

The Protestant Missionary  
and Fur Trade Society: Initial Contact  
in the Hudson's Bay Territory, 1820-1850

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies  
University of Manitoba  
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
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Department of History

by  
Vera Kathrin Fast  
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AND FUR TRADE SOCIETY: INITIAL CONTACT  
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## Abstract

While historians have long been interested in many and varied dimensions of fur trade history, they have, until recently, either largely neglected the role of the missionary or treated him with something less than enthusiasm. This thesis seeks to understand and re-evaluate the first contact Protestant missionary in Rupert's Land, 1820-1850, by investigating his background, personality, motivation for mission, the methods he used, and particularly his attitude to and understanding of the people he served. It also examines the nascent Indian church which resulted from his presence, the role of the missionary wife, and the relationship of the clergy with "other whites".

This study concludes that these early missionaries generally differed in background, outlook, and expectations from their successors in the second half of the nineteenth century; that individuality, circumstances, and the structure of fur-trade society were, in the final analysis, the most crucial components of their "success" or "failure" (both being relative terms); and that, despite their faults and shortcomings, their presence on the whole proved a salutary rather than a negative influence.

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Part of a map showing Hudson's Bay Company Posts c. 1832. From "Hudson's Bay Miscellany", Volume XXX, Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1975.

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## PROLOGUE

In a broad sense the concept of missions can be assumed to be as old as history itself, for much of mankind has shown a singular propensity for attempting to persuade others of the superiority of a particular belief system, be it economic, political or religious. From among the ancient Hebrews the prophet Jonah was sent to Nineveh; the Aryan conquerors of India (ca 11500 - 1000 BC) brought with them the Vedas, the world's earliest surviving Indo-European literature, and laid the foundation for Hinduism. Buddha (ca 500 BC) made disciples who carried his teachings to many regions of Asia, while Islamic proselytizing was, and is, wide-spread, and well documented.

Christian missions, inaugurated by the Great Commission of the New Testament, had declined to the point of disappearance during the Dark Ages but experienced a resurgence when the voyages of discovery opened new worlds to European eyes. Protestant missions received fresh impetus in the 18th century but not until the 19th century, well after the appearance of the trader, did either Protestant or Catholic clergy arrive in Canada's North West, the area roughly marked today by the Manitoba-Ontario boundary.

Yet, while historians have long been interested in many and varied dimensions of fur trade history, until recently they have either largely neglected the role of the missionary or approached the subject with seemingly preconceived convictions which conditioned them to condemn the very concept of missionary activity. These attitudes are not altogether surprising, for missionary pursuits have traditionally inspired two polarized positions: on the one hand, hagiography with its attendant enthusiasm and unqualified praise for each and every missionary activity, and on the other hand, an equally thorough but derisive condemnation of

all things missionary. Sydney Smith, Canon of St. Paul's Cathedral at the turn of the nineteenth century, anticipated this negative attitude in maliciously stereotyping the first missionaries to India as "a nest of consecrated cobblers" and dismissing the Methodists as "nasty and numerous vermin."<sup>(1)</sup>

Attitudes to missions appear to go hand in hand with equally inappropriate conceptions of the native peoples themselves. The "myth of the noble savage" - the innocent "natural" man who inhabited an idyllic Eden - while largely the creation of Montaigne, Rabelais and Rousseau, was also initially perpetrated by the Jesuits, for the 1648 Relations eulogizes, "It seems as if innocence . . . had withdrawn into these great forests where these people dwell. Their nature has something, I know not what, of the goodness of the Terrestrial Paradise before sin entered it. Their practices manifest none of the luxury, the ambition, the avarice, or the pleasures that corrupt our cities."<sup>(2)</sup>

Developing almost simultaneously with these "golden opinions," however, was the "myth of the treacherous savage," a counterview which held that as man could rise to sainthood, so could he fall to a sub-human state, depraved, devilish.<sup>(3)</sup> This latter conception, persisting strongly into the 19th and early 20th centuries, was supported in variously moderated forms by many historians and certainly by most chroniclers of missionary ventures.<sup>(4)</sup> Occasionally the two views overlapped, as when Abbe Lionel Groulx described the Indians as "un melange d'homme et de demon, un peuple a contrasts."<sup>(5)</sup>

To find the connection between these opposing views of both missionary and native is less obvious than the fact of the polarizations. Sending Societies presumably found both concepts useful: the "noble savage" to

discourage settlement in areas where the clergy felt the influence of "other whites" to be baneful (their own agency, of course, never being called into question), and the "treacherous savage" to justify missions as well as to raise money and recruits. Whatever the concept of the Indian, therefore, the position of the missionary remained secure. The result followed quite naturally, an unblushing missionary hagiography, ✓ the norm for literature of that genre during the 19th and 20th centuries. Anglican writers of the early part of this period include Sophie Tucker, Bishops George J. Mountain and David Anderson and Beatrice Batty, while John Carroll, John Maclean, John McDougall, and Egerton R. Young are examples from among the Methodists.

These writers, contemporaneous or almost so with the period considered in this thesis, were more or less personally acquainted with the North West and with many of the clergy in this study. Considered from this perspective, they seem less culpable for ascribing saintly attributes to men who were their friends, their hosts, or their predecessors. Furthermore, their stories marched to the tempo of the times, affirming the image of the "white-man's burden," of which much of the British and Canadian public was avidly supportive.

The glorifying trend continued well into the 20th century with James ✓ Woodsworth, Katherine Hughes (as a lone Catholic example), Harry Shave, Nan Shipley, and William B. Heeney, among others, reflecting an uncritical and wholly accepting view of all things missionary. These authors, if used at all in this thesis, have been treated cautiously and utilized almost exclusively for direct quotations from missionary journals or letters. Interpretive passage have been largely avoided.

While missionary apologists found the myth of the treacherous savage useful for enhancing the evangelizer's image, secular historians for the most part have also dealt in negative Indian stereotypes, viewing the native as an adjunct to the fur trade or other European economic interests.<sup>(6)</sup> A lacunae of serious native studies existed through the mid-twentieth century, although writers such as A.S. Morton, E.E. Rich, and particularly A.G. Bailey were coming into print.<sup>(7)</sup>

When the subject erupted in a burst of popularity in the 1970's, the cycle had gone full circle. The Indian again emerged as simple, honest, free and self-reliant, his idyllic existence desolated by the destructive impact of Europeans. Bruce Trigger contends that this is the view which generally prevails today and seems to be preferred by Indians themselves,<sup>(8)</sup> including among others, Chief John Snow, although one of its strongest proponents has been Calvin Martin, who argues that the influence, not only of the missionary but of all European contacts including the trader, destroyed the mutuality of the Indian with the animal world, and was, therefore, an unmitigated disaster.<sup>(9)</sup>

For Western Canada, especially British Columbia, Robin Fisher, more selective in his condemnation than Martin, has dichotomized European contact into two periods, the fur trade and settlement. He recognizes a mutually beneficial relationship during the first stage, with the trader bringing only minimal cultural change to the Indians, change they could control and to which they could adjust.<sup>(10)</sup> This position is analogous to that of other scholars such as Arthur Ray, Charles Bishop, and Wilson Duff. But then Fisher berates the second faction, the settlement period, isolating the clergy specifically and contending that their aim was "the complete destruction of the traditional integrated Indian way of life," and that they demanded of the native "total cultural capitulation."<sup>(11)</sup> In American

writings this view is shared by Robert Berkhofer, Bernard De Voto, and Henry Warner Bowden, among others, who look at missionary - native interaction on a panoramic scale and conclude the evangelist uniformly unsuccessful, his civilizing mission a failure.

Within Red River historiography, Fritz Pannekoek emphasizes the divisive influence of religion within the entire spectrum of fur trade society in that area. For Pannekoek, the missionaries of the North West were simply an unworthy lot, undereducated, overzealous, socially ambitious, foisting their evangelical narrowness on a susceptible community and bringing with them only discord and disaster, and eventually betraying those who looked to them for guidance.

While John Foster shares Pannekoek's concern, his approach is more tempered and certainly more positive, as is that of Jean Usher, although her sympathies for the Indian are undoubtedly strong. Ian Getty, in turn, has suggested the importance of more detailed missionary studies as an integral aspect of North American social history. Cornelius Jaenen offers one example in his well-balanced work, Friend and Foe: Aspects of French-Amerindian Cultural Contact in the Sixteenth and Seventeen Centuries, (1976) which deals with an earlier period than that under consideration here, but is excellent in delineating the complexities and contradictions inherent in the contact of two cultures.

There are, of course, many other writers whose main concentration is on specific aspects of European - native interaction. Lewis Saum, for example, investigates American traders' views and evaluations of Indians, while Jennifer S.H. Brown and Sylvia Van Kirk examine women and fur trade society. Brown is also illustrative of another category of those interested in this area, the anthropologist writing history.

In this grouping, or that of ethnohistorian loosely defined, one might also include Bruce Trigger and his extensive work on the Hurons, Wilson Duff on the Indians of British Columbia and Harold Hickerson's studies on the impact of the fur trade on the Great Lakes region.

Obviously these authors are only representative and do not constitute the entire corpus of those researching and writing in the area of native-European relationships. The dominant emphasis in the majority of studies which are illustrative of the trend in recent Indian-missionary writings, however, seems to focus largely on the negative effect of evangelism on native culture. But the literature raises many questions: Were the Indians always innocent victims of missionary aggression? Was "cultural capitulation" inherent in missionary philosophy, and was the goal invariably to make the Indians "herdsmen, users of soap, tee-totalers, hymn singers, monogamists, and newspaper readers" as De Voto and others have suggested? Did the missionary actually never manifest an interest in native customs and religion except as they impinged on evangelism, as Elizabeth Graham has argued? Were Indians viewed only as "souls," as objects, as "the other," as Berkhofer has insisted, and could Christianity never penetrate into the heart of a native?

These are a few of the issues raised in this thesis. A major problem immediately occurs when the early Protestant missionaries are not differentiated from their later brethren, for the initial contact evangelizer was not necessarily typical of the greater body of men who served in the North West after the middle of the 19th century, several of whom might be classed as settler-missionaries, directing their attention to settlement as much as to natives.<sup>(12)</sup> The men of this study were principally interested in the Indian, not only as objects but also as people. They observed their customs and their religion, and letters and journals

record much information that is accurate and at times remarkably uncondemning. Robert Rundle, for example, travelled with the natives much as did the traders. He demanded no total cultural capitulation, cultivated no agricultural settlements, established no boarding schools, distributed no serge suits. In essence he practiced a cultural relativism similar to that of some of the French Catholic priests whom Jaenen describes, and like them, by avoiding an aggressively pious evangelism, won a hearing and in some cases at least, a positive response.

As Rundle does not fit the missionary stereotype, so the Indians to whom he preached were not made in the image of either the noble savage ✓ or the merciless sub-human. During this early contact period they still retained their autonomy, and decided to whom they would or would not listen. Far from being passive recipients or innocent victims, they were active participants in missionary encounters, accepting or rejecting on their own volition and terms, much as Arthur Ray suggests they reacted to traders of the same period. }

Although Christianity and its rites might seem desirable for reasons ✓ completely unconnected with the evangelical message, there were those who did genuinely accept the Gospel. Most of these converts remained with their tribes and evinced few cultural changes since few were demanded, Pannekoek and Fisher notwithstanding. This is not to say that there were no syncretistic adjustments to the Gospel as handed down by Methodist or Anglican, nor does it negate the sincerity of new believers who moulded this new faith to suit their particular needs, much as early Methodists harmonized their understanding of the same Gospel to meet their specific emotional and spiritual requirements.

Clearly this thesis attempts to revise the revisionism of much of

the missionary literature of the 1970's but then revision is a necessary exercise especially in areas concerned with studies of human societies, for only by examining a topic repeatedly is there the possibility of arriving at a less biased understanding of that particular human condition.<sup>(13)</sup> That is the purpose of this thesis - not only to avoid both hagiography and undue condemnation, but also to recognize the complexity of various missionary encounters such as the inter-relationship of missionary and trader, missionary and missionary, and missionary and "other whites."

Given the hostility of much of the secular literature to missionary activity, an initial hypothesis assumed either total failure of these early evangelizers in terms of converts, European or native, or, given converts, a completely negative impact particularly in terms of native culture. It also assumed that difficulties encountered would be structural, and that, in spite of a common evangelical persuasion, those of Anglican tradition, influenced by the Calvinism of Charles Simeon and his contemporaries, would regard the Indian quite differently from Wesleyans imbued with Arminian views, for the former take seriously the doctrine of human depravity, while the latter position is less severe, contending that man everywhere has an innate propensity for good. The practical implications of this theological disparity for mission attitudes and strategy are substantial, for theoretically a Calvinist would regard Indian converts as immediately co-equal with Caucasian converts, while a Wesleyan would insist on education and training to raise them to a higher level of understanding before admitting them to full fellowship.

When research findings were examined, however, this hypothesis in all its facets was not corroborated. There was a measure of accomplishment in terms of converts and a resultant, continuing Indian Church. Furthermore,

missionary action and impact were also at variance with expected conclusions. One example of this is the apparent theological confusion when a seemingly orthodox Wesleyan (Robert Rundle) enthusiastically accepted new converts as equal with Caucasian believers even without benefit of Methodist class meetings, while a Calvinistic William Cockran insisted that converted Indians needed education and training to bring them into a meaningful Church connection. Moreover, relationships between clergy and trader also varied significantly, as did those between the individual missionary and "other whites."

Further probing revealed that variations from the expected conclusions lay in three primary areas: structure, personality, and circumstance. The white clergy give no evidence of anticipating problems of acceptance among traders or settlers, yet time revealed that basically they were outsiders to these worlds and when approval was secured, it was largely because of flexible and accommodating personalities and happy circumstances, such as sympathetic traders.

The world of the Indian was another matter. Despite all efforts and with the best intentions, the missionary could not be fully integrated. Accepted to an extent and often honoured, he was never in full communion. Marriage with a native woman could have made a difference, as William Mason experienced with the traders when he took a country-born daughter as wife, but without that human bond, the structure could be breached but not broken. Yet this obstacle apparently did not totally negate the missionary message, for converts were made and the Church was established.

The native clergy faced infinitely more formidable barriers. Although within the Indian fold by birth, conversion and greater European acculturation alienated them from the majority of their brethren. That they were largely able to overcome this incumbrance is a testimony of

their flexibility, patience and devotion. But the structures of white society, lay and clerical alike, militated against full acceptance in this sphere. As in the case of missionary - Indian relationships where a measure of adoption was possible, acceptance indicated an individual's personal victory in combination with the right circumstances.

To facilitate this much-desired approval from the white community, role-playing, a term Jennifer Brown refers to as "impression management," is much in evidence among native clergy.<sup>(14)</sup> Peter Jacobs especially appears to have sought almost desperately to impress the "fathers-in-God" with his identification with the Methodist cause, although the process is apparent in all native clergy to a greater or lesser degree. Indeed, converts as such may be suspected of frequently attempting to manage impressions, not only in North America but everywhere.

Further, this study seeks to understand the interaction of first contact Protestant clergy with their fellow human beings by using documentary analysis to assess the missionaries' experience in terms of their own conceptions. One scholar comments that current studies "have usually failed to elucidate the underlying precepts and assumptions of the missionary - his early upbringing and educational background, his religious beliefs, the basic tenets of evangelicalism, his attitude towards and conception of the people he served, his goals and criteria for conversion, and the institutional framework within which he worked."<sup>(15)</sup> This thesis attempts to address these issues and "get inside" the world of the "converters." It also takes into consideration the individual's motivation and personality, his methods, observations, and relationships, to strive for an accurate evaluation of the contact experience in terms of the missionary's own Weltanschauung.

Since individuality of perspective and temperament affected both

work and relationships, John West and Robert Rundle, frequently found at opposing ends of the missionary spectrum, are oftentimes singled out as prototypes of differing positions.

The clergy obviously constituted only one minute segment of the total society in which they moved, yet the term "fur trade society" was found to be a rather arbitrary designation, and that in fact the worlds of the Indian, the trader, and "other whites," while intersecting, never truly coalesced into a society in the sense of being a societal group having something in common which they themselves recognized.<sup>(16)</sup> Certainly most Indians would not have considered themselves part of such a society. Yet, in terms of individuals co-operating with each other for the attainment of certain ends (trading of furs),<sup>(17)</sup> the designation has validity and therefore remains. The missionary entered these various intersecting spheres but often only tangentially.

Geographically, the boundaries under consideration are roughly those referred to as Rupert's Land, the territories under the domain of the Hudson's Bay Company. Chronologically, the period 1820 to 1850 excludes those missionaries who moved into the northern or far western regions, while "initial contact" limits the number under consideration even further.

In the context of this study, it is the Protestant<sup>(18)</sup> clergy's first contact with Indians which is stressed, "initial contact" being defined as first prolonged contiguity between Protestant missionary and fur trade society. Therefore, while David Jones and William Cockran arrived in Rupert's Land well before the Methodists, they ministered in an area already served by John West and thus are not considered of central importance, in contrast to the Wesleyans. It will also be apparent to the reader that a general reference to "the missionaries" refers only to clergy of this study

unless otherwise specified, while the terms "native" and "Indian" are similarly restrictive.

Sources proved to be problematical for not even all primary materials can necessarily be considered reliable. Fur trade literature (post and private journals, correspondence, reports), instructions to missionaries, letters, diaries and unpublished journals, as well as published and unpublished reports served as principal sources. Where personal materials are accurately reproduced, as in the Rundle Journals, the published version is quoted for convenience's sake.

Hudson's Bay Company sources, with few exceptions, were considered authentic descriptions of trader's attitudes toward missionaries, for their letters, generally written to colleagues in similar situations, had no need for dissimulation. Occasionally, however, the correspondence is harsher than the reality, as in the case of John Rowand at Fort Edmonton. Although a brusque individual, purportedly unhappy with any clerical presence in the fort, his later actions toward Robert Rundle were consistently sensitive and kind, without appreciably affecting the tenor of his written communications. On the other hand, George Simpson's character book reveals such duplicity toward some of his own colleagues that opinions of missionaries openly expressed must certainly be suspect. There seems little doubt that his correspondence cannot be trusted without reservation. Discussions later in this thesis will show that other traders also were not perfectly frank and open. Donald Ross, for example, warmly invited Evans to come share a "seegar" and conversation while already castigating the missionary to Simpson. Therefore, during this period, Ross's letters to the Governor convey a wholly different impression than those to James Evans.

Although Letitia Hargrave's opinions are cited frequently, her rep-

utation as a gossip-monger precludes the rise or fall of any reputation solely on the basis of her interesting and salty comments. Yet in all likelihood she did represent informal and unofficial Company attitudes, and as such her letters serve a useful purpose.

Missionary literature also must be carefully assessed. Even letters by the clergy to their sending Societies must be read with the fund-raising public in mind; hence the chasm between publicly expressed, often excessive enthusiasm that all is well and "best of all is, God is with us," and the deeply troubled, anxious, and lonely scribblings of the uncertain and weary at heart found in private journals and occasionally in letters to family. Yet often personal diaries and family letters serve as a catharsis for events magnified out of all proportion in the writer's mind, and once the purging has occurred, life assumes a more balanced mien. Rundle's letters to his family are a case in point, while Evans' lengthy communications with his brother Ephriam are a prime example of the facade a missionary could erect around himself, giving the impression of emotional and spiritual stability while actually experiencing a fragmented and distraught inner life.

Even instructions to missionaries may not be as straightforward as might well be assumed, but could reflect subtle pressure influencing the mind of the Corresponding Secretary. One thinks here particularly of Robert Alder's warm friendship with Governor George Simpson and the invidious effect this may well have had on Alder's correspondence with and attitude to his own missionaries. In the final analysis, however, "writing any history involves selection and reconstruction from an imperfect, even doubtful, body of recorded data,"<sup>(19)</sup> and therefore these primary documents have been amply utilized.

Secondary sources are another matter. Because much of the literature

has already been discussed, it suffices only to add a note on an author of interest in the area of the early Wesleyans, Gerald Hutchinson. Although not an historian and generally too uncritical in approach, he nevertheless researches his work well and the article "James Evans' Last Year" deserves recognition. He is the only writer to have uncovered and utilized the transcripts of Evans' trial in London by the W.M.M.S. and he concludes the missionary guilty on the strength of this new material. This writer agrees with Hutchinson's findings and interpretation, while recognizing the possible influence Simpson may have exercised indirectly if not overtly, on the outcome of the trial. In reconstructing Evans' last year, Hutchinson portrays a sympathetic bias but is at the same time more original in his interpretation than conventional writers of recent missionary studies. The same could be said of John Murdoch and John Long, the latter particularly interested in the activities of George Barnley.

In summary, the nature of this study has demanded much interdisciplinary reading - anthropology, religion, sociology, psychology - and specialists in these areas will recognize its many limitations. By utilizing this extra dimension, however, the thesis has attempted to add to an understanding of first contact missionaries, for an effort has been made to perceive them in terms of their own conceptions, and to assess accurately their personality, role, methods, and goals. It is, in J.M.S. Careless's words, a "history of human beings,"<sup>(20)</sup> a study of particular people in particular circumstances at a particular time.

## I INTRODUCTION

## INTRODUCTION

The economic and imperial upsurge of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was accompanied in Britain by a religious awakening which generated power and enthusiasm for foreign missions such as the Christian Church had not experienced since infancy. Societies were organized to send recruits to the far-flung corners of the earth as well as to supply them with Bibles and other religious literature, while the great trading companies of Britain, often reluctantly, acted as conduits for many of the first missionaries who acted in the double capacity of Company Chaplains. This dual role was also evident in the Hudson's Bay Company territories of North America and for the initial-contact missionaries.

## 1. The Evangelical Awakening

The roots of the British missionary movement lay in both the socio-political atmosphere of the times and in the religious awakening of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It was a dark and dismaying period, for the French Revolution, originally hailed by some as a welcome first step toward social liberation, soon filled both nobleman and commoner with horror toward the reign of terror. The ravages of the Napoleonic Wars from 1799 to 1815, and the Industrial Revolution with its many ramifications all in some way influenced every segment of British life.<sup>(1)</sup>

The period 1820 to 1850, building on this background, also included the coronation of Queen Victoria (1837), the reforms of Robert Peel and his successors, and the awakening of many to the appalling social conditions rampant throughout the land:

A spirit of turbulence and lawlessness manifested itself everywhere. . . . Education was at a deplorably low ebb. . . . The factory system was cruel in its oppression. Mines and collieries were worked in great measure by women and children. Bakers, sailors, and chimney-sweeps, were unprotected by legislation. Friendly societies, many of them rotten to the core, were the only legalized means of self-help. Pawnbrokers held the savings of the people. Sanitary science was practically unknown. Ragged schools, reformatory and industrial schools, mechanics institutes, and workmen's clubs, had not begun to exist. Taxation was oppressive and unjust. Postal communication was an expensive luxury even to the well-to-do. Limited liability, enabling working-men to contribute their small capital to the increase of the productive power of the country, was not so much as thought of. The cheap literature of the day reflected the violent passions which raged on every side. Crime was rampant; mendicancy everywhere on the increase. . . .<sup>(2)</sup>

The state of the clergy at the turn of the nineteenth century did little to alleviate either the nation's spiritual or social plight. As Bishop Ryle wrote, "The vast majority of them [clergy] were sunk in worldliness, and neither knew nor cared anything about their profession.

They neither did good themselves, nor liked any one else to do it for them . . . And when they did preach, their sermons were so unspeakably bad, that it is comforting to reflect that they were generally preached to empty pews."<sup>(3)</sup>

To a large extent this moribund condition of the Church of England resulted from an alliance with "natural religion", in which religious tenets justified by reason, were seen as those found in religions generally, and the way to God lay simply in reasonableness and clarity.<sup>(4)</sup> This resulted in formalism in worship and a partially "secularized" clergy with the consequent loss of a religion that touched the entire human being.<sup>(5)</sup>

Out of this moral abyss the evangelical revival emerged, with names such as the Wesleys, Hannah More, William Wilberforce, Lady Huntingdon, George Whitefield, William Law, Zachary Macaulay, and others in the forefront.<sup>(6)</sup> Initially a minute minority within the Established Church, their influence was nevertheless remarkable. William Gladstone said of them, "The Evangelical clergy were the heralds of a real and profound revival, the revival of spiritual life. Every Christian under their scheme had personal dealings with his God and Saviour."<sup>(7)</sup> Simply defined, the evangelicals were a "back to the Bible" movement, believing that Scripture was the Word of God, verbally inspired, essentially inerrant.<sup>(8)</sup> "They taught that men were dead in sins and guilty before God; that Christ died to save men from sin's penalty, and lives to save them from sin's power; that only faith in Him could give them His salvation; that absolute conversion of heart and life was needed by all, and that the Holy Ghost alone could convert and sanctify them."<sup>(9)</sup> Out of these convictions evolved the voluntary associations - the tract societies for distribution of the Word, the Sunday School movement for literacy and teaching of the

Word, and the entire missionary movement.<sup>(10)</sup>

While "Evangelical" originally designated only a particular way of thinking within the Church of England, the term has been generalized in modern usage to include all who broadly adhere to the doctrines outlined above, and is so used in this study. This is not to say, however, that the grouping, then or now, was homogeneous. One of the ultimate results of John Wesley's renewal, for example, was the formation of the Methodist Church four years after his death, with teachings at variance on several points from those of the Church of England. While it is not necessary to detail them here, suffice it to examine two that affected the missionary approach.

Evangelicals such as Charles Simeon and the Master at St. Edmund Hall who so influenced John West as shall be shown, were moderate Calvinists, that is to say, they not only believed in predestination but adhered to the doctrine of humanity's total depravity, whereas the Arminian Wesleyans held a more gentle view, contending the Fall (in Genesis) did not destroy man's nature as a responsible being, but that "prior grace" existed to enable anyone who would to accept justification by faith.<sup>(11)</sup>

The implications of these differing views for missions are considerable. The Evangelicals, which includes all Anglicans in this study, believed that when a convert professed salvation, it was instantaneously his, for he had been chosen, and therefore he entered immediately into the family of God. The Arminian Wesleyans, on the other hand, understood salvation as a process, and, while justifying grace might be a sudden gift, it was more likely to be experienced as gradual renewal, a growth in grace which required teaching and admonition. That the missionaries in this thesis, Anglican and Methodist alike, did not necessarily conform to the pattern, will

become quite obvious in an examination of their methods.

