisters were good at keeping house, but that they used too much soap and candles. In medical care, Faraud, who was a great advocate of homeopathic medicines, considered their knowledge limited, and thought the Indians preferred their own medicines.⁶ Grandin on the contrary had thought the Sisters at Ile à la Crosse had gained quite a reputation for medicine, and found their house always full of the sick.⁷

Taché had at first advised Faraud against the premature establishment of the Grey Nuns in his new vicariate.⁸ In 1866, however, Taché brought back six Grey Nuns with him from Montreal, five of whom were assigned to the Mackenzie vicariate,⁹ along with four Maries (laywomen to assist in the housework). By 1871 there were thirty-two Grey Nuns at St. Boniface, and thirteen in the Saskatchewan under Grandin, but still only five in the Athabasca-Mackenzie Vicariate.¹⁰

In the Mackenzie the Sisters were established first at Providence mission, and soon opened a school and infirmary there. Their schools often catered to the children of Hudson's Bay Company men, or to the Métis, and to orphaned or abandoned Indian children, rather than

being directed only to the Indians. Both poverty of resources and ease of language contributed to this. The Company men and the Company itself could be prevailed on to contribute to the support of their children, and the free Métis could also be expected to contribute something to the support of the school. But the Indians lacked the resources and the inclination to do so, and were often reluctant to leave their children at the school for long periods of time.

In addition the presence of children who spoke or understood French was an asset to the nuns. The Grey Nuns did not emphasize the learning of the native languages as the Oblates did. Of course, they were not expected to preach, but they did not appear to consider it necessary to teaching either. In the Mackenzie they were helped by the fact that almost all the children spoke at least a little French.¹¹ Another reason why the Sisters failed to learn the native languages was probably lack of time for study. Faraud wrote that they made the habits for all the personnel of the mission, did the washing for the Church, all the cooking, had twenty-four children at the school and looked after their clothing too.¹²

It was in the schools that the civilizing impulse which accompanied the mission impetus was expressed most clearly. In the Athabasca-Mackenzie there could be no wholesale or even small-scale versions of the self-supporting Jesuit reductions of the seventeenth century in Paraguay. Although this remained an ideal for many missionaries, circumstances made it inconceivable in the north. But some education was considered a necessary tool for the introduction of a deeply-rooted

Christianity, especially in the knowledge and understanding it gave future mothers of families. It was through the schools that the supervision given in the early reductions could be carried out in the Athabasca and Mackenzie, in this case by nuns rather than priests, and to the children rather than to the whole population. Roman Catholic mission theory had had to adapt somewhat to the changed circumstances of the nineteenth-century foreign mission field, but the ideal of producing a Christian society remained the same.

The knowledge of the faith was one of the essential elements of the educational process in the schools of the Grey Nuns. It was because of their instruction that the children were enabled to receive Communion. Ordinarily this was not done until they were older, because of the lack of thorough instruction to those whom the priests saw only rarely.¹³

Another reason for encouraging the schools was to counter by them the influence of the CMS in their schools. Faraud wrote "avoir une bonne école et la réputation d'habilité en tout, c'est faire triompher notre sainte cause".¹⁴ Bompas declared that the OMI at Ft. Chipewyan had done nothing for the French children in education for the fifteen years they had been there until Bompas opened an English school. Then even the Protestants were canvassed to send their children to the "Romish" school opened up by nuns brought up from Canada by the "French bishop".¹⁵

Faraud feared that Bompas, as the new Anglican bishop of the Athabasca, would win over the Indians by means of his schools.¹⁶ He

hoped that only the English Métis and the Catholics who were not fervent would succumb. Faraud felt that the Indians already knew well enough how to read and write in their own language, and would not bother with the English schools. ¹⁷ Others of the OMI were not so sanguine, and felt compelled to establish some sort of rival to Bompas' school for the Indians. In this effort their knowledge of the Indian languages was an asset. To combat Bompas' school Clut decided to set one up at Nativity. Since he had no schoolbooks, and because he thought a French school would be useless, he decided to make a school in Cree. During the afternoon it was for children, boys and girls, and during the evening for the young people of the fort, and the two women and one man of the mission. ¹⁸

Other efforts at education were made by the OMI before and after the arrival of the Grey Nuns. By the nature of missionary life, these were bound to be intermittent in nature and scanty in content. The primary objective was to teach some to read a simple catechism. An indication of the need for knowledge of several languages to teach as well as to evangelize in the north was given by Eynard. At St. Joseph he found Gascon in charge of what he described as a "grand école" and a "petit école", plus giving French catechism and Chipewyan catechism ¹⁹ lessons, and teaching French to Mr. McKenzie.

These early efforts by the priests had only limited success. Faraud outlined the reasons for failure, saying that the children did not always come, nor were their parents willing to send them, and in addition the priests did not have the time to teach properly. ²⁰

The schools of the Grey Nuns tried to avoid these difficulties,

by having boarding schools which also took day-students. They encountered the same difficulties as the priests had, however. Those parents who sent their children to school often removed them if the children were unhappy, or did not send them regularly if it was a day-school. If it was a boarding-school the parents were not willing to pay, and yet complained that the children were not treated properly. ²¹ At Lac La Biche Père Maisonneuve wrote that some of the parents would consent to have their children well-fed and cared for, but only on condition that they could control the liberty of the Sisters to punish their children. ²² The following year Maisonneuve reported that the day school had been discontinued because of the lack of children; the parents would not force them to go, and saw no advantage to schooling for the hunting life. ²³

Sister Guenette had reported a somewhat opposite reaction on the part of the parents to the same school. She said that the parents complained that the children were getting lazy, telling their parents whenever there was work to be done that it was time for them to go to school. ²⁴ Two years later Sister Guenette reported to Taché that she had cut her four hours of teaching per day to three, and had taken the children to work in the fields, bringing in the potatoes and hay. But she would follow Taché's instructions and concentrate on her teaching. But, she added, "C'est peu encourageant d'instruire nos pauvres enfants ²⁵ qui sont toujours à galopper partout pour chercher leur subsistance".

Other nuns were more optimistic about the hopes of education in the north. At Providence Sister Lapointe found the children understood

and spoke French, and were as intelligent as children of "grands pays".²⁶ In 1872 there were twenty-five children at the convent, twelve boys and thirteen girls. Six of the boys were boarders while six were orphans, three of the girls were boarders and ten were orphans. The distinction here was not between day-students and boarders, but between those whose parent paid for their education, and those who were dependent on the mission. From the figures given, the larger proportion were orphans, bringing in no money for their education. Sister Lapointe said that most of the children understood English and spoke it passably.²⁷ Some of the English Protestant Company men sent their children to the school, and the nuns tried to have at least one English-speaking nun there.

The school was open to a variety of ages, as well as taking both boys and girls. In 1871 there were eleven orphans, six boys and five girls. One of these girls was only two years old. Another child was a blind Dogrib boy from the Arctic, and another was a four-year old from the Gens de la Montagne, who had been brought to Providence by one of the priests. The variety of skills demanded of the nuns is evident in this mixture of ages and tribes. Their most serious problem continued to be keeping the children who were not orphans long enough to educate them, since the parents were quick to remove them.

A peu d'exceptions près, les parents ne comprennent pas les avantages de l'éducation, dont ils ont été privés jusqu'ici; d'un autre côté, ils sont passionnément attachés à leurs enfants dont ils ne se séparent qu'avec beaucoup de peine. Toutefois lorsqu'ils nous les ont confiés pendant quelque temps, ils sont enchantés d'avoir des Soeurs pour les instruire.²⁸

Faraut thought the school at Providence was excellent, and could have enormous influence on the religious future of the country if only

their resources could maintain a large number of children.²⁹ Much of the support of these schools combined with orphanages came from the Oeuvre de la Sainte-Enfance³⁰ in France. This society wrote to Taché in 1864 that day schools should be used wherever possible to save on the costs of operating orphanages with the responsibility of full care of the children. One of the advantages even more valuable than the cost-saving aspect, according to the Secretary of the Society, would be that it would prevent the Indian pupils from becoming too Europeanized. He considered that education at too high a level and too different from the customs of the country, when those customs were not evil, led to serious difficulties for those educated thus, creating in them false needs and a taste for luxury.³¹ There was some validity to this fear in other areas supported by the Sainte Enfance, and in later years in Taché's diocese, but at this time in the north there was little chance of the children acquiring a taste for luxury. Taché replied to the Society that the practical needs of his diocese required the use of boarding schools. The new Christians, he said, were all tempted to lapse into infidelity, so easy with the nomadic life, and the children had to be educated away from their parents in an atmosphere where they could acquire firm beliefs without the temptation to relapse. At the same time they would learn habits of industry, not of luxury.³² Given the poverty in which the nuns and priests lived there was small chance of this being encouraged among the children. And given the same poverty there was small chance of real cultural change of any description being pursued by the schools of the Grey Nuns in the north.

To augment their resources the OMI tried in every way to enlist

the support of the Hudson's Bay Company for their schools. Faraud wrote that the bourgeois (the term for Factors) liked the sisters and their schools, and promised to feed the children of Company servants at the schools, but that once the children were at the school the promise was not fulfilled. He said that they did give seven to eight hundred pounds of dried meat for the children, but it was impossible to feed eighteen children all year on that, and he did not then consider their promises to be kept.

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Taché had written to McTavish about this problem, saying that the mission schools often had the children of the men at nearby posts, keeping them entirely at mission expense. Taché said he knew the Hudson's Bay Company had no obligation to pay for this, but he asked McTavish if he did not think it right that the Company should pay the quantity of provisions to the missions that would be used for those children if they stayed at the post. The Council of the Company agreed to give grants to the mission schools for the children of Company men, but only when the child was at a school in the vicinity of the father's post.

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Another way to enlist the support of the Hudson's Bay Company was to hold examinations of the children when the governors of the Company or the Chief Factors were present. The children were dressed in their best, their new black clothes, made by the nuns. The Hudson's Bay Company men were especially impressed by the musical training given to the children. In 1869 Faraud brought Mr. McFarlane, Dr. McKay, Mr. Gardener, and Mr. Reid to visit the Providence school. Again they were

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impressed by the music, but also by the children reading in both French and English. According to Faraud the Company men thought the progress was miraculous, and Mr. McFarlane encouraged the children to continue to take advantage of the opportunity offered them. The Company men often accompanied their praise with donations to the school. Although these examinations and visits were not official, they did encourage some sort of official promotion and patronage for the schools.

R. Slobodin , in The Métis of the Mackenzie District, maintained that the Federal system of education was designed to be an agent of change, whereas the mission schools were stabilizers, fostering that equilibrium which to Slobodin characterized the mission and fur-trade era. This was true of the early schools of the Grey Nuns, but not entirely because of design on their part, or on the part of the OMI. It was due in large part to the meagre financial resources on which they could depend, which led to a greater number of Métis in the schools than Athapaskans, since some support for these could be obtained from the Company or the parents. The Métis were also more inclined to see some advantage to the education given by the Grey Nuns, whereas the Athapaskans could only see hardship, separation, and perhaps death for their children , with little offsetting advantages. The Grey Nuns' lack of knowledge of the Indian languages at this time also contributed to the greater number of French or English-speaking pupils. Their diversification of efforts to caring for the sick, the old, and the orphaned as well as education also resulted in less emphasis on cultural change through education.

In theory, however, the value of education as a civilizing process was not argued against. The civilizing process envisaged by the OMI and the Grey Nuns placed heavy emphasis on the teaching of religion as the primary and formative factor in true civilization, civilisation Chrétienne. To produce mothers and fathers of families able to lead a sound moral life in accordance with the principles of the Catholic faith was for them the real goal of education. Academic achievement was only secondary to that higher goal of education. But it was acknowledged as valuable in itself as well as being a tool for the deeper understanding of the faith, and an incentive to public support.

Education was a frustrating process in these early years for both the nuns and the pupils. The frequent withdrawals of students for various reasons, the lack of resources to maintain children for long periods of time, and the lack of understanding of the Indian languages necessarily made the schooling a very incomplete process, which helped therefore to prevent any deep-seated cultural changes.

It was for practical rather than theoretical reasons that the schools of the early mission era were stabilizing rather than agents of change. The bishops of Quebec urged support for these schools, considering them as "à la fois patriotique, civilisatrice et chrétienne"⁴¹. But the patriotic and Christian elements predominated until the federal government took over the direction and financing, and then made the schools real agents of change.

II. Medicine

Medicine was also used as an auxiliary to evangelization. The OMI had no real medical training, but some were very zealous proponents of homeopathic medicine.⁴² This system became very popular in France as a method of self-help medicine. No exact account of how it came to be adopted by the OMI has been found, but it was probably through its customary usage in home medicine in France. Kits were made up for the most common illnesses, with the appropriate remedies numbered and prescribed in the accompanying booklet. This system was adapted to the foreign missions by a German doctor, Constantine Hering, who worked for some years in Guiana as a missionary, and then settled in Philadelphia. There was a background of use in both France and in the foreign missions⁴³ which led the OMI to adopt the homeopathic system.

Faraud was the greatest proponent of homeopathic medicines among the OMI of the north. Taché too had some reputation for dispensing pills, even before Faraud arrived⁴⁴ but whether these were homeopathic medicines is not clear. Not all of the OMI shared Faraud's enthusiasm for the "pills for all ills". Moulin thought Faraud had cured his own rheumatism with homeopathy, but had also caused considerable deterioration in his general health as a result of all the remedies. Moulin was also convinced that Faraud's smoking had affected his health, but could not convince Faraud of this.⁴⁵

Many of the cases dealt with by the homeopathic remedies were Company men or other missionaries or nuns. Wm. Hardisty, of the Mackenzie District, was convinced of the value of these, and asked the

OMI to get him the kit made up by Dr. Hering, in English if possible,⁴⁶ indicating a willingness to adopt the system for himself. Faraud appears to have initiated the Grey Nuns into the use of the remedies. He claimed to have cured Mr. Deschambeault at Ile à la Crosse by means of six homeopathic pills, and said the box had been there for three years, but no one knew how to use it.⁴⁷ Faraud then asked Mother Slocombe of the Grey Nuns to send a new book on homeopathy to Ile à la Crosse, since the one there was out of date, and the new ones were more positive and followed by almost miraculous results. He encouraged this especially because "the cure of the body is almost always followed by⁴⁸ the cure of souls".

The pills were also used with the Indians, and in this represented a complete cultural change. There are no records of any use by the Athapaskans of herbs or medical remedies.⁴⁹ Petitot noted that they had no idea of "simples" for illness, and that their only remedy was jonglerie, but that they did practise surgery with an "unbelievable sang-froid".⁵⁰ The Athapaskans seemed willing to accept the missionary homeopathy along with Christianity, perhaps viewing it as another aspect of the same great medicine. Grollier reported that the Indians at Good Hope were always asking for the pills "and find they cure them of all sickness". Grollier was not so convinced of their efficacy, but thought that so long as the pills did no harm to the body, they did good to the soul by drawing the Indians to the OMI.⁵¹ Grollier also advocated sending a nun who was a good doctor to the Mackenzie, for then the whole District would come to her and thus Religion would spread.⁵²

As with education, medicine too became a tool in the controversy with the CMS for the souls of the Indians. Faraud reported that a young doctor had come to Ft. Simpson in 1861 and stayed with the minister there. The minister took him around and told the Indians that if they did not pray with him, the doctor would not cure them. Faraud claimed that one Indian with tuberculosis was treated by the doctor with the minister acting as interpreter. Because of some misunderstanding in translation, the doctor thought the man had only been sick three days, and administered a strong dose opposed to the symptoms of the man. This was the system of allopathic medicine, the dosing by contraries, to which homeopathic medicine, and Faraud, were so opposed. The man subsequently died, discrediting both the doctor and the minister, and helping Faraud's cause as both religious and medical practitioner. Faraud claimed that all the cases he treated were cured, and that the Indians avoided the minister, saying "your medicines kill us and your religion is as bad".⁵³ Again in 1868 Faraud claimed that his pills cured everyone at Ft. Simpson, while the drugs of the minister and of the new doctor who accompanied him led often to death. The Indians decided that if the minister's remedies were no good, his religion could not be either. Faraud claimed that God used this circumstance to make⁵⁴ His cause triumph (as well as that of homeopathic medicine!).

Bompas recognized the value of medicine in missionary work, and asked to have medicines sent to him. He recommended that future missionaries should acquire a little knowledge of medicine, noting that the Indians came to him for physics in preference to instruction. He considered the homeopathic system used by the priests to be as deceptive

as their religion.⁵⁵ The link between true religion and true medicine appeared to be as close for the Europeans in the north as it was for the Indians.

Bompas indicated one interesting contrast in health problems in the Mackenzie as compared to missions in tropical climates. In the tropics the natives seemed to keep healthy while the Europeans suffered a great deal of sickness or even death, while in the Mackenzie the opposite was the case. Bompas thought some of this could be attributed to the adoption by the Indians of European clothing; their fur garments had been warmer and easier to clean by scraping the skin.⁵⁶ The Oblates too were struck by their relative good health in the north. In their case, this was sometimes cause for lament, as they considered that the blood of martyrs was the seed of the Church. In addition, support was easier to attract for missions which could boast of deaths by disease or martyrdom than for those which showed long life and good health. Séguin remarked on his really good health in the north compared to his poor health while he had been in France.⁵⁷ The other missions of the OMI in tropical climates, even those in Texas, soon had many deaths to show to validate their efforts, but those in the Athabasca-Mackenzie had only Grollier's death from asthma to show in the first several years.

Besides the practice of homeopathy the Oblates were also active in vaccinating against small-pox, a scourge in the district in the 1860s. In 1866 Petitot told Taché that about eight hundred Indians out of four thousand in the district had died in three or four weeks.⁵⁸ Séguin

vaccinated⁵⁹ at Good Hope with a needle and vaccine sent by Petitot's friends.

The motives for practising medicine were a mixture of charitable ideas and of assisting conversions by helping to cure the body. Grouard reported that when the Indians at Ft. Simpson besieged Faraud asking for help against the sickness there, Faraud gave them the medicines useful for health, but at the same time spoke the words so much more necessary to them for their salvation.⁶⁰ To practise medicine was to draw the Indians, and once there, they were more willing to listen to the preaching of the Gospel. This, of course, depended somewhat on the success of the medicine practised by the missionaries, and the homeopathic medicines were probably the most useful ones for the Oblate cause. The very small doses in which they came made it unlikely that enthusiastic amateurs could do a great deal of harm, and whatever good was done could be used to the benefit of religion.

Besides hoping for good results from their medicines, the OMI also had to try to prevent the identification of medicine with magic on the part of the Indians, and the confusion of both medicine and magic with the practice of religion. Moulin reported that the Indians of Green Lake would not let him baptize their children, because if they got sick the parents could not call on the medicine-man. Moulin tried to convince them that only medicine which called on the evil spirit was bad, but not too successfully.⁶¹ In 1864 Moulin reported that the Chipewyans had died in numbers during the winter, which had led them to believe that since the arrival of the priests they did not live so long.⁶² In this case the Indians identified the priests' religion with bad

medicine used against them.

Many of the Indians accepted the priests' medicine as good, and tended to consider their prayers as part of their medicine, and a most powerful part. The identification of prayers, medicine and magic, seen by the Oblates as different realities, with magic identified with evil, were seen by the Indians as different facets of one reality, impossible to disconnect. Grandin noted that their only religious acts were jonglerie and medicine, and so the priest, the jongleur, and the sorcerer were the same thing for them, although they did say that the missionary's medicine was stronger than theirs.

Grouard wrote that after his first meeting with the Gens de la Montagne they thought him to be the Son of God, who could prolong their life and cure their sicknesses. Grouard said he disabused them of this notion, and set about teaching them the principal truths of faith. It would not be unexpected, however, to find that the Indians maintained at least some of this first belief in the power of the priests. Clut reported that when an epidemic struck the Nativity mission area, and thirteen of the Indians died, two of them asked him

"Aie pitié de nous et de tous nos parents; ta prière est forte auprès de Dieu; tu peux nous guérir une fièvre, un rhume ne sont rien pour toi."⁶⁵

This report is reminiscent of the early contacts of the fur-traders and the Indians, with requests from the Indians to have pity on them, and to give them good measure. It displays a recognition not only of the medical expertise of the OMI, but of their power derived from the spirits, and of the consequent dependent relationship of the Indians.

To cure an illness was a manifestation of that power, and bound to be taken as such by the first contacts of the OMI, despite their efforts to separate medicine from religion, and to consider medicine as a manifestation of technology or an art, rather than as magic.

III. The Métis

One of the greatest advantages to the OMI in their mission work with the Athapascans was the presence of numbers of French-speaking Métis in the north, either working for the Hudson's Bay Company or living as freemen in the country. In France the Oblates had needed no intermediaries with the people whom they sought to evangelize, but in the field of foreign missions the presence of an intermediary people, connected by blood and language to both French and Indian, facilitated the first missions of the OMI to the Athapascans to a very high degree. The sharing of the French language and at least the tradition of the Catholic faith, if not the practice, made the Métis the natural allies of the French Catholic Oblates, while their Indian heritage and use of the Indian languages, as well as their widespread family relationships, made them most useful as contacts and exemplars to the Indians. The Métis were associated to a great extent with the trips of the brigades, and were more wide-ranging in their life than the Eskimos and the Athapascans. Although these peoples tended to cover a large territory, it was a more limited one than that of the Métis. While the Europeans in the north continued to be the representatives of outside societies, the subarctic Métis became the people of the region as a

whole, "the types of the subarctic as such".⁶⁷ As such they could be particularly useful to the Oblates, with their efforts to convert the whole of the north to Roman Catholicism.

Grandin assured the Governor that the Indians of the country were practically Catholic before they were even Christians, because all of the servants of the Company who spoke the Indian languages were Catholics, and because the Indians on the brigades met the Catholic priests at La Loche and spread the news of them.⁶⁸ Taché wrote that when he first went to Athabasca he found Indians there who had never seen a priest, and yet knew their prayers in French.⁶⁹ The spread of prayers and information about religion could be compared to the spread of trade goods, often far beyond the original contact, and appeared to follow the same routes. Grandin wrote that the Yukon Indians were in contact with the Indians from the other side of the mountains, and had picked up Catholic habits from them,⁷⁰ while others had had contact with the Russian missionaries or their Indians, and⁷¹ "made more signs of the Cross than our most devoted Irishman".

The Métis themselves needed instruction in the faith, and the OMI always included this in the context of their northern missions. They never restricted themselves to evangelizing only the Athapaskans; the desired universality of the faith and uniformity of religion would have prevented that, aside from the practical help rendered to the evangelization of the Athapaskans by the presence of Métis who practised the Roman Catholic faith. The OMI considered that despite years away from contact with priests or the Church, the Métis preserved a basic

foundation of the faith, on which it was easier for the OMI to build
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than with those completely ignorant of the faith. The instruction
of the Métis was also made easier by the relatively prolonged contact
with them which the OMI had in comparison to their brief contacts with
the Athapaskans. The Métis at the forts had the most contacts with
the OMI, and the presence of their families made it possible for the
OMI to insist on the observance of the marriage requirements of the
Church. Grandin said he was happy to celebrate the marriage of Cana-
dians because they usually lived good lives, and by multiplying the
number of Catholic Métis families in the country the conversion of the
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Indians was much less difficult. Besides their example to the
Indians in marriage, the Métis families served as examples in their
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support of the missions through financial donations and labour.

Not all of the Métis served as good examples to the Indians,
however, and the Oblates found this most distressing. Tissier com-
plained that the freemen on the Peace River had been too easy in reject-
75
ing their women. At Lac La Biche Maisonneuve lamented the scandal
caused by the Métis to the weak faith of the Chipewyans, and found the
Red River Métis particularly bad in this. Some of them wanted to pass
for "gens d'esprit", while others argued against the teaching of the
76
priests, saying the priests at Red River did not do that. This
double reaction reflects the two-fold inheritance of the Métis, with
the Indian connection to medicine-men, and the French-Canadian to
priests; in this case, both were opposed to the French customs of
Père Maisonneuve.

One Métis whose influence the OMI feared the most was old Cayen, who helped the minister by serving as a translator for him, and by making false accusations against the priests and their religion. Gascon claimed that Cayen got some tea from the minister at the expense of Gascon's reputation by saying that the priest confessed women in order to go to bed with them . Gascon also wrote that Cayen blamed the rosary, holy pictures, confessions, and especially Communion for making him sick. Cayen was often accused by those who knew him of having an insatiable passion for tea, willing to say anything to obtain it. "C'est un vieux misérable qui pour un peu de thé et de farine que lui donne le Ministre peut vendre son âme au diable." In the end, despite all the damage the Oblates felt Cayen had done to them, he was reconciled to the Church before his death on Aug.26, 1865.

Especially important to the OMI was the usefulness of the Métis as translators and teachers of the native languages. The first missionaries depended entirely on the Métis to teach them the Chipewyan language. Even later, when the OMI had acquired the language and could serve as teachers to the new missionaries, the new OMI were often sent to live some time with the Métis to acquire a more thorough knowledge of the language. Clemence Thanizené, who died Sep. 14, 1866, helped the first missionaries learn the Chipewyan tongue. In addition, she also served as an auxiliary by giving reprimands and advice to those of her nation who needed it. In this she appears to have taken a more active role than simply a witness to the faith by her life, or an auxiliary to the OMI as a translator, and certainly a more active role

than was customary for women in the Church in Europe.

The service rendered to the OMI by the Métis as interpreters was recognized by the CMS missionaries as a potent weapon. Bompas in 1865 said that he had not yet found an English interpreter at the forts, and that the Company interpreters were French Roman Catholics and therefore unwilling to work for him.

One of the greatest allies of the OMI with the Athapaskans was François "King" Beaulieu, and his wife "Queen" Beaulieu. The OMI more usually referred to him in their letters as "le vieux Beaulieu" or "le patriarche Beaulieu". Beaulieu was the son of a French-Canadian who had accompanied Alexander McKenzie in 1793. Faraud wrote that Beaulieu had been abandoned by his father and brought up by his Indian relatives, spending a great deal of his time around the posts. Grandin claimed that Beaulieu was only distinguished from the Indians by his greater pride and authority, and that the Indians regarded him as their chief because he was the son of a white. Beaulieu also spoke enough French of the country to serve as an interpreter for the fur-traders. In addition, Beaulieu was said to have had many wives, and therefore numerous contacts with various groups of Athapaskans. Faraud wrote that during the rivalry of the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company, Beaulieu retired with his family and became chief of his tribe, later settling at Salt River. According to the Oblates Beaulieu was between eighty-four and eighty-six years old in 1868 and thus about eighty-eight or ninety when he died in 1872.

During his very long life Beaulieu exerted enormous influence

on the people of the north, including the Athapaskans, the men of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the Oblates. He was often hired by the Company⁸⁹ as a guide or translator. Sometimes this hiring was done in order to prevent Beaulieu indulging in free-trade himself, or assisting the American free-traders who turned up on the Peace River.⁹⁰ The suspicions of the Hudson's Bay Company of Beaulieu's activities were almost bound to affect the attitude to the OMI, since they knew of Beaulieu's close connections to the OMI. For this reason, perhaps, Grandin tried to discourage Beaulieu from involvement with the American free-traders.⁹¹

Beaulieu was able to use his position at Salt River to control a supply of salt in the north, and could maintain himself there in relatively feudal splendour when not working for the Company. According to the Journal of the Nativity Mission⁹² Beaulieu furnished all the Great River with salt, which was collected at its source in Salt River,⁹³ and required no treatment. Beaulieu also supplied salt to the missions, and sometimes carried goods for them. Despite his devotion he was a canny businessman, and Clut blamed Beaulieu for taking advantage of young Père Grouard's inexperience.⁹⁴

Used to authority, to travel, and to some independence, as well as aware of his inheritance from his father of French-Canadian blood, Beaulieu was naturally interested to hear of the first arrival of the priests. He travelled to Pelican Falls with his numerous children to see Thibault, "that man from the land of his father, who taught men to live well".⁹⁵ Some would interpret this trip of Beaulieu's as a manifestation of his status as an innovator, always ready to learn

of new things, and communicate them to his people. Others would see it as a recognition of a lack in his life, or of a wish to share in the power of the religion of his father. Beaulieu probably shared in many of these motives, although the missionaries would assign his trip to the influence of the grace of God on him.

In any case, Beaulieu adopted the religion preached to him by Thibault, and was baptized by Taché at Ile à la Crosse in 1848.⁹⁶ Presumably he had given up all his extra wives by then. Grandin claimed that Beaulieu's life after his conversion showed that if he had lived badly before, it was only through ignorance, not evil, because he afterwards made any sacrifices necessary to be admitted to the Catholic religion.⁹⁷ Gascon wrote that Beaulieu's life after his conversion was exemplary, with a lively faith and a devotion to the rosary.⁹⁸

When the Oblates extended north from Ile à la Crosse to Lake Athabasca Beaulieu's help was of great importance to them, as they recognized:

Je sais mieux que personne quelle autorité le vieux Beaulieu a sur tous les Montagnais d'Athabaskaw et de l'Ile à la Crosse: il en a bien plus sur les sauvages du Grand Lac des Esclaves et du fort Rae.

Clut, on the other hand, claimed in 1863 that Beaulieu's people were leaving him.¹⁰⁰ But Gascon stayed at Beaulieu's from Dec. 20, 1869 to Feb. 14, 1870, and saw about one hundred people there in that time. Some of these were the family and children of "King" Beaulieu, but Gascon also remarked that there were several young Yellow-Knives there.¹⁰¹ From this it would appear that Beaulieu still maintained

considerable prestige in the north.

After his conversion Beaulieu was extremely devout, and built a chapel for the priests at Salt River, and repeatedly asked for a resident priest. Grandin said Beaulieu wanted a priest to instruct his own children, and the Indians of the neighbourhood whom he "regarded as his vassals".¹⁰² The comparison is an interesting one, and a natural one for a French man to draw. Strictly enforced feudal authority over vassals would be alien to Athapaskan culture, at least in the sense of legal authority, but the authority of prestige and force of personality and spiritual contact was the type of authority recognized and accepted in the north. Beaulieu already had the prestige and the personality; to have the locus of spiritual power at Salt River could only add to his own authority. His position at Salt River was summed up in the Journal of Nativity Mission as "véritable patriarche et grand prêtre parmi les bons montagnais qui demeurent avec lui à la rivière du Sel".¹⁰³

In 1868 Beaulieu was still asking for a resident priest, and made the long trip of five or six leagues to the Christmas celebrations at Nativity, although he was about eighty-six years old.¹⁰⁴ Taché was unable to spare a priest to establish at Salt River during Beaulieu's lifetime, but priests often visited in passing. Some of the priests spent a few months there to learn the Chipewyan language, while providing the religious instruction and presence of a priest which Beaulieu desired. Gascon spent three months there in 1859¹⁰⁵ and this seems to be about the longest stay. Despite their inability to establish a resident mission at Salt River the missionaries continued to praise

Beaulieu's devotion and influence on others. Grandin declared that Beaulieu would give his life for the service of the missions, making him a true missionary himself. ¹⁰⁶

Beaulieu's career shows the great importance to the Oblates of the presence of descendants of the French-Canadians in the north. The CMS missionaries were very aware of this advantage to the Oblates, and found it very difficult to counter. Bompas found that because of the influence of the French half-breeds the Indians generally accepted the priest's teaching as true. To combat this Bompas had to work through the whites and Protestant half-breeds. ¹⁰⁷ Kirkby had remarked on the "social difference between the two great classes into which the colony is divided, Protestant & Roman Catholic". ¹⁰⁸ With social and class differences resting on religious differences, religious contact with the Athapaskans took on overtones of a class struggle, and was identified also with language differences. Grandin wrote to his family of the oddity in the north of the presence of an Irish lay-brother and another young Irish servant. The Protestant Indians, and even the Catholic ones, according to Grandin, were surprised to see Catholics speaking English. They always called the Catholic religion the French religion, and Protestantism they called the English religion. ¹⁰⁹

The OMI could not intermarry with the Indians as did the men of the Hudson's Bay Company and a few of the missionaries of the CMS, but through language and religion they were allied to the Métis, at the lower levels of the Company hierarchy, but a considerable force with the Athapaskans. The CMS countered by alliance with the higher levels

of the Company, and with the English-speaking Métis. Grandin said that when "all the nations" were gathered at Ft. Simpson, with two ministers there as well as the priest, all the "aristocracy" - the clerks and traders - went to the ministers, while the Indians all came to Grandin's mass and instruction. ¹¹⁰ While the CMS feared the influence of the Oblates through the French Métis, the OMI feared the CMS influence through the Chief Factors and traders of the Hudson's Bay Company. The CMS regretted the OMI familiarity with the French Métis and the Athapaskans, while the OMI often rued the financial means and prestige accruing to the CMS through the support of the Chief Factors.

In their use of auxiliaries in the missions, by schools, hospitals, and through the influence of the Métis, the Oblates made the most use of the Métis in the first twenty-five years of experience in the north. This was only natural in the first years of contact, since the schools and hospitals required time and money to construct. Communication was the vital first step in the evangelization process, and the linguistic abilities of the OMI coupled with the intermediary role of the French Métis with the Athapaskans facilitated the OMI grasp of direct communication with the Athapaskans, paving the way for the successful establishment of their missions. Education and health care were seen as valuable aids to evangelization, but could not replace a knowledge of the language and the ability to preach, and the works of civilization remained secondary to the simple preaching of the Gospel.

CHAPTER VII

ATHAPASKAN ADAPTATIONS

Athapaskan life presented almost a complete contrast to the highly-structured religion preached to them by the OMI. In Athapaskan society there were no institutionalized positions; their society was flexible, individualist, and pragmatic, not rigid, authoritarian, and structured.

The major changes in Athapaskan society were only foreshadowed in this period of 1845-70 in the rudiments of schools and hospitals, and the beginnings of large gatherings at Christmas and Easter for the great feasts of the Church. In addition there were some effects on the position of women in Athapaskan society, with attempts to ameliorate their hardships by encouraging respect for women through devotion to the Virgin Mary, and by replacing polygamy with monogamy. But the "civilization" component was necessarily minimal in the evangelization process for both the Athapaskans and the Oblates, because the conditions of northern life and the lack of financial resources of the OMI prevented it. The fur and mission stage of 1820 to 1940 was a time of very slow change¹ when both fur-traders and missionaries had only sporadic and limited contact with the Indians, and therefore directed culture change, even if desired, could only be very limited. This

was especially so when the representatives of European culture, the Hudson's Bay Company, the Oblates, and the Church Missionary Society, were not united on many aspects of desired cultural change, and indeed presented conflicting messages to the Athapaskans.

This does not imply that cultural change was non-existent. The Athapaskans had made some changes in their lives to adapt to trapping for the Company in addition to hunting for their own survival, and had adopted some European styles of clothing, utensils, and provisions. Some had even changed their place of residence from the taiga-tundra to the boreal forest, with far-reaching consequent changes. They had been willing to accept the technology of the fur-trade as it was presented to them by the fur-traders, without attempting to adapt it in any way. Ross observed that they were "great imitators and respecters of more civilized races"². This acceptance of the technology of the fur-trade was in conformity with their reputation for being borrowers from other cultures, rather than adapters or initiators. Nelson noted³ that the Eskimos adapt within their own technological framework, but the Athapaskans adopt the methods of others too. In respect to technology then, the fur-trade had had considerable impact on the material culture of the Athapaskans.

In the religious aspects of Athapaskan culture the fur-trade probably disturbed the aboriginal beliefs to some extent. The fur-bearing animals desired by the Hudson's Bay Company would not usually be suitable for food, except for the beaver. Hunting animals for the sake of trading their skins, giving a commercial orientation to the

hunt, would almost necessarily alter the beliefs in animal guardian-spirits to some extent, by moving away from the purely survival aspects previously paramount. Calvin Martin in Keepers of the Game theorizes that the reciprocal relationship of hunter-animal in aboriginal Indian culture was disturbed by the appearance of epidemic diseases which often spread to those who had not yet seen the Europeans. They therefore blamed the appearance of these diseases on the animal guardian-spirits, and then felt free to hunt the animals to extinction since the balanced relationship of mutual respect had been destroyed. European contact, whether through the fur-trade requirements, or through the effect of the European diseases, seemed bound to disturb the aboriginal belief system, even before the appearance of any Christian missionaries.

The existence of the trading-posts decreased mobility to some extent also, by requiring the Athapaskans to stay near enough to make the semi-annual visits to trade and obtain some provisions and pay credits, and as well induced a dependence on the posts for some of the necessities of life. In this way the fur-trade had some impact on the social culture of the Athapaskans too. But there was no possibility of encouraging the Athapaskans to settle near the posts and become agriculturalists, that sole means of civilizing so often touted by nineteenth-century thinkers. The Oblates themselves made great efforts to grow vegetables and barley in their northern missions, but these were to augment their own diet, or to provide for schools and save the cost of transport, and were never envisaged as a way of life or as self-support for the Athapaskans. Grouard praised the variety of food

available in the north in his time - game, fish, dried meat, salads, berries, and even a little milk. He said the Indians especially envied the priests their potatoes, for "la patate est ici l'enseigne de la civilisation, du bien-être, de la bonne chère!"⁶ But these works of civilization were never dependable as a major source of food in the early years. Instead both the missionaries and the fur-traders relied for much of their provisions on the meat brought in by the Indians, and on the nearby fisheries. The relationship of Athapaskans to Europeans in trade and survival was not a completely dependent one on either side, but a mutually interdependent one, and this might be expected to characterize the relationship in religion also.

The primary thrust of the OMI was not to change the general culture of the Athapaskans, but only their religion, to lead them to belief in Christ and His Church, and to incorporate them into that Church. But they had no idea of the interrelatedness of customs to form a culture, and thought those customs contrary to Catholicism could easily be eradicated, giving no thought to the further consequences of this eradication, apart from the inculcation of Christian morality and life.

These evangelization ideas of the Oblates, and the structure of the Church which they built in the Athabasca-Mackenzie, derived greatly from European ideas and experience. The OMI faced the Athapaskans with the weight of a uniform, centralized, hierarchical evangelizing process, acceptance of which would lead to changes not only in belief, but in some aspects of their ordinary life. Would

the Athapaskans accept the message as it was presented to them, as they had accepted the technology of the fur-trade? Ross thought they might;

No heathen people, in my opinion, offer an easier field to the enterprise of missionaries...although I have great doubts if many will become sincere Christians at heart, they will at least submit willingly to the outward semblance of religion and conform to its ceremonies in a highly plausible manner.⁷

The OMI were not so pessimistic as Ross, and believed in the possibility of implanting a deep and true faith among the Athapaskans. Missionary reports, however, did fluctuate greatly, from descriptions of practices of primitive purity to dejected and despairing descriptions of Indian character defects and "heresies". The subjective element in these descriptions should not be ignored, for often the enthusiastic descriptions came from missionaries new to the north, while the despairing ones came from those with some years of experience who had lost their first romantic zeal for the "noble savage". Other missionaries often also suffered from poor health, as did Grollier, and the mental effects of the very poor diet of the earlier years, coupled with the periods of prolonged isolation, should be considered in evaluating the reports.

The very basis of the OMI mission to the Athapaskans was the belief that the message of the Gospel applied to all mankind, and that the Athapaskans were a part of the great family of Adam, sharing in the same human nature as the Europeans. But the Athapaskans considered themselves to be "the people" - a particularist view which did not

correspond to the universalist view of the Oblates; "ces Tribus se donnent toutes le nom d'hommes comme si elles résumaient en elles-⁸mêmes l'humanité tout entière". When Petitot did something of which the Indians approved they told him he was "un homme(un Dènè)", and that French like him were "vrais sauvages".⁹ If this is an accurate reflection of Athapaskan ideas then their concept of the real man as Dènè or as a true savage corresponds in many ways to the European idea of the true man as European, Christian and civilized. Each society had its normative standards. Those who were not of "the people" were called "ennemis" or "pieds étrangers",¹⁰ while the French were called "Banlay" (from Bela-nih-orlay meaning pour lui la terre est faite).¹¹ In self-image as well as in the individualistic structure of Athapaskan society there appeared to be a basic opposition to the universality and uniformity preached by the Oblates.¹²

The Athapaskans also had a religion, a part of their culture, different from the Roman Catholic faith preached by the OMI. Athapaskan religious beliefs were expressed in myths and sacred traditions handed down orally rather than in "scripture", and adherence to these traditions and beliefs was a matter of individual choice and social pressure. No strict conformity to rules of belief was enforced, quite unlike the nineteenth-century Roman Catholic Church. Such enforcement as there was came from social pressure, and the force of custom. Petitot summarized the religion and society of the Athapaskans as viewed by the OMI:

Rien n'y est suivi, coordonné de manière à présenter en eux une société complète, ayant une autonomie propre, une religion établie et raisonnée, une forme quelconque de gouvernement. Tout y est tronqué, mélangé, diffus et difformé.¹³

Petitot found that the only cult was the practices of their ancestors, handed down in customs which for the Athapaskans had the force of law. These cult practices were carried out on an individual basis, not by the actions of a priestly group.

The religion of the Athapaskans was pragmatic in seeking an explanation of the world, and an attempt to control the harsh environment, whereas the OMI taught a religion with a goal beyond this world, to be achieved by beliefs and practices in this world, many of them self-denying practices. The OMI also sought to control the environment, not through religion, but through the exertion of technological skills. For the Athapaskans, on the other hand, human welfare depended not so much on technological skill as on the maintenance of the proper relationship of man to the world in which he lived. This world, for the North American Indians in general, was a world of balanced powers, in which man, animals, plants, and spirits shared. Unbalanced power was feared. Men did not compete for control over others, nor to gain material goods; positions of prestige were gained through contact with spiritual forces.¹⁴ These beliefs were quite opposed to the European viewpoint, which had become increasingly secularized with the development of technology, resulting in a division between the human control through technology of the things of this world, including plants and animals, and the need to acquire salvation in the next world by religious practices in this world.

For the Europeans, God had spoken to man through Scripture; for the Athapaskans, the spirits spoke to man through dreams and

expressed these truths in songs.¹⁵ Through the fasting of the vision quest, and the revelation consequent on that, the Indian learned the habits of particular animals, gaining a rapport useful in hunting. He also gained a deeper understanding of his own nature, by his association with a particular species. By his dreams he could often reach an understanding of things previously hidden from him. This deeper meaning could be expressed in a special song, by which the dreamer could communicate his vision to others. In addition, the dreamer was told how to assemble a medicine-bundle of objects symbolizing the power of the mythic animals of his dream, and was instructed to observe certain special taboos associated with his particular vision. It was by these signs that others could tell that the vision quest had been successful, and that the Indian "knew something" or had Inkonze.¹⁶ To "know something" implied a level of certitude unattainable by those who had not successfully dreamed. But this certitude was not entirely a free gift of the spirits; it required in return a certain level of behaviour and the observance of certain taboo practices. The power of the spirits had to be earned.¹⁷

The Oblates condemned these dreams as inimical to Christianity, and evidence of the survival of primitive superstition. Petitot overheard the advice given by one Indian to another, after Petitot had laughed at the dreams. The Indian was advised that once baptized, one should not speak of dreams, visions and revelations to the priests "*car les prêtres français ne croient à rien et se moquent de toutes ces choses*".¹⁸ The evidence is that Christianity did not immediately smother the aboriginal religious beliefs, and that some form of uneasy

coexistence was likely to continue for some time.

A belief in one God was always considered by the missionaries to be a good starting-point for the evangelization of other peoples. Taché, like Père Lafitau in the seventeenth century, compared the Chipewyan aboriginal religious beliefs favourably to those of the ancients:

Nos Montagnais, sans autre lumière que celle de leur raison, sont parvenus à la connaissance de Dieu sans ce mélange grossier d'absurdité qui captivait les peuples les plus éclairés de l'antiquité ¹⁹

Taché claimed that the Chipewyans believed in one God, creator and conserver of all, who rewarded virtue and punished crime, an eternal God whose providential care extended to all who existed. This creator they called Ni-ottsi, or Yeddariyé (Powerful One). Taché considered the Chipewyan idea of God as the most exact one which could be reached by a people deprived of Revelation. He thought that the Chipewyans must have reached this concept through their close study of nature. But because the Chipewyans were not used to purely spiritual ideas they placed their god in human form, with gigantic proportions commensurate to his absolute power, able to see all and hear all from the height of ²⁰ the sky.

Ross disagreed with Taché in saying that the belief in a first great Cause was very faint among the Dènè, and that it was not accom-²¹panied by any notion of reward or punishment after death. Petitot also claimed that the Chipewyans had no notion of eternal reward or ²²punishment according to merit. Petitot also found that the Dènè

beliefs about the Creator were more diffuse than those reported by Taché. The Dènè had many names for the Supreme Being, and the Hares and Loucheux, according to Petitot, considered him as a triad of father, mother and son. Sometimes this triad was pictured in the form of giant eagles, with the father bringing day and the mother night. At other times the Creator was represented as an animal, especially a bear.²³ Petitot found this notion as subjecting man to animals, even though the animals in these stories were intelligent and could talk. The Indians, of course, did not see any denigration of humanity in this, and their Creation myths expressed ideas of a time when the animals were the "lords of creation". Although the belief in a Supreme Being was a basis for the inculcation of the belief in the Christian God, there were many differences in conception between the Indian notion and the Christian notion, and facets of incomprehension on either side were bound to make the transition difficult.

A great contrast to the Christian notion of God was presented to the Oblates by the Indian lack of cult or ritual devoted to the Supreme Being. Taché did note that at feasts an old man would urge all to recognize the generosity of God, and avoid the evil which might cause the suspension of the goodness of the All-Powerful. Then he would give a fervent prayer to ask for health, success in the hunt, and all other things necessary for the present life. Then some mouthfuls of food would be thrown in the fire and outside the door. Very rarely were any greater sacrifices made. Despite the lack of cult or ceremony, Taché thought the practice of religion was almost universal among the Chipewyans, with some praying fervently every day, while others prayed only

in times of crisis.²⁴

Vegreville described the Chipewyan prayer at feasts. Before the big meal, after the pipe was passed around, the youngest brother of the chief said benediction:

He who is our Master has made everything: the lakes, the trees, the animals of the woods, the fish, the stars, the sun, He has made them all; we ourselves are made by him: our skin, our body, our hair, it is He who has made them; our clothes, it is He who has given them to us; the animals whose fur covers us, it is He who made them, it is He who gave them to nourish us. In order that He will let us live I burn this (he threw a bit of pemmican in the fire); in order that he keep us from illness I burn this (he threw another piece of pemmican in the fire); so that there will be many animals and we may live in abundance (same ceremony). In the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit. Amen.²⁵

Apart from the ending, which seems to have been adapted from the OMI, this prayer reflects the three essential concerns of aboriginal life - the preservation of life, health, and the hunt.

McDonald of the CMS reported a similar attitude to the Supreme Being among the Loucheux. Although they feared offending the Supreme Being, they had no particular form of religious ceremony directed to the Supreme Being, except for some offerings in sacred places. Also, similarly to the reports of Taché and Vegreville, McDonald found that on festive occasions the old people told the young to eat quickly inside the tent and not to go outside with meat on their hands since they might offend the One in the sky - they would not mention the Supreme Being by name. When the fire sparkled or whistled they would throw in bits of meat or fat, and ask for long life for themselves and their relations

from the Supreme Being. McDonald added that the parents always directed the children to wash their hands and faces before meals, for otherwise they might irritate the Supreme Being, who lived in the sky²⁶ but knew all that went on on earth. This interpretation sounds somewhat adapted to the CMS teaching, which always emphasized the use of soap to the Indians.

On the practical level, and in concordance with the pragmatism of their culture, the Athapaskans believed that the Supreme Being was so isolated from the world and so far away that prayers to him were not worth-while. More immediately effective in their lives was the action of the evil spirits. The Supreme Being was too good to do evil to man, but too isolated and ineffective to prevent the evil done by the demon and his spirits. Taché reported the Chipewyan belief in a multitude of evil spirits in the air, enemies of God and man. These spirits were always at war with God, and sometimes had the advantage over him,²⁷ using that advantage to harm man. The Supreme Being of the Chipewyans was not omnipotent as the Christian God was, and was powerless to prevent all evil. The Indians attributed all the evil which happened to them to the influence of evil spirits, including sickness and death before old age. Sometimes this evil could be caused by conjuring by an enemy, but it was always ultimately caused by evil spirits.