One of the evangelical groups of special interest to this study was known as the "Clapham Sect."<sup>(12)</sup> It had its origins in the preaching of Henry Venn, rector of Clapham, and included not only religious leaders such as Charles Simeon, John Venn and his son Henry,<sup>(13)</sup> but also influential men of business and politics, among them William Wilberforce, Lord Teignmouth, former Governor-General of India, as well as Nicholas Garry and Benjamin Harrison of the Hudson's Bay Company. Simeon, Garry, and Harrison were to play important roles in the life and missionary service of John West, while Garry and Harrison also influenced the attitude of the Honourable Company towards missions. It was from within the ranks of the Clapham Sect that the founders of the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.) emerged.<sup>(14)</sup>

## 2. The Church Missionary Society

Epoch-making events in the history of missions had already occurred when the founders of the C.M.S. met on 12 April, 1799 at the Castle and Falcon on Aldersgate Street, London.<sup>(1)</sup> These included the establishment of the Baptist Missionary Society (1792), the London Missionary Society (1795), and the discussions of the Electic Society of the Clapham Sect which led directly to the meeting in question and the consequent founding of this evangelical, Church of England mission which was soon to become the largest sending society in the world.<sup>(2)</sup>

Organized as the Society for Missions to Africa and the East, it became known as the Church Missionary Society in 1812, and held as its cardinal precept the conviction that "it is a duty highly incumbent upon every Christian to endeavour to propogate the knowledge of the Gospel among the Heathen."<sup>(3)</sup> But while it might be incumbent upon every

Christian to preach the Gospel among the heathen, in actual fact very few stepped forward to be counted and the new mission was quite unspecific as to the qualifications even these few should possess. Certainly "Spiritual men for spiritual work" was a basic principle - men who "have themselves experienced the benefits of the Gospel, and therefore earnestly desire to make known to their perishing fellow sinners the grace and power of a Redeemer, and the inestimable blessings of His salvation."<sup>(4)</sup> The Society recognized that even men not qualified for English ordination might yet prove good missionaries "to savages rude and illiterate," and appealed to the example of the primitive Church for authority to use such men as 'catechists.'<sup>(5)</sup>

To Anglicans, however, the concept of voluntarism in foreign missions, whether by ordained clergy or catechist, was totally revolutionary and therefore, although members of the new Society canvassed vigorously for potential candidates, the first actual appointees were two Berlin theological students, ordained at Lutheran orders prior to sailing for West Africa in 1804. The first British candidate, the extraordinary Cambridge Senior Wrangler, Henry Martyn, exercised a strong influence on John West, the first missionary in this study.<sup>(6)</sup>

West became a strong proponent of the C.M.S. and in mid-life volunteered his services not only to the Hudson's Bay Company as Chaplain but also to the C.M.S. with an understanding that he should seek means of ameliorating the condition of the Indians in Rupert's Land. He sailed for the Hudson's Bay territories in 1820, during a period of much anxiety for the Society; Ecclesiastical opposition had been revived; several New Zealand missionaries brought the Society into disrepute; deaths in Africa were threatening the life of the mission; the ancient Churches of the eastern Mediterranean did not respond to western incursion as had

been expected.<sup>(7)</sup> In the midst of this attenuation West urged the C.M.S. to enter the North American field in the education of aborigine children, and this the Society did in 1822, organizing the "North-West America Mission" with West as superintendent.<sup>(8)</sup>

Another step taken by the Society during this period which also has direct bearing on the missionaries of this study was the formalization of candidate training. Early Red River Anglican clergy such as David Jones and William Cockran were tutored privately by clergymen in preparation for holy orders. In 1823, however, the Committee felt a regular training institution to be an urgent need, and purchased property at Islington toward this end.<sup>(9)</sup> When inaugurated in 1825, the college offered instruction in Latin, Greek, Divinity, logic, and mathematics, as well as more specialized studies in Oriental classes (Hebrew, Arabic, Sanscrit, Bengali). Later the emphasis shifted somewhat from the academic, to include both more practical instruction and a stress on the spiritual atmosphere of the institution.<sup>(10)</sup>

Because many of its candidates were ordained especially for overseas service, a procedure rather different from conventional consecration was followed, as Henry Venn explained:

Ecclesiastically speaking, the Bishop of London 'sends forth' every Missionary ordained by him. The Law of the land has sanctioned the two Archbishops, and the Bishop of London, in ordaining persons to officiate abroad. The Secretary of the Church Missionary Society requests, by Letter, the Bishop of London to ordain, in conformity with the provisions of the Act of Parliament, such and such persons, whom the Society is willing to support in some Foreign Station. The Bishop, by the imposition of hands, gives them authority to preach the Gospel, with a view to their Foreign location. In the case of persons already in Holy Orders, who may join the Society, they may be said to go forth by their own voluntary act; but their Letters of Orders, given by a Bishop of our Church, are their mission and commission, Ecclesiastically speaking.

Hence, to call the acts of the Church Missionary Society - in selecting the Station, paying the passage-money, and agreeing to provide the Missionary's salary - to call these acts a sending forth of Preachers, in an Ecclesiastical sense, is to confound names with things, and to lose sight of all true Church principles.<sup>(11)</sup>

Having trained and supervised the ordination of its candidates, and having sent them on their way, the C.M.S. made every effort to keep in as close contact as possible by personal letters on particular issues,<sup>(12)</sup> annual letters from the Secretaries "often dealing with very specific problems as well as containing general directives for all mission," and, after 1849, with monthly copies of the Church Missionary Intelligencer.<sup>(13)</sup> This journal was designed for the public as well as the missionary, and published letters and reports from C.M.S. personnel around the world. Its content sheds light on the philosophy and attitude of both the Society and its readers: "Christian ethnography; the scattered portions of the great human family; the places of their habitation; the condition to which sin has reduced them; or the benefits which they have received from the ameliorating influence of Christian Missions - this is our subject."<sup>(14)</sup>

"Their subject" however, also included the controversy of the relationship between Christianity and civilization. For most British Victorians the highest form of civilization was considered to be British Protestant Christianity, an attitude reflected also in the C.M.S. A hymn composed at this time and sung during the Society's first Bristol anniversary proclaimed:

Amidst our isle, exalted high,  
Do Thou our glory stand;  
And like a wall of guardian fire  
Surround Thy fav'rite land.<sup>(15)</sup>

Being God's chosen implied responsibility and this the C.M.S. and its agents attempted to discharge. "Just as a non-missionary church was a contradiction in terms, so was the fruitfulness and the promise of all blessing on the Empire suspended on the fulfilment of the duty of evangelising the world!"<sup>(16)</sup>

The civilizing mission of the C.M.S., insofar as it gained official support, was refined during the second half of the nineteenth century and thus is beyond the scope of this thesis.<sup>(17)</sup> In the years under consideration, however, the C.M.S. affirmed that the Gospel preceded civilization - "the Gospel brought Civilization in its train."<sup>(18)</sup> Jean Usher rightly maintains the Society "never satisfactorily solved the question. . . . In practice, the problem of whether an aborigine could become Christian before he became civilized was usually avoided and, during the early and mid-Victorian periods, the society's missionaries tended to teach both the Gospel and the arts of civilization simultaneously."<sup>(19)</sup>

The principles which embodied this policy were formally identified by Henry Venn although they were in practice long before his emphasis on them. There were at least twelve:<sup>(20)</sup>

- (1) "Translate the Bible into the vernacular as early as possible."
- (2) Educate: in order to use the Bible the people must be literate, therefore education is basic. "Leaders will be discovered among those given education. They should be trained as teachers. The teachers' group will furnish catechists and from among the catechists will come the pastors."
- (3) Master the vernacular. "The Gospel cannot be communicated effectively through an interpreter."
- (4) "Advance continuously, establishing missions."
- (5) Incorporate nationals: "Native agency is fundamental to the existence of a new church and to missionary advance. . . ."
- (6) "Inculcate self-reliance rather than dependence."

(7) "Kindle missionary zeal among the young church from the beginning. Avoid the snare of implanting the pattern whereby only the missionary was responsible for evangelism and church extension. . . ."

(8) "Give the Bible a prominent place in missionary work. The missionary should be known as a man of the Book. . . ."

(9) Avoid politics. . . .

(10) "Maintain friendly intercourse with other Protestant societies. . . ."

(11) "Preach only where Christ has not yet been named. The mission was to be extended into areas where there was no church and no mission. . . ."

(12) Study the host culture; it is of fundamental importance.

The last instruction, formally dated 1869, was issued well after the period of this study and reflects the growing sophistication of the Society's relationship to native culture and its evolving theology of mission rather than the common practice of the early nineteenth century missionary. However, most of Venn's "Regulations" were operative in some form also during the formative years under consideration here when the C.M.S. stipulated, "The Missionary is to consider the instructions delivered to him, on his departure to his Station, permanently obligatory. . . ."

It was deemed with awesome conviction that in "the absence of that full inspiration, under the guidance of which the Apostles were directed to go into particular countries, a Missionary will now be able to discover the will of God in the directions received by him from the Society. . . ." (21)

How the missionaries of this study in fact implemented or ignored these "permanently obligatory" instructions is the subject of another chapter. (22)

### 3. The British and Foreign Bible Society

An organization which worked in close collaboration with the C.M.S., the British and Foreign Bible Society (B.F.B.S.), was acknowledged by many contemporaries to be one of the most noteworthy institutions spawned by the English evangelical movement.<sup>(1)</sup> Founded in London in 1804, the aim of the Society was "to distribute at low prices editions of the Bible and New Testament unaccompanied by sectarian propaganda."<sup>(2)</sup> These Scriptures were available in a variety of non-English languages, and in Rupert's Land included French, Gaelic, German, Danish, Italian, "Esquimaux," and in the later years, various Indian languages.<sup>(3)</sup>

The Society, not organically connected with any particular denomination, considered itself non-sectarian and in every sense a distinct and independent organization. Its management, therefore, was not subject to ecclesiastical control, and like the C.M.S., sought no patrons although volitional patronage was gratefully accepted, especially since subscriptions and voluntary aid formed the sole source of its revenues.<sup>(4)</sup>

For both funding and membership B.F.B.S. general policy dictated that local enthusiasts form auxiliaries and affiliated branches of the Society, a procedure also adopted in the Hudson's Bay territories when John West established an auxiliary for "Prince Rupert's Land and the Red River Settlement" at York Factory in 1821. Also in conformity with British precedence, where Bible Societies "were seen to be fashionable" and therefore attracted figurehead patrons from among the socially elite, the Rupert's Land Society was formed under the patronage of Nicholas Garry, a visiting Director of the London Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, with Governors William Williams as President and George Simpson as Treasurer.<sup>(5)</sup>

West's provocative offer of a copy of the B.F.B.S. constitution to Father Dumoulin and his request for a donation from the priest can be more readily comprehended when it is understood that the Society was founded as a non-sectarian organization, and that some Roman Catholic Bishops and priests approved the Gaelic edition as well as the French version prepared by Isaac Le Maistre de Sacy.<sup>(6)</sup> Regrettably, circumstances did not encourage Catholic-Protestant co-operation in this venture. To add to the Society's problems, the Church of England also withdrew much of its official support, and John West, on a fact-finding mission to the maritime provinces for the B.F.B.S. in 1825-1826 noted sadly, "It is painful to remark that no Missionary from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel stood with me. . . nor does the Bishop of Nova Scotia, or the Bishop of Quebec, patronise or encourage the formation of Bible Societies. . . ." <sup>(7)</sup>

In spite of such reversals, however, the B.F.B.S. fulfilled a vital function in Rupert's Land as elsewhere and was greatly appreciated by the evangelical clergy with their high view of Scripture. West, for example, stated emphatically, ". . . we derive all true sentiments in religious subjects from the Bible, and the Bible alone; and that the exercise of private judgement in the possession of the Bible, [is] the birth-right privilege of every man. . . 'A Bible then to every man in the world.'" <sup>(8)</sup>

#### 4. The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society

While the Wesleyan Methodists shared this high view of Scripture with the Church of England evangelicals, their primary concern in Rupert's Land appears to have been its translation into the vernacular

rather than distribution of European-language editions. The geographical circumstances of the Wesleyans may account for this to some extent, in that they were seldom contiguous with larger bodies of settlement such as Red River, and therefore their initial contact situations differed somewhat from those of the earlier C.M.S. missionaries.

The British Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (W.M.M.S.), conceived in the sending of Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury as "Joint Superintendents" to the United States in 1785-1790, was organized in 1813 to take over the charge of Dr. Coke, and formally drawn up as a mature organization in 1818 when the "Laws and Regulations of the General Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society" were also published.<sup>(1)</sup> Governance lay in the hands of an executive committee of four Secretaries who in the period under consideration were Jabez Bunting, John Beecham, Elijah Hoole, and Robert Alder.<sup>(2)</sup> Alder, of primary interest here because of his administration of the British North American districts, was named to his post in 1832 and is described as a man of "keen intelligence and great ambition as well as [possessing] the shrewd ruthlessness of the successful politician. . . a man of strong religious feeling and of highly conservative opinions,"<sup>(3)</sup> an indication of the official milieu with which the Wesleyans of Rupert's Land had to contend in their northern loneliness which Alder had never experienced and could never understand. It was principally Alder who negotiated with Governor George Simpson the entrance of the Society into Hudson's Bay territory.

The aim of the W.M.M.S. was "the conversion of the Heathen World, and . . . the preaching of the Gospel generally in Foreign Lands."<sup>(4)</sup>

The men ordained to this task volunteered their services and those chosen were interviewed by a committee of Society officials, ministers, and laymen, who then made their recommendations to the Wesleyan conference.<sup>(5)</sup> There was no dearth of regulations to guide the Society's agents but those most binding on the missionaries of this study, "Instructions to the Wesleyan Missionaries" of 1834, were also to be "faithfully observed" in the fields of service around the world.

There were nine of these instructions, the first taking precedence over all others: "We recommend to you, in the first place and above all things, to pay due attention to your personal piety."<sup>(6)</sup> The second was "the absolute necessity of using every means of mental improvement . . . seeking 'an increase of general knowledge' and especially acquaintance with 'Christian divinity'."<sup>(7)</sup> The next exhorted brotherly love among the Methodists while the fourth "solemnly reminds the Missionaries that they are Wesleyan Methodist Preachers, pledged to preach 'in the most explicit terms' the doctrines of Methodism, and to enforce all its rules and usages." However, a mitigating clause encourages missionaries to "cultivate a catholic spirit towards all your fellow labourers in the work of evangelizing the heathen; and aid them to the utmost of your power in their benevolent exertions."<sup>(8)</sup> Instructions five and six warn against meddling in politics and secular disputes; seven touches on administration and includes methods of instruction to be used, discipline, baptism, and membership in the new churches. It is very explicit in forbidding the "intermingling [of] doubtful controversies" and emphasizes the "clear expositions of the most important truths of Holy Writ. . .."<sup>(9)</sup> Discipline must be enforced upon any "who may relapse

into his former habits and become a polygamist, or an adulterer, who may be idle and disorderly, or disobedient to lawful authority, who shall steal, or be in any other way immoral or irreligious," these "shall be put away, after due admonition and proper attempts to reclaim him from the 'error of his way'."(10)

Before membership in the Methodist Society could be obtained, the convert was to be taught diligently "the Christian faith, and the obligations which he takes upon himself by Baptism . . . (then he shall) be placed on Trial, for such a time as shall be sufficient to prove whether his conduct has been reformed. . . ." (11) The Wesleyans were stringent in their moral requirements: "No man, living in a state of polygamy, is to be admitted a member, or even on trial, who will not consent to live with one woman as his wife, to whom you shall join him in matrimony. . . .No female, living in a state of concubinage with any person, is to be admitted into Society. . . ." (12)

Instruction eight reads, "It is peremptorily required of every Missionary in our Connexion to keep a journal . . . Only we recommend to you not to allow yourselves . . . to give any high colouring of facts; but always write such accounts as you would not object to see return in print to the place where the facts reported may have occurred." (13) The last regulation prohibits, most emphatically, any of its members engaging in trade, for the Society pledged itself to supply all reasonable needs. (14) "You are to consider this rule as binding upon you. . . We wish you to be at the remotest distance from all temptation to a secular or mercenary temper." (15)

In addition to these basic general regulations, the men of the North

West were issued "Additional Instructions for the Wesleyan Missionaries Appointed to the Hudson's Bay Territory." These were of a more personal nature and exhorted them to "promote the best interests of all classes of persons at the various Establishments within your Circuit generally; but especially of the Indian Tribes . . . to the latter your chief attention must be directed. . . ." <sup>(16)</sup> They were asked to "abstain from all statements and details of a business character," but above all, "in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the inestimable value of the souls which he has redeemed with his blood to take heed to yourselves as well as to your Doctrine. Avoid the appearance of evil. Be swift to hear - slow to speak - slower still to wrath. Be cautious in forming opinions of the character of others and still more so in expressing those opinions." These were injunctions taken almost literally from the writings of Saint Paul, but more was to follow: "Identify yourselves with no parties. Strive to promote peace. Be the friends of all . . . Show all due respect to lawful authority. Treat your civil superiors with due respect. Act towards your inferiors with kindness and condescension." <sup>(17)</sup> Except for the "condescension," again the source is Saint Paul.

Then the instructions became personal, directed to those "young in years, and practically unacquainted with the peculiar character of the work. . . ." <sup>(18)</sup> They were to keep themselves "pure." Keep at the utmost distance from all trifling and levity in your intercourse with young persons, more especially with females. Take no liberties with them. Converse with them very sparingly and only for religious purposes; even then do not converse with them alone. . . Beware of the half-cast [sic] females. . . ." <sup>(19)</sup>

After this emphasis on avoidance came instructions clearly designed for those from the lower classes - they would have been unthinkable to the socially secure - ". . . be attentive to the usual courtesies of good society, especially during meals. In a Christian sense be a gentleman which you cannot be if you affect the Gentleman. Be neat and cleanly in all your personal habits; and dress in a manner suited to your sacred office."<sup>(20)</sup> Lest these gentlemen-in-the-Christian-sense should have minutes to spare, the good Fathers in London emphasized, "Never be unemployed. Never be triflingly employed. Do not while away any time."<sup>(21)</sup>

An interesting point of vital concern to the young Wesleyans of this study is found in the Compendium of Wesleyan Methodism which states, "The majority of Missionaries, it is presumed, who have completed their probation at home, will marry prior to their entrance upon the foreign work; but in the case of anyone going abroad unmarried, the following regulations are adopted: . . . [then follow references applicable to various parts of the world]. . . no arrangement is made for the temporary return of Missionaries from the Stations in British America; each of whom will be required to remain abroad until the expiration of the entire period of his engagement."<sup>(22)</sup> This policy was to cause heartache and disappointment to both Robert Rundle and George Barnley.

Among the questions asked and the recommendations given to preachers of the Wesleyan connexion, the following clarify some of the problems of acute guilt and anxiety (caused by either omission or commission) found in the journals of the young missionaries: "Do you fast every Friday? The neglect of this is sufficient to account for our feebleness and faintness of spirit. . . Touch no tea, coffee, or chocolate in the

morning; but if you want it, a little milk or water gruel. Dine on potatoes; and if you want it, eat three or four ounces of flesh in the evening. But at other times eat no flesh suppers. These exceedingly tend to breed nervous disorders."<sup>(23)</sup> Under conditions in the North West, these directives were, of course, almost impossible to follow, causing many qualms to the tender in conscience. Rather surprisingly, not all missionaries lived by the rules and sporadically displayed an interesting disregard for the stringent "drink no dram on any consideration . . . (nor) use tobacco for smoking, chewing, or snuff. . .,"<sup>(24)</sup> for Evans thoroughly enjoyed a birchbark "segar" while Rundle took a discreet dram on occasion.<sup>(25)</sup>

One of the passages most illuminating of Methodist missionary practice and also of their mental health is that found in the questions relative to the ministerial call. "Have you a lively faith in Christ? Do you enjoy a clear manifestation of the love of God to your soul? Have you constant power over sin? Do you expect to be perfected in love in this life? . . . Will you preach every morning and evening when opportunity serves, endeavouring not to speak too loud or too long? Will you diligently instruct the children . . .? Will you visit from house to house?"<sup>(26)</sup> While the last two are realistic requirements for an active ministry, if dietary impositions caused pangs of guilt in some, how much more awareness of spiritual inadequacy could ensue when scrutinized in the harsh light of these impossible impositions!

There was obviously no dearth of regulations, admonitions, and exhortations for the young men venturing into Rupert's Land on their first missionary assignment. It is, however, interesting to compare this

multitude of instructions with the Anglican principles of Henry Venn, for the Wesleyans give no direction whatsoever concerning the study of the religion, customs, character or even the language of their hearers.<sup>(27)</sup>

Interest existed in these areas, as Dr. Alder's letters bear ample witness,<sup>(28)</sup> but officially, personal piety and deportment appear to represent the sine qua non of missionary service with all else apparently expected, by God's grace, automatically to fall into place. When it did not, severe emotional and mental trauma could and did result, especially in the case of George Barnley.<sup>(29)</sup>

Although the Wesleyan ministry with particular reference to the missionary has been discussed, mention must also be made of the Methodist Church in its entirety. The British Wesleyan Methodist connexion was the largest and best organized of the various Methodist bodies.<sup>(30)</sup> Its relationship to the Church of England was friendly, and an editorial in the W.M.M. of 1844 concluded the difference between the two denominations was "one of discipline, not doctrine."<sup>(31)</sup> Unfortunately, this accord was not always in evidence when missionaries of the two denominations encountered one another in the Hudson's Bay territory. In spite of this, however, little friction occurred in the higher echelons of church government and therefore it is an anomaly that British Wesleyans, while enjoying a reasonably happy association with the Anglicans, seemingly could not work in harmony with the Canadian Wesleyans.<sup>(32)</sup> While it is unnecessary to chronicle these difficulties,<sup>(33)</sup> suffice it to say that the missionaries in this study had no formal connection with the Canadian Conference whatsoever. Even James Evans, who although English-born, had served in Upper Canada with the Canadian society for some years, transferred to the British body on being assigned to Rupert's Land. His personal

antagonisms to the Canadian Ryersons and the Christian Guardian, reflections of the Conference dispute, remained alive and active for many years.<sup>(34)</sup>

Yet the British connexion was eventually unable to maintain the mission field: ". . . the wretched quarrels attending the struggle for reform in home Methodism, arrested the work of saving the heathen, breaking the heart of devoted servants of God. . . ."<sup>(35)</sup> Evans died; Rundle and Barnley returned to England; William Mason, already favourably impressed with Bishop Anderson and other Anglicans and feeling more consanguinity with fellow Britons than with Canadians, transferred his allegiance to the Church of England in 1854 rather than work under the Canadian Conference.<sup>(36)</sup> The British Wesleyan presence in Rupert's Land had ended.

But how had the W.M.M.S. come to the Hudson's Bay Territory in the first place, when the C.M.S. was already entrenched and expanding? Who had invited them? Why were they there? The answer is found in the political machinations of the Hudson's Bay Company and its attitude to missions.

##### 5. The Hudson's Bay Company and Missions

During its first hundred years the Honourable Company had little concern for religion in its territory, insisting only, as did the East India Company, that divine service be read on its ships and in its trading posts, and sending out Bibles, prayer books and occasionally books of sermons for the benefit of their servants; even the Home Guard Indians were not regarded as objects of conversion.<sup>(1)</sup> In light of religious lethargy in Britain at the time, added to the costs of maintaining a more adequate religious programme, this is hardly surprising. However, the rise of evangelicalism and its attendant emphasis on

conversion, education and humanitarianism, and the rise of the missionary movement significantly influenced the attitude of the company.

At the heart of the Hudson's Bay Company was the "Honourable Committee," an executive consisting of a governor (John H. Pelly for most of the period under consideration), a deputy governor (Nicholas Garry after 1822) and a committee of seven directors in whom resided ultimate administrative authority - "the managing and handling of all . . . business, affairs and things belonging to the said Company."<sup>(2)</sup>

In North America, the Company's territory was divided into four Departments - the Northern, Southern, Montreal, and Columbia - and over these was placed a governor-in-chief and in each, a council to supervise administration. In 1822, however, a year after the merger with the Nor'-Westers, two governors were appointed: William Williams to the Southern and Montreal Departments, and George Simpson to the Northern and Columbia. After Williams' return to England in 1826, George Simpson became "Governor-in-Chief of all the Territories of the Hudson's Bay Company in America."<sup>(3)</sup> He was therefore, the authority in closest contact with the missionaries of this study.

It was, however, well before Simpson's tenure that the Company began taking seriously the religious and educational obligations inherent in its responsibilities. Not only was the tenor of the times pressing for change, but there was concern for the future of increasing numbers of mixed-blood children, fathered by Company servants. As early as 1794 spelling books were sent to all the factories, and in 1807 William Garrioch was engaged as schoolmaster for York, to teach both the servants' children and such Indian youngsters as wished "to enjoy the benefits of civilization."<sup>(4)</sup> Three years later James Clouston was sent to East

Main on the eastern shore of James Bay in the same capacity, while Lord Selkirk contracted the eighteen-year old John Matheson for Red River in 1815.<sup>(5)</sup>

While children under these masters received some rudimentary training in Scripture - "Daily Devotions as well as Bibles and Alphabets" were included in the curriculum<sup>(6)</sup> - it appears to have been only with the election of Benjamin Harrison to the London Committee that combining the duties of Chaplain, educator, and missionary to the Indians seems to have come under consideration.<sup>(7)</sup> Even then it was Thomas Douglas, the 5th Earl of Selkirk and a chief shareholder in the Company, who clearly divined that the appointment of Roman Catholic priests would not only ameliorate conditions in Red River (by their authority with French-Canadian engages of the North West Company in the cause of law and order) but would provoke sufficient anxiety among Protestants to send out a minister also and thereby ensure even greater permanence for his colony. By 1818 he completed negotiations with Bishop Plessis of Quebec and on 24 April wrote to James Bird in Red River: "We have of late accomplished an object, which I conceive to be of great consequence, not only to the security of the Settlement . . .but also to the reestablishment of good order throughout the interior, viz. - a Mission of two Canadian Catholic Priests, who are to establish a permanent church at the Settlement . . . The Company's Protestant Servants might perhaps be disposed to view this establishment with jealousy, if they do not consider that it may serve as an example, and an encouragement to their friends in England to send out a Protestant clergyman likewise."<sup>(8)</sup>

Their "friends in England," spurred on not merely by the presence of the priests but also by social and religious pressures within England

and the committee itself, appointed John West as Chaplain in 1820. West, closely connected with the C.M.S., the B.F.B.S., and other evangelical organizations, arrived in Red River full of plans for the moral regeneration of both traders and Indians. Needless to say he was not enthusiastically received and within a relatively short period a great wall of antagonism had built up between him and the Company Officers, especially Governor George Simpson.