Petitot reported that many of the Montagnais claimed to have seen the evil spirit, a black and frightful being. Every summer there was an alarm over it²⁸ -like the "noon-day devil" of the Gospel. This particular type of fear appeared to disappear with the coming of winter.

The belief in evil spirits, like the belief in guardian-spirits, was closely connected to animals. Taché said the Chipewyans believed that the evil spirits only appeared after the Flood, and were closely connected to those animals who were enemies of man, or repellent to him, especially serpents. The Chipewyans took great care not to say anything against these animals in order not to offend the spirits. 29
The Dènè sought to placate these spirits by offerings in special places, 30
"invariably worthless", according to Ross. Petitot reported seeing at the entrance to a large cave the several objects hung there to placate the genie or manitou of the place- such things as tobacco, chiffons, old ribbons, broken pipes, useless arrows. If inspired by fear, as Petitot believed, the Indians still wanted to win the favour 31
of the spirit cheaply.

Petitot reported on the spring rites of worship of the god in the moon - rites which he thought bore a marked similarity to the spring Passover of the Jews, and so reinforced his theory that the Dènè were the descendants of the lost tribes of Israel. He said that the Indians killed mice and shrews, and told him this was because their ancestors had told them these were the incarnation of the spirit of death, Ettsoné. Yet these same Indians invoked the shrew in the moon at the times of eclipse of the moon and also in the spring. Petitot asked how they reconciled these two aspects of their beliefs. The Indians replied that they invoked the god in the moon so that as the genie of death he could deliver them from their enemies and exterminate them, or change those enemies into reindeer which the Indians could kill and eat, 32
for everyone knew these reindeer were former men.

Other animals were also considered to be the instruments or emblems of the evil spirits, for example the yellow woodpecker and the otter. Petitot was most impressed by the Dènè belief in serpents as evil, even though there were no serpents in their country. According to Petitot the Dènè believed that the connection between the serpent and woman had resulted in the fearful race of cannibals which were
33
later destroyed. The Dènè therefore to some extent believed in woman as the source of human ills, a belief that could be easily associated with the Christian view of Eve's role in the fall of man. For the Dènè the son of the triune god saves the race of man fallen because of woman. This sort of belief, as interpreted by Petitot, buttressed his belief in the common origin of the Dènè and the Europeans. It also gave credence to his belief in a natural revealed religion, to be supplemented and replaced by the revealed religion of Christianity, but an adequate basis for those unenlightened as yet by
34
the preaching of the Gospel.

The Athapaskan beliefs about the Creator and about the demons can only imperfectly be known through these reports of the various missionaries. For the most part the OMI were not interested in the beliefs for their own sake as objects of study, and their reports on them must be considered as filtered through their own religious beliefs and preconceptions, as well as being imperfectly known to them by the reports they received from those Indians willing to talk about it. With these limitations in mind, the missionary reports do provide one of the most valuable sources for study of the aboriginal beliefs.

The missionaries could adapt the religious beliefs of the Athapaskans, when they could be shown to reflect dim intimations of the Christian Gospel. The belief in one God, the Creator, and the belief in evil spirits were particularly important as providing some substratum for the inculcation of Christianity. But this primitive religion was used as a basis for the explanation of Christianity, not as a basis for belief. To use it as the latter would have required a more syncretic approach than was conceivable by the OMI.

The belief in the immortality of the soul was basic to Roman Catholic religion, and Petitot sought for comparable beliefs among the Dènè. He claimed that the Dènè did believe in the immortality of the soul separated from the body after death. This soul belief they expressed in words meaning breath, spirit, or shadow. After death this soul went to the spirit country of the ancestors, the entrance to which was in the southwest above the sky; on the edge of the sky was a continual dance of the souls who were burned by their enemies. At the entrance to the spirit-world there was a tree by means of which the soul entered the spirit-world, but those whose bodies were burned or deprived of burial were unable to go in, and remained on the outside as incomplete souls. In the country of the souls there were immense hunting-grounds where the souls lived as they did on earth. In that country also the thunder and the feathered game found refuge in winter.

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Even the primitive notions of the immortality of the soul which Petitot discovered, and which differed so greatly from the Christian notion of eternal reward or punishment, could serve as useful in the

teaching of the faith. It could also be the case that the Athapaskans would adopt the Christian beliefs, while still holding many of their aboriginal beliefs, consciously or unconsciously. Such survivals would be impossible to trace, resting on an oral tradition and figurative expressions which could be interpreted in various ways by the hearer, as either Christian or Athapaskan original beliefs.

Besides some belief in the immortality of the soul, the Athapaskans also believed in reincarnation. This might have resulted from living in very small groups, where each personality was well-known and similarities could be recognized as they appeared in later generations. ³⁶ Petitot told of the birth of a new baby to a family which had been Christian for some time. The father wanted the baby baptized, but the mother refused, saying it was not her baby but the reincarnated son of a well-known jongleuse. This son had died the previous year, and the sorceress claimed he would live again, and then claimed this baby as his reincarnation. Petitot said all the Indians were ready to believe this, and he had to threaten them with excommunication. Even at that he was ³⁷ not sure he had convinced them of their error, displaying the persistence of aboriginal beliefs despite the influence of the priests. The belief in reincarnation was especially prevalent when a child was born with teeth, and these babies were held to be the reincarnation of the last person to die within the group. Reincarnation could also take ³⁸ the form of an animal rather than a human.

Besides expressing their religious beliefs in myths and stories, the Athapaskans also used sacred objects and taboos. The sacred objects

were the sign of the animal especially close to them; these signs were worn on their person, and used to decorate canoes and cradles. Some signs were put over sleeping places or caches of food to protect them. Petitot claimed that before baptism the Dènè regarded it as a fault to eat a stillborn animal or one found dead, and avoided shell-fish.³⁹ The Oblates often remarked on the taboo against women eating the muzzle of the caribou; the Indians would only give this to the Oblates if they promised to obey the taboo.

The use of sacred objects could easily be adapted by the OMI to the use of holy pictures and rosaries, while the taboos could be translated into observance of the fast-days of the Church. Even if the OMI did not do so consciously, connections would almost certainly be made in the minds of their hearers, and interpretations made on the basis of past experience and beliefs. There could be no such thing as an entirely clean slate on which the missionaries could inscribe the beliefs of Roman Catholicism.

The reports on Athapaskan religious beliefs were always coloured to some extent by the religious beliefs and preconceptions of the missionary giving the report. The OMI could adapt the Athapaskan belief in good and bad spirits, in one Supreme Being, in the value of confessions, and their grief at death, to the teaching of Christianity, hoping to replace those beliefs with those of Christianity. But these beliefs were only some aspects of Athapaskan religion. To the Athapaskan religion was a part of his entire culture, taught by observation and example as were other aspects of his culture. The world of religion

or of the spirit was not considered to be a world apart or above, a super natural world, but rather was thought to be a coexistent part of one life and one world, which included within it man, animals, and spirits. This world was not governed by impersonal laws, immutable and comprehensible, but by a balanced relationship of beings- and thus a personal, mutable, and intellectually incomprehensible world. In such a world communication with the spirits could not be restricted to special times or places, nor put entirely in the hands of specialists in religious communication. Knowledge of the Athapaskan faith was acquired through myth and practice, not through rational instruction and rote learning. Their religious cult consisted of individual acts of worship or respect, but these were part of the fulfilment of responsibility for the welfare of the community, which would be threatened by non-observance. This contrasts with the Christian emphasis on community worship as a means to ensure individual salvation.

No problem of accepting the boundaries of faith and reason existed for the Athapaskan. His religious beliefs were consistent with his reason and common-sense, and accorded with the facts of his existence. When problems arose for the Athapaskan in his life, it was "natural" for him to seek the help of the supernatural, for his spirits were just as real as material things to him. European man, even the religious missionaries, had become secularized to some extent, and explained and sought to control his life, even aspects of his religion, by scientific explanations and rational control. The supernatural was used to explain the past history of Christianity. The Roman Catholic missionaries of the nineteenth century differed somewhat from the Protestant

missionaries in this, since they were very conscious of the various apparitions and miracles in nineteenth century France. Like the secular men of the nineteenth century, the religious missionaries were also very conscious of the progress of civilization, with its seemingly endless possibilities in history. For the European man there was a basic distinction between the things of this world and those of the next, whereas for the Athapaskan there was only one world.

In that one world, control of the means of subsistence and good health were desirables to the Athapaskans, and were to be sought through propitiation of the spirits, rather than through the exertion of technological control. When Séguin reproached one of his converts who had reverted to sorcery, the Indian replied that he could not see his relatives suffer from hunger and do nothing while he knew he could make the caribou come by his incantations.

The primary evil in the Athapaskan world was death and disease, and the failure of the hunt. In the hunt, the Athapaskans were not entirely reliant on the spirits; they did use their own knowledge of animal behaviour, of traps and snares, etc. But when these failed, the intervention of medicine-men or jongleurs was called for. These were the closest parallel the Athapaskans offered to the European priesthood, but also bore some similarities to medical doctors - perhaps anticipating the nineteenth century combination of medicine and missions. Grandin declared that for them the priest, medicine-man, jongleur and sorcerer were the same thing, and that they thought the missionary medicine was stronger than theirs.

These jongleurs were held to have special gifts of communication with the spirits, and could use their special knowledge to ward off or prevent evil, or to gain success in the hunt. They were consulted in sickness, hunting plans, even about the arrival of the Company boats.⁴⁴

Taché thought the Chipewyan jonglerie was only a sort of noisier prayer than usual, quite unlike the jonglerie of the neighbouring peoples (apparently a reference to the Cree Midewiwin ceremonies). He also thought jonglerie was not native to the Chipewyans but derived from outside sources.⁴⁵ Others were not so convinced, however. Tissot equated the sorcery of the Chipewyans with that of the Cree, saying it was called in Cree Manito Keso and in Chipewyan a'Kanze, both meaning to adore something other than God; he thought the spirit of idolatry was deep among the Chipewyans.⁴⁶ These different views display the different personalities of the missionaries involved, and their different reactions to the actions of the Indians. No one missionary's writings should be taken as entirely representative of the whole of the OMI.

In curing the sick, the jongleur would force the evil spirit out of the body of the sick person; this evil spirit would often take the form of a serpent.⁴⁷ Petitot described the curing ceremony. The jongleur prepared himself by a fast of three or four days. Then he had a medicine tent prepared while he sat in his tent, not watching yet aware of all that went on outside. Somehow when the lodge was finished the jongleur knew, and went out to it. The sick Indian, accompanied by a friend, went to the lodge and confessed his sins to the jongleur.

The latter asked him many questions trying to gain a knowledge of all his crimes. Then the jongleur got his familiar spirit to come by singing and drumming. Petitot said these medicine songs were made up of only three or four sad notes repeated interminably, accompanied by contortions and insufflations over the sick man. Then the jongleur and the spirit approached the sick man and made passes over him which put him to sleep. Then the spirit entered him, took his sins and threw them out. With this the sickness left. Then the spirit put the Indian on the earth so he would live and woke him with a loud cry. ⁴⁸

Although the OMI derided the jonglerie as baseless superstition, they were sometimes impressed by the power of the jongleurs, which they then attributed to the action of the devil aiding the jongleurs. Grouard described the power of one named Papy at Ft. Liard. This man was very hostile to religion, and much feared by the Indians because of the power he claimed to have over men, animals, and elements. He would shoot himself and draw out the bullet from his body, or would take a stone and mold it like wax. Grouard thought there was more of artifice than real power in this, but also thought the devil aided Papy in his trickery. Fortunately for Grouard's purposes Papy had taken ⁴⁹ fever and died.

Petitot drew many parallels between the Indian customs of jonglerie and the practices of Roman Catholicism. Such were the fast before medicine, the view of sin as the cause of illness and death, the obligatory confession of sin as part of the curing process, the power to make the spirit descend upon earth, and the power to extirpate

sin. Petitot was uncertain whether these were vestiges of the ideas of Judaism or remnants of the primitive natural law, but was inclined to consider them as survivals of Judaic practices. In any case, he thought the conformity of the Indian religion with that of Catholicism would help preserve the Indians from the assaults of Protestantism,
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which had neither confession nor fasting.

Despite this correlation of Indian religion and Roman Catholicism the OMI fought vigorously against the practice of jonglerie. They considered it as the work of the demon, and tried to persuade the Indians to substitute Christian prayers and practices, and to heal the sick by European methods. They also extended their combat against the hand-games so popular with the Indians. These games were accompanied by constant drumming and with gambling, and were associated by some of the OMI with the practices of sorcery. Gascon said the Indians at Ft. Liard were dominated by their passion for hand-games and medicine. Five had even gambled their rosaries. Aside from any connection with sorcery, the games were also held at the time of trade-gathering, and therefore at the time of missions, and served as an alternate attraction powerfully opposed to the mission. Petitot asserted that the game had
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more power over them than the Mass, chants or sermons.

An even more serious threat to the acceptance of the true Gospel was the rise of Athapaskan "heresies". These were usually attempts to combine the Christian message with the earlier Athapaskan beliefs, resulting in a sort of syncretic religion. This new religion was given to the Athapaskans through a "prophet" who claimed to have seen God and received a message from him, which was the only truth for

"the people".⁵²

The rise of these prophets was not restricted to Athapaskans in contact with the Oblates or the Catholic religion. Other Christian religions in contact with other American Indians produced similar effects; indeed Christianity in contact with primal religions in other parts of the world often led to very similar prophetic appearances.⁵³ As early as 1842, soon after the appearance of Wesleyan missionaries in the area, Jas. Hargrave reported that the natives had begun setting up as missionaries on their own account. These Indians claimed to have been carried up to heaven, and to have talked to the Supreme Being, who directed them not to give any more provisions to the whites or to hunt for them, because all the whites were bad men and enemies of the Supreme Being.⁵⁴ They also said that the white clergymen knew nothing. By 1844 this religious excitement had spread to Albany, Moose, and Rupert's River, and was blamed by the Company men for the Indian murders of each other,⁵⁵ and for interference with the trade - an indication of the divisiveness of religious differences, and substantiating the Company fears of introducing further causes of division.

For the Oblates, the first encounter with a similar phenomenon was at Ile à la Crosse in 1859, and was referred to by them as the "Son of God" heresy. The blame for the development of this heresy was not assigned by them to the conflict of cultures between the Oblates and Athapaskans, but to poor missionary work on the part of some of the OMI who had succeeded Taché at Ile à la Crosse, and also to the influence of Protestant missionaries nearby sowing confusion and doubt in the

minds of the Chipewyans. In this latter respect the Hudson's Bay Company and the Oblates saw eye to eye on the need to separate the two branches of Christianity.

In many ways this prophetic appearance and the later ones which followed it in the regions farther north bore many similarities both to traditional Athapaskan beliefs and to the prophetic movements which appeared in other parts of the world when European Christianity came in contact with primitive religions. The nineteenth-century emphasis on the miracles of the Old and New Testaments and the presence of prophets in Biblical history probably contributed to this, even though for the missionaries these were presented as a part of past history, not a recurrent event. A further factor with the missions of the OMI was the current emphasis on the miraculous appearances of Mary in France.

With the Athapaskans these prophetic movements were more restricted to religion, apart from any political connotation, and less connected to movements of social protest against change or deprivation. There were some aspects of this, however. There were frequent epidemics in the north throughout the 1860s, especially from contact with the brigades, which were using more Indians by then to man the boats . Some of the Indians, "quelques esprits peu éclairés" said that the whites made them die, and one old man said there must be a secret cause why almost no whites died. Others disagreed with this and were unwilling to go to the Portage La Loche unless a missionary accompanied them because of their fear of sickness. The belief in the power of the whites to cause sickness was common in other parts of the world,

but because of the individualistic structure of Athapaskan society those prophets who preached against the power of the whites could not gain widespread adherence or action. The Athapaskan prophetic movements seem to be primarily religious, syncretic attempts to combine the most appealing aspects of the new religion with those of the aboriginal religion, and to adapt it thus to Athapaskan life and culture. At the same time, it provided a "priestly" role for the indigenes which was lacking in Roman Catholicism, and a reaffirmation of the spiritual contact necessary to ensure good health and good hunting. Such a development fitted in to the Athapaskan concepts of religion as a way of life, a way to cope with the environment and disease and death. The usual way to cope with deprivation, for the Athapaskans, was by contact with the spirits. Christianity changed the content of that spiritual contact to some extent, but the method remained largely unchanged.

The "Son of God" appeared at Ile à la Crosse in the spring of 1859, just as Grandin was about to leave to go to France for his consecration. This young Indian claimed he was the Son of God on earth. He apparently spoke in tongues⁶⁰, and part of his teaching was to convince his followers to destroy and burn all their possessions.⁶¹ This young man's father was a Roman Catholic from Ile à la Crosse, and came with a canoe-load of other Chipewyans to ask Robert Hunt of the CMS to meet with them and with Grandin, for they all wanted to learn the Truth.⁶² Hunt refused to go, but a few days later the Son of God came to his mission, Stanley, after having encountered Grandin on the way. At this meeting the Son of God had used physical violence against

Grandin⁶³. According to Hunt Grandin showed considerable courage and continued to talk to the Chipewyans, although he did threaten them with the vengeance of the white man if there was any more violence.

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The Son of God told Hunt of his revelations. He said he was alone one night when the heavens stooped down and the earth drew near until all came within the compass of his tent, and a voice revealed to him the will of God which had not been made known before to any man. This voice said that eternal life for man was on this earth. Then the Son of God claimed to possess the stigmata, the wounds of Christ. Hunt said these were only some scrofulous scars, and led to ridicule of the young man.

The young man had a bag in his hand, and tried to convince the others that something wonderful would happen with it. Hunt reacted by taking the bag and emptying its contents on the ground, breaking any charms in it, and convincing the others not to revere the Son of God. As the young man stayed on at Stanley Mission, Hunt found him more dangerous. He riddled Hunt's canoe with bullets, saying it had drowned two men. He also destroyed some of Hunt's property, including the glass frames he had constructed to grow lettuce. The young man's friends asked Hunt to give him sleeping draughts so they could all get some sleep at night. Hunt finally convinced them to take him away, hoping a period of quiet would restore him.

The Son of God maintained his beliefs for some years, however, and caused considerable worry to the OMI. Several of his followers deserted the mission at Ile à la Crosse. Most of his followers were

his own relatives, his father , his sister, and his aunt, all of whom had been considered excellent Christians until then, and all of whom saddened the OMI at Ile à la Crosse by dying in their "apostasy".⁶⁵

But his mother, called "la pieuse Nanette" by the Oblates, and his uncle who had been known as "le petit saint" eventually returned to the Catholic faith.⁶⁶ In May of 1865 Grandin wrote Taché that the apostate Chipewyans were all at Ile à la Crosse, and that the Son of God was himself a devout penitent.⁶⁷

The appearance of this "heresy" in 1859 coincided with a period of considerable sickness among the Indians.⁶⁸ It was in conformity with Athapaskan culture to seek the guidance of the spirit to overcome this. The effect of Christian teaching is shown in the spirit guidance coming from a more-or-less Christian God, replacing the previous animal-spirits. It was also customary for the Athapaskans to follow those who claimed to have extraordinary revelations and thus more power, in the hopes of bettering their own condition. The fact that these followers were mostly kin, and living near each other, is also in conformity with Athapaskan society and customs. The violence shown against the missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant, was not in conformity with the Chipewyan reputation for meekness, and lends some credence to theories of culture conflict. This violence was not prolonged or sustained, however, and seemed to be restricted to the prophet himself, and not taken up by any of his followers. The OMI and Mr. Hunt treated the visionary with ridicule to discredit his teaching. The OMI were also ready to reconcile the followers and the prophet himself to the Catholic Church. The period of six years

between the appearance of the Son of God and his eventual return to the Church was an anxious one for the Oblates, however, and they sought to prevent any spread of such doctrines.

One year later, however, more visionaries appeared at Portage La Loche. These were the sons of Grosse-Tête, one of the OMI converts.
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The Journal of Ile à la Crosse in 1850 reported the arrival of an Indian named Grosse-Tête or the medicine-man, starving, with his entire family. If this is the same man, as seems likely, it indicates a connection in prophetic movements between those who had spiritual power before Christianity, and those prophets who claimed special powers after it by using some combination of aboriginal and Christian beliefs. The two sons of Grosse-Tête, Pierrish and Otthédé, claimed to have seen three gods at Whitefish Lake - the Creator, Jesus, and Holy Mary. They had told the men to gather all the people there, and to ask Père
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Vegreville to come and explain it to them. As yet they did not claim to have a new religion, but still considered themselves as neophytes of the OMI.

Vegreville agreed to meet the two and their followers at La
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Loche, despite Mr. Deschambeault's fears for his safety. The two visionaries were accompanied by a young Chipewyan, related to the family, who had arrived too late to see God, but had seen an angel who told him the same things. Otthédé talked for several hours of what they had seen, to a gathering of about thirty men at La Loche. He said the three gods or angels had appeared several times, each appearance causing the bodies of the visionaries to tremble severely. Otthédé also claimed it was the

fault of the priest that the Chipewyans were not praying as they should, and that the priest ought to strike those who would not listen to him. Vegreville claimed that some of what Otthédé said conformed to the Catholic religion, but much was opposed to it. In the end, Otthédé said so many "baroque" things that the others laughed at him, and Vegreville's advice was to ignore him. Otthédé left for his home at Whitefish Lake, finding only a few followers there from his family and neighbours.

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Gasté blamed the missionary neglect of the area for some years for both the indifference of some Indians, and for the appearance there of the prophet. He claimed that the "illuminé" wanted to form a religion of all the Chipewyan nation, with himself as high priest; this presupposes a more organized approach than seems to have really existed. Gasté also claimed that the arrival of a minister in the area had led to the indifference of the Indians, and that the illuminé was a former priant with the Catholics at Ile à la Crosse, who had been chased from the church because of his concubinage. In this case the causal link in the mind of the OMI was the unreformed nature of the visionary, plus the unsettling influence of Protestantism.

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A similar episode soon occurred at Nativity Mission on Lake Athabasca. Père Clut claimed this was an attempt to imitate those at Ile à la Crosse. If so, it followed very soon in time, just a year later, and indicates contacts which belie the isolation of northern life. Here again the prophet claimed to have talked to angels and to God in person. The prophet at Nativity claimed that because of this visit, he

was wiser than the priest, and declared that polygamy, adultery and fornication were no longer crimes. According to Clut, not an entirely impartial observer, the prophet put these teachings into practice. But the prophet soon died, ending his harmful effects.⁷⁴

A new prophet had already risen, this one claiming the power of confessing - a power which he only exercised at night, threatening the women with punishment by the demon if they resisted him. He fooled many of the Indians with his prodigies, Clut claimed. He had stayed eight days without moving, eating or drinking, and came out of this "lethargy" prophesying. With such effects, Clut found "je n'avais pas seulement à combattre contre un homme, mais contre le diable".⁷⁵ The links between the customary medicine practices of the Athapaskans and the actions of the visionaries are evident in this report. The reaction to the teaching of the priests was also evident in the use of confession, and in the prophet's teachings on marriage. According to Faraud, he taught that every man should have two wives so that if one bothered him the other could console him and make his days happy, a teaching Faraud thought more acceptable to the Montagnais taste. Faraud took this prophet seriously, claiming he wanted "élever autel contre autel avec nous".⁷⁶

As with the other prophets this one also had been connected to the mission. Because of the scandal caused by his nocturnal confessions Clut forbade him to enter the church. The prophet and his brother were angry at this and threatened to go for their guns and kill Clut. They did come in anger to Clut after supper, but Clut pushed the prophet

with a stick (hard enough to break the stick). Clut felt it important
not to show any fear of the prophet lest similar scenes might recur.⁷⁷
This seems to be the last recorded case of any actual physical violence
connected to the prophetic appearances.