At this point Simpson's attitude to missions, divergent from that of the London Committee, becomes obvious. While he was in no position to create policy, he could and did interpret it much to his own liking, and in this initial contact situation he regarded missions entirely from the viewpoint of trade, fully expecting all effects of Christianization - and its analogue, "civilization" - to be wholly negative.<sup>(9)</sup> He was contemptuous of efforts to educate the Indian ("an enlightened Indian is good for nothing"); he objected to a Chaplain at York Factory as a nuisance; restrictions on the sale of rum would discourage the Indians and give them no "opportunity of disgorging their heavy wages." His was "a philosophy as harsh as the wilderness from which it sprang and George Simpson, left without outside supervision, would have been as realistic and as hard-bitten as any American or Nor'wester."<sup>(10)</sup>

But outside supervision there was, and the London Committee, having tested the political waters, had decided on its course. Andrew Colville sternly advised the recalcitrant Simpson: "It is incumbent on the Company if there were no settlement to have a Chaplain in their country and at least to allow missions to be established at proper places for the conversion of the Indians, indeed it would be extremely impolitic in the

present temper and disposition of the public in this Country to show any unwillingness to assist in such an object. By uniting with the Missionary Society and the Settlement these objects are obtained safely, conveniently and cheaply."<sup>(11)</sup> Obviously the Committee was not about to fly in the face of rising public sentiment. "The urge to acquire and the call to righteous doing might be united in holy wedlock. Hence an enlightened self-interest, taking notice of public opinion on the one hand and of the conservation of Company resources on the other, had informed the Honourable Governor and Committee that the ruthless and short-sighted view of Governor Simpson could not be tolerated . . . ."<sup>(12)</sup>

Bowing to necessity, for nothing would be more impolitic for an ambitious man than continued opposition to his superiors, Simpson affected a conversion, becoming "alert to show that missions to the Indians . . . would benefit the fur trade; henceforth he cast about for arguments to prove that the liquor trade with the Indians was pernicious and unnecessary; henceforth his attitude toward missionary enterprises became an attitude of willing co-operation."<sup>(13)</sup> Yet it was by no means a disinterested conversion. Once the Indians had accepted Christianity, he now argued, ". . . they would in time imbibe our manners and customs and imitate us in Dress; our Supplies would thus become necessary to them which would increase the consumption . . . and benefit our trade as they would find it requisite to become more industrious and to turn their attention more seriously to the Chase in order to be enabled to provide themselves with such supplies."<sup>(14)</sup> Not only would trade increase but because there would be less danger in traversing Indian lands, cost of transportation would decrease and profit margins would show a glorious reward for religious benevolence.

Having decided for the cause of Christ and profits, Simpson monitored missionary activity carefully. Roman Catholic priests were discouraged for various reasons, foremost among them that "they are most rigidly ruled and guided by a power, foreign in its nature and almost invisible in its proceedings."<sup>(15)</sup> Eventually his attitude changed and he came almost to prefer them to the Protestants but that was at a later period in his career.<sup>(16)</sup> During the early years Simpson, often by devious means, did his utmost to obstruct their advance, ostensibly to avoid a collision of creeds.<sup>(17)</sup> By sitting in judgement on the merits of one theological system over another, however, he again acted unilaterally, for when the London Committee was alerted to cases of blatant discrimination, as for example,<sup>(18)</sup> with Father Poire at Abitibi, it directed Simpson to investigate these charges, and should he find them substantiated to convey strong disapproval to those responsible. In addition he was to examine the geographical area involved, determine whether it would support a congregation of Indians and then ascertain the natives' preference, whether Catholic or Protestant.<sup>(19)</sup> Needless to say, with Simpson a master at evasion, it is doubtful that London ever became aware of the extent of his prejudice. At the same time neither Catholics nor Protestants were convinced of the Company's genuine impartiality and its policy of attempted segregation of creeds was blatantly ignored by both.<sup>(20)</sup>

While bias against Catholic missions was not uncommon among the predominantly Protestant Officers of the Hudson's Bay Company,<sup>(21)</sup> the C.M.S. was accepted without question both by the London Committee and Simpson. Probably because of the evangelical convictions of directors

such as Harrison, there seems to have been no discussion as to whether the S.P.G., or S.P.C.K. should provide chaplaincy services and consequently missionaries to Rupert's Land. The C.M.S. seemed an obvious choice. Selection of the Wesleyan Methodists in 1840, however, is quite another matter.

The need for a northern mission, especially at Norway House, was quite apparent to both Simpson and the London Committee by 1840, for this would curtail Indian migration to Red River, prepare them for a more sedentary agricultural life and thus, in the face of a sharply reduced beaver supply, relieve the Company of some expenses connected with feeding a potentially starving native population. Furthermore, a measure of literacy coupled with Christianity might well provide a source of cheap, reliable labour, and most important of all, the presence of more missionaries would certainly create a positive public image in the face of continued scrutiny by the Aborigines Protection Society.<sup>(22)</sup> Conceding, then, the need of a mission, the choice of the Wesleyans as a sending Society remains an enigma. Simpson himself also assumed responsibility, for he wrote to Robert Alder: "Having been as you are aware, mainly instrumental in the introducing of your Society's Missionaries into this country, I have always felt a peculiar weight of responsibility. . . ."<sup>(23)</sup>

Historians have not ignored the rather unusual selection of a Methodist Society when the C.M.S. was already well ensconced in Red River and expanding constantly. The official Wesleyan view maintains that the Company, especially Simpson, took cognizance of Wesleyan success among Canadian Indians and was impressed:

George Simpson, . . . having had his attention directed to the state of the Indian Missions in Canada, under the care of the Wesleyan Missionary Committee, first by Dr. Alder, one of the General Secretaries, and afterwards by the Rev. James Evans. . .he . . . at the close of the year 1839, made such representations to the Directors of the Hudson's Bay Company, as induced them to invite and encourage the Society to extend their Missions to the territories of the Company, . . . with a view to the moral and religious instruction of the numerous tribes of the aborigines, and to their civilization, and the general amelioration of their condition.<sup>(24)</sup>

Granting Simpson's initial involvement, then, the question remains: Why the W.M.M.S? Was it only because of its record in Canada? It is certainly true that the C.M.S. was experiencing embarrassing financial strain at this time and in spite of the desire of its agents on location, might well have been unable, temporarily at least, to occupy the entire area eventually allocated to the Wesleyans.<sup>(25)</sup> Only a year previously, however, the Cumberland House district had been defined by Benjamin Harrison as a region in which the C.M.S. might "locate, evangelize, and civilize Indians . . . in the same manner as . . . on the Red River,"<sup>(26)</sup> and Henry Budd was assigned immediately to establish a mission. Surely, therefore, in spite of a temporary impasse, the C.M.S. was the logical choice if the area were to receive Protestant and not Roman Catholic missionaries. There was also the consideration of exclusive priority for Church of England missions in English territory.<sup>(27)</sup> Although this would not become an issue until after the Wesleyans' arrival, it might well have been argued, as it was later, that under the regulations of the Royal Charter only the established Church and the Roman Catholics had privileges of proselytization in Company territory.

All these arguments notwithstanding, it seems that Simpson, in Frits Pannekoek's blunt words, "refused to work" through the C.M.S. because it was too powerful and exerted too much influence on the London Committee, whereas the "little Emperor" felt it mandatory for trade that

he exercise control at least over new mission stations.<sup>(28)</sup> Although this judgment might appear to be an exaggeration in view of his refusal the next year to remove the C.M.S. from Cumberland House as James Evans' requested, and instead gave the Anglicans his encouragement "to persevere,"<sup>(29)</sup> yet Simpson's desire to dominate new missionaries may well be the answer to why he approached the Methodists - he considered them more malleable than the Church of England.

There is considerable basis for such an assumption.<sup>(30)</sup> Not only were Robert Alder and Simpson apparently personal friends,<sup>(31)</sup> but Alder's attitude to missions was acceptable to the Governor's own philosophy. He reiterated to Simpson:

I have more than once stated to you . . . , that we send out Missionaries for the accomplishment of one great object which is to promote the spiritual and everlasting welfare of the people. . . and that we require them everywhere and at all times to avoid interference with. . . secular disputes. . . . They are not permitted to engage in trade of any kind or for any purpose whatsoever. . . . Our loyal and devoted attachment<sup>(32)</sup> to our great Institutions in Church and State is well known. . . .

Obviously Alder would not cause political ripples for the Church of England stalwarts on the London Committee. C.M.S. missionaries, however, angrily rejected Wesleyan evangelization techniques and intentions. "Mark the doctrine of the Wesleyans," Cockran wrote to the Secretaries, "We will not civilize one family. Rupert's Land is destined by God to remain forever in a state of barbarism. We shall only preach the Gospel to the Indian to comfort him when he is travelling thro the wood."<sup>(33)</sup> If this were Simpson's impression as well as Cockran's then his choice, always favouring trade above all else, was well made.

The Governor further sought to implement Company control by the terms negotiated with the Methodists: "The salaries. . . to be paid by

the Society, and the expense of conveying them from Canada to the Interior and of their Board and lodging in the country to be defrayed by the Company, . . . [and] that the reports of the missionaries should be communicated to the Company before being published by the Society. . . .<sup>(34)</sup>

Married men, accompanied by their families, were to be provided with a small house, either inside the fort or in the Indian settlement, while single men would be afforded "a comfortable sitting room and bedroom," and "a seat at the mess-table." Interpreters and transportation were also the Company's obligation as was the building of a place of worship.<sup>(35)</sup>

The terms were generous but they also placed the missionaries completely at the mercy of the Company, as was intended.<sup>(36)</sup> Initially, the plan proved a success, with the London Committee acknowledging the Wesleyans were "likely to carry out our views and wishes. . .,"<sup>(37)</sup> and even after the incredible misadventures with James Evans, Simpson instructed Robert Miles to "promote the interests of the Wesleyan Missionaries by every means in your power. This is particularly desirable at present, in consequence of a recent correspondence with the Wesleyan Committee in London, wherein they manifest an earnest disposition to fall in with the wishes of the Company."<sup>(38)</sup>

In spite of the Society's desire to please the Company, disparity between official policy and actual conditions in the field quickly became evident. As early as 1841 Evans acknowledged that "the views of the Wesleyan Missionary Society do not accord with the present understanding existing between the Missionaries and the Gentlemen in the posts where they are already stationed."<sup>(39)</sup>

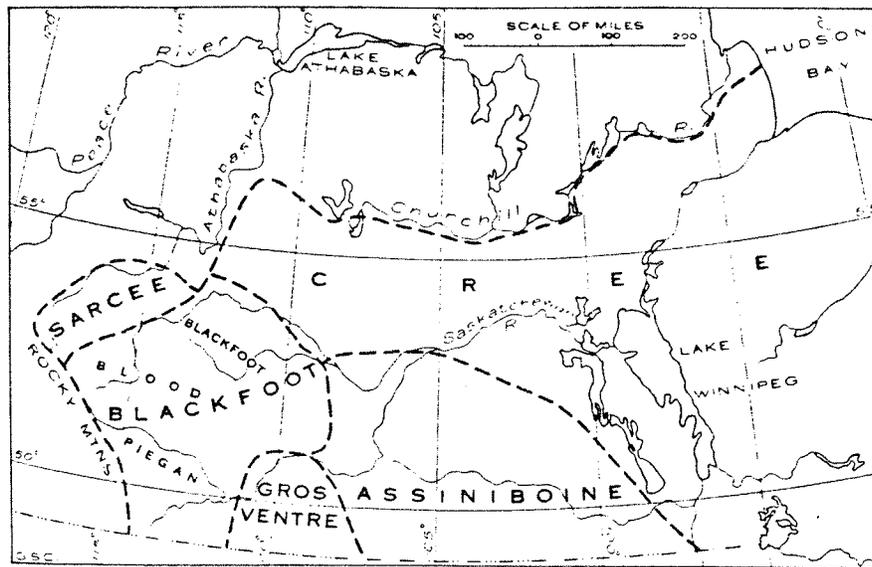
The conflict between Evans and Simpson is well known and need not concern us here.<sup>(40)</sup> In the end, British Wesleyans abandoned the field to Canadian Methodism and to the policies of a rapidly-altering Hudson's Bay Company. What is quite apparent from their brief marriage, however, is that W.M.M.S. official policy was not necessarily synonymous with the action of its agents on the field, neither were the views of the Honourable Committee always in accord with territorial machinations as personified by Governor George Simpson and various of his Officers.

The relationship of the Hudson's Bay Company with missionaries was neither static nor simple. While the major protagonists in this study were the Societies with their agents, and the London Committee with Sir George Simpson, lesser Officers at various posts were also essential constituents, for especially at the local level were policies often interpreted to suit individual biases, and it was here that personal antagonisms or friendships could encourage or ruin the individual missionary's ministry.<sup>(41)</sup> Nor were the policies of the London Committee itself permanently fixed. From an initial unofficial attitude of favouring Protestants the Committee moved to open its territories, in principle at least, to either Catholic or Protestant missions, providing always that the Christianity propagated impinge as little as possible on the activities of the Company or on the proselytizing of other creeds.

Not only did the Honourable Company adapt its policies on missionary pursuits, its chief representative in the territories, Governor George Simpson, radically altered his attitude from an early virulent, anti-missionary stance to an accommodating and helpful posture. Without doubt it was a political decision, designed both to further his own

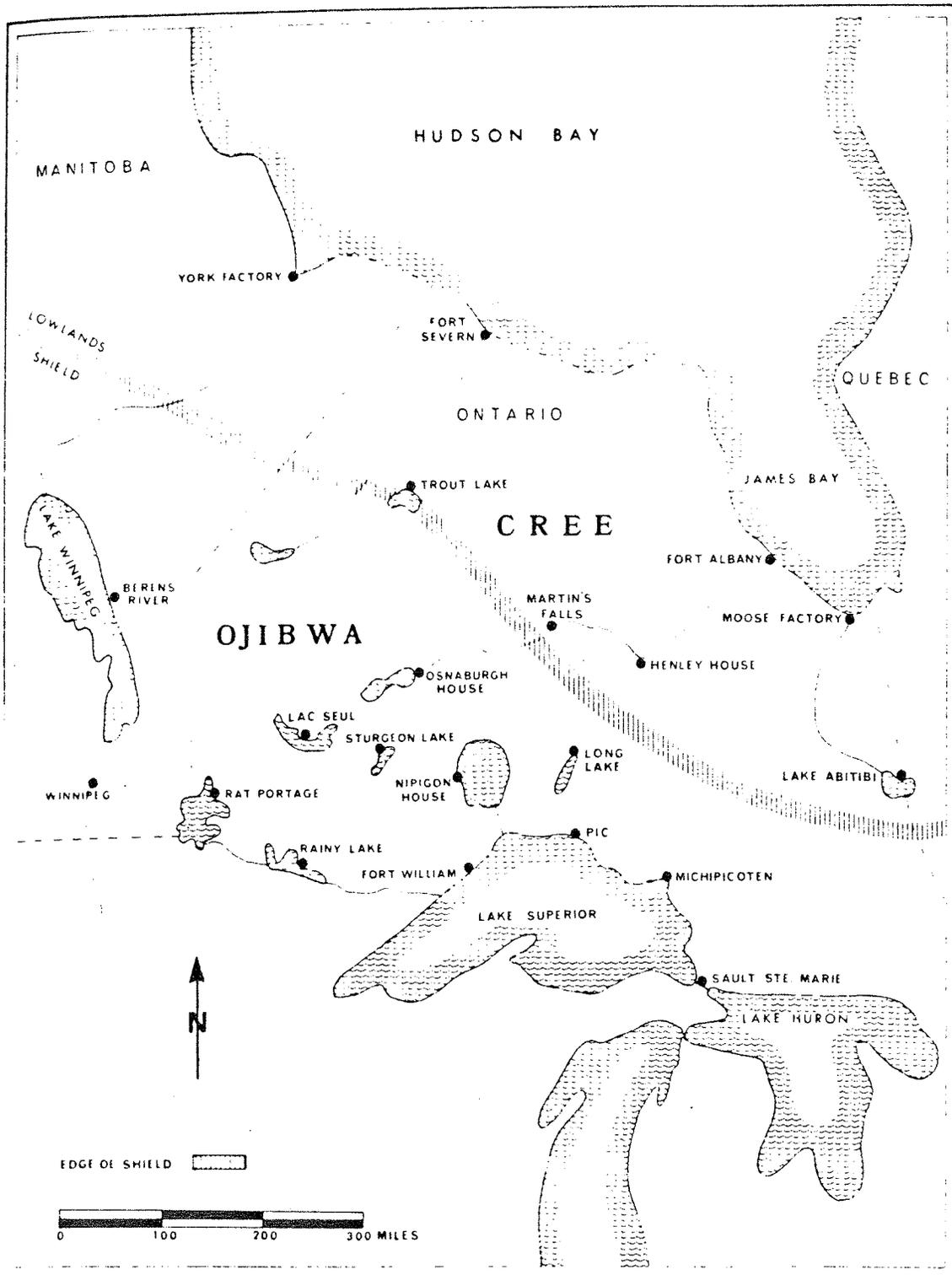
advancement, and to deflate public pressure, for as Donald Ross complained, ". . . the public sympathies would always be ranged on their [the missionaries'] side, however erroneous or impracticable their views or representations might be . . . ." (42) Yet it also demonstrates Simpson's calculating and pragmatic disposition to evangelism, as does his preference for Roman Catholic clergy in later years, on the ground that they were best suited to the needs of the Company. Sir George Simpson - "that crafty fox" (43) - was, indeed, a force to be reckoned with in missionary circles.

## Indian Territories



From: D. Jenness, The Indians of Canada, p. 309.

The various maps are included to show the fluidity of territorial boundaries and the difficulty of pin-pointing tribes in various locations.



**MAJOR TRADING POSTS, NORTHERN ONTARIO, 1850**

From: Charles A. Bishop, "Demography," p. 61.

## 6. Indians of the Canadian West

A comprehensive description of the various tribes and linguistic groups encountered by the missionaries is entirely beyond the scope of this study. Instead, only a brief overview of the following groups will be attempted: the Ojibwa, Cree, and Saulteaux, Woods Indians encompassing the main missionary contacts; and the Plains tribes which included some Ojibwa and Cree groups but were mainly Blackfoot, Sarsi, and Assiniboine. Both aggregations can be loosely grouped,<sup>(1)</sup> in that all except the Sarsi and Assiniboine were of Algonkian linguistic stock; their physical characteristics were generally similar; they were clothed in dressed skins styled and prepared by methods which differed only in detail, and all wore ornaments and either painted or tattooed their faces, and all anointed their hair.

On a more substantive level, these people shared a nomadic way of life, being either hunting or hunting and gathering societies (with the latter engaged in some fishing as well as harvesting wild rice and harvesting other edibles), and because of their migratory existence, living in portable or easily erected dwellings. Although the Woodlands group travelled primarily by canoe and the Plains tribes preferred horses (after the mid 1700's), they all employed the travois, and of course, snowshoes.

The ultimate unit of social organization for all was the biological family often enlarged to include near kinsmen, while the band (frequently analogous to an extended family) constituted the basic political group, choosing its own leaders - chiefs who possessed uncertain authority - and enforcing its own regulations. "The band took cognizance of crimes that were believed to endanger the whole community, such as the infraction of important taboos or treasonable relations with an enemy; it left the

individual families, with the help perhaps of near kinfolk, to find their own redress for all other offences, from theft even to murder."<sup>(2)</sup>

Religiously the tribes displayed "neither the inclination nor the training for metaphysical speculation,"<sup>(3)</sup> yet all believed in supernatural powers and spirits who must be conciliated.<sup>(4)</sup> To explain the darker sides of life, they chose "not an explanation of evil but its avoidance."<sup>(5)</sup> The dead were conceived as spirits or souls journeying to a shadowy place, an afterworld for which they required certain goods to ensure safe travelling, and these were placed beside the corpse. Other life crises necessitated appropriate rites and conduct and among these the vision quest assumed various forms, resulting in taboos, medicine bundles, and a multiplicity of other manifestations. In spite of religious beliefs virtually inseparable from life itself, these people built no temples, supported no powerful priesthood, and made few idols.

Historically, their oral records told of migrations westward, and of wars for territory and for horses,<sup>(6)</sup> although the woodlands folk had no experience with the latter. Warfare during the period here under consideration was usually carried on by small parties while courage in warfare and generosity were necessary traits for an individual to gain the social status and honour necessary for positions of standing or entrance into the numerous secret societies which flourished among the various groups.

For the Plains tribes, wealth consisted primarily in the ownership of horses - a herd of forty or more designated a rich man<sup>(7)</sup> - but among the Blackfeet the medicines received during the vision quest formed another cornerstone of tribal economic life.<sup>(8)</sup> Chief Buffalo Back Fat

is said to have advised his family, "Don't put all your wealth in horses . . . Build up supplies of fine, clean clothing, good weapons, sacred bundles and other valuable goods."<sup>(9)</sup> Acquisition of horses therefore led to the acquisition of "sacred bundles and other valuable goods" which in turn enhanced the influence of their owner. Inevitably, the rich became richer and the poor remained peripheral and without influence.<sup>(10)</sup>

Among the missionaries, only Robert Rundle notes the variations of wealth among the Indians and he does so without comment. He is cognizant of the "fine berry pemmican" eaten in the tent of the "head chief," the much larger lodge occupied by such a person, the handsome dress, the greater number of wives, the herds of horses, but beyond that he does not seem to inquire. With his class-conscious English background the difference may have appeared natural to him and of no consequence.<sup>(11)</sup> Certainly he makes no mention of the sale of medicine bundles or its effects on the Blackfoot economy or social climate.

This social inequality is an aspect of Indian life that is rarely acknowledged in contemporary studies. Indeed, the egalitarian aspects of native cultures have been promoted, and certainly in many respects the various tribes did practice a basic democracy. Jenness for example, writes, "Like other plains' Indians, the Sarcee were a democratic people who did not countenance hereditary distinctions of caste or rank,"<sup>(12)</sup> and again, "the principal check on ambition, a salutary check in the main, was the socialistic character of Indian life."<sup>(13)</sup> Then he goes on, however, to describe the social organization of the Sarcee, commenting that at the informal tribal councils composed of band-leaders, older men, and noted warriors, "each man's opinion weighed theoretically as much

as any other's, but the views of the more influential naturally prevailed."<sup>(14)</sup> Who then were these "more influential" councillors? Jenness does not define them, but Albers and Parker present a succinct description:

It is quite apparent in the literature pertaining to True Plains societies that personal achievements when not accompanied by wealth often remained unrecognized. More specifically, it was the ownership of horses that provided an important criterion for status acquisition and social rankings based increasingly on differences in wealth and personal achievement. . . . The unequal distribution of horses and their inheritance led to situations wherein members of wealthy families could publicize their achievements by giving away horses and other resources.<sup>(15)</sup>

Realistically, then, although "hereditary distinctions of caste or rank" were not recognized, the inheritance or possession of wealth greatly increased the possibility of leadership and positions and attending social and political power.

Among the Blackfeet, according to Ewers, the introduction of horses and the resultant accumulation of property undermined the egalitarian aspect of their society, and introduced in its place a class system "in which there were rich, middle-class, and poor families, distinguished primarily on the basis of their relative wealth or poverty in horses."<sup>(16)</sup> Other Plains tribes, although seemingly not socially stratified in the same way as the Blackfeet, nevertheless also had their ranking. Among the Plains Cree, for example, those who had less than others were "seated near the door in a council meeting and were not given a blanket or robe to sit on. Their inferior rank was indicated in this way and their opinions were little heeded."<sup>(17)</sup> Orphans and boys from poor families sometimes voluntarily came to live with and work for the chief,<sup>(18)</sup> while Paul Kane observed the variation in status among these same Indians in terms of those eligible to be elected as pipe-stem carriers. He concluded that anyone wealthy enough to purchase the position could be a candidate,

but that the price was considerable.<sup>(19)</sup> The same was true for admission into the Age Societies among various Plains tribes.<sup>(20)</sup> Although these examples of wealth and poverty have all been taken from the Plains Indians, some measure of inequality may be assumed also among the Woodlands tribes, human nature being what it is.

Regardless of wealth or status, however, the missionaries, like the anthropologists after them, repeatedly commented on how all loved their children and would do what was considered best for them at great personal cost. Generosity was another general trait which impressed the clergy, as was an "air of independence" especially for those not long associated with the fur trade.<sup>(21)</sup>

What has been established is that the tribes to whom the missionaries ministered, when considered en masse, were basically a loosely similar aggregation. The many variations which were also present become evident as the study progresses, but do not obscure the broadly parallel areas. Yet all missionaries were well aware of comprehensible tribal and band variations, the term "tribe" being a "difficult and somewhat arbitrary" classification of people.<sup>(21a)</sup>

#### The Ojibwa and Saulteaux

Several distinct groups are included under the appellation "Algonkian," all differing considerably both culturally and linguistically,<sup>(22)</sup> but only the Ojibwa or Chippewa (both words in their root form signify "people whose moccasins have puckered seams"), and the Saulteaux, considered by some anthropologists and ethnographers to be indistinguishable from or even identical with the Chippewa and so here treated, will be considered.<sup>(23)</sup>

These groups were the people encountered by William Mason and Peter

Jacobs at Lac La Pluie, Lac Seul and other trading posts west of Lake Superior but east of Lake Winnipeg.

Each "tribe", as among other Indian groups, was sub-divided into numerous bands and family groups which gathered wild rice and berries, and fished to supplement the hunt of moose, beaver and other birds and game. Because of the woodland area which they occupied, the Algonkians did not own horses but were experts in the manufacture and use of birch bark canoes. Their wigwams or lodges and many of their utensils were made of the same material.

### The Cree

Closely related to the Ojibwa, this group - whose name is the contraction of a French designation of unknown origin, Kristineau - was divided not only into bands but into several separate branches with the Swampy Cree and Plains Cree forming the two main divisions.

The Swampy Cree, also called Woodland Cree or Muskegon, moved in an area which included the southern part of James Bay, Hudson Bay and west to the Peace, Athabaska and Slave rivers. They traded in the Moose Factory-Fort Albany region as well as Norway House, Oxford House and beyond, so that both George Barnley and James Evans ministered in their area, while John West also mentions meeting them on his visits to York Factory. (24)

Like the Ojibwa, the Swampy Cree were canoe-travellers and also built their wigwams of birch bark, although the James Bay bands often substituted pine bark or caribou hide because of the smallness of the birch trees. (25) The Cree tattooed their faces and bodies - a practice remarked by Barnley - and the southern bands especially were considered

beautiful by many European traders as well as by some missionaries such as James Evans. In northern areas they often wore garments of woven rabbits' hair and skins, in contrast to the tanned hides of their southern neighbours. Because of the perennial scarcity of game, bands tended to separate into families for winter hunting which cemented close familial ties but also made evangelism difficult for the missionaries.

The Plains Cree were much less numerous than their northern brethren, with their numbers decimated by smallpox and war between 1835-1858 from approximately 4,000 to barely 1,000.<sup>(26)</sup> These southern bands were buffalo hunters and therefore people of the horse rather than the canoe. Jenness said of them, "Possessing only a weak culture of their own, they quickly assimilated many of the customs of their neighbours, particularly of the Assiniboine, their allies, and of the Ojibwa who mingled with them on the east."<sup>(27)</sup>

#### Plains-Ojibwa or Bungi

The Ojibwa on the East were those referred to by Alanson Skinner and James Howard as Plains-Ojibwa or Bungi, often confused with the Ojibwa or Chippewa, while Hallowell names them Northern Ojibwa.<sup>(28)</sup> Their territory included Pembina, Red River north approximately to the narrows of Lake Winnipeg and west to present day Regina. Therefore, the Indians to whom West refers as "Red River Chippeways or Saulteaux" could also be designated, Bungis, a term with which he appears to be unfamiliar.<sup>(29)</sup>

The Plains-Ojibwa or Bungi, members of the Algonkian group, originally derived from the Ojibwa as their name indicates, but sep-

arated from the parent body in relatively recent times, possibly not long before the arrival of white traders.<sup>(30)</sup> The missionaries evangelizing in their territory included John West, David Jones and William Cockran, while most of the other early Anglicans were located either within or immediately adjacent to Bungi lands.

### The Assiniboine

Not of Algonkian stock, the Assiniboine ("people that cook with hot stones") alone in this study were of Siouan derivation but were also intimately connected with the Cree.<sup>(31)</sup> Their territory overlapped that of the Plains-Ojibwa and spread across the prairies encompassing the region served by Robert Rundle, yet they were also encountered by other clergy. John West, for example, speaks of the "Stone Indians" of the Ou'Appelle valley, Stoney being a name given to northern bands of the tribe.<sup>(32)</sup>

The Assiniboine, like all Plains Indians, were horse-riding buffalo hunters, living in large, buffalo-hide conical tipis, and frequently moving their camps to follow the migrating herds. Horses dragged the travois loaded with household possessions whenever these moves were made, with women and children also heavily weighed down.

In addition to the dominant military society, the Assiniboine recognized four classes of distinguished men: two orders of medicine-men, the owners of painted tipis, and the founders/leaders of various dancing societies.<sup>(33)</sup> As Jenness points out, however, the first three groups were required to distinguish themselves in battle before much prestige was gained from their position.<sup>(34)</sup>

As other Plains tribes, the Assiniboine suffered tragically during

the smallpox epidemic of 1836, with some estimates of the dead as high as 4,000 or more, although those connected with the Hudson's Bay Company were less affected than others. (35)

#### The Sarcee

This was the smallest of the Plains' tribes, surviving only because it placed itself under the protection of the Blackfeet. (36) Its territory bordered that of the Beaver to whom its members appear closely related in tradition as well as languages (Athapascan), and the Blackfeet whose organization, customs and religious beliefs they emulated.

#### The Blackfeet

The Blackfeet (the name referring to their blackened moccasins), in outward appearance were very similar to the Assiniboine, living in skin tents, wearing leather clothing, and dependent on buffalo for most of life's necessities. They were, however, the strongest and most aggressive nation on the Canadian Plains, and Jenness calls them "the Ismaels of the prairies, their hands being raised against every neighbour except the insignificant Sarcee. . . ." (37)

The Blackfoot confederacy or nation consisted of three tribes: the Blackfoot proper, the Blood and the Piegan. (38) "Each tribe was an independent unit under its own chief, so that whenever they came together they pitched their tents in separate camp circles and regulated their affairs by separate councils. A common language, common customs, a tradition of common origin, and frequent intermarriage prevented open warfare between them. . . against their enemies they presented a united front. Yet even in their own eyes the union was too imperfect to require a common name, and the use of the term Blackfoot to cover all

three tribes was really an unwarrantable extension by the early whites."<sup>(39)</sup>

These, then, were the Indians to whom the missionaries ministered, whose religions and customs they observed, and about whom they theorized, complained, and exulted.

II "CLERICAL ROUGH DIAMONDS" :  
THE MEN OF THE MISSIONS

### "Clerical Rough Diamonds"

The Apostle Paul, addressing the missionaries of the early Church, wrote: "For ye see your calling, brethren, how that not many wise men . . . not many mighty, not many noble, are called: But God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty."<sup>(1)</sup> Most of the missionaries in this study were living examples of Saint Paul's words, for they were men of humble birth and mediocre education, uncultured, deckle-edged - God's "clerical rough diamonds."

Not all, however, fall into this category. Because, throughout this study, John West and Robert Rundle seem to stand in juxtaposition to each other, these two will be examined in greater depth.

#### 1. General Background

Robert Rundle's immense gratification at the "great respect" shown to him and his fellow missionaries by the Captain and passengers of the "Sheridan" and by others enroute to the Hudson's Bay territories is not surprising for it betrays the satisfaction of one conscious of rising above his social level.<sup>(2)</sup> Ten years later another young missionary, William Duncan, expressed the same emotion but more succinctly than Rundle: "Travelling also threw me among a class of society which were above what I had been used to . . . and I mixed among . . . men far my superiors in education, rank and abilities and treated respectfully by them. Oh! I used to feel my heart overflow in gratitude. . . ."<sup>(3)</sup>

Similar experiences and emotions were not unusual in missionaries of the nineteenth century, for a great majority in all Protestant Societies were products of the more humble walks of life, artisans and

retailers from towns and seaports, the "skilled mechanics" class aptly described by Kitson Clark as "the aristocracy of labour,"<sup>(4)</sup> with a sprinkling of farmers, agricultural workers, and schoolmasters. Although the C.M.S. enjoyed the highest percentage (10.24%) of recruits from occupations above the level of skilled craftsmen - doctors, lawyers, curates, or property owners - yet even this Society attracted only 1.20% of its candidates from the universities.<sup>(5)</sup>

The missionaries of this study, as their biographical sketches will indicate, were therefore typical of their time. Only one, John West, was a university man, a curate, a landholder; two had a background in teaching, two were farmers, while five were in some way connected with business or the retail trade, or combined this occupation with another such as teaching at some point prior to offering themselves for overseas missions.<sup>(6)</sup>

Because of the high prestige of missionary work abroad, motivation for service was seriously open to question. The London Missionary Society felt it necessary to ask their candidates, "Does the desire of improving your worldly circumstances enter into the motives of this application?"<sup>(7)</sup> It would hardly be surprising, for the desire of ordinary people for bettering themselves was openly acknowledged, at least by the secular press of the time. For example, The Darlington Telegraph of 18 December, 1858 observed: ". . . you will find that every man has some class beneath him that he looks down upon . . . And while everyone has his or her own exclusive circle, which all of supposed inferior rank are prevented from entering, they are at the same time struggling to pass over the line of social demarcation which has been drawn by those above them."<sup>(8)</sup> This observation has a two-pronged

implication for missionary motivation: the psychological need to feel superior to someone, and the desire for self-advancement. Dr. W.N. Gunson has suggested, "This need for a lower class was part of the psychology of Evangelical missionaries who substituted the 'poor heathen' for the 'lower orders'."<sup>(9)</sup>

While such a unilateral and strongly-worded premise is open to serious question and debate, nevertheless, motivation for mission among the men of this study also bears investigation. It quickly, and rather surprisingly, becomes evident that among the Wesleyans, class considerations were of less importance than might be expected. Potter's thesis reveals that the Methodists "most often made a 'general' offer for work either at home or abroad," and contrary to expectations, the W.M.M.S. candidate papers give the impression that "missionary enthusiasm was less than in other denominations. . . ."<sup>(10)</sup> For example, regulation one for ministers states that "No Preacher shall be appointed to a Foreign Station until he has travelled four years at home . . . excepting, (1) when there are such urgent and pressing calls from abroad as cannot be met but by the appointment of Preachers who are on trial, or on the List of Reserve; or (2) when any Candidates for our Missionary work may be deemed sufficiently fitted for it at an earlier period."<sup>(11)</sup> Yet none of the three young Wesleyans in this study had "travelled four years;" indeed, none were ordained until just prior to departure, which suggests that no mature ministers were willing to answer the urgent call from the Hudson's Bay Territory, and therefore the young candidates were precipitously considered "sufficiently fitted," when, as events proved, not all in fact were so prepared.

What then motivated the great majority of the men of this study for

missions? Potter offers one reason: "the urgent need for the heathen."<sup>(12)</sup> This basic conception changed with time. Initially the chief motivation was the misery of those without Christ, but then the Great Commission became impressed upon the conscience of many earnest young Christians, and so among the men considered here one finds the motif of "being sent" in juxtaposition with the heathens' need, or even as the sole determinant.<sup>(13)</sup> In any case, they were "inner-directed," conscious of calling and responsibility, exercising a "profound other-worldly concern for the souls of men."<sup>(14)</sup>

One last area which these biographical sketches will show its subjects to be within the missionary norm is that of parental influence. Where such information is available previous studies have shown most early evangelical missionaries were drawn from religious homes and were "well-schooled in the meaning of sin and virtue, . . . probably sufferers of much moral discomfort as adolescents. . . ."<sup>(15)</sup> One might add the moral discomfort for some of the less mature did not cease with chronological age.

Nevertheless, the conclusion here is that the missionaries in this study were very typical representatives of their calling, unique neither in their qualifications and motivations nor in their family background. What they all shared in common was a love of God and over-work. Time after time the complaint of too many domestic chores impinging on their real vocation can be heard, and only occasionally does a missionary's life-style preclude this altogether (Rundle) or is he able to reconcile the mundane as part and parcel of his legitimate labour, as necessary as preaching or religious instruction (Cockran). These men were, then, very ordinary human beings, sometimes indeed, too ordinary for the

monumental task which they had assumed.

## 2. John West

In the Anglican communion only John West can in the strict sense of the word be called an initial contact missionary, although his immediate successors also frequently encountered first contact situations. Not only was West the first Anglican and Protestant clergyman in Red River, he was also the single exception to the "typical" British evangelical missionary in the territory during the period of this study, being a university man, a curate, and a landholder.<sup>(1)</sup> As an exceptional case, his biographical sketch is more detailed than those of his compatriots.

West was born to George and Anne West of the parish of Farnham, Surrey in 1778, and baptized in the church where his family had worshipped since the reign of Henry VIII.<sup>(2)</sup> His father was wealthy enough to send both John and his brother George up to St. Edmund Hall in Oxford, where West not only took his M.A., but was also thoroughly imbued with evangelical theology.<sup>(3)</sup> It was said of Isaac Crouch, vice-principal of St. Edmund's at that time and "the real nursing father of evangelicalism in Oxford," that "his pupils left the lecture room animated to run the race to heaven, emboldened to struggle against the world, and quickened to confess a crucified Saviour, . . . ."<sup>(4)</sup> West, responding to such stimulation, was ordained deacon in 1804 and appointed to the curacy of Stebbing-with-Saling, Essex the same year. In 1806 he was priested in Winchester Cathedral and the following year married Harriet Atkinson. Through her influence he became acquainted with the Rev. Charles Simeon, during this period one of England's greatest evangelicals.<sup>(5)</sup> After West accepted the curacy of White Roding (or Roothing), Essex, under

the rectorship of the Rev. Henry Budd,<sup>(6)</sup> his interest in missions grew apace for Budd was deeply involved in the Church Missionary Society and introduced West into its ranks.

West's associates emphasized not only missions but respect and love for the Prayer Book. Charles Simeon wrote, "Seek not to change even what you deem faulty, for hardly any change could be effected in the Prayer Book which would not result in greater evils than those which you wish to remedy. You cannot realize the evil results to England to any material alteration in the Book of Common Prayer, no other human work is so free from faults as it is."<sup>(7)</sup> Sentiments such as these moulded West's thinking and attitude and were at the root of his refusal to accommodate the liturgy to the needs of non-Anglican settlers in Red River when he embarked on his missionary career.

John West was appointed Chaplain of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1819 at the age of forty-two, sailing for the new world in 1820 and arriving at his destination in October of that year.<sup>(8)</sup> He also carried with him a mandate as well as 100 pounds from the C.M.S. to establish schools for Indian children. The following year West proposed the establishment of a regular mission with the support of Benjamin Harrison and Nicholas Garry, both members of the London Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, and as a result he was appointed to superintend such an establishment in 1822.

West's dismissal from the chaplaincy of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1824 did not terminate his interest in missions or his desire to publicize the work he felt he had accomplished, and shortly after his return to England he wrote to the C.M.S. requesting copies of his reports and journals with the expressed purpose of publication. The Society was

faced with an embarrassing dilemma, afraid lest he might throw an obstacle in the way of their relationship with the Hudson's Bay Company, yet not willing to antagonize an active and faithful member. If West felt rebuffed or misunderstood by their cavilling, he merely answered that it was "due to his own character, in the prospect of future usefulness, to give a fair and candid detail of his proceedings." The Society acquiesced. The Substance of a Journal was published that same year (1824) and enjoyed several subsequent reprintings.<sup>(9)</sup>

Although his formal connections as a missionary of the C.M.S. were now severed, West's participation in its activities did not cease. He served as a fund-raiser and speaker, and presided at local meetings in support of its missions.<sup>(10)</sup> The C.M.S. apparently reciprocated with trust and respect, for in March, 1824, the Society offered him an appointment in New Zealand which he promised to give "mature consideration," although nothing ever came of it.<sup>(11)</sup>

Possibly the reason West rejected the C.M.S. offer was because of his continued interest in the North American Indian. He closes his book, Substance of a Journal, with the words, "I have no higher wish in life than to spend and be spent in the service of Christ, for the salvation of the North American Indians."<sup>(12)</sup> It may well be, then, that it was this sentiment which caused West to offer his services to the New England Company as corresponding foreign secretary and visiting missionary.<sup>(13)</sup> A report submitted by him to this Society immediately on his return to England in 1823<sup>(14)</sup> suggests West had previous contact with them, as does their reply that, while the Company could not use his abilities at this particular time, should a need arise "there is no one to whom they would so readily entrust such a Mission."<sup>(15)</sup> Shortly

thereafter, having received a North American assignment from the British and Foreign Bible Society,<sup>(16)</sup> West renewed his offer and this time it was accepted. He was to represent them "not in any official character but as a Gentleman well informed and much interested in the objects of the Company."<sup>(17)</sup>

West left London in June, 1825, accompanied by his eldest son and returned in August, 1826. During a sojourn in New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Upper Canada, he visited "Mr. Brandt, [sic] the Mohawk Chief," preached in Indian churches and was appalled that no resident missionaries were placed in such "promising" areas.<sup>(18)</sup> He noted the activities of Wesleyan missionaries with approval, and those of the Roman Catholics with disapprobation. He had "an opportunity of hearing in the Presbyterian Church at Auburn, a celebrated preacher by the name of Finney."<sup>(19)</sup> West also observed social customs, expressing the opinion that North Americans should drink more beer and less liquor mixed with water, and admitting horror at the nauseous custom "not confined to one class of persons" of "spitting from the use of tobacco." Clearly the tour was a cultural and religious enlightenment. When he returned to England, West again published his experiences.<sup>(20)</sup>

Obviously the desire to be intimately connected with missions was still paramount, for in 1829 the Newfoundland School Society announced that West had accepted an offer to fill the new post of "travelling or Clerical Secretary," to be based on Salisbury Square in London and assigned to "make its success and needs known" throughout England.<sup>(21)</sup> West had been active in the Society for several years and what prevented his taking up the new assignment is not known, but instead of more missions itinerating, he now turned his full attention to parish work.

He had been collated to the rectory of Chettle, Dorset in February, 1820, and although now settling down to parish activities here, he still maintained a vigorous interest in North America. For example, he corresponded with Bishop Mountain in Quebec about boarding schools for Indian children and also presented a report to the British Government entitled, "For Promoting Civilization and Improvement of the North American Indian Within British Territory."<sup>(22)</sup> In appreciation of his services West was offered the Crown living of Farnham by the Lord Chancellor and at the same time appointed Chaplain to Viscount Duncannon.<sup>(23)</sup>

To his credit, West not only cared for the impoverished in North America, but also evinced concern for the underprivileged in England by providing seating in his church for "the poor and their children" in an age when pew rental fees were part of church attendance.<sup>(24)</sup> In addition he was responsible for opening a National School for up to sixty children which proved so successful that an annex was added in 1840.<sup>(25)</sup>

During his later years West also took "an earnest and persevering" interest in the education of Gypsy children. With the "cooperation of some other clergymen and gentlemen," he projected the establishment of a school - "The Orphan Gypsy Asylum and Industrial School" - to accommodate twenty boys and four girls who would learn "the benefits of a settled existence associated with agriculture, as well as coming to the Christian faith."<sup>(26)</sup> The school was in its planning stages<sup>(27)</sup> when John West died suddenly of coronary thrombosis on 21 December, 1845, having been predeceased by his wife and six of their twelve children.<sup>(28)</sup>

West's obituary notice in The Gentleman's Magazine, February, 1846,

eulogized: "In the discharge of his duties, the Rev. John West was a faithful Parish Minister, and a good and upright man in all relations of life." A good and upright man according to his conscience and his peers in English society he most certainly was. The North American fur-trade community would likely have preferred the adjectives rigid, moralistic, haughty, intrusive, for their own relationships to him were not always "good and upright."<sup>(29)</sup> Sometimes he was stubborn and self-important.

Yet West was also remarkably observant of Indian religion and practice and in his manuscript journal unusually tolerant, although his published work is frequently supercilious.<sup>(30)</sup> He appreciated and recorded natural and social phenomena in intricate detail, adding to the store of knowledge then available about North America;<sup>(31)</sup> he was open to new experiences; and he possessed formidable physical strength, endurance and energy in his travels for hundreds of miles on foot, often on meagre rations, in bitter cold or tormented by mosquitoes.<sup>(32)</sup>

West was also a scholar, leaving the core of a library to the colony on his departure; an incessant schemer, projecting schools and establishments, new contacts and different modes of life.<sup>(33)</sup> He was courageous, legalistic, methodical, practical.<sup>(34)</sup> Above all West took great delight in the Prayer Book and loved the Church of England not wisely but too well.<sup>(35)</sup>

What were the motivations for mission which caused West to leave his family for prolonged periods and risk his life? He realized the difficulties of the calling, enumerating them in his Journal and adding, "who is sufficient for the great undertaking?"<sup>(36)</sup> Yet he took as his exemplars David Brainerd, Henry Martyn and the less well-known Christian Friedrich Schwartz.<sup>(37)</sup> These men, all stalwart evangelicals, felt the

plight of men's souls burning into their conscience and gave their lives to foreign missions. With models such as these, the strength of his evangelical training in Oxford and the influence of active mission advocates such as Charles Simeon and Henry Budd, it is small wonder that West declared, "I have no higher wish in life, than to spend and be spent in the service of Christ, for the salvation of the North American Indians."<sup>(38)</sup>

While John West's great passion was the salvation of the North American Indian, he also displayed symptoms of social consciousness in his efforts to educate the poor and socially peripheral in England, and to make access with dignity to the Church a possibility for them. These endeavours, however, can hardly be separated from his evangelizing, for the ultimate focus was always acceptance of Christianity by those whom he was serving. West's methods and his interaction with those in the fur-trade society of Red River reflect this same singleness of mind and purpose - a blessing as well as a bane.

### 3. Other Anglicans

On the return journey to England, West encountered his replacement, David Jones, at York Factory and the two men spent several days together. West welcomed him as a "fellow labourer," unaware that he himself was never to return to Red River. He makes no comment on his impression of the young missionary, but merely wishes him God-speed and entrusts several Indian children into his care.

David Thomas Jones, a Welsh farm boy, was accepted by the C.M.S. and sent to study under a tutor for his ministerial training in 1821.<sup>(1)</sup> He was ordained deacon in 1822 and priested in 1823, leaving that same

year for Rupert's Land. In 1828 he returned to Britain to marry Mary Lloyd and brought her to Red River the following year. When Mrs. Jones died, leaving five small children, Jones initially continued his work but in 1838 decided to retire to England. He was appointed Professor of Welsh at St. David's College with the attached Curacy of Lampeter, and here he remained until his death in 1844, at the age of forty-five.<sup>(2)</sup>

William and Mary Cockran and their young son Thomas joined David Jones at Red River in 1825. Cockran, son of a yeoman farmer, hailed from Chillingham, Northumberland, where he worked in agriculture before moving to Ordsall near Retford, to teach a village school.<sup>(3)</sup>

Because he wished to enter missionary service, the Rev. Mr. Brooks instructed him in accordance with C.M.S. policy, but when the vicar recommended him to the Society for missionary evangelism, he was rejected. Instead, the Society offered Cockran a more financially lucrative post managing a large tract of land in Travancore.<sup>(4)</sup> It is entirely possible that the young farmer-cum-teacher was suspected of seeking to advance his social status by missionary service, for when he refused Travancore in spite of its monetary benefits because acceptance would mean he could not preach, Mr. Bickersteth the Secretary reconsidered his decision: Cockran's motive, he recorded, was obviously "setting aside all earthly gain . . . to preach the gospel . . . ." <sup>(5)</sup>

Assigned to Red River, Cockran, "a very big and vigorous man", became deeply interested in molding both the Indians and country-born into agricultural communities and directed his enormous energy largely toward that end. Remarkably successful in this as in other projects, he established St. Andrew's (the "Lower Church"), St. Peter's Dynevor

[the Indian Church], St. Mary's Mission at Portage la Prairie, St. Margaret's at High Bluff, and St. Anne's at Poplar Point, with a mixture of good preaching, teaching and exhaustive physical labour.

In 1853 Bishop David Anderson appointed him Archdeacon of Assiniboia. William Cockran died at Portage la Prairie in 1865 and he was buried at his request in the churchyard of St. Andrew's, having served in Rupert's Land for forty years without returning to England. The chattering Letitia Hargrave said of him, ". . . every one allows that there is not a better man in the world."<sup>(6)</sup> The Indians, afraid in 1838 that he would leave them because of over-work, wrote to the C.M.S., "We all wish to let you know, as Mr. Cockran began with us, we wish him to end with us; he is now well-customed with our oily and fishy smell and all our bad habits."<sup>(7)</sup> And after his death Alexander Ross, no enthusiast of Anglican clerics, admitted, "Of all the missionaries sent to the Red River in our day, none has laboured more zealously . . . than he; none has accomplished so much good; and as a Christian at the bed of sickness, or as a friend to the helpless poor, no minister of the Gospel ever surpassed him."<sup>(8)</sup> Praise from the Company, the Indian, and the settlers alike, not at the first flowering of his career but after years of service, this is high tribute indeed for someone tending toward narrowness in doctrine and practice, paternalism and great orthodoxy in missionary methods and outlook, and domineering in personality.<sup>(9)</sup>

During that difficult time in 1838 when it seemed both Cockran and Jones might leave Red River, the Indians, greatly alarmed, sent to the C.M.S., through David Jones, a plea not to be abandoned by the Society. "Must we turn to our idols and gods again"? they wrote, "or must we turn to the French Praying Masters. . . .? The Word of God says, that

one soul is worth more than all the world. Surely then, our friends, 300 souls is worthy of one Prayer-master. . . ." <sup>(10)</sup> In reply, John Smithurst was commissioned for Indian service in Rupert's Land; arriving in 1839.

Smithurst, born in 1807 of apparently good family, became romantically involved with his cousin, Florence Nightingale in his twenty-ninth year, but when they proposed marriage, family consternation and disapproval forced a permanent separation. <sup>(11)</sup> According to MacLeod, the decision for missions was not so much a feeling of being sent, or a yearning for lost souls, as a rational decision on the part of Nightingale rather than Smithurst. <sup>(12)</sup> If this is so, and if Smithurst, working at the time for Sir Richard Arkwright, "may possibly have had misgivings" <sup>(13)</sup> then the reports of his referees and the principal of the C.M.S. College at Islington that he was "ambitionless, and without sincere Xtian motivation," "not a man of shining talent" although of "decided piety" may well have their foundation in fact. <sup>(14)</sup>

In any case, Smithurst was zealous for Anglicanism in Rupert's Land and served his Church well, not only in the case of his parishioners and in aggressively advancing Anglican rites, <sup>(15)</sup> but also in the area of horticulture and agriculture, introducing cucumbers, melons and kidney beans to Red River. <sup>(16)</sup> Smithurst voluntarily served as Chaplain to the Sixth Royal Regiment of Foot during their two years posting in Red River, and as a member of the council of Assiniboia. In 1851 he returned to England but the next year took charge of St. John's Church in Elora, Ontario. Broken in health he soon resigned as rector, built himself a small house on a bush farm and lived there until his death in 1867. <sup>(17)</sup>

Two other Anglican priests peripherally connected with this study

are Abraham Cowley who arrived at Red River in 1841, and James Hunter assigned to Cumberland House in 1844.

Cowley, born in 1816, son of a Gloucestershire mason and educated at Fairford Free School as a boy, became the protege of the Rev. Lord Dynevor of Fairford.<sup>(18)</sup> What motivated him to volunteer for missionary service is not known but it seems that he was at first rejected by the C.M.S. On re-application and subsequent admission to Islington, "the principal found him to be 'much behind in knowledge,' rough in manners, afflicted by conceit, and 'infirm of temper,' although he was conceded considerable mental powers and great piety."<sup>(19)</sup> Whether the influence of Lord Dynevor extended only to Cowley's piety or whether the principal's observations were biased is open to question. In any case Cowley and his young wife sailed for Canada before ordination and he received deacon's orders from Bishop G.J. Mountain of Montreal. After serving a brief curacy at Chateauguay River, the couple travelled to Red River via England. In 1844 Cowley was priested and later appointed Archdeacon of Cumberland. He died full of years having served the Anglican Church in Rupert's Land for forty-seven of them.<sup>(20)</sup>

James Hunter, a native of Barnstaple, Devonshire, received his early education at the Blue Coat School, was articled to a local solicitor, but preferred the profession of schoolmaster. While teaching he came under the patronage of two clergymen who encouraged him to take Holy Orders but "ordination in England for one of his relatively humble circumstances was virtually out of the question. His attention was turned, therefore, to the possibility of service overseas."<sup>(21)</sup> This answers succinctly the question of motivation - Hunter chose the mission field as a means of social advancement to satisfy his ambition.