In 1865 Faraud reported that the Indians had come for the spring
mission at Nativity as usual, but had left early because of the stories
spread by the prophet that all those who entered the chapel would die.
This affected the credulous, according to Faraud, because of the epi-
demic of scarlet fever and the many deaths from it.⁷⁸ This again was a
customary reaction to fears of "bad medicine". The OMI were vindicated,
however, when more of those who followed the prophet died than of the
other Indians, thus discrediting the prophet.⁷⁹

In 1862 Clut found prophets at the other end of Lake Athabasca
from Nativity mission, at Fond du Lac. One of these prophets came from
Deer Lake and the other from Churchill; they probably belonged to the
Caribou-Eaters. The first one had seen and heard the minister Mr. Hunt,
and Clut said he had understood everything Hunt said against "our holy
religion".⁸⁰ He had taken all Hunt's errors and mixed them with his
own savage dreams and superstitions, according to Clut, again providing
the OMI with the common thread of causality of these prophetic appear-
ances. This prophet told the Indians of Fond du Lac it was their
Catholic religion which made them die, and if they rejected it and
accepted his doctrine they would not die. He persuaded the Indians to
throw their books, pictures, rosaries, crosses and medals in the fire.⁸¹
Some were not ready to discard these so easily; "des malheureux sont

allés jusqu'à faire des chaînes de calumet de leurs chapelets; d'autres
les ont jetés dans le feu avec livres et images." ⁸² Others were more
cautious and kept their religious objects but made little use of them.

This prophet destroyed his own influence by extending his field
from accusations against the priest to predictions about the hunt and
the weather. These were customary matters for those with spiritual
power to deal with, but this prophet exceeded customary usage. He
declared there would be many caribou for those who passed the winter
with him, but in fact the caribou deserted their usual country, and
these people had none. This prophet had also declared that all dogs
came from the evil spirit and should be killed. Some did kill their
dogs, and regretted their action in the winter. Clut took advantage
of this to joke with them and make them understand their foolishness. ⁸³
The prophet had also predicted that all those who rejected religion in
order to listen to him would not have to undergo death, since he
claimed that it was the priest's religion which made them die. In fact,
more of his followers died than of the others. He claimed that chants
to savage airs were the best means to prevent death, but those who did
this still died. As with other cases, the unsuccessful "medicine" of
the prophet, combined with the ridicule of the OMI, led many of his
followers to abandon him.

The other prophet at Fond du Lac also said the religion of the
priests would make the Indians die, and that anyone who wanted to listen
to him would not die. But his own brother, a follower of him, died, and
Clut managed to win back most of the Indians. In 1866 the prophet's

followers suffered more from scarlet fever and measles than those who prayed with the priest. The Indians decided then that they would not be deceived any longer by the visionary; men died everywhere, but they would sooner die in the Catholic religion, since God often prolonged the life of men on this earth, and gave eternal life to good

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priants.

Petitot, with his interest in ethnology, gives some of the best reports of the teachings of the various visionaries. The ones he met, four men and one old woman, wanted him to recognize them as priests. One told Petitot of his beliefs: he kept the belief in the Trinity, in Jesus Christ, the Virgin and the saints; he denied Communion and the Mass; he promised three heavens according to the degree of sanctity attained - a black heaven for the communion of saints, a grey heaven for those of a higher degree of sanctity, and a white one for those who would be admitted to see God. These prophets replaced the missionary hymns by a sort of monotonous chant of two syllables, which they claimed God had revealed to a sick person. Petitot countered by refusing baptism to them, said he would not pray for them, and forbade the rest of the Indians to associate with them. He expected these measure to succeed, for he claimed that the Indians had great respect for the power of the priest's prayers. But when he said Mass the visionaries erected a lodge for Inkonze and said if he would not pray for them they would do without him. The mixture of old and new beliefs is evident in this report of Petitot, as well as the OMI efforts to counter any amalgam of Roman Catholicism with the aboriginal customs.

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In another case, at Ft. Norman in 1866 with a Slave visionary, Petitot tried a different approach. This man, Eleazar Ni-denichyé (la Terre plantereuse), assured Petitot that he was not in opposition to the teachings of the priests but allied to it, that he persuaded his relatives to pray the rosary, to sing hymns, that he spoke of heaven to them and gave them his benediction. Petitot agreed that this was all right, but urged him to forget his dreams and pretended visions, trances, simulated resurrections and appearances of angels. Petitot reported that the relatives of this man were happy that Petitot had not been too harsh with him, and that they were proud to think they had a vocation to the priesthood among them. ⁸⁶ The connection between these visionaries and aspirations to priestly roles was remarked on by other Oblates at times. ⁸⁷ In the main they were not at all encouraged in this by the priests; Petitot appeared exceptional in this case. Petitot was also motivated in this, he said, by the fear that if he were too hard on the visionary, his relatives would harden themselves against the influence of Christianity. ⁸⁸

These prophetic appearances continued throughout the OMI missions in the Mackenzie. In June 1866 Séguin encountered one at Good Hope mission. According to Séguin it was the worst of the Indians, those who were not yet baptized, who claimed to walk in heaven. Men, women and children were all involved, each claiming to be the only one, and accusing the rest of lying. Anything which the priests said which did not suit them they called lies. Séguin told them he would not pray with them anymore, and sent them a picture of the demon, telling them he was now their father. In this group again accusations were made that

the priest had caused the death of their relatives the previous
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winter. The link between death and disease and the rise of these
movements is striking. It appears in almost every recorded instance.

In 1867 the Indians of Good Hope were still having visions, which
Séguin attributed to sickness. Some of them claimed to see God, the
Blessed Virgin Mary, or angels, while other claimed to see demons.
Séguin thought the good visions were probably attempts to appear holy. 90

In 1874 a new case of "heresy" at Good Hope arose. The Indians
were not at midnight Mass, and Séguin naturally demanded why. They
told him that when the autumn boats came in, the Portage Indians had
told them they had seen a man who had died in the fall and rose again
in the spring. He had seen God and stayed with him all winter. In the
spring God had sent him to tell his relatives that God was angry because
the priests gave him so much work in making all the world die, giving
God no time to light his pipe or sleep. God also told the man that it
was a sin not to work on Sunday, that men should work more then than on
other days. Also when the priests said Mass at night all the sky became
black and God did not like that. Another statement was that it was a
sin to have dog-teams, and when a dog passes by someone sleeping that
person will not live long, but will go to hell. This Indian also told
the Good Hope Indians that one of them would die and pass the winter
with God, returning in the spring to tell the same things. They were
to listen to him, and he would teach them all they needed to go to
heaven. The Indians told Séguin they had kept this secret from him and
Clut at the time of arrival of the boats, because they feared exclusion
from prayers. According to Séguin, this merely showed the Indians

liked to deceive both friends and enemies. Now they awaited their new messiah. This fall a visionary had died, one who had seen angels and God for five or six years, and the Indians were waiting to see him
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reappear. Although other visionaries had promised long life and health to their followers, this case at Good Hope represents the first report of a more messianic tone to the movements, with a promised return.

The Loucheux Indians of Peel's River were also subject to visionaries. Five appeared at Plume River in 1862 claiming to have seen God. Séguin was not sure what they taught, but according to the other Indians they taught the same as the OMI. Séguin said they did know the Bible and St. Paul's vision, and thought this explained their
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claims to visions.

The Protestant-Catholic rivalry in the Mackenzie played a large part in the development of these heresies. Each side not only condemned the native heresies, but condemned those Indians who prayed with the other branch of Christianity. This even affected trade to some extent. Séguin claimed that the Loucheux of the Mackenzie River traded at Ft. Anderson rather than Peel's River to avoid the minister, who had told them too often they would be damned if they prayed with the priest. These Loucheux made up their own prayers and hymns and sang morning to night in their lodge. Although they maintained some adherence to Catholicism, and attended the mission prayers at Ft. Anderson, Séguin felt it necessary to oppose them on some things. They had great prestige among their relatives, who believed they had des-
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cended from heaven, and were willing to believe whatever they said.

McDonald of the CMS also reported on the prevalence of "delusive tendencies" among the Peel's River Indians, claiming that this fanaticism prevailed among those belonging to Romanism. McDonald talked to the prophet there; his report of the prophet's story reflects some interpretations peculiar to the CMS in distinction from those of the OMI. McDonald said the prophet had thought he saw God in heaven, and offered to shake hands with God, but was told to wash his hands first. He was told to teach men to observe the Lord's Day, to be kind to each other, and not to set fire to the woods, because angels would visit them and angels did not like smoke. He was also told that the end of all of them would come in five years. The Almighty also conformed to CMS teaching by telling him that the Roman Catholic priests were demons, but that the ministers taught his word. A few years later McDonald reported that the Mackenzie River Kutchin (Loucheux) were still subject to prophets, and that these now had the characteristics of Catholics, demanding of their followers a confession of sins in order that they might bestow absolution and give baptism to them.

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Again in 1867 the Mackenzie River Kutchin were having visions. In this case it was those who went with the boats to La Loche in the summer. They claimed that Christ had appeared to some of the Indians beyond Portage La Loche, and had stayed thirty days with them, during which time they had fasted. Then Christ had fed them with bread from heaven, and told them if he did not come to judgment that year he would the next. The Mackenzie River Indians claimed that the Indians taught by the Protestant minister were not told of these things, and so would not be ready when Christ came.

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These "heresies" or efforts at syncretism conformed to Athapaskan culture, for they exhibited no large-scale organization, and no confirmed prestige to their "prophets". They could not be classed as real messianic movements, which would require a more thorough organization and following. The Athapaskans had a following which was usually restricted to their own close families or friends, in conformity with their social organization. But the absence of authority and of larger groups prevented the formation of a mass movement. Each prophet was unable to maintain his authority for long, and his adherents usually drifted back to the Christian religion, or just abandoned following him. The individualism of Athapaskan society was antipathetic to the development of messianism. The judgment of spiritual power by demonstrated success also failed the prophets in the test of practical achievement. They were as powerless as the rest in the face of the diseases decimating the north, despite their claims to a spiritual power derived in part from their understanding of the Christian religion, adapted to the uses of aboriginal religion to ensure success in the hunt and good health.

The rivalry between Catholic Christianity and Protestantism was also relevant to the development and character of these native prophetic movements. Those prophets influenced by Protestantism urged their followers to discard the rosaries and medals of the priests, and to throw them in the fire. Those influenced by Catholicism adapted the Catholic beliefs somewhat, and scorned the Protestant teaching as useless. These are the sort of actions encouraged by both branches of Christianity in their efforts to convert the Indians, and bear more

resemblance to European attitudes than to traditional Athapaskan ways of religion. A more adaptive reaction was shown by those who refused to discard their rosaries, but wound them around their calumets. This was more in conformity with the traditional pragmatic approach, ready to use all means to ensure a better life.

The conflict of authorities of the CMS and the OMI led the Athapaskans to seek to know the truth. It was natural for them to accept that this truth would be revealed to one of them through a dream or direct contact with the spirits. It was also natural for them to allot to this visionary the meagre authority of their social structure, and to follow him unless he proved not to know the truth.

In part also these prophetic appearances, although linked to aboriginal religious customs, bore traces of imitation of the European priests, and reflected a desire to share in their spiritual power. Where magical forces are believed to be everywhere, new events and new displays of power are interpreted in magical terms; this is especially so with the power of Europeans in a primitive society, and the wish to share in that power leads to imitations of their "magical" styles. This imitativeness would be a considerable factor in a society such as the Athapaskans, brought into contact with the rites and practices of Roman Catholicism, and the claims of the OMI to be bringing them the true Gospel. With the prophets this imitativeness extended to the assumption of a priestly role.

There was an aspect of social protest to these prophetic movements on occasion. Some taught that the Catholic religion would make

the Indians die, whereas if they rejected it and accepted the message of the prophet they would not die. There are repeated references to epidemic illnesses which most often parallel the appearance of the prophets. ⁹⁹ In some cases starvation because of the disappearance of game was also a factor. ¹⁰⁰ Because of these the trade in the district also fell off. ¹⁰¹ Although there are certainly elements here to support the deprivation theory of the emergence of messianic movements, and of the influence of culture contact on it, the Athapaskan movements were primarily religious movements, fitting in to the normal aboriginal way of dealing with abnormal situations.

In these prophetic appearances, the OMI saw the hand of Providence on their side, for the Athapaskan prophets' revelations and predictions were unable to deal with the diseases of the 1860s. This failure became evident to the followers of the prophets, who then abandoned him. New prophets continued to arise, however, in almost all the northern missions of the OMI. The appearance of these prophets at missions some distance apart, and sometimes spread by Athapaskan contact with the prophets at one mission to another mission field, show the contacts and travel of the Athapaskans in their northern habitat. They also display a similar reaction to the new religion, a similar attempt to combine the most appealing aspects of the new religion with the old.

The Oblates found these prophetic appearances very disturbing and deployed their best missionaries against them. The method of ex-communication, or exclusion from the prayers of the Church, was the

usual method of the Oblates to deal with the prophets.¹⁰² In addition, they were able to hope for the failure of the prophecies relating to the hunt, or to curing of disease, to discredit the new prophet. This mixture of religious sanctions and practical results coincided with the pragmatic approach of the Athapaskans to religion as a part of their lives, and induced many to cease believing in the prophet. The new prophets with their amalgam of Christian and aboriginal beliefs appear to have been treated by the Athapaskans with the same treatment meted out to those who failed to fulfill their expectations prior to contact with the Europeans.

CONCLUSION

The arrival of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate in the north of British North America derived from a mission theory which upheld the basic unity of human nature, and the need to bring to all men the revelation of the Gospel. Such unity and universality seemed to make differences in customs irrelevant to the evangelization process. The only real difficulty appeared to be in the communication of the Gospel in another language; this difficulty the OMI, with their linguistic aptitudes and experience in France, aided by the presence in the north of the French-speaking Métis, could hope to overcome quite easily.

Yet language is not the only barrier to communication. In the evangelization of the Athapaskans by the OMI, the individuals on either side, though speaking the same words, could easily be understanding different realities. The differences in background and experience were so great as to make real understanding a long and complicated process. The OMI did not come from the wealthy of France, and were used to some measure of hardship and poverty; the Athapaskans, on the other side of the evangelizing process, were also accustomed to poverty and hardship, of a kind unknown to the OMI. As priests in France, the OMI were accustomed to the exercise of moral authority, and were also very suspicious of revolutionary tendencies in societies or individuals. The Athapaskans, on the other hand, had no priests in their society, nor any form of hierarchical structure in

society or religion; moral authority for them derived not from any official position, but from contact with the spirits. The Oblate seminary training was not all it might have been, but it still involved a great deal of reading and study, whereas the Athapaskans learned from oral traditions and example. The Oblates, for the most part, were from France, and proud of the achievements of France in the world, especially its language, according France a superior place in the generality of humankind who were the subjects of mission efforts. The Athapaskans considered themselves to be "the people"; others were strangers, alien to the people - a concept contrary to the unity of human nature conceived by the Oblates, yet akin in some respects to the view that some were better representatives of humanity than others. In almost every conceivable way the Athapaskans presented a contrast to the Oblates, a contrast which was bound to lead to barriers in communication of the universal message of the Gospel.

In addition to overcoming these barriers to the universality of the Gospel, the OMI, as missionaries of the Roman Catholic Church, had also to integrate their converts into the institutional framework of the Church as it had evolved in Europe and in the first modern missions of the Church. Because this institutional framework depended on priests and bishops, and no indigenous priesthoods arose from among the Athapaskans, the hierarchical structure of the Church in the north could only be European. The Athapaskans were expected to assume the ordinary role of the laity in the Church, by participating in the Sacraments, and contributing to the self-support of the Church in their area as soon as possible, just as Roman Catholics in the rest of the

world did. This unity of structure in the missions of the OMI conformed to the ultramontane centralization of the Church under the pope in the nineteenth century, a centralization not restricted to the older parts of the Church, though owing much in its origin to circumstances in Europe, but extended by the foreign missionaries of the Church to all parts of the world.

The Oblates themselves represented this authority of the Church to the Athapaskans - an authority which sometimes conflicted with that offered by the Hudson's Bay Company, and always with that of the Church Missionary Society. The OMI sometimes acted as intermediaries between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Indians, sometimes to the extent of being accused of hindering the work of the Company. With their ultramontane views the OMI could not conceive of their authority as being in any way subsidiary to that of the Company, and tended to exert their authority as much as possible. Yet in many ways the authority of the Church and of the Company were similar to each other. Both were highly-structured, hierarchical, and authoritarian. Both derived from European models and experience, and were almost entirely European in the higher levels of personnel. But in their encounters with the Athapaskans, neither the Company nor the OMI were able entirely to absorb the Athapaskans within their authoritative frameworks. This was due in large part to the environment, which dictated a wandering life for the Athapaskans, and therefore a limited contact with the Company or the Church. It was also due to facets of Athapaskan culture which had evolved within that environment. The

Athapaskans in European eyes were anarchical individualists, with no structure of authority in their society or religion. In some ways this offered a direct opposition to the exertion of the authority of the OMI but in other ways made it easier, since there was no countervailing authority. There were difficulties in exerting authority where there had been none, but the OMI could compensate for this by their claims to spiritual power, the major source of what authority there was in Athapaskan society, and by their status as Europeans, similar to the men of the Hudson's Bay Company, who had also been able to exert some authority. The authority exerted by the OMI was a paternalistic one, not entirely alien to that exerted by priests in other parts of the Church, but amplified in the foreign missions by the romanticized view of cultural differences which led to the regard for the Indians as children, in need of considerable supervision and guidance.

To introduce the Athapaskans to the Gospel, and to integrate them into the Roman Catholic Church and its authority, also led, as it had for centuries, to the emphasis on changes in morality essential to the practice of that faith. In the nineteenth century this emphasis on changes in some customs was made even more pervasive by the stress on sharing devotional practices which had arisen in Europe, and owed a great deal to folk traditions there. The universality of the faith and the uniformity of the Church were accompanied by an impetus to uniformity of religious practice, even in peripheral aspects of that religion. Cultural changes would ensue from this aspect, although in theory such cultural changes were not necessary for evangelization.

Roman Catholic missionaries had been urged for centuries to make no more changes than were necessary in the customs of other peoples to bring them into conformity with Christianity. But this recognition of the value of other cultures was difficult to inculcate in individual missionaries, perhaps especially so for those of the nineteenth century. The "universal man" was assumed to be best exemplified in European man, and conformity to that model, in religion and in other aspects of life, could only improve other representatives of mankind. It was also difficult to define what was acceptable to Christianity, yet unacceptable to European tastes. The dilemma facing the OMI was common to other missionaries of the nineteenth century. Roy Harvey Pearce summed it up:

How hold to a God-ordained moral absolute and to an assurance of common humanity, and still understand whatever good there might be in savage societies? How relate that good to the obviously greater good of civilized societies? How believe in two ideas of order? ¹

In addition to the factors of uniformity and universality of Gospel, religious practice, and Church, the Oblates were also influenced by the current of thought which considered the Church as the formative factor in true civilisation Chrétienne. Such a view would seem to mitigate the influence of the secular concept of the mission civilisatrice of France on the religious mission thought of the OMI. The secular aspects of civilization such as education, medicine, and agriculture were in theory only additions to or tools of real evangelization, and played a minor role in the subarctic in any case because of the force of environment and society there.

Yet these secular aspects of civilization could not be entirely ignored. Since most of the financial support of the missions of the OMI came from the pious societies of France, some attention had to be paid to the works of civilization along with that of evangelization, in order to show the progress of the Church in the north. The works of education and medicine were regarded in this context, however, as primarily works of Christian charity to the Athapaskans rather than as civilizing impulses in themselves. This is not to say that the OMI kept the Christianizing and civilizing aspects of their work entirely separate. The two were much too closely interrelated even in Catholic thought. But the OMI, as missionaries alien to the governing body of their mission area, had no need to stress the civilizing aspects of their work in order to gain government support, except for their encouragement of good trade practices. Because of this, and because of their own background and training and that of the Athapaskans, the stress on the civilizing aspects of Christianity itself remained minimal. As a result, the cultural changes encouraged in the Athapaskans also remained minimal; cultural change caused by religion alone could not compare with that caused by the messianic civilizers in other parts of the world.

Some adaptation to the culture of the Athapaskans had to be made by the Oblates. The mission chapels had to be established where large groups of Athapaskans could be contacted at times of trade; this reinforced the relationship of dependence between the OMI and the Hudson's Bay Company also. The major adaptation to Athapaskan culture made by the OMI was in their acquisition of the Athapaskan languages,

and their use of those languages in preaching, and in the production of catechisms and other books, which preserved the language. The Oblates also adapted somewhat in the methods used to make the preaching of the Gospel appealing and acceptable to the Athapaskans. Despite the universality of the Gospel and the uniformity of the Church, the transmission of these to the Athapaskans necessarily led to the selection of methods of evangelization best-adapted to the Athapaskan way of life. These methods often derived from European experience, but the OMI were pragmatic enough to select the methods which would best achieve their purpose of conversion of the Athapaskans to Catholicism.

But the OMI had little awareness, in these early years, of the religious beliefs of the Athapaskans, and for the most part dismissed them as superstitions which should be eradicated. Perhaps because the Athapaskan religious beliefs were so unformulated to European eyes, with no temples, priests, or public rites, they were easier for the Europeans to ignore. The combination of the Eurocentrism of the nineteenth century, and the transferral to a mission field seen as "savage" in life and religion, meant virtually no acceptance of any possibility of indigenization of the Gospel. Although in theory the Church was to be planted anew in the foreign missions, the actual results of mission practices tended to be transplants of the European Church, with all the consequent difficulties of growth in an alien soil.

Evangelization was not a one-way process, however. The Oblates presented the teaching familiar to them in the ways familiar to them. But the Athapaskans could only listen and interpret within their own

categories of thought and customs. Although they were similar in some respects to the poor of Provence first evangelized by the OMI, they were not identical, and the same methods could not be expected to achieve identical results. Nor could the OMI oversee the practice of the faith communicated to the Athapaskans by these methods in the same way as they and parish priests had overseen that in Provence. The Athapaskans, leading much of their lives in isolation from Europeans, could to some extent integrate their new faith into their culture on their own terms.

It has been claimed that in the meeting of Western and non-Western cultures technology appears to alter more readily than other cultural aspects.² The Athapaskans had quickly adopted the European technology of hunting, without changing it in any way, but adapting their lives to become hunters and trappers for the Hudson's Bay Company. This measure of adaptation did not, however, imply acceptance of the European notions of trade or of values in trade which underlay that technology. Nor, of course, did the Athapaskans accept the complete authority which the Company exercised over its own men.

Even religion has a material aspect, and the Athapaskan reaction to the new religion of the OMI could be expected to have some similarities to their reaction to the new opportunities of trade with the Company. The objects and rituals of the new religion could be compared to the tools of the trade, and could be expected to be adopted similarly. The Athapaskans displayed many evidences for this. They were eager and willing to learn the new prayers, to carry rosaries, medals, and holy

pictures, to listen to the mission preaching and to confess their sins. For some of the Athapaskans, this was probably only a surface change in belief and adaptation. For others, there was more depth to their new faith, measured by the OMI by their attendance at missions, by the change in their marriage practices, and by the guidance given in confession, by the increasing numbers coming to the Christmas and Easter celebrations, and by the occasional donations to the support of the Church.

For many of the Athapaskans, however, in the first years of contact, the new religion did not entirely succeed in replacing or uprooting the old. The primary evidence for this is seen in the recurring prophetic movements, where the prophet was often a former convert. Although many of the Athapaskans did accept the new religion, it was not entirely unchanged by them from its European form, as preached by the Oblates. Rather it was integrated into their lives not on European terms, but insofar as it suited their own ideas of life and religion. "What might be called the basic premises of a people regarding the nature of man and universe can go unchanged despite considerable modifications in technology and other aspects of culture".³

The European ideas and methods of the Oblates, with their stress on universality and uniformity, succeeded in bringing many of the Athapaskans within the fold of the Roman Catholic Church, but the doctrine they taught was not fully understood or accepted in its European meaning in the first twenty-five years of the Oblate missions

to the Athapaskans. Some refused the new religion. Others accepted it, although some of these probably continued to practise their ancestral hunting rites in the bush, resulting in a dualism in religion, with separate times and spheres for each. Still others, the prophets, attempted to form a new religion, a syncretic blend of the new and the old, with some aspects of anti-Europeanism included.

The Oblate missions to the Athapaskans cannot then be considered as entirely successful in absorbing the newly-converted Athapaskans into the unity of the Church, though this was their primary aim in evangelization. They were prevented from accomplishing this in the early years of contact because of the impossibility of establishing anything similar to the controlled reductions of the Jesuits in Paraguay, because of the lack of prolonged contact and depth of understanding of another people consequent on the relatively brief relationships established (a lack of understanding which was present on both sides of the evangelizing process), and because of the acceptance of Roman Catholicism by some of the Athapaskans on their own terms, not on those of the Oblates.

Abbreviations of sources

Archives de l'Archevêché de St. Boniface (AASB)

Archives Deschâtelets des O.M.I., Ottawa (AD)

Archives Générales des O.M.I., Rome (AG)

Archives Oblates, Province du Manitoba (AP Man.)

Church Missionary Society Records (CMS)

Hudson's Bay Company Archives (HBCA)

Public Archives of Canada (PAC)

Rapport des Missions du Québec (RMQ)

Rapport de la Société Canadienne de l'Histoire de l'Eglise
Catholique (RSCHEC)

FOOTNOTES

Introduction.

1. A translation of Gregory's letter to Augustine can be found in Venerable Bede, A History of the English Church and People (transl. Leo Sherley-Price. Toronto: Penguin Books, Canada, Ltd., 1955), pp.86-7.
2. Lee Eldridge Huddleston, Origins of the American Indians: European Concepts 1492-1729 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1969) argues that the Spaniards never really thought that the Indians were not human. Yet the fact that some thought it necessary to assert that they were human would seem to indicate that some had expressed doubts on the subject.
3. Sepulveda was a prominent advocate of this view. (cf. infra pp.5-6).
4. J. Delumeau, Catholicism between Luther and Voltaire: a new view of the Counter-Reformation (London: Burns & Oates, 1977), p.91.
5. In 1485 Pope Alexander VI in a bull, Inter caetara, assigned spheres of influence in the new discoveries to Spain and Portugal. Jas. Muldoon, "Papal Responsibility for the Infidel: Another Look at Alexander VI's Inter Caetera", (Catholic Historical Review, Vol.64 (1978), 168-184) gives the medieval canonical roots for this division, not as a division of the world, but as a statement of the proper relationship of Christian nations to non-Christians. This was no longer expressed in terms of the just war, used to assign responsibility for the crusades, but as an assignment of the universal responsibility of the pope as shepherd for the salvation of both Christian and infidel, and of the need of the natives in the new countries for some protection. Muldoon concludes that the bull Inter caetera was not an assertion of papal claims to world domination, as it has often been represented, but a balancing of the rights of the infidels, of papal responsibility for the preaching of the Gospel, and of the political realities of aggressive expansionism.
6. L. Hanke, The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America, (Philadelphia: University of Penn. Press, 1949), p. 123.
7. Ibid., p.125.
8. The encomienda-doctrina system combined lay control and missionary effort. Indians were assigned to a Spanish conquistador to labour for him. At the same time they were to live in villages directed by a friar to be instructed in Christianity. Eventually these Indians were to be free of their obligations to the Spanish owner, and able to be integrated into the Spanish culture of the New World as a result of their instruction by the friar.

9. C. Jaenen, Friend and foe: aspects of French-Amerindian cultural contact in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), p.190.
10. G. de Vaumas, L'éveil missionnaire de la France au XVII^e siècle, (Paris: Bloud & Gay, 1959), p. 238.
11. G. Chimard, L'Amérique et le rêve exotique dans la littérature français au XVII^e et au XVIII^e siècle, (Paris: Librairie E. Droz, 1934), pp. 130-131.
12. G. de Vaumas, op. cit., p.235. In 1673, in part because of the controversy over the use of the Chinese Rites in the missions of the Far East by the Jesuits, the pope, Clement IX, forbade publications on the missions in his bull Creditaë. (Ibid., p. 157, n. 1).
13. F.-M. Gagnon, La conversion par l'image, (Montreal: Les Editions Bellarmin, 1975), p.101.
14. References to the mission methods of the Jesuits in New France are scattered through the many volumes of R.G. Thwaites, ed., The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents (New York: Pageant Book Co., 1959).
15. These were called the Patronage Powers (Padroada in Portuguese) because of the patronage over the Church assigned to them by the Pope in the areas of discovery in 1485. Cf. supra, n. 5.
16. H. Chappoulie, Rome et les missions d'Indochine au XVII^e siècle, (Paris: Bloud & Gay, 1943), I , pp. 52-54.
17. Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum, (Freiburg: Herder, 1975), II, p. 267.
18. The first provincial branch of the Company was established at Lyon in 1631. Until its dissolution in 1660 the Company was the source of much of the Catholic renewal of the seventeenth century in France.
19. F. Rouquette, "Congrégations Secrètes", Dictionnaire de Spiritualité , (Paris: 1937-53), Vol. 2.1, p. 19.
20. Matthew de Castro was a convert from Brahmanism who became a priest despite the refusal of the Portuguese bishop to ordain him. He achieved this by travelling to Rome. On his return to Goa the Portuguese bishop still refused to accept him. He travelled back to Rome and was consecrated bishop then, to go to Idalcan near Goa. To appease the Portuguese his title was changed to Vicar Apostolic of Ethiopia in 1645. (Chappoulie, op.cit., pp. 91-97)
21. When Pius IX did assign territorial titles to the bishops in England in 1850, a great controversy ensued in England over this "papal aggression".
22. New Catholic Encyclopedia, "Rites, Chinese".

23. Le Siège Apostolique et les missions (Paris: F.G. Richir, 1956), p. 16.

Chapter I.

1. The New Catholic Encyclopedia article "Church, History of" by J.F. Broderick estimates that in 1800 the Propaganda had about five hundred priests, half of them native, a few dozen sisters, and somewhere between one million four hundred thousand and five million faithful.
2. G. de Bertier de Sauvigny, La Restauration (Paris: Flammarion, 1955), p. 425.
3. Cited in R. Delavignette, Christianity and Colonialism (London: Burns and Oates, 1964), p. 64.
4. P. Lesourd, Dossier Secret (Paris: Presses de la Cité, 1968) Vol. 2, p. 179.
5. J. Delumeau, *op. cit.*, pp. 227 seq. argues that the dechristianization of France during the Revolution was simply a decline in conformity rather than a fundamental loss of a pre-existing belief, and that what we call Christianity in the ancien régime was in fact a mixture of practices and doctrines with little connection to the Gospel message; therefore to lose these practices was not to lose Christianity, and therefore cannot properly be called a process of dechristianization. Delumeau claims that the need for Christianization in the France of the Restoration stemmed not from the Revolution but from a continuation of the ongoing need for Christianization, arising from the Reformation recognition of the inadequacies of medieval Christianity really to infuse the minds and souls of people, and the consequent need to get rid of the mass of superstitions, etc. which still accompanied the surface Christianity of those people.
6. To the fifty existing dioceses of 1815 were added thirty new ones by 1830, and the Budget of Cults tripled in the same years. A. Latreille, "France", Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastique, gives these figures. Between 1822 and 1828 twenty-five new seminaries were opened, and by 1830 there were more than forty-five hundred more priests active than there had been in 1815. (P. Lesourd, *op. cit.*, p. 179).
7. J. Leflon, "Les grands séminaires de France au XIX^e siècle" (Etudes, Vol. 319 (1963), p. 177.
8. J. Godechot, "Quel a été le rôle des Aa pendant l'époque révolutionnaire?" (Mélanges André Latreille, Collection du Centre d'Histoire du Catholicisme, Université de Lyon, 1972), p. 115.

9. The Oblates in their seminaries shared this general background. More specific details on the OMI seminary at Marseilles can be found in Yves Beaudouin, "Les étudiants et la vie au séminaire au Marseille (1827-1862)", Etudes Oblates, (Jan.-Mar. 1966), pp. 47-89.
10. P. Lesourd, op.cit., p. 197.
11. R. Aubert, Le pontificat de Pie IX (1846-1878), (Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1952), p. 217.
12. Y. Beaudouin, op. cit., p. 12.
13. By the 1830s the hierarchy was largely drawn from the bourgeoisie (Lesourd, op.cit., p. 200). By the early years of the Third Republic twelve per cent of the bishops were noblemen, while thirty-three per cent were bourgeois or substantial peasant landowners, and fifty-three per cent were of humble origin. T. Zeldin, France, II, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 1005.
14. Zeldin, op.cit., p. 1010.
15. Ibid.
16. Jos. de Maistre, The Pope, transl. A. M. Dawson, (New York: Howard Fertig, 1975). Introduction by R. A. Lebrun, p. xi.
17. B. Tierney, in Origins of Papal Infallibility (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972), pp. 1-2, maintains that medieval thinkers separated the two ideas of sovereignty and infallibility because infallibility would limit sovereignty by enforcing binding decisions on subsequent popes. Maistre was thus breaking new ground for the nineteenth century.
18. Cf. Y. Tranvouez, "Religion, Politique et Civilisation Chrétienne: Lamennais en 1817", in Civilisation Chrétienne, ed. J.-R. Derre et al, (Paris: Editions Beauchesne, 1975).
19. Bertier de Sauvigny, op. cit., p. 421.
20. Yves Congar, "L'ecclésiologie, de la Révolution française au Concile du Vatican", in L'Ecclésiologie au XIX^e siècle, M. Nédoncelle et al (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1960).
21. G. Goyau, Histoire religieuse (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1922), p.591.
22. After the revolution of 1848 provisions were made for liberty of reunion, and several provincial councils of clergy were then held, but Rome still forbade the holding of a national council. Cf. Aubert, op. cit., p. 54.
23. Zeldin, op.cit., p. 1004.
24. Lesourd, op.cit., p. 219.
25. Cf. A. Dansette, Religious History of Modern France (New York: Herder & Herder, 1961), p. 305.

26. Aubert, op.cit., p. 287.
27. Ibid. Taché in speaking of the Vatican Council of 1870 shared this view, saying "Je ne puis vous dire qu'une chose du Concile c'est que c'est merveilleux de voir une famille assemblée". (Taché- Sr. Cox, Rome, Dec. 12, 1869, AD, HPF4191.C75R209)
28. Aubert, op.cit., 307.
29. R. Aubert, The Church in a Secularised Society (New York: Paulist Press, 1978), p. ix.
30. Aubert, Le pontificat de Pie IX, p. 278.
31. Missions Vol. 9 (1870), p. 111. When Pius IX was prepared to promulgate the doctrine he invited Mazenod to be his guest in Rome for the occasion; Mazenod and Mgr. Jeancard who accompanied him spent three months in residence at the Quirinal as the pope's guests. (cf. Jeancard, Mélanges, p. 272.)
32. Aubert, op.cit., p.464. Both Faber and Bourget had considerable influence with the Oblates in the missions of the North West.
33. A. Latreille, "Aux origines de la Propagation de la Foi", (Missions de l'Eglise, N. 15 (1972), p. 5.
34. Grandin-M. Sébaux, Ile à la Crosse, May 20, 1855. Postulation Documents, Vol. 8, St. Paul's University, Ottawa.
35. Bishop I. Clut of the Athabasca-Mackenzie wrote to Taché "Grande assurément est l'humiliation de la France. Puisse-t-elle y voir le doigt de Dieu et revenir à lui." (May 9, 1871). AASB, T8771.
36. Aubert, Le pontificat de Pie IX, p. 457.
37. In 1900 three-quarters of the Roman Catholic missionaries were of French origin. Goyau, Histoire religieuse, p.
38. Provencher-Bourget, July 13, 1841. AASB, Cahier J, P3776
39. Zeldin, op.cit., I, p.343.
40. cf. passim, C.Butler, The Vatican Council, 1869-1870 (Westminster, Md., Newman Press, 1962).
41. Gregory XVI reorganized the Eastern missions in 1838, at a time when Portugal had broken off diplomatic relations with the Holy See. In the bull Multa praeclare Gregory XVI stated that the padroada was only to be exercised in the Archdiocese of Goa and the Diocese of Macao. All the other territories were to come under the Propaganda. By an error of geography Bombay was included in the Propaganda territories, although

it actually was part of the Archdiocese of Goa. This led to disputes between the bishops of the Propaganda and the Portuguese bishops there for the rest of the nineteenth century. The padroada in India did not finally disappear until 1953. (cf. New Catholic Encyclopedia, "Patronata Real")

42. Bishop Clut informed Taché that he had managed to get the last free place left from the French consul in New York. Clut said there were ten free places each trip, five for priests and religious, and five for the poor. (Aug. 8, 1869) AASB, T6753-5. In 1873 Bishop Faraud waited in Montreal for the French vessel which was to take him free, indicating that the free passages continued at least for a few years under the Third Republic. (Faraud-Clut, Oct. 9, 1873) AG, Reel 43.

43. In 1870 Bishop Aubert, the Oblate Vicar Apostolic from Natal, protected his position in Paris by hanging out a British flag and claiming to be a British subject. cf. Grandin-Clut, June 5, 1871, AG Mackenzie Reel 48.

44. This treaty gave the right for all missionaries to circulate freely within the Chinese Empire under the protection of a French passport, given to them by the French consul, whether or not they were actually French. This arrangement was approved by the pope. In later years, however, with the growth of European imperialism, the Italian and German governments objected to their citizens being regarded even for the sake of convenience as Frenchmen, and insisted on their own ability to protect their own nationals.

45. Père Grollier wrote that he was convinced that the end of the world was coming, the time of anti-Christ, and that that was why God had left the Indians in ignorance of the faith until then. Anti-Christ, for Grollier, was the Protestant missions of the north. (Grollier-Lestanc, Good Hope, Feb. 20, 1862) AASB, T1193-4.

46. Bishop Grandin in 1874 questioned whether any of the Indian marriages should be recognized as valid by the Church. Cf. John Noonan, Power to Dissolve, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U. Press, 1972) 275.

47. Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, Vol. XXXV (1863), p. 338.

48. Zeldin, op.cit., II, p. 6.

49. Ibid., p. 8.

50. Zeldin, op.cit., II, p. 8.

51. R. Delavignette, Christianity and Colonialism, (London: Burns & Oates, 1964), p. 38.

52. The distinguishing features of the concept of civilization in the European countries are brought out by Reuel A. Lochore, History of the Idea of Civilization in France (1830-1870), (Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid, 1935).

53. Zeldin, op.cit., pp. 7-8.
54. Rapport des Missions du Québec, Vol. 12(1857), p.32, from a letter from Père Tissot at Ile à la Crosse, Jan.20, 1855.
55. Taché-Mazenod, Ile à la Crosse, Jan. 17, 1856. Cited in Dom Benoit, Vie de Mgr. Taché, Vol. I, (Montreal: Librairie Beauchemin, 1904), p.320.
56. Bermond-Faraud, N.D. des Lumières, Mar. 16, 1859, AG, G-LPP342.
57. This is evident in Le génie du Christianisme, published 1802. Cf. "Le concept de civilisation Chrétienne dans la pensée romantique" by J. Gadille, Civilisation Chrétienne, pp. 183-209.
58. Le génie, II, p. 135.
59. AD, copies of Archives d'Archevêché du Québec, RRIII-103.
60. A. Rétif, "Les évêques français et les missions au XIX^e siècle", (Etudes, Vol. 295 (1957), p. 368.
61. Laflèche-Cazeau, June 12, 1854, AD, copies of Archives de l'Archevêché du Montréal.
62. Petitot, "Etude sur la nation Montagnaise", in Missions Vol. 6 (1867); pp. 484-547, and Vol. 9(1870), pp. 270-279), pp.485.
63. Le génie, I, p. 190.
64. The origin of this idea of small weekly sums has been ascribed variously to reports Pauline Jaricot had heard of customs in Ireland (cf. Lesourd, Dossier Secret, II, p. 126), or of Anabaptists in England (cf. Rouquette, "Pauline Jaricot" (Etudes, Vol. 313 (1962),p.21.
65. Coste fled to Quebec in 1840 because of his debts and died there in 1845. (cf. Lesourd, op.cit., p. 130) Lesourd claims that the people of Lyon do not forgive poor businessmen, and that is why all the credit for the founding of the Propagation de la Foi is usually given to Pauline Jaricot, and Coste's contribution ignored.
66. M.-A. Sadrain, "Les premières années de la Propagation de la Foi" Revue d'Histoire des Missions, Vol. 16 (1939), p. 569.
67. Among the members of the Congregation in 1805 were Charles de Forbin-Janson, who helped found a home missionary society in the Restoration, and later founded the Oeuvre de la Sainte-Enfance on the model of the Propagation de la Foi, for the care of abandoned children in pagan countries. Also listed is a Charles de Mazenod in 1808, who may have been the founder of the Oblates, Eugène Joseph Charles de Mazenod. Many bishops seeking missionary help in their foreign dioceses also belonged, as did Plessis of Quebec, and Thomas Weld of Kingston. (cf. G. de Grandmaison, La Congrégation (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1889).

68. Sadrain, op.cit., p.569.
69. From 1809 to 1815 the Society had sent only two missionaries to the Far East. In 1818 and 1819 it sent six each year. Cf. G. Goyau, Missions and Missionaries (London: Sands & Co., 1932),p.134.
70. This diocese had a claim on French support because of its history as a French possession. King Louis had provided his own ship to transport Dubourg to New Orleans in 1817. Dubourg sought help in France primarily to convert the civilized inhabitants of his diocese as a prerequisite before beginning the evangelization of the nomads there. Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, I(1824-5), pp. 18-19.
71. Lesourd, op.cit., II, p. 124.
72. Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, I, no.3, Jan. 1824, p. 16.
73. Godechot, op.cit., p.112. Mazenod had many friends among the Chevaliers de la Foi, and these contacts helped assure the selection of Mazenod's uncle, Fortuné de Mazenod, to the see of Marseilles in 1823. Cf. J. Leflon, Eugène de Mazenod (New York: Fordham University Press, 1961), II, pp.78-80 .
74. Sadrain, op.cit., p.561.
75. The President of the Superior Council was the Cardinal Prince de Croy, the Grand Aumonier of France, and as well a member of the Chevaliers de la Foi. Cf. Rouquette, op.cit., p.21.
76. E.J. Hickey, The Society for the Propagation of the Faith (New York: AMS Press, 1974), p.4.
77. Cf. Provencher-Lartigue, Oct. 29, 1835, (AASB, Cahier J, P3700). Provencher in this stated that the Propagation de la Foi should have already been established in Quebec if they had listened to him three or four years previously. He thought it would now be established, but Quebec wanted the donations to be for its own missions, including the establishing of new parishes; this was contrary, Provencher said, to the French institution which was for the infidels only. This difference in viewpoint led to a long running battle between the Quebec branch of the Propagation and the French Council, with Quebec withdrawing from association with the French Society over it.
78. J.F. Laffey, "Roots of French Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century: The Case of Lyon" French Historical Studies, Vol.6 (1969-70) pp. 78-79.
79. Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, Vol. 40(1868), p.251, excerpt from a letter of Bishop Grandin, Jan. 4, 1868.
80. AASB, Cahier K, Ta3605, July 12, 1841.

Chapter II

1. The Sulpician seminary was unique because it took candidates from all of France, not just from one particular diocese, and it was also the only seminary for noble candidates. But since vocations after the Revolution were few, they could no longer be separated by class. Those who did enter at this time were sincerely motivated, since no honours were attached, and also were more mature. Cf. Leflon, op.cit., I, pp. 292-3.
2. It would have been customary for Mazenod to be ordained by the bishop of Paris, Cardinal Maury, but Mazenod refused to follow this custom, since Maury was illicit, a tool of Napoleon, and condemned by the pope. Instead Mazenod was ordained by an old family friend, Mgr. de Demandolx, bishop of Amiens. Cf. T. Ortolan, Les Oblats de Marie Immaculée (Paris: Librairie Saint-Paul, 1914), I, p.51.
3. Leflon, op.cit., II, p.351. By the mid-nineteenth century the Sulpicians too succumbed to the rising tide of ultramontaniam.
4. Ibid., p.372.
5. Ortolan, op.cit., p.51.
6. J. Palanque, Le diocèse d'Aix-en-Provence (Paris: Beauchesne, 1975).
7. Leflon, op.cit., II, p.405.
8. Missions, Vol. 9 (1870), p.211.
9. Cf. supra, Chapter I, n.67.
10. Cf. supra, pp. 19-20 for the seventeenth century roots of this.
11. Leflon, op.cit., II, p. 21.
12. Documents sur l'histoire religieuse de la France pendant la Restauration, 1814-1830, (Paris: F. Rieder & Cie., 1913), p.42, n.2.
13. Cf. Documents p. 67. This relates that the Grand Aumonier was trying to get royal authority for the Missionnaires de Provence. The local authorities, while acknowledging the services rendered by these missionaries, said that the organization was opposed by some of the curés of the area, who wanted it suppressed.
14. Leflon, op.cit., I, p.413.
15. Ibid., p.409.
16. This motto had also been used in the seventeenth century by St. Vincent de Paul.

17. L. Perouas, "Missions intérieures et missions extérieures françaises durant les premières décennies du XVII^e siècle", (Parole et Mission, No. 27(1964), p.653.
18. Leflon, op.cit., II, p.265.
19. Ibid., p.267.
20. Ibid., p.443.
21. Missions, Vol.70 (1936), pp.502-3.
22. Ibid.
23. Vicomte de Guichen, La France morale et religieuse à la fin de la Restauration, (Paris: Emile-Paul Editeurs, 1912), p.200.
24. Documents, p.42, n.2.
25. pp.276-285, and 418-431.
26. This practice sometimes had unexpected effects. Proudhon dated his loss of faith to hearing such a sermon at Besançon in 1825, and finding that he agreed with the arguments of the doubter. Cf. A. Dansette, Religious History of Modern France, (New York: Herder & Herder, 1961), p. 272.
27. E. Sevrin, Les missions religieuses en France sous la Restauration (Paris:1948 and 1959), I, pp. 193-7.
28. Missions, Vol. 70(1936), pp. 282-4.
29. Ibid., 279 seq.
30. Ibid., p.423.
31. V. Gelu, Marseille au XIX^e siècle, (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1971), pp. 103-4.
32. Cf. G. Le Bras, Introduction à l'histoire de la pratique religieuse en France, (Paris: Bibliothèque des Hauts Etudes, 1942), p.42.
33. Gelu, op.cit., p.105.
34. Guichen, op.cit., p.80.
35. Leflon, op.cit., II, p.110.
36. H. Guillemin, Histoire des catholiques françaises au XIX^e siècle (1815-1905), (Paris: Editions du Milieu du Monde, 1947),p.24.

37. Documents, pp. 41-43.
38. A. Omodeo, "Cattolicismo e civiltà moderna nel secolo XIX", La Critica, Vol.36 (1938), p.273.
39. G. Langlois and J. Mayeur, "Sur l'histoire religieuse de l'époque contemporaine" Revue historique, Vol.252(1974),pp.433-444.
40. Sevrin, op.cit., II, p.181.
41. Documents, p.42.n.2.
42. G. Vauthier, "Les missions religieuses sous la Restauration", (Revue des Etudes Historiques, Vol.86 (1920), p.405 n.l.
43. J. Phayer, "Politics and Popular Religion: the Cult of the Cross in France, 1815-1840", Journal of Social History, Vol. 11, no.3 (Spring 1978), pp. 346-365.
44. Sevrin, op.cit., p.50.
45. Phayer, op.cit., pp.358-361.
46. Ibid., p. 361.
47. Ortolan, op.cit., I, p.379.
48. Leflon, op.cit., III, pp.123-4.
49. Mazenod-Bourget, Oct. 1, 1843 in Letters I, p. 61.
50. Leflon, op.cit., IV, pp.241-2.
51. Mazenod-Honorat, Oct. 9, 1841, Letters I, pp. 15-16.
52. Mazenod-Bourget, Feb.6, 1845, Letters, I, p.114.
53. AG, Mazenod-Guiges, Dec. 12, 1844.
54. Mazenod-Bourget, July 9, 1845, Letters,I, p. 121.
55. Mazenod-Ricard, Jan. 8, 1847, Letters, I, p. 147.
56. England, in the Roman Catholic system of organization, was still a mission country under the supervision of the Propaganda, and remained so until 1908, as did the United States and Canada.
57. Ortolan, op.cit., p.515.
58. Leflon, op.cit., IV, p.284.