He spent four years at Islington where, in addition to his regular course work he spent time in London hospitals to gain medical knowledge. In 1843 Hunter was ordained both deacon and priest and the next year he and his wife sailed for Cumberland House. Letitia Hargrave pronounced them "the best that have come yet," but she also sympathized deeply for the many difficulties and hardships the young couple suffered when their supplies could not be sent to them until the following year.

Hunter proved a rigorous Churchman, and with Smithurst, caused the Wesleyans considerable consternation with his practice of re-marrying and re-baptizing those who had already received these rites from the Methodists. He also antagonized the native clergy with his self-superiority. In all his relationships he was considered reticent and taciturn. Yet Hunter manifested considerable linguistic abilities, mastering Cree and together with the native Minister, Henry Budd, translating Scripture and liturgy. In recognition of his services the Archbishop of Canterbury conferred on him the M.A. (Lambeth) degree.<sup>(22)</sup> Surely he could hardly be labelled one of a "group of mediocre products from Islington."<sup>(23)</sup>

After twenty years in Rupert's Land, the Hunters returned to England (1864) where, the year following he was presented with the living of St. Matthew's, Bayswater, London. Robert Hunter had finally realized his ambition - an English vicarage - via the road of overseas missions.

With Robert Hunter the line of pioneer Anglican clergymen in this study comes to an end. Their work was established. They had a Bishop.<sup>(24)</sup> Further outreach was in progress and the fields were still "white unto harvest." Their Wesleyan counterparts arrived in Rupert's Land fully two decades after John West but by virtue of their location far from

the Red River colony, they were in initial contact situations in a way West's immediate successors generally were not.

#### 4. The Wesleyan Methodists: James Evans

The Wesleyan superintendent, James Evans, was born in Kingston-upon-Hull in 1801, the son of a sea-captain, and decided when only eight years of age to pursue the life of a sailor.<sup>(1)</sup> Two voyages on the North Sea were enough to convince him of his folly, and consequently he and his brother Ephriam were sent to boarding school in Lincolnshire where he remained until his fifteenth year. While apprenticed to a staunch Wesleyan Methodist grocer with whom he lived, Evans heard the famous Evangelist Gideon Ouseley, was converted, and soon became a lay preacher on the Methodist circuit.<sup>(2)</sup>

Although his family emigrated to Canada about this time, Evans remained in London, "engaged in a large glass and crockery establishment," joining his family approximately two years later. He became a teacher near L'Original, Quebec, and here he met and married Mary Blithe Smith.<sup>(3)</sup> In 1825 the young couple moved to Upper Canada where, at a camp meeting, both reconsecrated their lives to God, receiving the "baptism of the Spirit."<sup>(4)</sup> Their missionary career was launched when Evans engaged to teach an Indian school for the Canadian Methodists at Rice Lake in 1828.

It was here that he began his study of Ojibwa and found his linguistic skills to be such that soon he was translating Scripture and hymns for local use. In 1830 Evans was received on probation for the Methodist Ministry with stations at Rice Lake and Mud Lake and later that year was assigned the superintendency of the Caven Circuit with seventeen

appointments, a very heavy burden of work. In 1833 he received full ordination and a year later was posted to the St. Clair mission which he served with outstanding success until his appointment as superintendent of the new British Wesleyan mission in Rupert's Land.<sup>(5)</sup> During this entire period he continued his translations, taking a manuscript to New York in 1837 and supervising its publication, a fitting prelude to the work he was soon to undertake at Norway House. It was during these years also that he met and became friendly with Peter Jacobs and Henry Bird Steinhauer who were to accompany him to the Rupert's Land mission. In 1840 he severed his connections with Canadian Methodism and assumed his work under the British Wesleyans in the Hudson's Bay territories.

Evans however, was interested not only in mission work and linguistics. His letters abound with references to news read in The Detroit Democrat, the Montreal Herald, and the Guardian which he thoroughly disliked, Methodist though it was, because "it is a vulgar backbiting misrepresenting slanderous publication . . . I'm disgusted and hate the very looks of the paper and it makes my heart sick to peruse it. . ."<sup>(6)</sup> Small wonder that his relationship with Egerton Ryerson, its editor, left much to be desired. But Evans worried about Methodist involvement in the question of Clergy Reserves (" . . . we should never have sought them and if we never get them it will do us no harm. . . ."),<sup>(7)</sup> American aggression, Indian reservations, the influence of Sir Francis Bond Head, and a variety of other public issues which illustrate the breadth of his interests and concerns.

With such a background, what was Evans motivation for mission? It was very clear and two-fold: to "save souls by preaching and travelling and visiting the poor heathen in their wretched wigwams, and teaching

young and old the way of life."<sup>(8)</sup> In other words, the salvation of souls and the wretchedness of the heathen which translated into Christianizing first but "civilizing" later to improve both spiritual and material conditions.<sup>(9)</sup>

Evans was a "missionary's missionary," tall, well-built, strong with great physical energy, capable not only in the traditional areas associated with the ministry, but able to build, hunt, innovate repairs, drive dogs and paddle canoes. He loved nature and people and was regarded as almost without blemish and without spot, "happy, buoyant, always rejoicing."<sup>(10)</sup> This was the image he projected. To his brother Ephriam he showed a side of his personality hidden even from his wife: "I dare not write to my dear Mary that I am often melancholy," he admitted in 1839, "I am indeed very downhearted . . . I sometimes never sleep a wink all night, and when I do I dream of everything but what I would wish."<sup>(11)</sup> This sleepless, depressed Evans appears in rare glimpses throughout the next years. In 1842 he confided again to Ephriam, "I am unfit for this, there is too much care and anxiety, too much travelling, and I have too little grace. . . ."<sup>(12)</sup> The facade was cracking. It took four more years for it to break to the point where he was no longer able to suppress the darker aspects of his personality.

Evans' story is well known and need not be repeated here except for a brief examination of his last year at Norway House. Regrettably, although there are letters and papers from this period still extant, the greater portion of his Journals were destroyed by fire and therefore the inner expression of his thought is not as complete as it should be.<sup>(13)</sup> Nevertheless, it is possible to reconstruct this period, as several authors have sought to do, with varying degrees of success and accuracy.<sup>(14)</sup>

The facts are: that Evans accidentally shot and killed his interpreter, Thomas Hassell, while on a trip into the interior; that stories began to circulate intimating "since the accident he has become deranged and that his conduct is immoral"; that William Mason was in charge of an ecclesiastical trial at which H.B. Steinhauer interpreted; that Mason found him "not guilty" of the charges of immorality but guilty of acting "imprudently and unbecoming (to his) high and responsible office"; that Evans was recalled to England at Simpson's request but had no indication that he was being removed; that he died of a heart attack in November, 1846, without hearing the report of the W.M.M.S. secretaries, Dr. Alder and Dr. Beecham.

On the basis of these facts various interpretations have emerged, the most recent being that of John Murdoch, who suggests that Evans had adapted to many aspects of the Cree life-style, and that while his "intimacy with Cree females in a typical Cree setting would not be acceptable" when considered from a Euro-Canadian viewpoint, it was perfectly legitimate from the natives' perspective.<sup>(15)</sup> He further proposes that:

Evans' intimate and Cree competent participation in Indian life-style brought about acculturative stresses. The changes brought him into increasing conflict with the values of Euro-Canadian society to which he was fervently committed. . . Indeed, as an immigrant to a new cultural and ecological environment he had borrowed so extensively from the Cree that he was no longer as secure in his Euro-Canadian beliefs and social skills. In the end, his zeal, no longer well-governed by a Euro-Canadian sense of propriety, carried him into ruinous conflict with his peers.<sup>(16)</sup>

While Murdoch's interpretation has elements of value it remains that Evans was initially accused of immorality not by his peers but by the very Crees whose culture he had supposedly assimilated. One of these, a Cree woman "the most formidable witness, the only one who has brought home

to Mr. Evans both fornication and adultery in her own individual case, has never recanted, though repeatedly pressed to do so even by her own husband."<sup>(17)</sup> This and other evidence was strong enough eventually to persuade even staunch supporters such as Ben Sinclair and Henry Steinhauer of Evans' guilt.<sup>(18)</sup>

Gerald Hutchinson has most accurately assessed both the man and his tragic situation:

I give you then the picture of an intense and dedicated Christian person and minister who worked with brilliance and devotion in the thirteen years following his ordination, teaching schools, establishing missions, preaching, reforming communities, encouraging the native people. I give you the picture of a linguistic genius who gave the Cree a writing system which has stood the test of a century. . . . But I give you the picture as well of one who degenerated from what Donald Ross had first described as "a perfect gem of a man" to what he later called "a talented, restless man" and finally "the king of hypocrites." The accumulation of tragedy, disease, and tension in Evans' last year seemed to break his emotional control and distort his rational judgment, culminating in the fatal heart attack at 45 years of age.

November 23, 1846, should be seen, not simply as the date of Evans' death, but as the end of the year of his dying. Surely our esteem for him should be based on the years of his life. May God rest his soul.<sup>(19)</sup>

##### 5. Robert Rundle

One of the young British missionaries Evans was to supervise and to whom he referred as "my dear boys" was Robert Terrill Rundle.<sup>(1)</sup> Born to Robert and Grace Carvosso Rundle in 1811 at Mylor, County Cornwall, Robert likely grew up on a farm surrounded by four siblings and his grandfather, William Carvosso, who came to live with the family when the boy was only three.<sup>(2)</sup> Undoubtedly his grandfather greatly influenced young Rundle for William Carvosso was a rather extraordinary person. A product of John Wesley's revivals, he spent his latter years evangelizing as a lay preacher of renowned ability in British Methodist circles.<sup>(3)</sup>

In spite of such strong Methodist influences, however, there is evidence that the Rundle family remained closely linked to the Church of England.<sup>(4)</sup> Robert, in writing to his father in 1837, comments, "I am a due attendant at the Church, very often twice on the Sunday. I've rather a partiality toward the Mother Church and I have one wish respecting my poor body and that when the period arrives when it will be laid in the dust, it will find a resting place in Mylor Church Yard. . . I should not like to be laid in a dissenting place of interment. . . ."<sup>(5)</sup> Yet from the same letter one learns that young Rundle is "a stauncher Wesleyan than ever . . . I like Methodism. I am proud of the name of a Wesleyan." It was obviously a case of conversion to the Methodist cause without a doctrinal break from the Church of his earlier life.<sup>(6)</sup> And conversion there most certainly was. In his Journal entry for 1 March, 1848, Rundle remembers, "But blessed be God soul reform reached me and not only reform but a mighty soul-rending revolution for old things passed away and all things were made new."<sup>(7)</sup> Exactly when this soul-rending revolution occurred or when he united with the Wesleyans is not certain.<sup>(8)</sup> The Journal entry indicates there may have been some trauma involved and a letter written to his father in 1837, although abstruse and obscure, seems to substantiate this hypothesis: "The Old Ship is still ploughing her course through the tumultuous ocean . . . I believe she has recovered from the effects of the late storm. One thing to be said now, the crew will not be so much alarmed at the sound of pop-guns in future. I am a stauncher Wesleyan than ever. I see no reason for recanting my sentiments. . . ."<sup>(9)</sup> From this stand he never deviated.

While in his late teens Robert Rundle became deeply aware of the

social and political climate of the times. Many years later he remembered: "Thought this morning of the glorious 1st March, 1830, memorable as the time when Lord John Russell introduced the celebrated Reform Bill. I was only about 18 or 19 years of age. . . . What difference in my views now and then! . . . What a stir in those days! Reform! Reform! Multitudes thought much of reform who neglected to think of reforming themselves. . . ." <sup>(10)</sup> One may confidently surmise that to remember the day seventeen years later indicates a deep involvement with the issues which included not only Parliamentary and franchise reform but Catholic and non-conformist rights. <sup>(11)</sup> Then something happened. Was it his conversion to the Methodist connexion? Whatever it was, his views altered fundamentally. In a letter to his father written while Rundle was enrolled in a school of business training near Boscastle in 1837, he admits, "I've lost pretty much of my radical blood since I entered Boscarth. I don't like Radicalism and I reckon that I shall be transformed into a Tory before long." <sup>(12)</sup> Very likely this shift of political allegiance to Toryism occurred, for he comments in 1848, "What difference in my views now and then!"

In spite of his apparent belief that political activism was contrary to evangelical religion, <sup>(13)</sup> Rundle seems to have maintained an interest in the activities of the larger world, even when his own became insular. He was concerned lest there be war between England and the United States; he was aware of the uprisings in Canada in 1837, commenting on his journey into the interior, "Passed Papineau's residence today . . . beautifully situated, miserable man!" <sup>(14)</sup> And many years later, at Fort Edmonton, received with interest the news of Daniel O'Connell's death. <sup>(15)</sup>

Just two years after "losing his radical blood" Robert Rundle

offered himself as a candidate for the Wesleyan ministry, and entered the Methodist training college. It was here that he heard the request for missionaries in the Hudson's Bay territories, and early in 1840 volunteered for this service. By 24 February he was on his way to Bristol on the first leg of a journey to ordination and to overseas service. Robert Terrill Rundle was ordained as a missionary of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society on 8 March, 1840, at the Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, St. Georges in the East, London, by Jabez Bunting, John Beechan, Robert Alder and Elijah Hoak.<sup>(16)</sup>

It is obvious from Rundle's Journals that he considered missionary service the highest calling for a Christian and entertained no doubt of his personal responsibility: "I believe I am called of God to go."<sup>(17)</sup> His initial impetus for missions was not so much the plight and depravity of the native, or even a "love for lost souls" (which came later) but the command of Christ to go into all the world. Rundle considered himself "an ambassador for Him . . . who is King of Kings and Lord of Lords," and as such ventured into the unknown, in spite of great fear, with remarkable self-confidence: "Perhaps in reference to my Mission I am too sanguine in my expectations but the Lord will surely go with me and bless my labours. . . ."<sup>(18)</sup>

Rundle had need of the Lord's blessing and intervention, for to all outward appearances he was not the stuff of which missionaries are made. John Henry Lefroy remembered, "I found Mr. Rundle a good little man, very young and inexperienced, and of no obvious fitness for his calling, and very ignorant."<sup>(19)</sup> And John Rowand wrote to Simpson, "Between you and I he was not made to be what he is. I do not say that he is not a good man. God forbid I should hint any such thing."<sup>(20)</sup> What neither

of these critics seemed to realize was that it was precisely his "goodness" which made Rundle so acceptable to the Indians and this in spite of not possessing stature or other qualities "truly respectable and grand, and superior to the Indian trader."<sup>(21)</sup>

Unlike his superintendent, James Evans, who was "the ideal missionary, the matchless dog-traveller, the fearless canoist,"<sup>(22)</sup> Rundle emphatically did not possess the grand superiority which supposedly epitomized the "god-man" of the Indians. He was below average in height,<sup>(23)</sup> clumsy on horses and inept in canoes; he was incautious to the point of causing Rowand to exclaim in exasperation, "The man is a fool!"<sup>(24)</sup> To complete this picture of incompetence he was accident-prone, forgetful, frequently losing articles of importance or worse still, wandering off and becoming himself the object of anxious searching.<sup>(25)</sup>

But what Rundle lacked in acceptable secular qualities he more than compensated in qualities of the spirit. A consistent child-like simplicity and the unquestioning trust for which he longed were evident in his life.<sup>(26)</sup> To promote faith he fasted and prayed, studied the Scriptures and religious writings and agonized over his own unworthiness in true evangelical fashion.<sup>(27)</sup>

In spite of Rundle's belief in the hand of the Almighty under him for good, he was not immune to moments of despair about his soul's salvation, or to temptation, or to periods of depression, and painful self-doubt. Indeed, the wonder is that in his isolation he recovered from these despondencies with the resilience that he did. And when his spirit was buoyant, his language became imaginative, even poetic, spilling over at times into grandiloquence and occasional pomposity.<sup>(28)</sup> This verbosity effectively hides Rundle's innate sensitivity and genuineness

while loudly proclaiming his emotional sentimentality and near-obsession with truth. As Hutchinson says, "He seemed to be in mortal fear of putting down an untruth, so he went to supreme lengths to qualify many of his statements."<sup>(29)</sup>

In view of Rundle's inordinate concern with perfect truth it is an irony of no little consequence that he should be reprimanded for lying. As Rundle recorded the incident he had taken some tobacco to an Indian camp for a ritual gift exchange when he found a "famine here for tobacco and my stock not very great." What exactly Rundle told the natives who besieged him with requests for the weed he does not record, but the next day there was "trouble at night with a Slave Indian about tobacco he said I lied because I said I had none."<sup>(30)</sup> Paul Kane, admittedly extravagant in his descriptions, recalls the incident:

Mah-Min [a Blackfoot Chief] gave one of the missionaries who was up here last summer a very long and serious lecture upon lying. It seems the missionary, who did not smoke himself, had brought with him a carat of tobacco for the purpose of purchasing horses and food from the Indians, should he require them. Immediately on his arrival, the Indians, who had exhausted their stock, eagerly inquired if he had any tobacco, but he was afraid that if he acknowledged he had any they would want it all, and leave him without anything to barter with them, and denied that he had any. Shortly afterwards, when he was about to return, he went to Mah-Min, and told him that he wanted horses and some provisions to return, and that he would pay him for them in tobacco, when Mah-Min said to him, "You preach to the Indians many things, and tell them not to steal or lie; how can they believe or listen to you? You are the father of lies. You said you had no tobacco, and now you say you have plenty."<sup>(31)</sup>

Whatever the truth of the matter it seems inconceivable that the scrupulous Rundle would tell an outright lie no matter how pressing the issue. That Kane probably embellished the story considerably is evident from the fact that 180 Assiniboines were waiting to shake Rundle's hand the next morning on his departure - hardly the farewell accorded to a

liar! On the other hand Rundle does record that after the tobacco incident, the "Slave Indians not in my sleeping place in the morning."<sup>(32)</sup>

Rundle was not only legalistically truthful, however, he was also a tender, caring person, giving little gifts to a small child, letting a tired Indian boy ride his horse while he himself walked, sharing food, staying long hours with the sick. His concern extended to birds and animals as well as humans and the love he displayed for a succession of cats is almost pathetic.<sup>(33)</sup> While the more ludicrous incidents involving these pets became part of the traders' stock of fireside stories, Paul Kane relates the following incident:

No sooner had we mounted our rather skittish animals than the Indians crowded around, and Mr. Rundell, who was rather a favourite amongst them, came in for a large share of their attentions, which seemed to be rather annoying to his horse. His cat he had tied to the pommel of his saddle by a string, about four feet long, round her neck, and had her safely, as he thought, concealed in the breast of his capote. She, however, did not relish the plunging of the horse, and made a spring out, utterly astonishing the Indians, who could not conceive where she had come from. The string brought her up against the horse's legs, which she immediately attacked. The horse now became furious, kicking violently, and at last threw Mr. Rundell over his head, but fortunately without much injury. All present were convulsed with laughter, to which the Indians added screeching and yelling as an accompaniment, rendering the whole scene indescribably ludicrous.<sup>(34)</sup>

This vast amount of affection showered on animals as well as on children, while certainly genuine, also seems an indication of the great loneliness Rundle experienced in the wilds of the Saskatchewan. While there were Hudson's Bay men whom he enjoyed and respected, spiritual fellowship with those of like mind was lacking. This was a common missionary problem. George Barnley lamented it and James Evans acknowledged, "My greatest complaint in this country is the want of Christian fellowship and especially of ministerial society."<sup>(35)</sup> If Evans, who was married and shared the station at Norway House almost constantly with

other Wesleyans - translators or educators - could cite this as his greatest complaint, and then admit that while on circuit his loneliness was such that he thought of home and wept,<sup>(36)</sup> how much more the young, inexperienced, unmarried young men in first contact situations. John Henry Lefroy mentions Rundle "lamenting his own exclusion from church privileges, and asking my opinion of the propriety of administering the Holy Communion to himself alone."<sup>(37)</sup>

Their loneliness, as Evans' also, was not merely for lack of spiritual compatibility but appears to be a mixture of homesickness, isolation, an overwhelming sense of unshared responsibility, and even suppressed sexual drive.<sup>(38)</sup> Rundle is again a case in point. His homesickness during the first year invaded even his dreams and he records vivid images of "Old England," Mylor Bridge, Dowstall and even his dead brother William.<sup>(39)</sup> Gradually this pattern changed into an obsessive longing for letters, letters which should have been his by right of relationship or position but which he was denied. He seldom heard from his family, rarely from the W.M.M.S., his superintendent James Evans, or his colleagues, Mason and Barnley.<sup>(40)</sup> After an initial adjustment the diaries of both Rundle and Barnley begin to speak of marriage: its desirability and its very necessity in conditions such as theirs, and both request leave to return to England to find a bride. Both are refused. While Barnley flails about in the darkness of severe depression, Rundle, in spite of occasional bouts of self-doubt almost bordering on despair, still continues on his plodding way.

William Mason at Lac la Pluie, alone among the missionaries, may have succumbed to fleshly desires, for Letitia Hargrave mentions him fathering a son.<sup>(41)</sup> If this is indeed the case, correspondence and

Journals of both traders and missionaries are amazingly discreet, for there is no other evidence. Yet Mason soon afterward married the gifted Sophia Thomas and thereby solved for himself the Biblical problem whether it is better to marry or to burn. The question arises, was Rundle never tempted to emulate Mason or the traders and take a country-born wife, or to indulge in a brief liaison in some remote area, as missionaries have been known to do? No doubt the latter suggestion would have horrified his Methodist mind yet who is to say that those mighty battles with "temptation" which he chronicles were not battles over issues such as this, warfare of the spirit against his body and its legitimate desires. And if the "missionary's missionary," James Evans, could falter and fall on the rock of morality how much more a young and single man!

Whatever Rundle's battles with the flesh he makes no more mention of marriage, although he writes rather wistfully to his sister that while he is still "wandering in bachelor meditation, . . . lovely, kind woman in many respects is much the same all the world over, whether savage or civilized," suggesting that possibly a native or country-born woman did indeed attract his fancy.<sup>(42)</sup> Two possibilities only present themselves from his Journal entries: The first, that he became enamoured with Margaret Harriott who arrived at Fort Edmonton to marry John Rowand, Jr.,<sup>(43)</sup> and the second that the daughter of his friend Seenan who was greatly attracted to Rundle presented a temptation.

References to Margaret Harriott are scattered and few, and only the deliberate naming of her attendance at every service even when no one else is mentioned, plus the rather cryptic notation after her marriage, "What a change respecting Miss Harriott. Will she ever hear me preach

again?"<sup>(44)</sup> could even remotely imply any personal interest.

The young Indian widow, Seenan's daughter, however, was obviously attracted to Rundle, attending his services and visiting his rooms, until he, a few weeks after the marriage of Margaret Harriott bursts out in frustration, "What trouble I have had about women here in this house. What a state for an Englisher to have to do with. O England! O England's women!"<sup>(45)</sup> Whatever Rundle's true meaning in these enigmatic words, they, together with the references to Miss Harriott, form the only indication that he ever became even remotely interested emotionally in any woman in Rupert's Land. It was not until 1854, at the age of forty-three that Rundle married Mary Wolverson at Cosely Church, County Stafford, and fathered nine children by her.<sup>(46)</sup>

However lonely Rundle may have been in the Saskatchewan, he had that rare ability of making friends even with those who came to scoff, both Indian and white. So he numbered the Protestant J.E. Harriott, the Catholic John Rowand, the Jesuit Father De Smet, the Indian Maskepetoon, and the mixed blood "Jimmie Jock" Bird among those whom he called friends, and this they were in spite of differences and occasional conflict.<sup>(47)</sup>

Rundle's friendships are indicative of his adaptability, for as he could accommodate himself to various personalities so he could adapt to differing circumstances. He rarely complained about anything except his health. The lament: "No meat! No Bread! No tea! No sugar! No medicine! No nothing but water!" is the cry of utter frustration rather than a commonplace occurrence.<sup>(48)</sup> Rundle changed his diet, his clothing, his bed, and his place of residence with no more than a laconic comment. Even the Sabbath was not sacrosanct and although he went to great lengths to observe it whenever possible, he made no enemies on this account.<sup>(49)</sup>

Yet with all his adaptability Rundle had signs of a temper as well, an independent streak, a stubbornness which allowed him to adjust so far and no further. One example must suffice: "Mr. H(arriott) spoke in a way about affair connected with company that he never did before to me. I did not yield. I returned, I prayed, I went again. . . I told him I nearly cried about it and I had been to prayer. He said he was sorry he had sent the (sic) note . . . I gave him to learn it was a matter of conscience. O that rum, that rum!"<sup>(50)</sup> Standing his ground he won his point, whatever it was, on this occasion. It seems that when a principle was at stake even the malleable Rundle showed a "spirited independence." As with Harriott so also in encounters with Governor Simpson and even his own Society.<sup>(51)</sup> Rundle was basically his own man, a man of moral and even of physical courage.<sup>(52)</sup>

Although Rundle appears as a well integrated, mature and likeable person, there is a problem common to both him and Barnley - recurring illness. While John West boasted of uninterrupted good health and James Evans could endure the hardest conditions without apparent physical repercussion, Rundle and Barnley suffered continually and exhibited surprisingly similar symptoms: headaches, stomach disorders, general lethargy, "nearly fainting," and the ubiquitous and vague, "feeling unwell." On more than one occasion after hearing bad news, Rundle mentions "sick-threw-up-got better" and was frequently "unwell" in consequence of unpleasant situations.<sup>(53)</sup> He attributed much of his malaise to "changeableness of the weather and also to the circumstances in which I was placed, change of diet, close rooms" and lack of exercise.<sup>(54)</sup>

Whatever his own diagnosis, it seems only reasonable to assume that the deep loneliness of his inner life, his isolation, and the pressure

of his work exacerbated the problems of his body and that often his illness was psychophysiological.<sup>(55)</sup> For in spite of his nagging ailments Rundle possessed remarkable physical stamina. An examination of his Journal shows him to be travelling almost constantly and undertaking tasks requiring great exertion such as climbing mountains, fording icy rivers, running from forest or grass fires, fighting bitter cold, hunger, (lice), riding on horseback for twelve continuous hours, and the like.<sup>(56)</sup> However mediocre Rundle's health may actually have been, he did not allow it to impinge too greatly on his activities.