59. By the time of Mazenod's death there were about ninety foreign missionaries among the OMI out of a total of about three hundred and ninety Oblates, which is a similar proportion to that of today. Cf. M. Quéré, "Mgr. de Mazenod et les missions étrangères", (Unpublished dissertation, Gregorian, Rome, 1958), p.222.
60. Mazenod-Guigues, Dec. 5, 1844, AG, Ms. Yenveux VII,37,38.
61. Mazenod- Central Council of Propagation de la Foi, Lyon, June 26, 1845, AG.
62. Mazenod-Signay, June 18, 1844, AG.
63. Mazenod-Guigues, June 7, 1847, Letters I, p. 171.
64. Mazenod- Maisonneuve and Tissot, Nov. 24, 1858, Letters, I, p.211.
65. Mazenod-Bourget, May 30, 1843, Letters, I, p.43.
66. Mazenod-Guigues, July 25, 1848, Letters, I, p.66.
67. AG, Ms. Yenveux VIII. 145.(98). Maryvale was the monastery of Old Oscott where Newman had installed himself with some friends in 1846 after his conversion to Catholicism. Newman changed the name to Maryvale, and the Oblates bought it in 1849. Cf. Quéré, op.cit., Footnotes III/II,1, n.24.
68. cf. Séguin-Taché, Feb. 20, 1862, AASB T1199.
69. passim, AASB Cahier J, P3915, and AG, Reel 47, Taché-Faraud, May 21, 1850.
70. Faraud-Sister of the Visitation, Apr. 4, 1865, AG Reel 44.
71. cf. Mazenod-Bourget, May 10, 1849, Letters I, p.220. Guiges became a naturalized Canadian in 1849. (Letters I, p. 189, n.4).
72. cf. J. Black to Jas. R. Clare, June 30, 1866, AASB T4069-71.
73. R. Boudens, "Bischof Eugen von Mazenod und die auswärtigen missionen" (Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft, Vol.45 (1961), p. 82.
74. Mazenod-Aubert, Mar. 3, 1849, Letters, I, p.212.
75. Mazenod-Honorat, Mar. 1, 1844, Letters I, p.80.
76. Mazenod-Santoni, Aug. 28, 1851, AG, Ms. Yenveux VIII.217.(150). Tertianship was a final year of study and reflection for a Jesuit after his ordination as a priest.
77. Y. Beaudouin "Les étudiants et la vie au séminaire au Marseille (1827-1862)", (Etudes Oblates (Jan.-Mar. 1966), p. 55.

78. Mazenod-Maître, Sep. 22, 1854, cited in A. Perbal, "Mgr. de Mazenod" Euntes Docete, Vol. 13 (1960), p.352.
79. Beaudouin, op.cit., p. 66.
80. Mazenod-Guigues, May 14, 1846, AG, Ms. Yenveux VIII.120(81-2).
81. In 1958 the Oblates had forty of these with about thirty-five hundred students. Perbal, op.cit., p. 340.
82. Mazenod-Taché, Nov. 15, 1858, AG.
83. Ibid.
84. Mazenod-Ricard, Dec. 6, 1851, AG Ms. Yenveux I. 107(41).
85. AD, BQX2561.16.I5A585.
86. Ibid., p.13.

Chapter III

1. Mazenod-Guigues, Dec. 5, 1844, AG, Ms. Yenveux VII,37-8, pp.30-32.
2. May 24, 1845, Letters I, pp. 117-119.
3. Provencher wrote to Sir George Simpson that "My title has been changed from Bishop of the North-West which signifies nothing to Bishop of St. Boniface". HBCA, D5/34, fo. 146-7.
4. St. Boniface remained under the Propaganda until 1908.
5. Taché to his mother, Ile à la Crosse, Jan. 4, 1851, AASB Ta0126-7. This is an oblique indication of the nature of some complaints against the French congregations in Quebec.
6. Provencher had written to Thavenet to request his help in raising funds to build his stone church. Thavenet had replied he had no time to do this, but had suggested that Provencher contact the Propagation de la Foi. Cf. Provencher, Notice sur les missions de la Rivière-Rouge, written at the Séminaire des Missions Etrangères, Feb.2, 1836, PAC MG17A22 F840 fo. 10938.
7. Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, Vol. IV (1830-1), p.719.
8. AASB, Registre B, P1377.
9. June 27, 1849, AASB Ta3658
10. Provencher-Turgeon, July 8, 1839, AASB Reg. A, P1120.

11. Provencher, Notice, PAC MG17A22, F840, fo. 10938.
12. In his memoir on the establishment of Red River Provencher had written that the three priests he had in 1835 were all Canadian, since "les Anglais ne veulent pas en admettre qui soient d'une autre nation" (Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, IX (1836-7), p.353).
13. The Jesuits of France had just undertaken work in Montreal, primarily in the field of education. Father De Smet had also just preceded Provencher's trip to France, and had obtained considerable recruits for his missions. Cf. Provencher-Turgeon, Apr. 19, 1844. AASB P1154.
14. The circumstances of Darveau's death are confused. Provencher was at first told it was accidental, but rumours soon spread that Darveau had been murdered by an Indian. Sir George informed Simpson of these and seemed convinced they were true. Cf. HBCA D4/35, fo.24b-25, Simpson to Provencher. Provencher thought these stories were untrue. Cf. HBCA D5/18, fo.21, Provencher to Simpson, July 7, 1846.
15. Cf. Provencher-Mazenod, Nov. 29, 1849, AASB Cahier J, P3914.
16. Provencher had visited the Oblate house at Longeuil, near Montreal, on his trip to Quebec and France. Cf. Provencher-Bourget, July 30, 1844. AASB Cahier J, P3797.
17. passim, Provencher-Bourget, Aug. 2, 1848, AASB Cahier J, P3885 and Nov. 27, 1849, AASB Cahier J, P3911.
18. Cf. G. Carrière, Histoire documentaire de la Congrégation des missionnaires oblats de Marie-Immaculée dans l'est du-Canada, I. (Ottawa: Editions de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1957).
19. Mazenod-Aubert, Mar. 28, 1854, Lettres, II, p.75.
20. June 7, 1843, HBCA D5/8, fo.288-9.
21. June 9, 1843, HBCA D4/28, fo. 49d-50.
22. Ibid.
23. De Smet was originally from Belgium, but had come over to the United States and was attached to the St. Louis diocese.
24. June 21, 1843, HBCA D4/28, fo.73-4.
25. Provencher did claim that those who spoke gras (the guttural 'r' of France) could never speak the Indian languages well. Cf. Provencher-Bourget, Aug. 2, 1848. AASB Cahier J, P3885.
26. Provencher-Bourget, Aug. 2, 1848, AASB Cahier J, P3885.

27. Provencher-Bourget, Mar. 3, 1853, AASB Cahier J, P3955.
28. Provencher-Bourget, Aug. 5, 1850, AASB Cahier J, P3919-20.
29. AASB, Régistre A, P1011-13.
30. Hudson Bay House to Simpson, Mar. 7, 1838, HBCA D5/5, fo. 16.
31. Provencher-Turgeon, July 8, 1839, AASB
32. Belcourt had at first hoped to build a mission at Portage la Prairie, but his Indians were fearful of enemies there, and so he moved the site of the mission. Cf. Notice, PAC MG17A22 F840, fo.10938.
33. Belcourt-Bourget, June 23, 1835. AD, copy of Archives d'Archevêché de Montréal.
34. Simpson said there were only about twenty Indian families settled there then. HBCA D4/58, fo. 146, Simpson-Governor and Committee, June 20, 1841.
35. Ibid.
36. July 10, 1838, PAC MG17A22 F840, fo. 10937.
37. Rapport des Missions du Québec, I (1839), p. 18.
38. Belcourt-Cazeau, Jul. 21, 1840, AASB Cahier I, P3325.
39. Provencher-Lartigue, Jul. 13, 1834. AASB Cahier J, P3681.
40. Provencher-Turgeon, Aug. 6, 1838, AASB Reg. A, P1106.
41. Cf. Belcourt-Cazeau, June 30, 1839. AASB Cahier I, P3304.
42. Provencher-Cazeau, Dec. 12, 1845, AASB Ta3648.
43. Provencher-Turgeon, Jul. 7, 1839, AASB Reg. A, P1118.
44. Provencher-Lartigue, Jul. 7, 1834, AASB Cahier J, P3681.
45. Provencher-Turgeon, Aug. 6, 1838, AASB, P1107.
46. Provencher-Lartigue, AASB Cahier J, P3681.
47. Vol. I (1839), p. 6.
48. Provencher-Turgeon, Jul. 8, 1839, AASB Reg. A, P1120.
49. Taché-Dawson, Feb. 7, 1859, in Missions Vol. 2 (1863), p. 165.

50. Taché, Vingt Années, p. 19.
51. Taché to his mother, Jan. 5, 1848, AASB Ta0032.
52. Cf. Wm. Todd to Simpson, HBCA D5/25, fo. 201-2.
53. Bermond-Faraud, Sep. 29, 1850, AG, G-LPP 328.
54. Betsy Fisher-her father, Feb. 24, 1850. AASB F0429.
55. Provencher-Bourget , June 20, 1845, AASB Reg. A, P1170.
56. Bermond-Faraud, May 10, 1850, AG, G-LPP 327.
57. Tissot-Mazenod, AG, G-LPP 2957.
58. A psychological explanation of this tendency can be found in O. Mannoni, Prospero and Caliban (transl. P. Powesland. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1964). Mannoni claims that gifts are not a sign of inferiority in the person given the gifts, but an affirmation of a reassuring relationship of dependence, and further gifts are essential to maintain that relationship.
59. Taché-Dawson, Feb. 7, 1859, in Missions Vol. 2 (1863), pp.166-7.
60. Picher came to Red River with John Rowand in order to accompany Simpson on part of his round the world tour, acting as guide through the Rockies. Cf. Rowand-Simpson, Jan. 1, 1844, HBCA D5/10, fo.10b, announcing the murder of Piche who had guided Simpson in 1840.
61. Provencher-Bishop of Quebec, June 23, 1841, in RMQ Jan.1842, no.4, p. 14.
62. Jul. 26, 1841, PAC MG17A22, F840, fo. 10947.
63. Cf. Trudy Nicks "The Iroquois and the Fur Trade in Western Canada", in Old Trails and New Directions, Papers of the Third North American Fur Trade Conference, ed. Carol M. Judd & Arthur J. Ray, (University of Toronto Press, 1980), pp. 85-101.
64. Provencher had been trying to extend into the interior by sending Thibault to the West (cf. Thibault-Archbishop of Quebec, Jul.6, 1839, AD, copy of AAQ, RRIII. 132, where Thibault reported that Provencher had been trying for two years to find some way of sending Thibault to the Crees and Assiniboines). Provencher had sought the consent of the Hudson's Bay Company for these projects, but had been refused. Simpson agreed to consult London and did so. The Governor and Committee backed up Simpson's own opposition to the plan. HBCA D4/25,fo. 69.
65. RMQ Vol. 6 (1845), p. 72 seq.
66. Ibid., p. 97.

67. HBCA D5/8, fo. 288.
68. Ibid., fo. 288-9.
69. June 15, 1843, HBCA D4/28, fo. 59-59d.
70. Jul. 1, 1844, HBCA D5/12, fo. 3-4.
71. Rowand-Simpson, Aug. 16, 1844. HBCA D5/12, fo. 184-5.
72. McKenzie also attributed the attraction of his Chipewyans to the beaver nursing policy in the English River District. He said they were fond of eating beaver, and could trade the beaver skins at the Saskatchewan posts. Once there they found good living, with horses, gambling, and rum-drinking. (HBCA D5/11, fo. 200-201, May 6, 1844).
73. June 23, 1844, Rowand-Simpson, HBCA D5/11, fo. 323.
74. June 3, 1845, Simpson-McKenzie, HBCA D4/32, fo. 112d.
75. Jul. 1, 1845, McKenzie-Simpson, HBCA D5/14, fo. 112-113.
76. Mar. 4, 1844, McKenzie-Simpson, HBCA D5/10, fo. 370-3.
77. Jan. 10, 1845, McKenzie-Simpson, HBCA D5/13, fo. 34-5.
78. These should not be confused with the Montagnais of the Quebec region, for they belonged to the Athapaskan linguistic group, whereas those in Quebec were Algonkian. The reason why the French-speaking called the Chipewyans Montagnais is not known, but it was the common usage before the missionaries arrived.
79. Thibault-Provencher, May 24, 1845. AASB Cahier G, P2708.
80. Dec. 29, 1845, Ft. Chipewyan, HBCA D5/15, fo. 616.
81. Oct. 30, 1845, HBCA D5/15, fo. 631-2.
82. Aug. 15, 1844, HBCA D5/12, fo. 177.
83. Jul. 10, 1846, HBCA D5/18, fo. 31a-31b.
84. HBCA B89/a/27, fo. 19d.
85. C. Martin, Keepers of the Game (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978), p. 65.
86. Thibault-Provencher, Jul. 24, 1845, AASB Cah. G, P2709-...
87. Ibid., P2715.

88. Ibid., P2740.
89. Ibid., P2709.
90. Thibault-Provencher, Dec. 27, 1845. AASB P2717.
91. Rowand-Simpson, Jan. 5, 1844. HBCA D5/10, fo. 43-4.
92. Parker, "The Fur Trade and the Chipewyan Indian", Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology, Vol. 3-1, (1972), pp. 43-57.
93. Provencher-M. Choiselet, n.d. (1848) PAC MG17A22 F841, fo. 11009
94. J. Laflèche. "Etude sur les missions de la Rivière-Rouge (1855) AASB.
95. Evans had requested permission in 1843 from Simpson to establish missions on the Peace River, Athabasca, and at Ile à la Crosse. Simpson had told Evans he would take up the request with the Honourable Committee, but it was his own opinion that an itinerant ministry would be better for several years, and that the natives should not be collected for purposes not relevant to their subsistence. (HBCA D4/29, fo. 9-10d, June 29, 1843). Donald Ross refused passage in 1844. (cf. HBCA D5/12, fo. 173).
96. Dec. 2, 1844, HBCA D4/32, fo. 41d-43.
97. "It will be better that the teachings of the Protestant and Catholic Missionaries should not be encouraged within the same district, but should be kept as distinct and separate as possible". HBCA D5/22, fo. 160-1, Hudson Bay House, Apr. 21, 1848.
98. Aug. 10, 1844, HBCA D5/12, fo. 154
99. Aug. 15, 1844, HBCA D5/12, fo. 174
100. Provencher-Cazeau, Jul. 24, 1840, AASB Ta3587.
101. Dec. 1, 1853, HBCA D4/46, fo. 135-136d.
102. HBCA D4/43, fo. 64-65d.
103. Ibid.
104. AASB, Ta3587. cf. p. 141 of thesis.
105. HBCA D5/38, fo. 404. Taché-Simpson, Dec. 21, 1853.
106. Grollier-Taché, Jul. 20, 1860, AASB T0100.
107. Cf. HBCA D5/5, fo. 16, Feb. 2, 1838.

108. Mar. 11, 1845, Hudson Bay House-Simpson, HBCA D5/13, fo.282.
109. Provencher-Bourget, June 16, 1846, AASB Cahier J, P3825.
110. June 26, 1846, HBCA D5/17, fo. 411-2.
111. June 27, 1846, HBCA D4/35, fo. 20-21.
112. June 27, 1849, HBCA D5/25, fo. 312-3.
113. See map, p. 148. La Loche also represented the boundary between the chartered territories of the Hudson's Bay Company, and those under licence.
114. Cf. R. Janes, "Dispersion and Nucleation among Nineteenth Century Mackenzie Basin Athapaskans", Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Calgary, 1975, for a good description of the ecology of the area.
115. Ibid.
116. Jas. G. E Smith, "Introduction: the Historical and Cultural Position of the Chipewyan", in Arctic Anthropology, Vol. 13 (1976) pp. 1-5.
117. Taché to his mother, Ile à la Crosse, Jan. 4, 1851, AASB Ta0091-8. Although the religion of the Chipewyans was also treated by Taché in this letter, and should be included within the treatment of the Chipewyan culture, it has been postponed until chapter seven of this thesis to preserve the logic of the presentation.
118. H. Sharp "The Caribou-Eater Chipewyan", (Arctic Anthropology, Vol. XIV (1977), p. 38, says that the Chipewyan canoes combined the worst features of the canoe and the kayak.
119. "The Eastern Tinneh", Smithsonian Institute, Annual Report, 1866, p. 303 . Ross was originally from Ireland, and was in charge of the Mackenzie District 1858-1862. He was often referred to as an Orangeman by the OMI. Cf. Grollier-Taché, Jul. 20, 1860. AASB T0094.
120. The Oblates, however, in common with most French-speaking writers of the nineteenth century, almost always referred to the Indians as "sauvages".
121. Faraud to a priest of the O.M.I., Apr. 20, 1851, in Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, Vol. XXIV (1850), p.225.
122. Missions, Vol. 2 (1863), p. 175.
123. AASB Ta009
124. For Taché, AASB Ta009 For Ross, op.cit., p.310.

125. Jas. W. Van Stone, Athapaskan Adaptations, (Chicago: Aldine Publ. Co., 1974), p. 8.
126. Taché to his mother, AASB Ta 0109-0110.
127. Faraud-Mazenod, Nativity, Dec. 30, 1859, AG, G-LPP1617.
128. Taché to his mother, AASB Ta 0112.
129. E. Petitot, "On the Athabasca District", Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, Vol. V, no.11,(1883), p.649.
130. Eynard-Taché, June 8, 1863, AASB T2247.
131. Codex Fond du Lac, 1853-1900, AG, LC221-M14R.
132. Journal of Nativity Mission, June 1,1864 , AG Mackenzie Reel 35.
133. Faraud- Fabre AG, G-LPP 1643.
134. Gascon-Faraud, St. Joseph, Nov. 26, 1867, AG Mackenzie Reel 44.
135. Faraud-Fabre, AG, G-LPP 1643.
136. Séguin-Maisonneuve, June 2, 1874, AP Man.
137. Faraud-Charpeney, Ile à la Crosse, Nov. 28, 1862, in Rapports, Montreal, 1864, p.23.
138. Faraud-Taché, Providence, Sep. 12, 1869, AASB T6900.
139. Gascon-Taché, Ft. Rae, Nov. 3, 1868
140. Rapports, Montreal, 1864, p. 26.
141. Faraud-Sr. Cox, Nativity, Dec. 19, 1866, AD, HPF4191.C75R33.
142. Petitot, op.cit., p. 648.
143. Wm. Hardisty, "The Loucheux Indians", Report, Smithsonian Institute, 1866, p. 311 and Faraud-Fabre, AG, G-LPP1625.
144. Hardisty, op.cit., p. 311.
145. S.Krech, "Interethnic Relations in the Lower Mackenzie River Region", Arctic Anthropology, Vol. XVI (1979), p. 107.
146. Ibid.
147. PAM, CMS A93, McDonald Journal 1865.

148. Hardisty, op. cit., p.312. Krech, op. cit., estimates that because of repeated disease episodes, as well as epidemics, the Kutchin population of the 1860s was only about one-sixth of what it had been aboriginally.

149. Séguin-family, June 2, 1863. AD, typescript copy p. 83.

150. J. Helm & E. Leacock, "The Hunting Tribes of Subarctic Canada", in North American Indians in Historical Perspective, ed. E. Leacock & N. Lurie (New York: 1971), p. 366.

Chapter IV

1. HBCA D4/34, fo. 89d-90d, June 2, 1846. Bourassa had not sought to establish missions along the Peace River, but had only visited the posts there.
2. HBCA D5/15, fo. 633-4, Dec. 30, 1845.
3. HBCA D5/18, fo. 529-30, Dec. 26, 1846.
4. HBCA D4/34, fo. 89d-90d, June 2, 1846.
5. HBCA D4/38, fo. 59, Nov. 15, 1848.
6. Taché-Simpson, Dec. 21, 1853, HBCA D5/38, fo. 402-5. This practice sometimes had unfortunate repercussions on the work of the OMI. In 1868 Faraud found the Indians accusing the OMI of being in the pay of the Hudson's Bay Company because they urged the Indians to pay their debts rather than go to the free-traders on the Peace River. (Faraud-Fabre, May 6, 1868, in Missions Vol. 9 (1870), pp.19-20.
7. Grandin-Taché, Ft. Simpson, Sep. 20, 1861, AASB T0854.
8. AASB Ta0422.
9. June 12, 1854, HBCA D4/48, fo. 46.
10. HBCA D5/21, fo. 110-12, Jan. 17, 1848.
11. HBCA D5/39, fo. 1-4, Jan. 1854.
12. Ross-Taché, Aug. 6, 1860. AASB T0134-6.
13. HBCA D5/37, fo. 413, Jul. 12, 1853.
14. Ibid.
15. Taché-Simpson, Dec. 21, 1853, HBCA D5/38, fo. 402-5.
16. Ibid.

17. Ibid.
18. HBCA D4/48, fo.45d-49, June 12, 1854.
19. cf. Petitot, Exploration de la région du Grand Lac des Ours (Paris: Têqui, 1893)p. 159.
20. Simpson-Jas. Anderson, Apr. 20, 1851. HBCA D4/43. fo. 63.
21. Simpson-Taché, June 12, 1854, HBCA D4/48, fo. 45d-47.
22. Simpson- Jas. Anderson, June 12, 1854, HBCA D4/48, fo.43d-45d.
23. After the expiry in 1859 Simpson no longer felt the same weight of public opinion, and considered that after that the Company was no longer acting as the governing body beyond the chartered territories, but only in the same capacity as any private citizen. cf. Simpson-Bernard Ross, June 15, 1859, HBCA D4/55, fo. 155d-158d.
24. Colvile -Simpson, Jul. 14, 1851, HBCA D5/31(2), fo. 56.
25. Ibid.
26. cf. Taché-Faraud, June 24, 1851, AG Mackenzie Reel 47.
27. HBCA D5/31(2), fo.56.
28. Taché-Faraud, Apr. 4, 1857, AG Mackenzie Reel 47.
29. Jul. 2, 1852, HBCA D5/34, fo.21-2.
30. Simpson- Gov. Colvile & Council of Northern Dep't, May 1, 1851, HBCA D4/43, fo. 75.
31. Mar. 3, 1859, HBCA D5/48, fo. 424.
32. June 15, 1859, HBCA D4/55, fo. 155.
33. Faraud-Taché, Sep. 28, 1863, AASB T2421-2.
34. May 22, 1863, HBCA B200/b/34, fo. 67.
35. When Gov. McTavish ordered Wm. Hardisty in 1866 to help the OMI to build a church at Ft. Liard, Hardisty claimed this was contrary to the original agreement of three stations. HBCA B200/b/35, fo.82.
36. See map, page 174 for the site of this and other missions.
37. Jas. Anderson, then stationed at Ft. Chipewyan, opposed the OMI establishing a mission there. Anderson held that a mission would be better situated at Fond du Lac, or at Ft. Resolution on Great Slave Lake. HBCA B39b/12, fo.69, Ft. Chipewyan Corresp., Dec. 7, 1850.

38. Simpson-Taché, June 30, 1853, AASB T0013.
39. Colville authorized lodging for two priests in the Company posts at Fond du Lac and Great Slave Lake. HBCA D5/31(2), fo. 56, Jul.14, 1851.
40. HBCA B39/c/1, fo. 21-2, Ft. Chipewyan Corresp., Mar. 22, 1853.
41. HBCA D5/37, fo. 412-3, Jul. 12, 1853. Cf. supra p. 166.
42. Apr. 17, 1858, HBCA D4/54, fo. 141d-143.
43. Simpson- B. Ross, Jul. 28, 1857, HBCA D4/53, fo.39d-40.
44. June 16, 1858, HBCA D4/54, fo. 156.
45. Ross-Taché, Nov. 30, 1860. AASB T0198.
46. The Hudson's Bay Company post at Providence was established in 1869.
47. Faraud heard that the minister was going to build an orphanage at Hay River, and said he had already planned to build a small house there for the OMI, and was sending Bro. Boisramé the following day to start it. Faraud-Clut, Providence, Dec. 10, 1868, AG Mackenzie Reel 43.
48. Taché, Vingt Années, p. 135.
49. Dec. 30, 1859, AG, G-LPP 1617.
50. Apr. 4, 1849, HBCA D5/25, fo. 23.
51. HBCA B39b/14, Ft. Chipewyan Corresp. (1857-1860), fo. 19.
52. HBCA D4/54, fo. 142-142d, Apr. 17, 1858.
53. HBCA B39b/13, fo. 4, May 12, 1853.
54. HBCA B22/b/35, fo. 18, Ft. Simpson Corresp., Nov. 28, 1863.
55. Séguin-Faraud, Aug. 2, 1866. AG Mackenzie Reel 47.
56. Taché-Maisonneuve, June 14, 1858, AP Man.
57. HBCA D4/48, fo. 47, June 12, 1854.
58. HBCA D5/46, fo. 257, Mar. 10, 1858.

59. The Hudson's Bay Company also imported rosaries and religious goods at least once. Jas. Anderson at Ft. Chipewyan suggested to Simpson that cheap RC rosaries and silver crosses would sell well. If rosaries could be bought at 1/- to 2/- and crosses from 2/6 to 5/- Anderson requested four dozen of each. (HBCA D5/29, fo.341, Nov. 14, 1850). Simpson said he would dispatch these. (HBCA D4/43, fo. 62-64d, Apr. 20, 1851).
60. Jul. 27, 1852, HBCA D5/34, fo. 146-7.
61. Jan. 12, 1853, HBCA D5/36, fo. 53-4.
62. June 30, 1853, AASB T0011-12.
63. This was of course impossible for such items as Mass wine and religious goods, as well as such items as handkerchiefs for trade, and tools for building, leaving little scope for local buying.
64. Jan. 12, 1853, HBCA D5/36, fo. 53-4.
65. HBCA Minutes of Council, 1849, B239/k/12 (1843-52), fo.259, no.62.
66. Ibid. fo. 262, no.76.
67. June 13, 1854, HBCA D4/48, fo. 50d-51.
68. Faraud- Mazenod, Dec. 29, 1855, AG, G-LPP 1614.
69. HBCA Minutes of Council (1858-69), B239/k/13, Resolution 70, 1858.
70. Ibid., Resolution 75.
71. Ibid.
72. Ibid.
73. Faraud-Sr. Cox, Nov. 28, 1870. AG Mackenzie Reel 44. This seems to be only hearsay, as there is no record of such a move in the Minutes.
74. Taché-Faraud, Dec. 7, 1867, PAC M2093.
75. Faraud-Maisonneuve, Dec. 1, 1869, AP Man.
76. Faraud-Maisonneuve, Dec. 28, 1870, AP Man.
77. Sr. Ward-Mère Slocombe, Providence, Nov. 21, 1871. AD Reel 92 of Soeurs Grises.
78. June 28, 1857, HBCA D4/53, fo. 38d-39d.

79. In 1865 Faraud referred to arrangements he had worked out in London with Mr. Head and then with Mr. McTavish, by which the Company would furnish men during the seasons they were not needed and the Church would pay their wages while the Company would supply the equipment needed. Faraud-Lestanc, Aug. 5, 1865, AG Mackenzie Reel 44.
80. PAC, James Anderson Papers, Vol. I, file 1, fo. 92.
81. HBCA D5/45, fo. 182, Nov. 3, 1857.
82. HBCA D4/54, fo. 155d-158, June 16, 1858. Hunter had already left on the boats, without the express permission of the Company, although it caught up to him. Cf. CMS A 92, Kirkby to Venn, June 10, 1858.
83. CMS A93, Kirkby to Chapman, Mar. 10, 1859.
84. HBCA D5/48, fo. 353-6, Bishop Anderson to Simpson, Mar. 11, 1859.
85. Ibid.
86. HBCA D4/55, fo. 155d-158d, Simpson- B. Ross, June 15, 1859.
87. Taché-Simpson, Mar. 22, 1859, HBCA D5/48, fo.423-4.
88. Simpson-Alder, Apr. 15, 1850, HBCA D4/41, fo. 64-5.
89. AASB, T0854, Sep. 20, 1861.
90. CMS A93 Jan. 31, 1865.
91. Grollier-Faraud and Clut, Feb. 24, 1861, AG Mackenzie Reel 44.
92. Grollier-Taché, May 29, 1860, AASB T0058.
93. HBCA D5/47, fo.640, Nov. 28, 1858.
94. Dec. 29, 1855, AG G-LPP 1614.
95. Faraud-Fabre, Nov. 15, 1865, AG, G-LPP 1625.
96. Lettres, Vol. II, p. 239.
97. Mazenod-Tissot, Dec. 13, 1859, Lettres II, p.237-8.
98. Mazenod-Taché, Apr. 17, 1860, Lettres II, p. 239.
99. Gascon-Faraud, Dec. 1, 1864, AG Mackenzie Reel 44.
100. Ibid. Because of this Faraud did manage to send a companion for Gascon, but this was not always possible with others.

101. Faraud-Propagation de la Foi, Feb. 3, 1865, PAC MG17A22, F832, fo. 9499.
102. Clut-Vegreville, Nativity, Oct. 14, 1859, PAC M-2073.
103. CMS A83 Bompas Journal 1866. Grandin reported that Bro. Boisramé was sick all of April and May, probably from a sort of barley soup that he let cool in a copper kettle. (Grandin-Mazenod, Nativity, June 22, 1861, AG G-LPP1768)
104. Clut-Taché, Nativity, June 30, 1860, AASB T0086-9.
105. Séguin-family, Good Hope, Apr. 13, 1862, AD Typescript, p.58.
106. Petitot-Taché, Ste, Theresa, May 31, 1866, AASB T4012-3.
107. cf. Grandin-Faraud, Jan. 31, 1859, AG Mackenzie Reel 48.
108. Grouard-Faraud, Providence, Nov. 28, 1863, AG Mackenzie Reel 43. Grouard requested a history of England and of the Reformation in English.
109. cf. Faraud-Mother Slocombe, Jan. 9, 1862, AG Mackenzie Reel 44.
110. Taché-Faraud, Aug. 23, 1853, AG Mackenzie Reel 47.
111. Faraud-Taché, Nativity, Mar. 10, 1861, AASB T0325. Faraud said that Bro. Alexis was happy as he was and doing more good, so Faraud had not had him renew his studies with the view of becoming a priest.
112. Passim, Grollier-Taché, Feb. 4, 1862. AASB T1149.
113. Thibault recommended Bourassa for a post in Quebec, and told Cazeau there that he would have asked Bourassa to return to St. Boniface, but he thought it better if the secular priests withdrew, and was sure Cazeau would know why. AASB, Cahier K, Ta3672-3, May 30, 1856.
114. Provencher-Mgr. of Québec, AD Propaganda I, fo. 161.
115. Mazenod-Bourget, Apr. 16, 1850, AD
116. Mazenod-Provencher, Jan. 24, 1852, AG Ms. Yenveux IX, 206(158-9).
117. Provencher-Cazeau, Dec. 7, 1852, AD copy of AAQ, RRIV.49.
118. Bermond-Faraud, Sep. 29, 1850, AG G-LPP328.
119. Mazenod-Taché, June 1, 1853, Lettres II, p. 61.

120. Mazenod-Guigues, Nov. 8, 1855, Lettres II, p. 114.
121. Jan. 4, 1867, PAC M-2050(1).
122. Mazenod told Taché that he would give him a list of the complaints against him, but the rest of the letter was summarized by the early Oblate archivist Yenveux as "follows exposé of complaints of Pères Tissot, Maisonneuve, Grollier, Faraud" and the original letter destroyed . Cf. Lettres II, p. 61.
123. Faraud-Taché, Paris, Dec. 3, 1863, AASB Ta3862-9.
124. The new parish of St. Mary's in Winnipeg served the function of mother-house for the Oblates for some years, from 1874 to 1880. Cf. Dom Benoit, Vie de Mgr. Taché, II, p. 386.
125. Fabre-Taché, Paris, May 23, 1865, AG
126. Taché-Faraud, June 3, 1858, PAC M-2093. Taché also said that Bermond had expected to be chosen, and that before he left St. Boniface he had excited the pères of St. Boniface and then those of Montreal against Grandin.
127. Kirkby met Grandin at Cumberland House as Grandin was beginning his journey to France for consecration. Kirkby wrote "thus are the Romanists strengthening their missions in the North and shall we who profess to have a clearer light & a purer creed make no effort to arrest their progress?" (CMS A93, Kirkby Journal, June 28, 1859)
128. Mazenod-Taché, May 15, 1861, AASB T0461.
129. Faraud himself did not learn of his selection until July 1863, more than a year later. He left for France in Sep. 1863, and was consecrated there in Nov. by the Oblate Bishop Guibert, then Archbishop of Tours, and later Cardinal Archbishop of Paris.
130. cf. Faraud-Clut, Jan. 24, 1862, AG Mackenzie Reel 43.
131. Taché assured the Superior General that Faraud had a lively imagination and gave his reports a tint that was not exactly true, and that all his maladies and infirmities were not in his legs. (Taché-Fabre, Jan. 2, 1864, AG G-LPP2778).
132. Taché-Fabre, July 1, 1864, AG G-LPP
133. Faraud-Taché, June 16, 1864, AASB T2848. Faraud wrote also that the pope had urged him to stay in Europe and direct his missions from there.

134. In this it followed lines laid down by Provencher in 1848 in a suggestion to the Propaganda that his diocese be divided and two new bishops added, one to live near Edmonton and one in the Athabasca-Mackenzie region. AD Propaganda I, no.58.
135. Faraud-Taché, Mar. 10, 1861, AASB T0326.
136. Faraud-Taché, Sep. 10, 1863, AASB T2396.
137. Taché-Faraud, Sep. 16, 1863, AASB Ta3857-61. Taché said that St. Boniface had not claimed on the endowment of Quebec when separated from it. He did, however, offer Faraud his services in securing the transport of goods to the Athabasca-Mackenzie as part compensation.
138. Oct. 20, 1866, AG G-LPP2793.
139. July 16, 1860, AG Mackenzie Reel 48.
140. Jan. 15, 1865, AASB T3091-3.
141. Taché-Faraud, Dec. 10, 1865, AG Mackenzie Reel 48.
142. June 20, 1864, AASB T2858-61.

Chapter V

1. Taché to his mother, AASB Ta0098.
2. Dec. 4, 1858, PAC M-2072.
3. AG Mackenzie Reel 34.
4. Taché-Faraud, Aug. 23, 1853, AG Mackenzie Reel 47.
5. Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, Vol. 36 (1864), p. 390.
The Oblates adapted the syllabics of Mr. Evans from the Cree to the Chipewyan language as early as 1848. Cf. G. Carrière, "Contribution des missionnaires à la sauvegarde de la culture indienne" Etudes Oblates, Vol. 31 (1972), p. 176. Kirkby claimed that the form of syllabics used by the Romanists was simpler than that used by Mr. Hunt at English River, and so better-suited to the Indians. The OMI also, according to Kirkby, used a more convenient size of book which the Indians could carry around their neck or inside their coats. (CMS A 93, May 17, 1861.)
6. Grandin-Faraud, Jan. 16, 1865, AG Mackenzie Reel 48. Clut complained of printing errors in Faraud's new Chipewyan book, making it impossible to know the meaning of some passages. (Clut-Faraud, Nativity, Sep. 11, 1865, AG G-LPP652)

7. An explanation of the developments in the Catholic ladder can be found in Philip M. Hanley, "Father Lacombe's Ladder" Etudes Oblates Vol. 32 (1973), pp. 82-99.
8. Cf. supra p. 129.
9. Grollier-Taché, AASB T1081 and T0575. Kirkby's chart taught the Indians that religion began with the world, but that the Catholic religion had only begun about three hundred years ago.
10. Séguin illustrated this calendar for his family. AD, Séguin, pp.38-9. In May it would be
1111X1111X11X11111+ⁱⁱⁱX11+1++X111X1
The bars are the days of the week, the Xs represent Sundays and feast days, the † are fast days. The special mark over the second X showed it was Ascension Day, while that over the fourth X meant Pentecost. A needle was attached to the calendar, and each day was pierced as it passed.
11. Petitot-Fabre, June 8, 1860, Good Hope, in Missions Vol. 11 (1873), p. 162.
12. Clut-Taché, Jul. 1, 1864, AASB T2890-2.
13. Clut-Taché, June 28, 1868, AASB T5680.
14. Faraud-Propagation de la Foi, Apr. 3, 1865, PAC MG17A22, F832.
15. Jan. 20, 1855, RMQ Vol. 12 (1857), p. 34.
16. Petitot-Taché, St. Joseph, June 20, 1863, AASB T2256.
17. Séguin-family, La Loche, 1861. AD typescript p. 38.
18. RMQ Vol. 12 (1857), p. 34.
19. Annales de la Propagation de la Foi Vol. 35 (1863), p. 353.
20. Clut-Taché, Apr. 15, 1863 AASB T2040-2.
21. Apr. 10, 1856, PAC M-2050.
22. Grollier-Taché, May 29, 1860. AASB T0057.
23. Vegreville-Taché, June 12, 1861, AASB T0586.
24. AG G-LPP 1643.
25. Missions Vol. 11 (1873), p. 162.
26. Clut-Fabre, Apr. 3, 1866, AG G-LPP657.

27. Séguin-family, June 15, 1864. AD Séguin Typescript, p. 92.
28. Séguin-family, 1861. AD Séguin typescript, pp. 36-7.
29. Grollier-Taché, May 29, 1860. AASB T0056-63.
30. Vegreville-Taché, Aug. 5, 1867. AASB T4825.
31. Vegreville-M. Guillier, PAC M-2083.
32. passim Clut-Taché, Nativity, Dec. 28, 1863. AASB T2546-9.
33. Séguin to his mother, Feb. 20, 1870. AD Séguin typescript, p. 192.
34. In 1873 Petitot reported that the Métis had given eight pounds sterling to the Infant, while the Indians gave four pounds, ten shillings. Petitot-Fabre, Good Hope, Feb. 2, 1873, in Missions Vol. 12 (1874), p. 394.
35. Cf. Clut-Vegreville, Dec. 26, 1859. PAC M-2073.
36. Vegreville-Sr. Cox, 1858. PAC M-2083
37. Clut-Fabre, Dec. 26, 1862. AG G-LPP639.
38. Missions Vol. 12 (1870), p. 35.
39. One nun at Providence was said to have taught the children so well that their singing was almost as good as in a civilized country. (Clut-Fabre, Mar. 7, 1871. AG G-LPP 689). Such comparisons were often made, with the musical training most similar to that of Europe ranking as the highest.
40. E. Petitot, Les grands esquimaux (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1887) p. 142.
41. The Bishops of Canada wrote the Hudson's Bay Company that such sales should be stopped "in the name of humanity as well as religion". Signay-Provencher, Apr. 11, 1843, AASB Reg. B, P1428.
42. Father Matthew, an Irish Capuchin, began a movement of total abstinence in Ireland in 1838, which became very popular there and spread to other parts of the Church.
43. Jan. 14, 1859, AG G-LPP1758.
44. Provencher had established a temperance society at St. Boniface in 1844-5, but in 1852 he told Bourget that few had kept the promises. AASB Cahier J, P3937.

45. Jan. 31, 1859, AG Mackenzie Reel 48.
46. Clut-Faraud, Nativity, Dec. 16, 1861, AG G-LPP633.
47. Clut-Faraud, Sep. 28, 1868. AG G-LPP670.
48. Vegreville-Sr. Cox, L. Caribou, June 3, 1863. AD HPF4191. C75R226.
49. Vegreville-Sr. Cox, 1858, PAC M-2083.
50. Vegreville-Sr. Cox, Summer, 1863. PAC M-2083.
51. Vegreville-Sr. Cox, L. Caribou, June 3, 1863. AD HPF4191. C75R226. Sister Cox supplied the Oblates with many of their religious objects for use in the missions, and that is why Vegreville wrote her such a detailed analysis of which pictures he wanted and found useful.
52. Eynard-Taché, Jul. 3, 1861. AASB T0634. Eynard had great difficulties with the Indian languages, and never really mastered them, and this may have influenced him in his assessment of the usefulness of pictures in missionary work.
53. Grandin-Sébaux, May 29, 1855. AD Postulation Documents, Vol. 8.
54. Séguin papers. AD typescript, p. 185.
55. When Père Lestanc complained of the cost of sending these supplies, Petitot replied that he had no scruples about using the money of the OMI for such a purpose, since he was only doing it for the greater glory of God and of the Oblate Congregation. Petitot-Taché, Mar. 10, 1869. AASB T6355.
56. Ibid.
57. Clut-Faraud, Nativity, Dec. 16, 1861. AG G-LPP633.
58. The Hare Indians were scandalized when Petitot pictured serpents on the walls of the chapel at Good Hope. They said these were evil and impure beings, which their Inkonze forced to leave the sick, and should not be represented in sacred places. Petitot, "Etude", p. 504.
59. Tissier-Faraud, Nov. 25, 1868, AG Mackenzie Reel 47.
60. CMS A93, Kirkby Journal, June 18, 1861.
61. Ibid. Aug. 18, 1959.
62. Richard K. Nelson, Hunters of the Northern Forest (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973), p. 316.

63. Like the native languages of America, Provençal was not able to survive in the face of the centralizing process of enforcement of French language and culture through education. In fact, much of the survival of the native languages of the north has occurred through its preservation in the dictionaries and books of the OMI.
64. Grandin to his family, L. Athabasca, June 14, 1857. AD Postulation Documents, Vol. 23.
65. Eynard-Lestanc, May 2, 1866, AP Man.
66. Séguin-Fabre, Dec. 20, 1862, Ft. Youcon. AG G-LPP2679.
67. Clut-Fabre, Jul. 9, 1864. AG G-LPP646.
68. CMS A93, Kirkby June 20, 1860.
69. CMS A83, Mar. 19, 1867.
70. Cf. Grollier-Faraud, Good Hope, May 28, 1862. AG Mackenzie Reel 44. Grollier said Kennicott wanted to publish a dictionary in the Montagnais language, and Grandin had talked freely to them on this. Grollier thought the OMI should not put what they knew in public form so that the ministers could profit from it.
71. Clut-Faraud, Nov. 10, 1866. AG G-LPP659. Grollier claimed that neither Clut nor Faraud could teach the Montagnais language now because they had taken up their own version filled with neologisms, and no one else could understand it. (AASB, T1178.)
72. Petitot-Faraud, Jan. 31, 1868, AG Mackenzie Reel 46.
73. The first native priest in the North West was ordained in 1890. He was Edouard Cunningham, a Métis, in the St. Albert Diocese. Cf. R. Zimmer, "Early Oblate Attempts for Indian and Métis Priests in Canada", Etudes Oblates, Vol. 32(1973), p. 286.
74. Grandin-M. Sébaux, Nativity, Dec. 16, 1855. AD Postulation Documents, Vol. 8.
75. Provencher-Propagation de la Foi, Jul. 10, 1833. PAC MG17A22 F840, fo. 10937.
76. Grandin-Propaganda, AD Propaganda I, 346.
77. Grouard-Faraud, Apr. 3, 1865. PAC MG17A22 F832, fo.9498.
78. Grandin-Fabre, Nov. 10, 1862, in Rapports, Montreal, 1864, p.6.
79. Clut-Taché, Nativity, June 30, 1860. AASB T0086-9.

80. R. Pettazoni, "Confession of Sins: an attempted general interpretation", in Essays on the History of Religions, (Luden: E.J. Brill, 1967)
81. Grandin to his family, June 14, 1857, in Annals of the Propagation of the Faith Vol. 20 (1859), p. 108-9.
82. Faraud-Fabre, May 6, 1868, in Missions Vol. 9(1870), p. 39.
83. Taché-Faraud, Feb. 2, 1854. AG Mackenzie Reel 47.
84. Cf. Génin-Taché, Aug. 17, 1866. AASB T4185.
85. Grandin-Sébaux, Nativity, June 27, 1857. AD Postulation Documents, Vol. 8.
86. Ibid.
87. Grollier-Taché, Ste. Theresa, Jul. 20, 1860, AASB T0098.
88. Grollier-Léonard, Good Hope, May 28, 1860, in Rapports, Montreal, (1861), pp. 38-9.
89. Kirkby declared that he gave baptism to some who wanted it, because of the uncertainties of their life, even though he did not believe as the Catholics did that rejuvenation was the certain result. (CMS A93, Kirkby Journal, Oct. 12, 1859). Rev. McDonald reported that he had baptized several infants, in accordance with the custom introduced into the district. (CMA A93, June 24, 1863).
90. Cf. Gascon-Taché, Ft. Simpson, Mar. 19, 1861, AASB T0338 about Kirkby's anger over Gascon's rebaptism of a convert. Vegreville carried on a long correspondence with Mr. Hunt over these and other questions dividing the churches. PAC M-2083.
91. Grouard-Taché, Providence, Nov. 18, 1864. AASB T2958.
92. Grandin to his family, Dec. 3, 1856, in Annals of the Propagation of the Faith Vol. 19 (1858), p.344.
93. In this Mazenod showed the influence of the theological changes in France which led to the emphasis on more frequent Communion, as opposed to the infrequency stressed by Jansenist currents of thought.
94. Nativity, Jul. 7, 1860. AG G-LPP630.
95. Grollier-Mazenod, Ile à la Crosse, Aug. 1, 1857. AG GDM x-3 f.
96. Faraud-Mazenod, Nativity, Dec. 28, 1858. AG G-LPP1615.
97. Taché to his mother, AASB Ta0121.

98. Jul. 19, 1847, HBCA D5/20, fo. 23-4.
99. Moulin-Fabre, Jul. 22, 1862. PAC M-2090.
100. Dec. 31, 1853. HBCA D5/38, fo. 469-70.
101. Petitot, "Etude sur les Montagnais" in Missions Vol.6 (1867), p. 538-9.
102. Petitot, Grand Lac des Ours, p. 338-9.
103. Petitot, Monographie des Dènè-Dindjié (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1876) p. 35.
104. Ibid.
105. Ibid., pp. 34-5.
106. Grandin-Taché, St. J.-B., Mar. 13, 1865. AASB T3139-40.
107. Faraud-Clut, Jan. 24, 1862, AG Mackenzie Reel 43.
108. June 17, 1862. PAC M-2073.
109. Grandin-M. Sébaux, Nativity, Dec. 16, 1855. AD Postulation Documents Vol. 8.
110. Resolution 85 of the Council of the Hudson's Bay Company, in June 1844 had decreed that in the absence of clergymen only the Chief Factors were to solemnize marriages. HBCA B239/k/12, fo.54-55. Bernard Ross suggested to Simpson that the factors should be given a magistrate's commission. Simpson thought there was no advantage in this, since it would put the factor in the position of enforcing the law (and presumably Simpson thought it would be unenforceable). HBCA D4/55, fo. 36-7, Nov. 24, 1858.
111. Beaulieu was a prominent Métis of the District. Cf. infra p.281.
112. PAC Jas. Anderson Papers, MG19A29, Vol. I file 5, fo.224-233.
113. Nov. 28, 1857. HBCA D5/45, fo. 339.
114. Dec. 14, 1857, HBCA D5/45, fo. 461.
115. PAC MG19A29, Vol. I, file 5, fo. 233-7.
116. Lamalice appears to have succeeded in marrying Nancy. Ross said that Grollier brought Nancy and her former husband before him to make an oath that their marriage had been forced. (HBCA B200/b/33, fo.12, Ft. Simpson Corresp., Nov. 28, 1858.) Grandin in his journal wrote that Ross and Archdeacon Hunter had examined the case and found it null, just as Grandin and Faraud had.