One last and most appealing aspect of Rundle is his sense of humour. Governor Simpson disapproved of his manner as not being serious enough for a missionary, and felt he was "too much given to frivolous chit chat and gossip with our Clerks. . . ."<sup>(57)</sup> Rundle himself admits to picnicing with Mrs. Evans, Clarissa and some others on Lake Winnipeg, and comments, "A picnic party in the wilds of America! Surely this is worthy of record."<sup>(58)</sup> His antics with his cats caused his companions to roar with laughter, and possibly the ability to act the clown was one great reason for his popularity with the Indians. Very little of this lighter vein is apparent in his Journals - it would not have been "appropriate" - and therefore one must assume that the fun that does occasionally appear, in his association with De Smet for example, is only the tip of the iceberg.<sup>(59)</sup>

After a broken wrist refused to heal, Rundle returned to England in 1848, expecting to return to North America as soon as possible. It is likely that the change over in administration of the mission from British to Canadian authority made such a reappointment unfeasible at the time.<sup>(60)</sup> In any case, he appears to have made plans to go to Australia instead, but this scheme also did not materialize, and after his marriage in

1854, Rundle made no further gestures toward overseas service.<sup>(61)</sup> Instead, he preached in England on the Methodist circuit. In 1886 he became a supernumerary and in 1892 served the Garstang circuit in Lancashire.<sup>(62)</sup> He loved to reminisce of his missionary experiences, remained in correspondence with Indian friends, and kept abreast of what was happening in North American Methodism. On 4 February, 1896, at the age of eighty-five, he died, "full of years and surrounded by loving friends. . . ."<sup>(63)</sup>

## 6. George Barnley

The youngest of the three British Wesleyans to sail for Rupert's Land in 1840, George Barnley celebrated his twenty-fourth birthday on board ship. Although apparently London-born and bred, very little is known of Barnley's early life.<sup>(1)</sup> He mentions his parents and siblings (but not by name), he describes his conversion in true Methodist fashion, but little more. Whether he had any sense of social responsibility outside of his concern for mission work is not revealed. But his sense of the high calling of God to those chosen for foreign missions is clarion clear, and among this elect he counted himself. In a letter to the Society he comments on being "specifically commissioned to teach (the Indians) the ordinances and commandments of the Lord. . . ."<sup>(2)</sup>

This theme of being called took on the form not only of being sent by God, but also by men, for in his first sermon to the Indians he speaks "of the sympathy of British Christians, and that it was a book, which the Great Spirit had caused to be written, that had taught them to send me. . . ."<sup>(3)</sup> Added to this aspect of motivation was an exalted concept of missions common to evangelicals and evident in his shipboard

panegyric: "I go forth on a noble errand and Oh my God it is for Thee. . ."(4) Clearly, to be a missionary was to be in favour with God and man, at least with men who counted.

While hardly a scholar, Barnley seemed aware of his need for self-improvement and read fairly extensively for someone in his circumstances. This study was of course also in accord with W.M.M.S. recommendations of which the overly-scrupulous Barnley would certainly be aware. During the winter of 1840-41 he listed the following books as completed: four volumes of Introduction to Critical Study of Scripture; "President Edwards on Revivals of Religion"; the Memoirs of Josephine and Napoleon, as well as those of Cromwell and Rev. W. Black of Nova Scotia; the Religion of Protestants by Chillingsworth; Captain Cochrane's Travels in Russia; A History of Montreal; Popery Unveiled; a volume on the Council of Trent, and one on Africa. The selection tells us something of his times as well as of his personality and tastes. Great literary works are conspicuously absent, while religious editions, understandably, are most prominent.

In addition to his reading (and there is no indication whether he read for pleasure as well as self-improvement) Barnley sketched for diversion, showing considerable artistic talent in the scenes from the northland and Indian life which he included in some of his reports.<sup>(5)</sup> Added to his written observations these drawings show him to be aware of nature and the world around him in a way only John West appears to have equaled.

They also reveal an engagingly enthusiastic young man, eager to be about his work, interested, and alert. This impression is verified by James Evans, who, on meeting him, wrote to Dr. Alder that he was "much

pleased with everything connected with" Barnley.<sup>(6)</sup> For the young missionary the Albany Indians were a source of "great delight"; the class meeting at Moose "a season of visitation from on high," while the men's class proved "an occasion of good to my soul."<sup>(7)</sup> He expressed a desire to "learn the arts of Indian life" and "to become expert in using the paddle."<sup>(8)</sup>

To further this end as well as his missionary activities he decided:

Much time would subsequently be saved and a much greater probability of usefulness secured, at once devoting my whole attention, or nearly so, to the acquisition of the Indian language. I have entertained the idea of encountering the rigours of the winter in an Indian lodge, accompanying some of the most cleanly families. . . The plan is approved by most of the gentlemen to whom I have spoken on the subject, as one by which the knowledge I seek would be most effectually, and, perhaps, the only one by which it could be at all, secured.<sup>(9)</sup>

Not only did Barnley determine to learn the Indian language immediately, he planned to contact the Eskimos, open a school, establish a Sunday School, and organize daily prayers for the Company men. He entered his work with vigour, strong resolution and a sense of organization. Even in 1843 when his spirit had begun to flag, he decided a rigorous daily schedule might prove an antidote to his ennui and committed himself to two hours of each: "dead languages" (he chose Latin); Indian languages; theology; one hour of history and mathematics, and thirty minutes of English. Meals were to occupy two hours, school "probably three." He allowed another three for exercise and miscellaneous and seven for sleep. Saturdays and Sundays were reserved for sermon preparation and services.<sup>(10)</sup> After two days of adhering to this regime he exults, ". . . in body, mind and soul I find an abundant reward. For the first time I seem to have aroused myself to fight this battle alone. . . ." <sup>(11)</sup>

While this fighting spirit was indicative of a cyclical mood-swing, it was also in keeping with Barnley's not inconsiderable opinion of himself and his abilities. He believed his own work in linguistics "in every way better" than that of the veteran James Evans, and his claim in later years that the "change for Indian improvement came through my instrumentality, and so the adoption of the syllabic alphabet at all the Church Mission Stations throughout the territory," is not the fulmination of a humble spirit.<sup>(12)</sup> Nor is the affirmation that he had displayed to Chief Trader Corcoran "a more noble example of ministerial disinterestedness than he had supposed could exist. May God make use of it."<sup>(13)</sup>

Barnley himself was aware of this tendency to self-importance. On the second anniversary of his ordination, having "as usual made it a day of fasting and prayer," he admits "endeavouring to humble myself before the Lord but alas! My heart is not easily brought into the dust of self-abasement."<sup>(14)</sup> This statement cannot be dismissed as merely cant, although it may be strongly tinged with evangelical pedantry. But the admission, coupled with the intense almost manic hyperactivity of his first months, and the corresponding periods of black despondency seem to indicate that Barnley suffered from some form of major depression during this period of his life. The swings of mood are very evident. From castigating himself as a "barren tree," "a spiritual coward," and a "low loathsome wretch,"<sup>(15)</sup> he shifts into an elevated, expansive mood bordering on arrogance, during which he makes grandiose plans most of which are never brought to fruition. While he trumpets his superiority on the one hand, he shortly thereafter agonizes, "I both loathe myself and yet remain a sort of willing and helpless captive. . .," in this case, captive to "spiritual cowardice, unbelief and indolence."<sup>(16)</sup>

Granted that this was the idiom of evangelical Christianity, a careful study of his Journal indicates that his shifts of disposition went far beyond the ordinary. His first year in James Bay is representative of what was to follow. Just four short months after an exuberant beginning, he admits to severe depression in which he confesses, "[I] seem almost to wish that my mother's womb had been my grave."<sup>(17)</sup> The darkness deepens and he flounders in despair, ". . . weary of earth, myself and Sin." The burden of responsibility seems too great and he considers leaving his post and his calling for some "mercantile situation" in Canada.<sup>(18)</sup> The nadir is reached when he confesses, "I have several times lately been tempted to the awful act of self-destruction."<sup>(19)</sup>

Then the mood shifts. The physical weariness and abject lethargy abate somewhat and Barnley is able to write, "I have felt this day to be on the whole better than former days."<sup>(20)</sup> Although he was soon able to function as before, preaching, visiting, and travelling, these cyclical bouts of depression remained until his marriage. Gradually he lost much of his joy in missionary activity, lamenting, ". . . [I] feel inclined to wish that I had been appointed to labour with my hands for bread, instead of occupying a position for which I have neither heart nor head,"<sup>(21)</sup> a far cry indeed from being "specifically commissioned" and on "a noble errand."

Whatever the psychological causes for Barnley's depressions, certainly his loneliness and isolation must have acted as a catalyst in some instances at least.<sup>(22)</sup> Even the physical isolation of Moose Factory contrasted to the English urban scene must have constituted a degree of culture shock. Dugald Mactavish, describing Moose in a letter to his mother, says "Weeks and months pass away, and we never see a

strange face here, not even an Indian, so you imagine what sort of a place it is. . . ." (23) Added to the physical isolation was Barnley's isolation as a missionary in fur-trade society, an alien who spoke and thought in an idiom at variance from those around him.

Although loneliness and isolation were probably his basic problems, Barnley also suffered from that "evangelical syndrome" - guilt and excessive introspection. He worried lest his praying "has been too formal"; (24) he blamed himself for "not living near to God in private. It is an awful thing to be [responsible?] for souls . . ." (25) He is obsessed with his lack of love and grace and when "a little grateful feeling towards God" springs up in his breast, he does not praise and rejoice but continues to examine self. (26)

With stress of this magnitude and from such various sources, it is hardly surprising that Barnley rapidly developed serious physical ailments. One student of loneliness mentions uprootedness, "alienation, intense loneliness, social isolation, and the total lack of any social support" as causes of illness and all these Barnley was experiencing. (27) He complained of nausea, headaches, "langour and drowsiness" and general ennui. In November, 1842, while preaching he became "confused." "My nerves," he writes, "seem to be irritated by the merest trifle, and so much so that when under any extraordinary excitement it is almost impossible for me to retain enough self-possession so as to speak connectedly. This I attribute partially to confinement within doors and partly to the state of comparative seclusion to which as an unmarried man I am doomed." (28)

Another year passed. In November, 1843, Barnley complained, "[I am] suffering from an interruption of my health unusually serious. My

body through the region of the stomach and chest and bowels has been in a state of tremor, with occasional sharp though not severe pains in every part, so that scarcely any posture has been quite an easy one." A week later: "(I) rise to the suspicion that in some measure both heart and lungs are diseased." Then he comes to the crux of the matter, apparently unaware of what his words are saying: ". . . I notice these physical facts because there are none here who seem to feel much interest in my health. . . ." <sup>(29)</sup> He had failed in his most desperate ploy - to gain the attention and sympathy of those around him. <sup>(30)</sup>

Feeling so utterly alone and dejected, Barnley, like Rundle in Edmonton, requested leave to return to England and find himself a wife. The request was heartlessly denied by uncomprehending superiors. <sup>(31)</sup> A measure of the man is that he did not precipitously leave his post, although he was tempted to do so, but tenaciously continued his weary, insular spiritual warfare. In 1845, Barnley finally, in Brooks' words, "managed to get to England for the purpose of collecting a wife" <sup>(32)</sup> and then returned again to his "parish." Although his second term of service was also an unhappy one, the reasons this time lay not so much within himself, for his Journals no longer reflect the anxiety-ridden, depressed condition of his pre-marital years, but with his wife and the change she apparently effected in him.

In 1847 the couple precipitously returned to England. Barnley served the Methodist connexion in and around London for another forty years, then died in September, 1904 at the age of eighty-nine.

It would be only too easy to dismiss George Barnley as a neurotic, "too easy overcome by trifles," an accusation he leveled against himself. <sup>(33)</sup> This judgement, however, would be a serious injustice.

Rather than condemn the missionary, the sending Society must be castigated for an insensitivity bordering on callousness in its treatment of the young preacher. Not only was he far too unfledged to be posted to the isolated responsibility of James Bay, he was an urban-dweller, London-born and bred, a mere high-strung, immature youth, totally unfit by temperament and upbringing for a change which demanded unusual maturity and stability as well as experience in the ways of the North. Once sent, the Society was remiss in giving him so little attention and encouragement - not even always one letter per year does little to uphold morale or offer sustenance to the soul - while even his superintendent, James Evans, was unable, ever, to visit the remote fastness to offer personal, caring concern and direction, as he did to Robert Rundle. And when Barnley, realizing his own desperate need and loneliness, requested leave to marry, it was denied.<sup>(34)</sup> There is only one defense, the sole mitigating factor: James Lynch contends that until recently, "scant attention was paid to the stresses involved in leaving one's family and homeland to come to a new country,"<sup>(35)</sup> and therefore ignorance, not only on the part of the W.M.M.S. but of the times, ruled out any consideration of at least some of the problems which Barnley encountered.

Wherever the blame rests, Barnley's years in the James Bay area were certainly not an unqualified success. Yet John Horden, his Anglican successor, and Bishop David Anderson both give him generous recognition,<sup>(36)</sup> while the Anglican historian, A.R. Buckland somewhat reluctantly concludes, ". . . some few [Indians] had, under the teaching of the Wesleyan missionary, become devout and consistent Christians."<sup>(37)</sup> It may be that James Evans' appraisal is the most accurate. In 1845 he concluded

that while Barnley's mission was "not all we could desire" it was "perhaps all we could expect, and as such [it] demands unfeigned gratitude."<sup>(38)</sup>

## 7. William Mason

The last of the Wesleyan missionaries to be considered here, William Mason, is not, strictly speaking, an initial contact missionary, for when he arrived at Lac la Pluie in May, 1840, Peter Jacobs the Indian Evangelist, had already been resident there for almost a year while Father Belcourt visited the area regularly as well.<sup>(1)</sup> Yet the Indians here were inhospitable to missionaries and even contemporary settlers at Red River sympathized with Mason's unenviable situation. Adam Thom wrote to James Evans, ". . . the transition all at once from the comforts of England to the inscrutable [?] hardships and privations of Lac la Pluie, without the preparation of an intermediate seasoning in Canada, must be severely felt by him."<sup>(2)</sup> In 1843 Mason was transferred to Norway House to assist James Evans and on the latter's removal, took charge of both the mission and the printing and translation work.

Mason is an historically enigmatic individual, attracting much unfavourable publicity as the Judas in James Evans' tragedy, and equally much praise as the printer of the Cree Bible.<sup>(3)</sup> William Brooks finds him the "most complex and verbose" of the Wesleyans, with his "fulsome reports," written in a "beautiful and precise" hand "providing all the information the Committee could ever require along with a full explanation of his own and everyone else's conduct."<sup>(4)</sup> The following is an example of his verbosity and grandiloquence:

. . . many and great have been the interpositions of mercy and grace which I have experienced since my departure from England, four times has my room been saved from being totally destroyed

by fire: several times have I been rescued from a watery grave, and once I had been lost in the woods for eight long hours; and such have been the dangers to which I have been or shall continue to be exposed [sic] while a wanderer in the wild uncultivated forests of North America, but still I can sing

"O what are all my sufferings here  
If Lord Thou count me meet. . . etc.

As Brooks comments, "Certainly most of Mason's reports seem to be written for public consumption and inspiration."<sup>(6)</sup>

The young missionary emerges from the correspondence of this early period as a singularly unattractive personality - not only pompous but immature, arrogant, weak, complaining, and legalistic to the point of absurdity for he informs Evans, ". . . to tell you the truth I do not approve of letter writing on the Sabbath day unless the letter be of absolute necessity - or strictly religious."<sup>(7)</sup> His transfer to Norway House caused Letitia Hargrave to muse, "Evans and Mason quarrelled when they were some 700 miles separate, I don't know how they will get on as next door neighbours."<sup>(8)</sup> When the antagonism actually flared, Mrs. Hargrave not only caustically detailed Mason's harangues against his supervisor but mocked his sermons and use of the English language as well.<sup>(9)</sup>

Yet the trauma of Evans' trial and the assumption of responsibility for the mission after the superintendent's return to England appear to have effected a thorough and wholesome change. Donald Ross refers to Mason's conduct as "both reserved and circumspect" and commends his honesty and sincerity.<sup>(10)</sup> Mason himself does not gloat or condemn but writes that he wishes only to bury Evans' "doings . . . in his grave."<sup>(11)</sup> So, putting this ordeal behind him, the Wesleyan now took concrete action to improve his ministry by studying medicine; he assumed

control of the printing and translating operation; his relationship with Company Officers improved; and the tone of his letters to the Society changed perceptibly.<sup>(12)</sup> It seems Mason had matured, and with this shift his mission prospered.

When the British Wesleyans decided to transfer control of their Rupert's Land missions to the Canadian connexion, Mason, feeling much greater kinship with English Anglicans than with the unknown Canadian Methodists, requested acceptance into the Church of England. In 1854 he was ordained and priested by Bishop David Anderson and assigned to York Factory, where he remained until his return to England in 1873.<sup>(13)</sup> In the Mother Country he was greeted with appreciation and plied with honours, including the degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1880 from the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the vicarage of Long Horsley, Morpeth, Newcastle-on-Tyne which carried with it a net income of 209 pounds per annum.<sup>(14)</sup> William Mason, the suspect Wesleyan, had metamorphosed into Dr. Mason, the respected vicar. Who could possibly have converted the missionary route to greater social advantage!

These biographical sketches have shown the missionaries to be a diverse lot in particulars, but surprisingly similar in broader generalities, and therefore representative of their brethren in the mission fields of the world. With the exception of John West, they came from the working class, their education and religious mentality was loosely analagous and their motivation for mission genuinely pious. Yet some of these men proved unfit for their high calling, while others not only endured but succeeded in gathering together a Church in the wilderness. One of the reasons,

as shall be evident throughout the thesis, lies in their highly individual personalities.

The main component of what they considered their sacred imperative, the object of their benevolence was of course, the North American Indian, that "deluded, idolatrous heathen," their fellow-sinner.

III THE MISSIONARY AND THE INDIAN

## The Missionary and the Indian

In the minds of the missionaries there was, of course, no doubt that those to whom they would minister were deluded and idolatrous heathen, firmly held captive by Satan and "awful superstitions" from which the Gospel alone could deliver them. The awful superstitions, which constituted all aboriginal beliefs in the disposition of some clergy, were observed and recorded with varying degrees of interest and understanding, as were other aspects of native society, culture and even origin.

It should be clearly understood that when Indian beliefs and practices are discussed in this chapter, the purpose is not to examine these areas exhaustively or critically, but merely to gain a panoramic overview of what various tribes held sacred and how they worshipped, in order to place the missionary and his observations in proper perspective. The emphasis is always on missionary response to what was observed of indigenous beliefs, what was understood, and what was neither observed nor understood.

For a few, these observations influenced their methods of evangelism; for most, assumptions of evangelical Christianity and British self-esteem entirely dominated their approach to the propagation of the Gospel.

### 1. Motivation for Mission

Evangelical missionary motivation stemmed largely from the conviction that although all men were equal before God, without knowledge of Him there was no salvation and therefore the Gospel imperative to "teach all nations" was incumbent upon each individual Christian. Whether teaching Christianity included adoption of British civilization as well, was a point on which not all agreed, just as the origin of those to whom they ministered did not concern them equally. One of the more exotic theories of

North American Indian genesis denoted the natives as descendants of the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel.

This concept was neither new nor original. The 17th-century trader and scholar Antoine Lamothe Cadillac succinctly set forth what he considered compelling reasons for such an assertion,<sup>(1)</sup> while similar convictions persisted throughout the centuries, emerging again full-blown from the writings of several of the missionaries. The importance of Indian origin and presence in North America was, of course, closely related to Christian cosmogony and belief in monogenesis. If the natives were indeed descended from the ancient Hebrews, then there was no question that they belonged to the human race and had souls to be saved, even while practicing a religion degenerated and decayed into idolatry and delusion. This belief was enunciated particularly by John West who combined the hypothesis of Hebraic origin with Jose de Costa's premise that the Indian presence in North America could be explained by migration from Asia over a land bridge.<sup>(2)</sup> For example, reflecting on the post-parturition customs of the natives in his area West concluded that they corresponded with Levitical laws imposed on Jewish women: "These (customs) strongly corroborate the idea that they (the Indians) are of Asiatic origin; descended from some of the scattered tribes of the children of Israel and through some ancient transmigration, came over by Kamtchatka into these wild and extensive territories."<sup>(3)</sup>

George Barnley, less precise in his observations than the Oxford-educated West, mused: "One thing I consider especially worth remarking viz. the very close resemblance of features (of the Indian) . . . to those of the Jew, . . . so that had I met them on the streets of London

clad in different attire, I should have entertained no doubt of their having descended from God's ancient people."<sup>(4)</sup> He reflects, as West did not, the popular fallacy that physical differences are apparent in anyone of Semitic origin.

The one strongly dissenting voice came from the veteran missionary, James Evans. In a letter to an English Quaker dated 20 February, 1839, he states: ". . . I think there is no reason to believe any portion of the American race were ever a part or parcel of the children of Israel. And you may depend upon it that the conjectures of some relative to the name of the Deity Jehowah and Hallelujah being found on this continent is altogether a phantom of the Imagination."<sup>(5)</sup> To Evans it was quite clear: Indians decidedly were not sons of David but rather "poor benighted sons of the forest" desperately in need of salvation.<sup>(6)</sup>

But here another intellectual and cultural hurdle was thrust into the missionary's religious pathway. Was the salvation of a soul possible without proper prior understanding of the essential attributes of civilization? Was it implicit in the missionary imperative that the blessings of culture be taken to the far corners of the earth along with the Good News?

Very much children of their time, the missionaries in this study certainly equated "Englishness" with all that was culturally good and desirable; in short, with civilization itself.<sup>(7)</sup> Spiritually also it was the "people in England (who) were very much interested about them (the Indians) and very anxious for them to become partakers of the great salvation," who wished the natives to "feel the same love to each other" that the British felt.<sup>(8)</sup> It seemed if native North Americans would only emulate the English (who at this juncture seemed universally

God-fearing and righteous) then all would be well on earth as in heaven. In spite of this general proclivity to all things English, however, there was genuine diversity of opinion as to whether civilization preceded Christianity or vice versa, or whether both were in fact synonymous. It was a controversy as old as the theology of missions among Catholics as well as among Protestants.<sup>(9)</sup>

The Anglicans of Red River, however, evinced an amazing unanimity of thought. Although salvation of the soul provided the evangelical impetus for mission, John West had no doubt that education was imperative before the "benefits to be received from civilization" could be realized or even "ere a hope can be cherished that their characters will be changed under the mild influence of the Christian religion."<sup>(10)</sup> His successors David Jones and William Cockran shared this belief. In their eyes, "the nomadic hunter, tripman and trader was lost to damnation. Only in sedentary communities could the country-born and the Indian hope to enjoy the blessings of Christianity."<sup>(11)</sup> Indeed, John Smithurst, the sole dissenting Anglican voice, openly charged Cockran with regarding "civilization [as] . . . a primary and evangelization a secondary object."<sup>(12)</sup>

To a man the Wesleyans disagreed with educational preparationalism, prompted, in all likelihood by their instructions from the W.M.M.S. which read in part: "Your particular designation is to endeavour to promote the religious instruction and conversion of the ignorant, pagan. . . , without intermingling doubtful controversies. . . ."<sup>(13)</sup> The emphasis was upon religion pure and undefiled; conversion not culture; mission in the tradition of that great evangelical, David Brainerd.<sup>(14)</sup> Brainerd, paradoxically West's exemplar in other areas<sup>(15)</sup> and paradigm of 18th and

19th-century missionaries, thought it "unjust to spend money consecrated to religious uses, only to civilize the Indians and bring them to an external profession of Christianity."<sup>(16)</sup> He believed that conversion would result in an inward awakening to the evils of sin - St. Paul after all assured the world that "if any man be in Christ he is a new creation; old things are passed away"<sup>(17)</sup> - and therefore Brainerd relegated change to "the internal influence of divine truth upon their hearts, and not from any external restraints or because they had heard these vices particularly exposed, and repeatedly spoken against."<sup>(18)</sup> This realization does not mean that he did not preach "morality and pressing persons to the external performance of duty,"<sup>(19)</sup> but the main thrust of his message was conversion of the soul while he openly consigned the "civilization first argument to the Devil."<sup>(20)</sup>

The strongest proponent of Brainerd's position in the H.B.C. territories was James Evans. "Christ first to the heart," he thundered, "and then the after blessings of civilization and education."<sup>(21)</sup> Privately he asserted that Indians in the Canadian Shield could never "become farmers, they must hunt forever," yet in his opinion this certainly did not preclude their salvation.<sup>(22)</sup> As with Evans so with the other Wesleyans, albeit in hazy and visceral terms when contrasted with Evans' bold and forthright conviction. Nevertheless they were quite clear that their primary concern and objective was, as Rundle stated, "real sound gospel conversions."<sup>(23)</sup>

Yet an obvious note of ambiguity in their ministry is discernible. In some cases the Indians themselves desired selected elements of civilization such as a more assured food supply and therefore requested settlement, either before or after conversion. When the

Rocky-Mountain Crees approached Rundle with such a proposal he was panic-stricken and demanded of his Society, "Now what is to be done? . . . What steps am I to take?"<sup>(24)</sup> He was unprepared for a people "ripe for civilization and evangelization" - an unusual juxtaposition in his vocabulary - and therefore was confused in his reaction. Certain it is that the erection of a permanent settlement for converts had never occurred to him, even though Evans' community at Rossville had established a Wesleyan precedent and already boasted some thirty fine, white-washed cottages.<sup>(25)</sup>

In other cases, especially in areas of frequent starvation, need if not native request, dictated the wisdom of implementing basic agricultural practices. Nearly all missionaries therefore made at least a gesture towards gardening if not farming, with varying degrees of enthusiasm and success. Evans established Rossville, Cockran, Grand Rapids, and even Rundle attempted in desultory fashion to grow produce at Battle River Lake.<sup>(26)</sup> Yet, except for most Anglicans, these men of the Bay's territory were exceptions to the American stereotype described by Berkhofer: "While most missionaries did not enter the Lord's vineyard to preach houses and hoes as well as Heaven, they did so, . . ."<sup>(27)</sup> The Wesleyans especially did not equate the three.

The term "civilization" however, also encompasses other aspects of European acculturation, among them literacy, clothing, and eating habits. True, these missionaries taught both children and adults how to read and write in syllabics. But literacy was basic to Protestant Christianity, for each believer must discern for himself/herself the truths of God and therefore ability to utilize the power of Scripture was

imperative for spiritual growth and well-being. Consequently the motivation was not civilization as such, but religious utilitarianism.