Chapter VI

1. By the end of the nineteenth century there were about ten thousand women religious in missions, and two-thirds of these came from France. A. Olichon, Les missions: histoire de l'expansion du catholicisme dans le monde. (Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1936), p. 332.
2. RMQ, Vol. 20 (1872), p. 63.
3. The Oblates found the Sisters a little too expensive in this respect. Grouard asked Mr. McFarlane for four hundred pounds of grease because of the "incredible expense of it here & occasioned by the large quantity of soap which the Sisters waste every year. They are constantly washing & you would say they are come for nothing else." Providence, Nov. 30, 1872. AP Man.
4. Grandin-Faraud, Mar. 31, 1863. AG Mackenzie Reel 48.
5. Oct. 15, 1863. AG Mackenzie Reel 48.
6. Faraud-Clut, Jan. 24, 1862. AG Mackenzie Reel 43.
7. Grandin-Mazenod, 1860. AG G-LPP1767.
8. Mar. 8, 1865. AG Mackenzie Reel 48.
9. Taché-Fabre, Nov. 20, 1866. AG G-LPP2793. The bill for the Sisters' requirements for this trip - books, papers, washing machine, etc. totalled £450.13.11 before they left Montreal. AD HE1821.F26z.
10. Sr. Lapointe-Rev. P. Durocher, Nov. 19, 1871. AASB Cah.K, Ta3759-60.
11. Faraud-Sr. Cox, May 5, 1869. AD HPF 4191.C75R37.
12. Faraud-Sr. Cox, Nov. 18, 1868, Providence. AD HPF4191.C75R36.
13. Sr. Pepin-Sr. Cox, Ile à la Crosse, June 14, 1863. AD HPF4191.C75R183.
14. Faraud-Sr. Cox, Providence, Apr. 1, 1868. AD HPF4191.C75R35.
15. CMS A83, Jul. 12, 1868.
16. Grouard-Sr. Cox, June 24, 1869. AD HPF4191.C75R128.
17. Faraud-Fabre, AG G-LPP1643.
18. Clut-Fabre, Dec. 12, 1867. AG G-LPP665.

19. Eynard-Vegreville, Dec. 12, 1861. PAC M-2050.
20. Faraud-Fabre, AG G-LPP1643. Faraud insisted the OMI must do better, perhaps starting an orphanage, since he had just learned that a new Anglican bishop would be appointed for the Athabasca District, and he feared that by his schools the Anglican bishop would be able to win over Faraud's people.
21. Moulin-Taché, May 29, 1864. AASB T2815.
22. Maisonneuve-Taché, Apr. 25, 1866. AASB T3946.
23. Maisonneuve-Taché, Dec. 13, 1867. AASB T5044-7.
24. Sr. Guenette-Taché, Dec. 22, 1864. AASB T3039.
25. Sr. Guenette-Taché, Apr. 4, 1866. AASB T3878.
26. Sr. Lapointe-Taché, Nov. 23, 1868. AASB T4996.
27. Sr. Lapointe-Taché, Nov. 23, 1872. AASB T11208.
28. Extracts of letters of Providence nuns to Mother Superior, in Rapports, Montreal (1871), p.22.
29. Faraud-Vandenberghe. AG G-LPP1643.
30. Cf. supra p. 65.
31. Jul. 28, 1864. AASB T2904.
32. Mar. 20, 1865. AASB Ta 1474-5.
33. Faraud-Taché, Providence, Sep. 12, 1869. AASB T6900-1.
34. Taché-McTavish, . AASB Ta3915.
35. Hardisty-Faraud, Nov. 11, 1865. HBCA B200/b/35, fo. 70. Ft. Simpson Correspondence.
36. Sr. Michel-Mother Slocombe, June 12, 1869. AD Reel 90 SG.
37. Faraud-Sr. Cox, Providence, Apr. 1, 1868. AD HPF4191.C75R35.
38. Faraud-Sr. Cox, Nativity, May 5, 1869. AD HPF4191.C75R37.
39. Dr. McKay gave five pounds in 1871. (Sr. Ward-Mother Slocombe, Providence, Nov. 21, 1871. AD Reel 92 SG). Mr. Christie gave twenty-five dollars for the orphans in 1873. (Sr. Ward-Faraud, Providence, June 29, 1873. AD HE1821.F2624.

40. R. Slobodin, Métis of the Mackenzie District (Ottawa: Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology, St. Paul University, 1966) p. 118.
41. Missions Vol. 21 (1883), p. 206.
42. This system, devised by a German doctor, Samuel Hahnemann, in 1796, depended on the ancient principle that "like cures like". Hahnemann had induced in himself, a presumably healthy person, the symptoms of ague by doses of quinine which was the medicine used to cure ague. He worked out a system of using minute doses of various drugs to counter diseases which produced similar symptoms to those induced by those drugs in healthy people. Hahnemann moved to France where his teaching was widely-accepted.
43. Robert Hunt of the CMS also was an advocate of the homeopathic medicines. There are frequent references to his use of it in his journals. (CMS A 90). In 1860 he reported that he had given Grandin some flour while Grandin was passing his mission en route for Ile à la Crosse. In return Grandin had sent Hunt a supply of the homeopathic medicines of which he had run out.
44. Taché wrote to Faraud "You say the medical faculty introduced me to you....The members of medicine have the talent of giving pills and you've probably recognised that I share that talent with my brothers!" Jul. 29, 1847. AG, Mackenzie Reel 47.
45. Moulin-Taché, Jan. 9, 1863. AASB T1922.
46. Eynard-Taché, June 18, 1860. AASB T0081.
47. Faraud-Clut, Jan. 24, 1862. AG Mackenzie Reel 43.
48. Jan. 9, 1862. AG Mackenzie Reel 44.
49. Margaret W. Morris, "Great Bear Lake Indians: a Historical Demography and Human Ecology" (The Musk-Ox, no. 11(1972), p. 21.
50. Petitot, "Etude", p. 544.
51. Grollier-Taché, 1861. AASB T1084.
52. Grollier-Taché, Jul. 18, 1861. AASB T0675.
53. Faraud-Vegreville, June 10, 1862. PAC M-2073.
54. Faraud-Sr. Cox, Providence, Nov. 18, 1868. AD HPF4191.L75R36.
55. CMS A83, Dec. 9, 1867.

56. Wm. Bompas, Diocese of Mackenzie River (London: SPCK, 1888)
57. Séguin to his cousin, Dec. 20, 1862. AD typescript, p. 78.
58. AASB T4012-3.
59. Séguin to his family, June 1, 1871. AD typescript, p.220.
60. Grouard-Sr. Cox, Providence, Nov. 25, 1865. AD HPF4191.C75R125.
61. Moulin-Fabre, Jul.22, 1862. PAC M-2090. Belcourt had had the same problem with the Sauteux. He claimed they were willing to make all the other changes in their lives to become Christians, but were not willing to give up the prayers to the author of life which they used with sickness along with medicine. Belcourt thought this Manitou of the sick could be transformed into a sort of guardian angel, allowing the Sauteux to continue their customary practice. Belcourt-Lartigue, Jul. 13, 1834. AD, copy from AAM.
62. Moulin-Taché, May 28, 1864. AASB T2814-6.
63. Grandin-Sébaux, Nov. 9, 1854. AD Oeuvres 8. Evêché Laval.
64. Grouard-Sr. Cox, Providence, Dec. 9, 1866. AD HPF4191.C75R126.
65. Clut-Fabre, Nativity, Jul. 9, 1864. AG G-LPP646.
66. Cf. Arthur J. Ray, "Higgling and haggling at ye Bay", Beaver, no. 308 (Summer 1977), pp. 38-46.
67. R. Slobodin, "The Subarctic Métis as Products and Agents of Culture Contact", Arctic Anthropology Vol. 2 (1964), p. 54.
68. Sep. 20, 1861. AASB T0853-4.
69. Apr. 16, 1848, L. Caribou, in Rapports, Montreal (1850), p.58.
70. Sep. 20, 1861. AASB T0853-4. There was also an Indian prophetic movement along the Fraser River in the 1860s, and this may have had some effect. Cf. Robin Fisher, Contact and Conflict (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1977), p. 140.
71. Sep. 20, 1861. AASB T0853-4.
72. Cf. Tissot, Dec. 12, 1855, in RMQ Vol. 12(1857), p. 43.
73. Grandin-Clut, Ile à la Crosse, Jan. 26, 1865
74. Cf. Tissier-Fabre, Nov. 21, 1867. AG G-LPP2955.

75. Tissier-Clut, St. Charles Mission, Jan. 19, 1867. AG Mackenzie Reel 47.
76. Maisonneuve-Taché, Oct. 23, 1865. AASB T3708-9.
77. Gascon-Taché, Ft. Liard, Jan. 31, 1862. AASB T1137.
78. Gascon-Taché, St. Joseph, May 15, 1865. AASB T3265.
79. Ibid.
80. Gascon-Lestanc, St. Joseph, Dec. 28, 1865. AP Man.
81. Nativity Journal, AD
82. CMS A83, Bompas Journal, 1865.
83. Petitot claimed that the Beaulieu family were already settled at Salt River when Peter Pond came into the area in 1778-9. Cf. Janes, op.cit., pp. 48-9/
84. Faraud-Mazenod, Dec. 8, 1856, in Annals of the Propagation of the Faith, Vol.20 (1859) p.218.
85. Cf. Annals, 1859, p. 105.
86. Annals, Vol. 20 (1859), p.219.
87. Eynard puts him at 84 or 85 (Feb. 28, 1868. AASB T5327) while Clut puts him at 86 (Dec. 20, 1868, AG G-LPP671.)
88. Keith J. Crowe, History of the Original Peoples (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 1974, p75, claims that this man was François Beaulieu, and that his son Etienne was "the King". The title may have been inherited, but it was definitely applied to old François by both the OMI and the men of the Hudson's Bay Company. (Cf. Gascon-Faraud, June 24, 1870, AG Mackenzie Reel 44, and HBCA B239/z/32, fo. 200.)
89. Simpson referred to him in 1823 saying that he would send one or two half-breeds from Lesser Slave Lake so that whether or not Beaulieu was secured they would have the full complement of men. (HBCA B39/c/1, fo. 1-2. Ft. Chipewyan Corresp. Inward (1823-62).
90. In the winter of 1856-7 Beaulieu caused considerable upset to the Hudson's Bay Company by travelling to Red River with a load of furs from Athabasca. Simpson urged Robert Campbell to persuade Beaulieu to stay inland (HBCA D4/53, fo. 118, Nov. 11, 1857). Campbell hired Beaulieu as interpreter. (HBCA D5/49, fo. 387-90)
91. Grandin-Taché, 1866, AASB T3875-6. Ross had blamed Beaulieu's trip of 1856 on the priests' influence. (HBCA D5/44. fo. 51-2)

92. Sep. 21, 1865. AD
93. Fidler referred to the great quantities of salt the Indians got in a very pure state on the Salt River. Cf. HBCA E3/1, fo. 12.
94. Clut-Faraud, Jul. 2, 1863. AG G-LPP640.
95. Grandin-family, June 14, 1857, in Annals, Vol. 20(1859),pp.105-6.
96. A. Taché, Vingt Années de Missions dans le Nord-Ouest de l'Amérique, (Montreal: Eusèbe Senécal, 1869) p.75.
97. AD Postulation Documents, Vol. 23.
98. Gascon-Taché, St. Joseph, Dec. 1, 1872. AASB T11275-6.
99. Grandin-Taché, 1866. AASB T3876.
100. Clut-Faraud, Jul. 2, 1863. AG G-LPP 640.
101. Gascon-Faraud, June 24, 1870, AG Mackenzie Reel 44.
102. Annals Vol. 20 (1859), p. 106.
103. Nativity Journal, Sep. 21, 1865. AD.
104. Clut-Fabre, Dec. 20, 1868. AG G-LPP671. Beaulieu also came for Christmas in 1869. (Faraud-Sr. Cox, Apr. 20, 1870, AD HPF4191. C75R39).
105. Eynard-Vegreville, Oct. 5, 1859. PAC M-2050.
106. Grandin-Taché, Jul.5, 1861. AASB T0650.
107. CMS A83, Ft. Rae, Mar. 19, 1867.
108. CMS A93, Kirkby Journal, June 10, 1859.
109. Jul. 11, 1855. AD Postulation Documents, Vol. 23.
110. Ibid.

Chapter VII

1. J. Helm & E.B. Leacock, "The Hunting Tribes of Subarctic Canada" in North American Indians in Historical Perspective, ed. E.B. Leacock & N.O. Lurie. (New York; 1971), p.354.
2. B. Ross, op.cit., p. 306.
3. R.K. Nelson, Hunters of the Northern Forest (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973), p.316.
4. Jas. W. Van Stone, Athapaskan Adaptations (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1974), p. 102.
5. C. Martin, Keepers of the Game (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978)
6. Grouard-Sr. Cox, Nativity, June 1863. AD HPF4191.C75R123.
7. B. Ross, op.cit., p.306.
8. Petitot, Proceedings, International Congress of Americanists, 1875, p. 13.
9. Petitot, Grand Lac des Ours, p. 371.
10. Petitot, "Etude", p. 487.
11. Ibid., p. 493.
12. There is probably more similarity between the concept of Dènè and the Vatican II concept of the Church as "the people of God", than there could have been with the more ecclesiological emphasis of the nineteenth century view of the Church.
13. Petitot, Monographie des Dènè-Dindjié (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1876) pp. 36-7.
14. Cf. Elizabeth Colson, "Meditation on 'The Symposium of Power'" in R.D. Fogelson & R. Adams, The Anthropology of Power (New York: Academic Press, 1977).
15. Cf. R. Ridington, "Beaver Dreaming and Singing", Anthropologica, Vol. 13(1971), pp. 115-128.
16. Cf. David M. Smith, Inkonze: Magico-Religious Beliefs of Contact-Traditional Chipewyan Trading at Fort Resolution, NWT, Canada (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, Mercury Series, Ethnology Division, Paper no. 6, 1973).
17. I. Hallowell, "Ojibwa Ontology, Behavior, and World View", p. 46, in Culture in History, ed. Stanley Diamond (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960).

18. Petitot, Grand Lac des Ours, p. 381.
19. AASB Ta0120.
20. AASB Ta0125.
21. B. Ross, op.cit., p. 306.
22. Petitot, "Etude", p. 505.
23. Ibid., p.514.
24. AASB Ta0100.
25. Vegreville-Sr. Cox, L. Caribou, June 3, 1863, translated by author. AD HPF4191.C75R226.
26. CMS A 93, McDonald to Mr. Long, Jan. 31, 1865.
27. AASB Ta 0100
28. Petitot, "Etude", p. 504.
29. AASB Ta0101.
30. Ross, op.cit., p. 307.
31. Petitot, Grand Lac des Ours, p.179-80.
32. Ibid., pp. 376-7.
33. Petitot, Traditions indiennes, (Paris: Maisonneuve Frère et Ch. Leclerc, 1886), pp. 31-2.
34. Petitot, Traditions indiennes du Canada Nord-Ouest. (Paris: Maisonneuve Frères et Ch. Leclerc, 1886) p. x.
35. Proceedings, International Congress of Americanists, 1875, pp.34-5.
36. P. Farb, Man's Rise to Civilization (New York: Dutton, 1978).
37. Journal, Great Bear Lake, June 30, 1867. Missions Vol. 8(1869), pp. 301-2.
38. Petitot, Grand Lac des Ours, pp. 276-7.
39. Proceedings, International Congress of Americanists, 1875, p.30.
40. Cf. Van Stone, op.cit., p. 62.
41. Séguin-Fabre, June 1, 1887. AG Mackenzie

42. The OMI use the word jongleurs most often, in addition to some use of the expressions for medicine-men, sorcerers, and shamen. It is difficult to translate precisely, and so is left in French.
43. Grandin- Sébaux, Nov. 9, 1854. AD Oeuvres 8: Evêché Laval.
44. Petitot-Fabre, Missions Vol. 6 (1867), pp. 459-461.
45. AASB Ta0100.
46. Tissot-Mazenod, Dec. 20, 1855. AG G-LPP2960.
47. Petitot was struck by this belief among the Hare Indians, in a country where there were no serpents. He concluded it was a remnant of primitive beliefs, substantiating his claims that the Athapaskans were the Lost Tribes of Israel. "Etude", p. 504.
48. Petitot, "Etude", pp. 506-7.
49. Grouard-Sr. Cox, Providence, Dec. 9, 1866. AD HPF4191.C75R126.
50. Petitot, "Etude", p. 508.
51. Gascon-Taché, Sep. 16, 1862. AASB T1652. Petitot-Taché, St. Joseph, June 20, 1863. AASB T2256.
52. This reaction has continued to the present. Helm and Leacock (op.cit.) reported the presence of several prophets in the north among the Beaver-Slave population in Athabasca and the Dogrib around Great Bear Lake. The Dogrib prophet claimed to have been to heaven and seen God. He then decided to regenerate his people by preaching and urging them to virtue, especially by abstention from alcohol, and by leading group religious ceremonies with prayers, offerings and dancing. (op.cit., pp. 368-9).
53. There is an extensive bibliography on the subject of millenarian and messianic movements in tribal societies, beginning with Wilson D. Wallis' Messiahs, Christian and Pagan (Boston: R.G. Bagden, 1918). Attempts at comparative studies have been made, e.g. Millennial Dreams in Action, ed. Sylvia Thrupp (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1962). A good study of these movements is B. Wilson, Magic and the Millennium (London: Heinemann, 1973).
54. HBCA D5/7, fo. 244, York Factory, Sep. 10, 1842. Cf. also N.J. Williamson, "Abishabis the Cree", in Studies in Religion, Vol. 9, no. 2 (1980), pp. 217-45.
55. HBCA D5/11. fo.270, Hudson Bay House, June 1, 1844.

56. The view of messianic movements as caused by stress is most forcefully expressed by V. Lanternari, Religions of the Oppressed (London: Macgibbon and Kee, 1963). Lanternari neglects the indigenous components of these movements, however.
57. As early as 1835 Simpson wrote that the use of Indians to assist the people of the Athabasca and Mackenzie Districts on the voyage was becoming more common and should not be encouraged. HBCA B39/c/1, Ft. Chipewyan Correspondence.
58. Nativity Journal, Oct. 8, 1865. AD.
59. Bro. Boisramé wrote that on the previous trip twelve of the Indians had died, leading to this fear of the trip to the portage. Feb. 2, 1868, St. Joseph, AASB T5251.
60. Taché wrote that he used a verbiage which neither he nor his followers comprehended. Vingt Années, pp. 121-2.
61. Ibid. p. 120.
62. The best account of this "heresy" can be found in the journal of Robert Hunt (CMS A90, May 5, 1859). Since it occurred as Bishop Grandin was on his way to St. Boniface en route to France, he presumably gave an oral account of it to Taché, which Taché recounts in his Vingt Années. Hunt's account is more detailed and contemporary. J.W. Grant uses Hunt as the basis for his article "Missionaries and messiahs in the northwest" Studies in Religion, Vol. 9 (1980), pp. 125-136).
63. Hunt reports that the Son of God had kicked Grandin and told him to take off his black clothes, whereas Taché refers to the action as several blows from a big stick. Op. cit. p. 120.
64. CMS A90, Hunt Journal, June 5, 1859, and June 11, 1859.
65. Taché, op.cit., p.121.
66. "Le petit saint" returned in the fall of 1864, after losing his wife, several members of his family, and all he possessed. Taché himself was then at Ile à la Crosse and received him back into the Church. (Vingt Années, pp. 121-2). At the beginning of Jan. 1865 Grandin made a long winter trip at the request of "la pieuse Nanette" to reconcile her to the faith. While there he baptized the child of the Son of God, and hoped to see the whole band back at the mission in the spring. Grandin-Taché, Ile à la Crosse, Jan. 12, 1865. AD Postulation Documents, Vol. 9.
67. Grandin-Taché, May 30, 1865. AD Postulation Documents, Vol.9.

68. Cf. Robert Hunt Journal, Feb. 26, 1859, CMS A90. Hunt refers to inflammation of the chest and throat among the Indians.
69. HBCA B89/a/27, fo. 19d, Jan. 22, 1850.
70. Vegreville-Taché, Jul. 29, 1860, AASB T0116.
71. Hunt said that Deschambeault told him that the Indians threatened to kill whites, which Hunt found unlikely from what he knew of the Chipewyans. (CMS A90, Hunt Journal, April, 1860) J.W. Grant (op.cit.) maintains that violence was always associated with these prophetic movements, but the Oblate letters show very few cases of actual physical violence, although anti-white fears were fairly common.
72. Vegreville-Taché, Jul. 29, 1860. AASB T0120-1.
73. Gasté-Taché, May 18, 1863. AASB T2174-8.
74. Clut-Vegreville, Dec. 28, 1860. PAC M-2073.
75. Clut-Faraud, June 12, 1862. AG G-LPP635.
76. Faraud-Taché, May 23, 1861. AASB T0527.
77. Clut-Fabre, Nativity, Jul. 9, 1864. AG G-LPP646.
78. Faraud-Fabre, Nov. 15, 1865. Missions Vol. 6 (1867), pp.355-6.
79. Ibid.
80. Clut-Vegreville, Nativity, June 17, 1862. PAC M-2073.
81. Ibid.
82. Codex Fond du Lac, 1853-1900. AD LC 221-M14R.
83. Clut-Taché, Fond du Lac, Apr. 15, 1863. AASB T2042. The weapon of ridicule was a common one among missionaries faced with "heresies".
84. Codex Fond du Lac, 1853-1900. AD LC 221-M14R.
85. Petitot-Fabre, Missions Vol. 6 (1867), p. 462.
86. Petitot, Grand Lac des Ours, pp. 333-335.
87. Gascon wrote that some among the Montagnais of St. Joseph had a tendency to make themselves pass for a priest, but had not yet dared to do so. One of the best Christians asked for a little bell so he could call the people to prayers on Sunday when camped in the woods. He also asked for medals and crosses to distribute to the others. Gascon said he could manage that himself. (Gascon-Taché, Dec. 1, 1864, AASB T2974.)

88. Petitot, Grand Lac des Ours, pp.98-101.
89. Séguin typescript, AD, pp. 107-8.
90. Séguin-Clut, Feb. 15, 1867. AG G-LPP2685.
91. Séguin-Clut, Good Hope, Feb. 4, 1874. AG G-LPP2686.
92. Séguin-Faraud, Jul. 6, 1862. AG Mackenzie Reel 47.
93. Séguin-Faraud, June 1, 1865. AG Mackenzie Reel 47.
94. CMS A93, Ft. Youcon, Nov. 18, 1863.
95. CMS A93, Peel's River, Jan. 31, 1865.
96. CMS A93, McDonald Journal, Dec. 17, 1867.
97. B. Wilson, Magic and the Millennium (London: Heinemann, 1973), p. 192.
98. Petitot-Taché, St. Joseph, June 20, 1863. AASB T2258.
Petitot reported that some of the Yellowknives had imitated the ceremonies of the Mass with an old caribou-skin as a chasuble and a small pot as a chalice. Later they had imitated Grandin's planting of a cross.
99. In 1868 Faraud reported that the Indians' blood was so weakened by their diverse illnesses that they died like flies. In some posts half of the Indian population had died, in others two-thirds. (Faraud-Taché, Providence, Sep. 24, 1868. AASB T6088-9) In 1869 Faraud repeated the news of terrible illness among the Indians. (Faraud-Taché, Sep. 12, 1869. AASB T6900). Grandin feared that if the mortality rate continued the Chipewyans would disappear within ten years. (Grandin-Faraud, St. Jean-Baptiste, Jan. 28, 1866. AG Mackenzie Reel 48).
100. In 1868 Faraud reported that the caribou had failed at Fond du Lac for the first time in many years, causing a very hard winter and much starvation. Faraud-Fabre, May 6, 1868, in Missions Vol.9(1870) p. 19.
101. Hudson Bay House reported that trade, especially in the Athabasca and Mackenzie, had fallen off due to the Indian mortality rate and the scarcity of martens. HBCA D10/1, fo. 39, Apr. 16, 1867.
102. Clut-Faraud, May 20, 1862. AG G-LPP634.

Conclusion

1. Roy H. Pearce, The Savages of America (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1965), p. 48.
2. H.G. Barnett et al "Acculturation: an Exploratory Formulation", in Deward E. Walker, The Emergent Native Americans (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1972), p. 37.
3. Ibid.

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