In certain other aspects commonly associated with acculturation such as clothing and food, Rundle and Evans, at least, adopted Indian custom and not vice versa. Even the scrupulous West was prepared to eat dog when necessary.<sup>(28)</sup> Certainly it could not be said of them that "The missionary mind left no room for selective cultural change; it clothed civilization in the message of conversion. . . ." <sup>(29)</sup> "Selective cultural change" exactly described the evolution in progress, but it was the Indian as well as the missionary in this initial non-directed contact period who did the selecting.<sup>(30)</sup>

The philosophy of mission for these Wesleyans is well exemplified by Rundle's Journal entry for 21 July, 1840: "I offer a full free and present salvation thro' the blood of a once crucified but now exalted Saviour. I have not attempted to reform outward acts of morality but have levelled at the seat of all corruption, the human heart."

## 2. Indian Customs

Like Brainerd before him, Rundle found a very fine line indeed between not "attempting to reform outward morality" while at the same time preaching "morality and pressing persons to the external performance of duty."<sup>(1)</sup> Moreover, "morality" was culturally conditioned and did not carry the same connotations for the missionary as for his hearers. One primary example of this headlong clash of cultural mores was in the realm of marriage.

For someone like John West who believed unequivocally that "the institution of marriage, and the security of property, were the fundamental laws of society," there was bound to be antagonism and friction from Indian and trader alike and that in very short order.<sup>(2)</sup> But Indian marriage and morality stretched even Rundle's understanding.<sup>(3)</sup> Seeking to untangle the marital relationships in the family of Chatka, a prominent Cree who had previously presented four children by three different wives to him for baptism, Rundle exclaims in dismay, "What ideas the Indians have about marriage!"<sup>(4)</sup>

Polygyny does not appear to have presented the greatest problem. Rundle reports very matter-of-factly that the "Chief who received me into the Blackfoot Camp had seven wives. I believe there were two or three or perhaps four sisters among the number. Many of these women on the Plains are very handsome."<sup>(5)</sup> He adds, quite correctly, "Polygamy exists very commonly amongst the Indians." His observation that several of the Chief's wives were sisters also substantiates a practice - the sororate - established in most western tribes for several practical reasons: In a polygynous household sisters were more likely to live together in

peace; the strict mother-in-law taboos presented major complications for families with many daughters and therefore a son-in-law who proved to be a good provider was gladly given several daughters from the same household.<sup>(6)</sup> There is, however, no indication that the missionaries were aware of these reasons for sororate marriages, while only John West, by implication, recognized another important element in polygyny of any kind - the economic importance of women's work.<sup>(7)</sup>

Although there is divergence of opinion among anthropologists and ethnohistorians as to the benefits generated by a plurality of wives, the weight of evidence shows that the demands of the fur trade increased the economic importance of women.<sup>(8)</sup> By the time Rundle entered the Saskatchewan territory the Plains tribes were deeply involved in polygyny and "it was a very poor man who did not have three wives. Many had six, eight, and some more than a dozen. . . the more wives he had, the richer he was."<sup>(9)</sup> As a Blackfoot Chief told the Earl of Southesk, "his eight wives could dress a hundred and fifty skins in the year whereas a single wife could only dress ten, supposing that she was always well. . . ."<sup>(10)</sup> With such financial loss at risk small wonder that missionaries wishing to enforce monogamy had problems.

But polygyny caused reverberations in human emotions far removed from economic gain. Frequently an increase in wives brought with it an increase in household friction.<sup>(11)</sup> Commonly wives lower than third or fourth, whose very name meant "slave wife," performed the meanest tasks, were most often beaten and most often accused of adultery the penalty for which might be death, loss of a nose, or a severe beating.<sup>(12)</sup> The cost of polygyny in human misery was obviously enormous.<sup>(13)</sup>

Yet there was also a corollary to the suffering. Frequently polygynous Indians would seek to justify the practise on compassionate grounds. A wife might ask her husband to take another woman to ease the onerous burdens of a large household. Because of the imbalanced ratio of women to men even the status of lower wife might be preferable to the stigma and insecurity of being no wife at all.<sup>(14)</sup> Or a man might argue, as did the Chief to Southesk, "Tell the priest. . . that if he wishes to do anything with my people he must no longer order them to put away their wives. I have eight all of whom I love, and all have children by me - Which am I to keep and which to put away?"<sup>(15)</sup> This same question also concerned a band visiting George Barnley - which wife would have to be renounced? When informed that a first wife received prior claim and the younger ones must be relinquished they announced, "they would rather go and live at a great distance forsaking the Establishment. . . ." <sup>(16)</sup> than submit to such an edict.

The monogamous or single British missionaries - or celibate French Catholic priest, for that matter, for all alike were implacably hostile to polygyny - were therefore faced with an enigmatic tangle of marital relationships infinitely more complex than they imagined. There is no indication whatsoever that they had any comprehension of exactly what was involved in Indian marriages. Opposition to polygamy was based on doctrine, not on compassion for the suffering slave wife; on the sixth commandment not on love for the Indian family; on British cultural practice not in opposition to fur-trade greed which placed financial value on the produce of numerous wives.<sup>(17)</sup>

The missionaries were not callous or indifferent to the suffering of women both within polygynous marriage and outside, but they appear

often to have misread or been oblivious to evidence of mistreatment. Rundle, for example, mentions without comment a woman "with cut nose" present at a service.<sup>(18)</sup> Only John West disclosed a reasonably comprehensive, albeit totally negative, grasp of the quality of an average Indian woman's life:

They take as many wives as they please, and part with them for a season, or permit others to cohabit with them in their own lodges for a time, for a gun, a horse, or some article they may wish to possess. They are known, however, to kill the woman, or cut off her ears or nose, if she be unfaithful without their knowledge or permission. All the lowest and most laborious drudgery is imposed upon her, and she is not permitted to eat til after her lord has finished his meal, who amidst the burdensome toil of life, and a desultory and precarious existence, will only condescend to carry his gun, take care of his horse, and hunt as want may compel him.<sup>(19)</sup>

West also describes the practice of wrestling for wives, and wife/daughter lending, on which the other missionaries are largely silent.<sup>(20)</sup>

While West, Barnley and Mason were adamant in their condemnation of polygamy, James Evans appears less inflexible. Shipley insists he "was convinced that it was less nefarious for an Indian to practice polygamy than a white man," and evidence seems to support her contention.<sup>(21)</sup> Evans did however insist on monogamy once an Indian professed Christianity. Within the fold the ground-rules changed, yet even here William Mason found cause to complain that "the former Superintendent" (Evans) had entered several couples in the church register as legally married "when the whole village knows that they were not."<sup>(22)</sup> If this were indeed so - and why would Mason be untrustworthy in this matter?<sup>?</sup> - then Evans in certain cases accepted marriage according to the custom of the country, and was therefore immeasurably more sensitive to Indian custom than others of his calling. Yet he appears to have been erratically inconsistent. On the one hand he seemed to recognize country marriage, on the other he forbade a

baptized woman to cohabit with her non-Christian husband until such a time as the latter should promise to embrace the faith.<sup>(23)</sup>

Robert Rundle cannot be accused of such inconsistency. Without comment or apparent discomfort he mentions baptizing children from polygamous marriages, and rejoices in the visit of a friend with his numerous wives. Although he occasionally snips at those who frequent his services without finding it necessary to legalize marriage, this stricture is comparatively rare.<sup>(24)</sup> It was the marital behaviour of Christian Indians which was of ultimate concern to him, as it was with Evans, especially when a believer married an unbeliever, or when baptized converts "did bad by going together before proper marriage," or asked for divorce or separation.<sup>(25)</sup>

While Rundle's attitude toward most Indian marriages was relatively relaxed considering his time and position, he was aghast at what he considered grossly immoral relationships, especially incest, homosexuality, and "bestiality" or intercourse with animals. It is entirely possible that in the matter of incest, misunderstandings involving variable definitions of the term may have exacerbated its frequency in missionary observations, customs such as cross-cousin marriage, the use of brother and sister terms for parallel cousins, and other particulars of the kinship system. However, father-daughter relationships are frequently specified, therefore the practice certainly was present.

While West and Barnley also note the prevalence of incest<sup>(26)</sup> - West concludes it is very common - neither was apparently aware of other deviations and the question therefore arises, were these only figments of an overly zealous imagination or even the fantasies of a desperately lonely man? Evidence exonerates Rundle. When he exclaims in his Journal, "Bad

doings. . . Sodomy and Bestiality," he was stating a situation substantiated in later anthropological studies.<sup>(27)</sup>

A brief overview of the literature will suffice. Ake Hultkrantz notes "so called berdaches. . . were also common among other Plains groups. . . ." <sup>(28)</sup> Claude Shaeffer: "Instances of male sexual deviation were apparently not infrequent among the Indians of northwestern North American and certain tribes particularly in that area were noted for such sexual aberrancy."<sup>(29)</sup> Concerning the practice of bestiality, Alexander Henry the younger writes that the Crow "are much addicted to unnatural lusts, and have no scruple in satisfying their desires with their mares and wild animals fresh killed."<sup>(30)</sup> Although Rundle was at Lesser Slave Lake among the Beaver and Cree Indians at the time of this particular Journal entry it is obvious that he did not misunderstand or exaggerate what he observed.<sup>(31)</sup>

Missionary approaches to sexual aberrations varied. Barnley searched out variant partners to replace incestuous relationships; West moralized; Rundle preached. With the exception of the converted, missionary success, like their effort, was not remarkable.

Certain other Indian practices also deeply distressed the clergy, particularly for those living on the Plains. Rundle for example, discerned two principal obstacles to the spread of the Gospel - wars and horse-stealing practices. However naive and simplistic his reasoning was - and after all, countless others engaged in neither wars nor horse-stealing also held aloof from the Gospel - yet Rundle touched on at least one major source of reluctance to convert. In his Journal entry for 13 January, 1841, he notes, "Yesterday an old Indian said he did not want to be instructed whilst there were any horses remaining in the country, intimating that as long as there were any he must steal them and go to war. . . ."

What Rundle apparently did not understand was that among the Plains Indians warfare was organized primarily for the purpose of capturing enemy horses and the consequent economic security and social prestige which accompanied a successful raid.<sup>(32)</sup> Horse-stealing provided the chief means by which the poor might secure upward mobility and many were willing to risk their lives in these forays for they had little to lose and much to gain.<sup>(33)</sup> Custom required distribution of the greater number of captured horses for various reasons and therefore repeated raids were necessary to attain either a bride price or the desired social status.

In any case, horse-stealing and war seemed irrevocably connected in the Indians' minds, and so also in Rundle's. Nor did John Rowand believe that missionaries could change the situation materially. He complained, "I think it will take all the ministers in H Bay [sic] three to four Hundred years to make the Plains tribes leave off murdering one another and stealing Horses."<sup>(34)</sup>

But while the Indians continued "murdering one another" the methods of their warfare had changed and of this Rundle was also aware. No longer did large numbers of men gather in combat - Rundle describes the scene of such a battle involving approximately 1000 men and ten tribes fought about fifty years before his arrival -<sup>(35)</sup> but now small groups of sometimes three or four, mauaded across the prairies, creating tension, and havoc over a wide area, and in this Rundle himself was caught up. He wrote to the W.M.M.S. in 1843, "War is at present existing between those hostile tribes [Plains Cree, Assiniboin, Blackfeet] and the country is expected to be in a disturbed state the whole of the summer. These wars occur very frequently. . . ."<sup>(36)</sup> Nor was he mistaken. As Jenness comments, after the introduction of fire arms and horses "every tribe was perman-

ently on a war footing and peace was a rare interlude in their lives."<sup>(37)</sup>

While the missionaries were therefore naturally much concerned about war and horse-stealing, they also agonized over gambling, excessive drinking, low regard for human life outside of tribal circles, blood feuds. Rundle's Journal provides insight into the typical missionary mind on these matters, and his entry for 24 February, 1848, when camped in company with Blackfoot, Cree and Assiniboine Indians, illustrates particularly his attitude to gambling. "Gambling going on now: I hear the drum. Last night very bad also about it. Gambling until early in morning. John's son-in-law lost horse, leggins." He fails to mention that it was not unusual for a gambler to lose not only the means of livelihood (horse for hunting, leggins for warmth and survival) but his wife and his wigwam as well.

Even more destructive than gambling however was "that abominable murderous rum." It might be argued that censure against Indian use of alcohol was purely a pietistic phenomenon, the prejudiced fulminations of an abstemious religious fanaticism designed to thwart whatever meagre pleasures liquor afforded the deprived aborigines. This was not the case. Although Methodists were generally abstainers Rundle drank wine and shrub in great moderation spiced with occasional dollops of guilt, while most Anglicans, like West, cheerfully and generously enjoyed the fruit of the vine.<sup>(38)</sup> Not only was there no stigma attached to moderate drinking, therefore, but the scourge of excessive alcohol was condemned by responsible Indians as well as by missionaries. On 31 July, 1843, Rundle records, "Terrible doings at the Fort. Slave Indians drunk and quarrelling and almost killing each other . . . Chief

requested that the fire-water be stopped, which was at once done. Two horses were killed and one man had a ghastly stab in the shoulder and another in the arm."<sup>(39)</sup>

John West also recognized that responsible natives shared concern over the devastation caused by liquor: "The Indians appear to me to be generally of an inoffensive and hospitable disposition," he wrote, "but spirituous liquors, like war, infuriate them with the most revengeful and barbarous feelings. They are so conscious of this effect of drinking, that they generally deliver up their guns, bows and arrows and knives to the officers, before they begin to drink at the Company's Post; and when at their tents, it is the first care of the women to conceal them, during the season of riot and intoxication."<sup>(40)</sup>

Total loss of control excited missionary indignation and concern, not the virtues of abstention. Excessive intemperance, however, was especially prevalent in certain tribes at certain periods of their history, rather than among all tribes all of the time. In pre-contact situations most North American Indians were unacquainted with intoxicants and therefore those most recently exposed to liquor reacted with the greatest intolerance.<sup>(41)</sup> Aware of this phenomenon and having experienced the drinking habits of tribes further East, traders offered a weaker more diluted rum in these recent contact situations. Alexander Henry describes the policy: "We do not mix our liquor so strong (for the Blackfeet) as we do for tribes who are more accustomed to its use. To make a nine gallon keg of liquor we generally put in four or five quarts of high wine and then fill it up with water. For the Crees and Assiniboines we put in six quarts of high wine, and for the Saulteaux eight or nine quarts."<sup>(42)</sup> He says nothing of the extra profits inherent in the system.

Regardless of tribal affiliation or length of contact however, intoxicants proved a bane to most Indians.<sup>(43)</sup> Yet John Foster suggests that Home Guard Cree drinking practices, for one example, were not significantly different from those in Great Britain for the same period, which simply implies that excessive drinking was demoralizing for Briton and Indian alike.<sup>(44)</sup> However by mid-nineteenth century the rise of temperance societies had begun to alter the British situation considerably, while in the Saskatchewan tribes were still adjusting to the vicious impact of alcohol.<sup>(45)</sup>

And vicious the impact certainly was. Violence was frequent especially when gambling accompanied intoxication and missionaries were not spared the trauma of witnessing its destructiveness. Rundle, living for long periods in the encampments, was especially vulnerable. In his Journal entry for 15 August, 1843, he relives the terror of one particular occasion:

A day of horror! Also what a contrast to the former scenes. Two murders committed in the morning near my tent, father and son shot dead by two half-caste. What a shock to my feelings to be near such awful scenes. It arose from a dispute respecting gambling. . . The father was shot through the head whilst scuffling with an Indian for the axe and the son almost at the same moment, was shot through the breast. . . I buried them in one grave and pitched off from the scene of blood!<sup>(46)</sup>

Pitching off did not lessen his involvement, however, because he was "compelled by circumstances to pass the night in a tent with the murderers who had fled thither from the friends of the deceased."<sup>(47)</sup> Rundle in all innocence, found himself entangled in a dreaded blood feud. He was, possibly unknowingly, in the gravest danger, for while "fear of the blood feud was a powerful restraint on murder" yet "strangers . . . might be robbed or killed with impunity; they had no rights. . . ."<sup>(48)</sup> Not only was Rundle in the position of a stranger without rights, he

was being used as a shield to protect the perpetrators of the crime. Had he not enjoyed the protection of the H.B.C. and had he not been reputed to have "great medicine" he would in all likelihood not have lived to record the incident. (49)

While death in any form saddened Rundle, the untimely destruction of those interested in his cause especially affected him, not only because it was a personal loss but because his mission was affected. In a letter to Evans, 6 January, 1844, he mourns for such a one, "a fine young Assiniboine who came thither to (Ft. Edmonton) for the purpose of conducting me to his tribe at the Tobacco Weed Plain. He went a-hunting on the Plains and was murdered and scalped by the Blood Indians. This was a fine promising young man and humanly speaking a great loss to the cause. . . ." (50)

Rundle was witness to scenes of mass slaughter as well as individual violence. On one occasion the Blackfoot attacked a band of Sarcees encamped approximately two days riding time from Edmonton and he, with John Rowand's son and an Indian, Thunder One, went to investigate. Although most of the corpses had already been removed, evidence of the carnage was still sickening. Eleven had been slaughtered, including one little girl, a Roman Catholic, "seen praying after she had been scalped; she was then killed." (51) This seemed to affect Rundle much more deeply than one corpse "lying almost in the encampment. Truly in his case, 'the wages of sin is death' for he was riding a horse which he had stolen in the summer at a place where I was with the Indians, and had he not had the horse he would probably not have been there." (52) The concept of just retribution is as evident in this case as it is lacking in the Piche murders.

Rundle's action, on seeing the bits of bone and blood and other evidences of the massacre of "those poor victims of savage life" was to look around, "call aloud in Indian to see if there was anyone wanting help," and then leave. There is no homily on the wickedness of this action as one might well expect, indeed, there is no further mention of it in his diary. Rundle had learned to live with the facts of tribal life and death. This is further evidenced by his detached and non-judgmental description of scalping: they "begin to cut at the brow and round the head and then pull it off; not hard to pull off. Scrape off the fat from skin and cut fat in a little slice about the breadth of . . . forefinger and about 4 inches long and then let it drop in their mouth and swallow it without chewing."<sup>(53)</sup>

John West's description differs slightly but his knowledge is derived from experience with the Sioux rather than Rundle's Assiniboine:

It was formerly the custom to cut off the heads of those whom they slew in war, and to carry them away as trophies; but these they found cumbersome in the hasty retreat which they always make as soon as they have killed their enemy; they are now satisfied with only tearing off the scalp. This is usually taken from the crown of the head, of a small circular size; sometimes however they take the whole integuments of the skull, with which they ornament their war jackets and leggins. . . .<sup>(54)</sup>

Death and its concomitants seemed never far away for these early missionaries.

In Rundle's contact with various forms of death, however, there is no reference to the deliberate murder of a newly-widowed mother and her child, as described by Barnley.<sup>(55)</sup> Since there is also no mention of this instance in other studies of the James Bay Cree, one must assume it was an unusual and unique occurrence rather than tribal custom.

One form of death which all missionaries noted was abandoning of the

aged. John West, in the privacy of his unpublished journal, reveals an amazingly sympathetic awareness of the pathos of the situation when he describes the nearest living relative taking leave of the forsaken one and "then walk away weeping," well aware that starvation would result.<sup>(56)</sup> Even in his published work West includes the story of an aged woman "on the banks of the Sasashawa" who addresses her son "in a most pathetic manner, reminding him. . .with what incessant labour she brought him up . . ." and requesting that "he would show kindness, and give a proof of his courage, in shooting her. . .'I have seen many winters,' she added, 'and am now become a burden. . .take your gun.' She then drew her blanket over her head and her son immediately deprived her of life: in the apparent consciousness of having done an act of filial duty and mercy."<sup>(57)</sup> And indeed it was mercy, for while old men were occasionally given options as to the method and time of death, old women were not, and a quick death by shooting was certainly preferable to slow starvation. Alanson Skinner elaborates on the options facing the elderly: "the aged men were sometimes killed by their sons and when an old man was reluctant to die, his children would sometimes offer him the alternative of being put ashore on some island with a canoe and paddles, bow and arrows, and a bowl from which to drink, to run the risk of starving. . . old people usually preferred to be killed according to custom."<sup>(58)</sup>

Skinner then describes how this "execution" was carried out, something no missionary appears to have witnessed: "a sudatory was first made, a dog feast given, and the pipe of peace smoked. After this the following song was sung: - 'The Master of Life gives courage. It is true, all Indians know that he loves us, and we now give our father to

him, that he may find himself young and enter their country and be able to hunt.' The songs and dances were then renewed and finally the son killed his father with a tomahawk."<sup>(59)</sup>

George Barnley, while aware that the James Bay Cree "sometimes violently terminated the lives of the sick and the aged,"<sup>(60)</sup> also observed "an aged and decrepit woman scarcely able to move from place to place. I understood her to be the mother of one of the men and that she was being taken care of by the party."<sup>(61)</sup> In the marginal subsistence economy of that area this act was indeed rare and courageous.

Because of the particularly destitute environment in which he ministered, it was also Barnley who entered most fully into a personal understanding of the dynamics involved in abandonment. On a winter trip from Moose Factory to Matawagamingue in 1844 the small party travelling with Barnley encountered unusually severe weather and soon both men and dogs neared complete exhaustion. Finally the animal pulling the supply sledge could go no further, was cut from the traces, and abandoned. Barnley, painfully aware of his own physical state, later wrote in his Journal, "Had any one of the human beings similarly failed it is difficult to see how anything more could have been done than to leave him, whilst the rest pressed on."<sup>(62)</sup>

Rundle, not having shared Barnley's experience, also did not share his understanding. When he heard of an abandonment he immediately requested a search party be sent to look for the woman but it was too late. They found her corpse, partially eaten, and Rundle comments with uncharacteristic anger and bitterness, "What a farce, the so-called sympathy and brotherly kindness existing among the North American Indians."<sup>(63)</sup>

Not all Indians practiced abandonment, however. After the Blackfeet acquired horses the old were carried on an A-shaped horse travois, but their treatment left much to be desired. They were given the worst side of the lodge, were generally neglected, and the young were taught "Only discomfort and misery await the old," therefore to die during the prime of life was considered a great blessing.<sup>(64)</sup>

Whatever the means of death, Indians mourned it with loud lamentation and the missionaries came to know this keening well. The name of the deceased was called over and over again in a fashion which "may be called a chant or a song, for there is a certain tune to it. It is in a minor key and very doleful. Anyone hearing it for the first time, even though wholly unacquainted with Indian customs, would at once know that it was a mourning song. . . ." <sup>(65)</sup>

Self-mutilation often accompanied mourning. John West observed this duality and commented, ". . . they weep bitterly and in their sorrow, cut themselves with knives, or pierce themselves with the points of sharp instruments."<sup>(66)</sup> This cutting could take the form of slashing their bodies with sharp arrow heads or even amputating the first joint of a finger.<sup>(67)</sup> In some cases, West reports, the strength of natural affection was such that a mother might commit suicide in order to accompany her child in the other world, a practice amply verified by secular sources. Since all missionaries repeatedly refer to the great love Indians felt for their children, this practice seems neither to have shocked nor surprised him.

West also commented in passing on the disposal of the property of the deceased, with goods required for the journey to the other world put into, on, or beside the grave, and the remainder distributed, simply

given away to other than family band members "from an aversion they have to use anything that belonged to their relations who have died."<sup>(68)</sup>

David Mandelbaum elaborates on this practice and the psychology behind it: ". . .it was felt," he writes, "that the possessions of a dead person always reminded the relatives of their loss and so unnecessarily protracted the mourning period."<sup>(69)</sup> This distribution was carried out with devastating thoroughness among most Plains tribes and included "the lodge, teepee, and all family possessions except the few shabby articles of apparel worn by the mourners. . .and the family left destitute." H.C. Yarrow adds, ". . . not only absolutely destitute but actually naked."<sup>(70)</sup> Under these circumstances the relative silence of the missionaries on this subject is extremely puzzling to say the least, as is the absence of any mention of cropping the hair during mourning, an oblation of considerable significance to the Indian, or of animal sacrifices, particularly the horse and the dog.<sup>(71)</sup>

Although important aspects of ceremonial mourning thus appear to have gone unnoticed, all missionaries commented on burial customs peculiar to the tribes in their vicinity. These ranged from Rundle's observation of a body merely covered with a robe "with sticks on top," which was probably a temporary burial at the site of a Sarcee massacre,<sup>(72)</sup> to an object "on a distant hill the Indian said was the dead body of an Indian. . . .One might suppose it to be a tree. The Indian said its [sic] high up. Placed there 3 years ago. . . ."<sup>(73)</sup> Obviously this object was an example of tree or platform burial.

Barnley, among the James Bay Cree, noticed graves "with wands stuck in the ground to mark their resting places, decorated with ribbons and having pieces of tobacco suspended on them."<sup>(74)</sup> While John West

described stage burial with a corpse laid upon "a few crossed sticks, about ten feet from the ground," and the property of the dead wrapped in the buffalo skin enclosing the body.<sup>(75)</sup> He also observed a Stoney burial ground where some of the graves were covered by sticks and bark to form "a kind of canopy" with a few scalps attached to poles at the head of the grave, and an occasional one with "a piece of wood on which is either carved or painted the symbols of the tribe the deceased belonged to, and which are taken from the different animals of the country."<sup>(76)</sup> These symbols of course, represented the totem of the deceased. It is possible that what West took for scalps may in fact have been locks of hair torn from their heads by relatives to show their grief, although Amelia Paget confirms the occasional inclusion of scalps with other valued possessions.<sup>(77)</sup>

The accuracy of these missionary observations is amply confirmed both by H.C. Yarrow's study of Indian mortuary customs and by various tribal studies. As a point of interest, Skinner's description of Cree burial is almost identical to that observed by West: "On the tomb are carved or painted the symbols of his tribe, which are taken from the different animals of the country."<sup>(78)</sup> He also confirms Barnley's observation that in some areas "a pole with a flag made of a strip of cloth was erected at the head of the grave."<sup>(79)</sup>

Again it is interesting to note that there is no mention in this particular missionary literature of the Chipewyan custom of leaving the dead of both sexes to be devoured by birds and animals, or that of the Blackfeet in exposing only the corpses of women and children.<sup>(80)</sup> Neither is there reference to the special burial sometimes observed for those drowned, or to the burning alive of the insane.<sup>(81)</sup> Therefore,

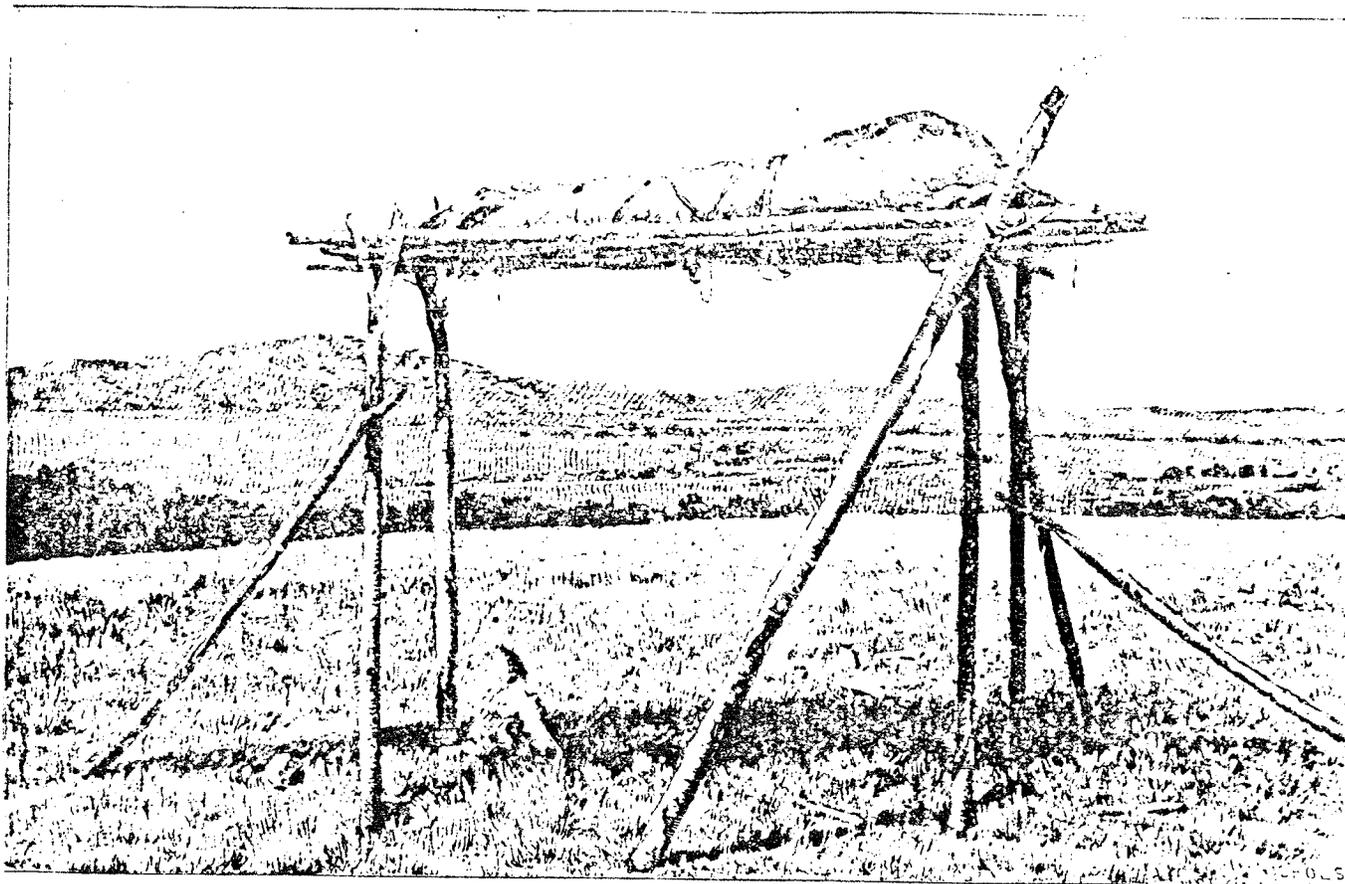
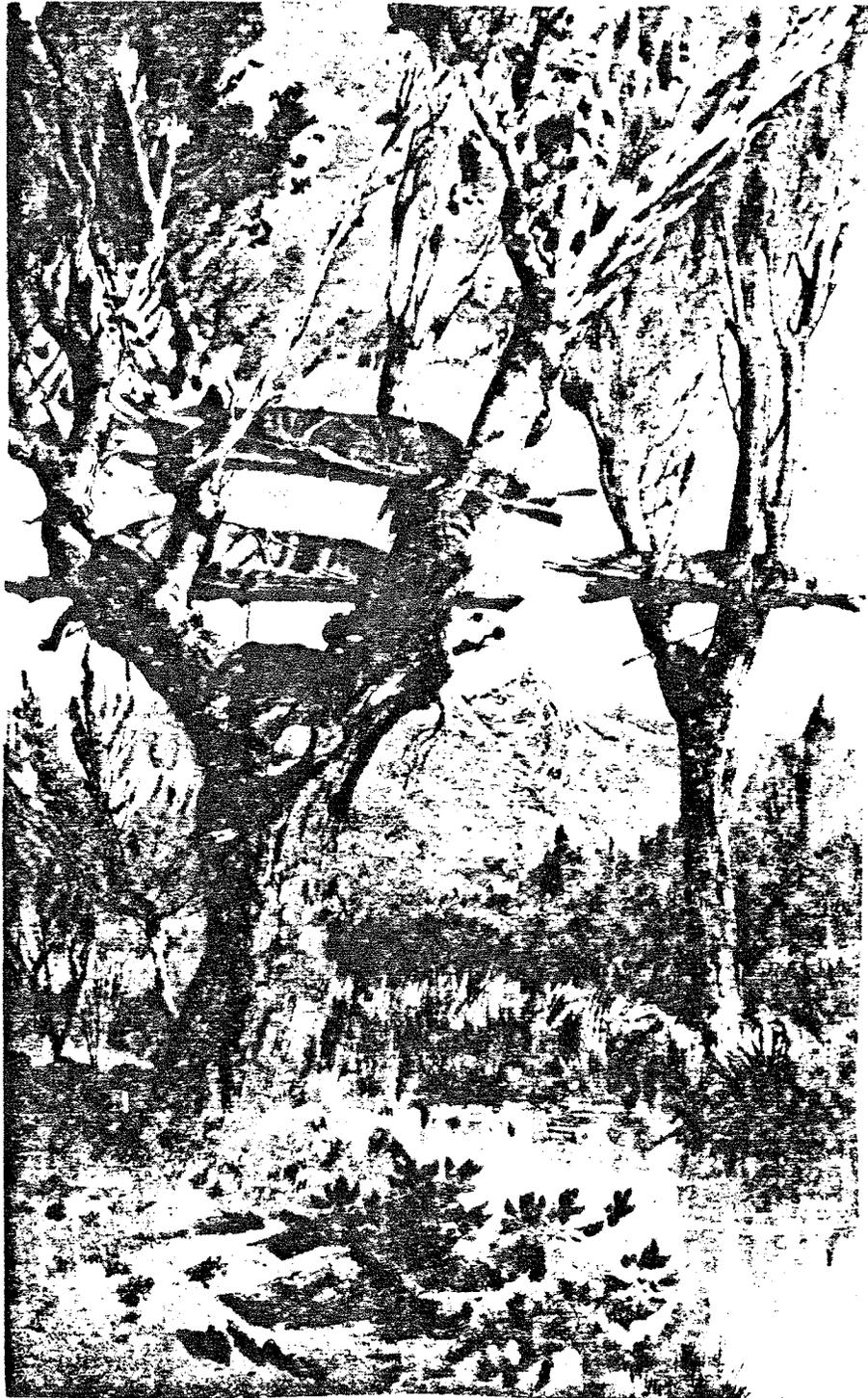
Burials

FIG. 15.—Dakota Scaffold Burial.

From: H. C. Yarrow, Introduction to Mortuary Customs, p. 158

## Burials (cont'd.)



Tree Burial

From: Yarrow, p. 160.

while the missionaries' observations of what they saw concerning mortuary customs were accurate, there was much that was hidden from them, that they did not see, or that they simply did not record.

One aspect of death among the Indians, however, which impressed the missionaries more than it appears to have impressed secular observers was the Feast of the Dead. James Evans has left the most detailed record of one such ceremony which took place near Fort Pitt. A ring of spectators sat on the ground before an effigy of the deceased chief:

For a whole year a lock of hair belonging to the deceased had been carried in a small bundle by his widow. She also carried his eating bowl and during feasts a portion of food was set out for the spirit of the dead. The feast that day was the final act to honour the dead chief.

Within the ring about the fire a drama was enacted depicting the man's bravery and kindness. Gifts of food were set before the effigy and the drums beat constantly as braves in full regalia danced and chanted, lauding the dead man's many virtues. At the termination of the feast all the keepsakes would be put away and no more public homage would be paid to the dead chief.<sup>(82)</sup>

On a much simpler level Evans describes another occasion where friends of the deceased visited the grave and there held a "cheebie weekoontoowin" or spirit feast in which they and the spirit of their companion together partook of food.<sup>(83)</sup>

John West uses neither the term "spirit feast" nor "feast of the dead" to describe an Indian "drinking at the grave of his child, whom he had buried in the fall of the year. In going to the spot, I found that all the snow and the grass had been removed, and that a number of Indians, with Pigewis, had encircled the place where the body had been deposited; and, as is their custom, they smoked the calumet, wept and sacrificed a little of what they possessed to the departed spirit of the child."<sup>(84)</sup> Although this may or may not have been the ceremonial

feast of the dead, it was certainly related, and the presence of the Chief, Peguis, would indicate that it was more than merely circumstantial commemoration.

Rundle's experience among the Plains Cree contains elements not found in the accounts of either West or Evans. In his Journal entry for 25 August, 1846 Rundle describes the feast made in honor of a young woman. "We saw a stick placed perpendicularly in the ground with something like a human face cut on the top, which was pointed. Around this at the time of the feast were placed kettles, etc. containing (I suppose) the food prepared for the occasion. Much was cooked. They danced and sang and beat the drums. The giver of the feast first put a little of the food near the fire for his deceased daughter. The dance continued till daylight, the men and women dancing together."<sup>(85)</sup>

Secondary literature on the subject shows the ceremony evolved from Huron and Algonkian beginnings as a "complex of practices" which included gift-giving and feasting with intrinsic political overtones designed to enforce kinship alliances, to perpetuate confederacies within and without the group, and even to elect chiefs.<sup>(86)</sup> As the Algonkians borrowed the ceremony from the Hurons, so the Plains Cree appropriated it from the Algonkians, but in the process it appears to have lost its overtly political association. In all other respects the secular and the missionary records coincide with remarkable accuracy.

### 3. Indian Beliefs and Practices

Although missionary observations of death and burial rites were accurate and fairly comprehensive, the same cannot be said of the entire spectrum of Indian beliefs and practices. Areas of greatest interest and concern to the missionary were, quite naturally, concepts of a Supreme Being, the soul, and the afterlife. Gradually they also became aware, however dimly, of the existence of the vision quest and of myths and legends.<sup>(1)</sup>

#### The Supreme Being and Minor Deities

Missionaries were well aware of the general belief in a Great Spirit among the tribes with whom they had contact. A few noted precepts concerning both good and evil deities, as well as the worship of a plurality of gods. And while all appear to have searched diligently for signs of overt idolatry, seeking in this case was not necessarily finding.

One question which no missionary appears to have posed is the origin of these beliefs.<sup>(2)</sup> These relatively uneducated men, West always excepted, should not be expected to grapple with metaphysical or philosophical issues,<sup>(3)</sup> but on a simple and practical level it appears logical that they might question the presence of concepts of God in the North American wilderness. The answer by implication seems fairly obvious: If the Indians were indeed the Ten Lost Tribes as most missionaries believed, then residues of the true faith must necessarily have remained in the murky recesses of their paganism. John West approached the matter very indirectly from another angle when he observed that knowledge of the Evil Spirit was gained through bitter personal experiences such as "trials, sufferings, afflictions and multiform death . . . ."<sup>(4)</sup> There

is no speculation that these concepts might have filtered down from Indians in contact with Christianity in Canada, or from those traders and explorers who practiced the faith they professed.<sup>(5)</sup> Yet, judging from both clerical and secular observations, it seems quite clear that what the initial contact missionaries recorded were aboriginal beliefs, in existence long before first contact with Europeans. Although missionary, trader and converted native likely influenced aboriginal metaphysical concepts they did not, in these first years, materially alter them.<sup>(6)</sup>

John West recorded most fully what he heard, observed and understood of Indian beliefs concerning God:

There is an impression upon their minds, of a Divine Being, whom they call the Great Spirit, whom they ignorantly address, and suppose to be too good even to punish them. Their general idea is that they are more immediately under the influence of a powerful Evil Spirit. Experience has taught them this melancholy fact, in the trials, sufferings, afflictions, and multiform death which they undergo; and therefore their prayers are directed to him, when any severe calamity befalls them. To avert his displeasure, they often have recourse to superstitious practices, with the most childish credulity; and will drum and dance throughout a whole night, in the hope of bringing relief to the sick and dying.<sup>(7)</sup>

He was not always this harsh in his judgements. Recounting his experience with Chief Peguis when the latter returned thanks by pointing his pipe stem to the heavens and then to the earth, giving the first whiff to the Master of Life and then handing it to the missionary, West remarks that this conduct, although addressed to "an unknown God" was much superior to that of many professing Christians who never return thanks for food much more bountiful than that enjoyed by Peguis on this particular day.<sup>(8)</sup> For West and his generation of British Christians, such an unjaundiced valuation was the apogee of tolerance and magnanimity. Robert Rundle, however, also shared this appreciation: "I was very much struck with an observation he (old Wack-a-can) made respecting the Great

Spirit," he notes in his Journal, "it shows what a sublime conception the Indians here have of the Almighty. He said he knew that there was one Great Being that dwelt in Heaven and that he was everywhere present and beheld all the sins which man committed. . . ." (9)

The missionaries had recorded accurately. The majority of Canadian Indians credited a Great Spirit who was essentially good, and simply accepted the existence of evil, seeking to avoid rather than explain it. (10) Several tribes however, postulated both a Good and an Evil Spirit as West had observed, a duality Paul Radin considers "one of the fundamental folkloristic conceptions of the North American Indians." (11)

The Supreme Being of the Northern Algonkian was known most commonly as Kitchi Manitou, but also as Thou-who-standest, and the Master of Food, of Life, and of Death, respectively. (12) Among the Blackfeet he was Napi or Old Man. (13) While Kitchi Manitou lived "somewhere above" and was equated with all that was good as well as with all power, the Blackfeet regarded the Sun as the centre and the supreme object of worship. (14) The attributes of the Kitchi Manitou included transcendence, omniscience and sovereignty. Some bands seemed to regard him as otiose while others saw him as active in his relationship with humanity. (15) Some represented him as the sun, others did not. (16) All, however, venerated the Kitchi Manitou, did not use his name in vain (as both Evans and West observed with pleasure), and offered to him the first fruits of the hunt, whether the first animal or bird of the season, the first game killed by a young boy, or merely a bit of grease or meat before a meal. This latter practice is confirmed in all the missionary literature.

The Algonkians also believed in Madji Manido, or Evil Spirit, who among the Cree had as his subordinates the cougar, lynx and snake. (17)

Also evil was Pagak or Pauguk, the feared personification of death depicted as a human-hunting skeleton who never spoke and was "unvaried in repulsiveness." Among the Crees of the lower Saskatchewan and Cumberland House images of this spirit were reproduced from stuffed moose-hide and carved heads.<sup>(18)</sup> It was to these that Rundle was likely referring when he speaks repeatedly of "gross idolatry" - the only missionary to do so - and the only missionary whose itinerary took him into initial contact with the Saskatchewan Cree.<sup>(19)</sup>

Not for lack of recognition were idols largely unmentioned by his colleagues, however. West cautiously ventured that he had been unable to discover "anything like a visible object of adoration. Neither sun, moon, nor stars, appear to catch (the Indians') attention as objects of worship."<sup>(20)</sup> Although he was of course unaware of tribal worship in parts of the Saskatchewan where the heavens were venerated, his remarks smack suspiciously of disappointment. The evangelical readers of missionary materials expected non-Christian religions to be replete with worship of the grossest images, and West was obliged to disillusion them.

Although not depicted by an image the Windigo, or Witiko, a personification of the spectre of starvation and craving for flesh so common among the Algonkians during periods of poor hunting, was the most dreaded of the evil spirits.<sup>(21)</sup> The Windigo is conceptualized as a monstrous giant with a heart of ice, an insatiable craving for human flesh, and a body, impervious to human weapons, which may be killed only by the power of a medicine man. The terrifying aspect of this "Witiko Psychosis" as John Cooper has dubbed it, is that its origins are traceable to actual environmental conditions when prolonged famine has driven individuals to cannibalism, often after suffering severe mental

breakdown.<sup>(22)</sup> As Hultkrantz describes it, "the Algonquin Indian afflicted with hunger-psychosis becomes a power-being when he resorts to cannibalism."<sup>(23)</sup> Such individuals, suspected of becoming Witikos, were usually put to death, often by their closest kin. Paget relates graphically the dilemma of the Crees who, with strong emotions "regarding cannibals and lunatics. . . (and) with tears in their eyes would help burn the poor patient."<sup>(24)</sup>

It was in George Barnley's geographical area that the Witiko psychosis was most prevalent. Although the young missionary mentions the constant spectre of starvation and its actual occurrence, he seems never to have confronted cannibalism. Yet John Horden who located at Moose Factory after Barnley's return to England, records that at one station on his circuit a "man had saved his life at the expense of his children. There were six little ones; he killed and ate them all."<sup>(25)</sup> And James Evans, while serving in the Lake Superior missions, also encountered at least one incidence of man-eating.<sup>(26)</sup> But yet the name of the dreaded Witiko is not recorded in these writings.

John West was aware of ritual cannibalism - "no doubt under the idea that it will give them courage, and a spirit of hatred and revenge against their enemies"<sup>(27)</sup> - but comments that the eating of human flesh was not practised by North American Indians. On the contrary, it was "held in great abhorrence. . . and when they are driven to eat it, through dire necessity, they are generally shunned by other Indians who know it, and who often take their lives secretly."<sup>(28)</sup> Here he describes the actual psychosis but since he does not relate it by name to the Witiko it must be inferred that he was unaware of the religious significance of what he observed.

In addition to the Witiko and other spirits already mentioned, there were myriads of other deities, both good and evil: shadow manitous symbolized by inexplicable phenomena, dwelling in dangerous rapids or waterfalls, treading beneath the ground with a slow and heavy step; or hair-covered dwarfs paddling stone canoes across the water.<sup>(29)</sup> Thunder was especially revered,<sup>(30)</sup> as was the bear, considered part-human as well as part-animal. All must be propitiated, generally by offerings of tobacco, food or clothing, as well as by prayers and songs. Rundle is quite correct in saying, as he did of the Slave Indians, that they have "gods many and lords many. The Sun, moon and stars are all worshipped by them with many objects in the animal creation and also perhaps a host of gods besides."<sup>(31)</sup> While Rundle appeared to recognize that native beliefs could be contradictory, fluid and very complex, he was obviously unaware of the full extent of their pantheon, for he makes no reference to the trickster.<sup>(32)</sup>

The trickster, or culture hero, a mythical person known by various names throughout Indian North America, occupied it is true, a unique position in their cosmology. While the Great Spirit is master of all things the trickster is usually the creator, combining

in one personage no less than two and sometimes three or more seemingly different and contrary roles. Often times he is the maker of the earth and/or he is the one who changes the chaotic myth-world into the ordered creation of today; he is the slayer of monster, the thief of daylight, fire, water, and the like for the benefit of man; he is the teacher of cultural skills and customs; but he is also a prankster who is grossly erotic, insatiably hungry, inordinately vain, deceitful, and cunning toward friends as well as foes; a restless wanderer upon the face of the earth; and a blunderer who is often the victim of his own tricks and follies.<sup>(33)</sup>

The various names applied to the trickster include Nanabozho or Great Hare, among the Algonquins, Wisekedjak or Nanibush among the Ojibwa, Saulteaux and Cree, Napi, Old Man, or Old Man of the Dawn

among the Blackfeet, and Spider among the Dakotas.<sup>(34)</sup> It was by the name of Waesackoochack, obviously Wisekedjak, that John West knew the Saulteaux folk-hero. His informant referred to him as "a very great man" involved in the re-creation of the world after the great universal deluge.<sup>(35)</sup> George Barnley very likely intended the same reference when he called the messianic "Christ" who came among the James Bay Cree, "Wasetak," but obviously thought he was referring to a god, rather than a culture-hero.<sup>(36)</sup> Generally speaking, it seems safe to assume that these first missionaries were not aware of the important place of the trickster in Indian religious life, or indeed, that the trickster was not in actuality a god. For the Indians' conception of god, gods, goddesses, or devils, was, to say the least, a matter of primary interest and concern to the missionaries, if only to disprove their existence in the face of the Truth which the missionary was certain that he alone possessed.

At the same time, there was a certain effort made to bridge the distance, the gap, between Indian beliefs and Christianity. James Evans, the most experienced of the missionaries in this study, especially applied what he knew and observed of Indian belief to what he was attempting to teach them. In an undated "Address to an Indian Assembly," Evans spoke as follows:

You know that there is a Great Spirit above who governs and takes care of all things. This Great Spirit used to greatly bless your fathers a great while ago, before you saw the white men, and before they brought the fire waters among your people. Then your fathers were a happy people and the sun shone very brightly upon them but the fire waters and the wicked ways of many who have traded with you have made the Great Spirit hide his face. . . Now this (new) religion is very good it comes from the Great Spirit, his Son brought it to us, and in a Great Book, he tells us what we are to do.<sup>(37)</sup>

In the same speech Evans refers to the apocalypse as occurring with thunder roaring in the sky, and the returning Christ speaking "with a voice like many thunders." Obviously Evans knew the strength of this

phenomenon in the religion of this people, and as was his custom, launched into the unknown Christian religion from the structure and language of the familiar. This tendency is perceptible again in another speech given in March, 1842, when he closes with the words, "Brothers, may the Great Spirit who has given us life, bless you with wise thoughts, and lead your hearts in the way that is good."<sup>(38)</sup> The Good Spirit, the Master of Life, the way that is good, these were familiar in the vocabulary and religion of his listeners.

In all fairness it must be said that George Barnley also attempted to make the transition from Indian practice to Christian doctrine, but did so in a much more stilted and less natural manner than Evans. He was, after all, a novice in mission work. The following is an interesting example of how Barnley sought to explain vicarious atonement, and how his Indian hearer responded: "I observed, 'you would not be willing to send an only son to die for a friend, and would be altogether unable to place him in the canoe and send him to endure great pain, and to die in order to save an enemy from dying,' to which he replied, 'If I were ever to see my sons taken away to save another from dying, I should die too.'"<sup>(39)</sup> Certainly the Indian understood the love of the Father for the Son, even if vicarious atonement remained a mystery to him.

In summary, it seems evident that the missionaries attempted to understand the (to them) confused and often contradictory beliefs of their Indian hearers and were at least in part successful, an achievement which modern scholars have largely denied them. It is equally evident, however, that the less obvious aspects of native faith and practice such as the role and importance of the folk hero were not comprehended. Yet concepts of the soul and the afterlife, more normative to nineteenth century

Christian beliefs, were readily grasped and communicated in missionary literature.

#### Concepts of the Soul and the Afterlife

All the missionaries in this study appear to have understood that belief in a soul and an afterlife existed among the Indians in their spheres of contact, and were surprisingly cognizant as to the various forms in which these were embodied. John West and George Barnley have left the most explicit accounts.

To West, the "notion" (as he perceived it) prevailing among the natives in his area was

that at death they arrive at a large river, on which they embark in a stone canoe; and that a gentle current bears them on to an extensive lake, in the centre of which is a most beautiful island, in the sight of which they receive their judgement. If they have died courageously in war, they are particularly welcomed in landing upon the island, where they, with skilful hunters, enjoy perpetual spring and plenty, and live with all the good in an eternal enjoyment of sensual pleasures. If they die with their hands imbrued with the blood of their countrymen and are lazy bad characters, the canoe sinks with them, leaving them up to their chins in water, that they may forever behold the happiness of the good, and struggle in vain to reach the island of bliss.<sup>(40)</sup>

West's account is a remarkably accurate rendition of the traditional Chipewyan belief. Not only was West aware of Indian thought in this matter, but he gives credence to the views of Hultkrantz and Reid, among others, that belief in an afterlife is aboriginal and not contingent on missionary influence, as Hallowell contends.<sup>(41)</sup> Certainly it is possible that Jesuit influence from Canada, or the faith of individual traders might have filtered through to Rupert's Land but hardly in the form in which West found it in 1820.

George Barnley also substantiated the authenticity of aboriginal belief in an afterlife contingent on behaviour while on earth, although

he encountered two differing views. Among the very isolated, nomadic inland Crees whom he visited in their tents, he found death viewed as an eternal sleep, with very little interest in or speculation about, the soul.<sup>(42)</sup> Among the Moose Factory Indians, however, he recorded the following:

The Indians have some idea of a future state in which everything exactly resembles the present. . .they know something too of future reward and punishment but suppose it will consist in sensual gratification. The Indian who is good will not miss his deer and have success in all his enterprises, while the bad man will find something to turn his gun aside, be wishing to drink and unable to alleviate his thirst, to eat and unable to satisfy his craving appetite.<sup>(43)</sup>

The Blackfeet tribes as well as the Algonkian also embraced the concept of punishment for wickedness committed in the present life. This punishment often took the form described by Barnley, or more commonly, the inability to cross a natural barrier like the river of death with the result, that souls of the wicked congregated along the banks of the gorge and gazed on the blessed enjoying the afterlife.<sup>(44)</sup> Certainly this notion provided a point of contact for the missionary who loved to preach on the story of the rich man and Lazarus,<sup>(45)</sup> but whether the comparison was actually made is open to speculation.

The Ojibwa, for whom the afterlife was an exact counterpart of the present, verified Barnley's observations. They believed all things possessed a spirit form (an aspect Barnley describes merely as "resembling" reality, that there would be no heat or cold, no hunger, thirst, pain, quarreling, no shortage of game in this life to come. The spirit Indian flies like the wind after his spirit game, shoots it, takes the choice piece, then goes on to hunt again. The spirit of the just-killed animal jumps up, ready to "reward some other spirit Indian with his needed recreation and pleasure."<sup>(46)</sup> Jenness's account is less idyllic:

"the soul that reached it (the realm of the dead) enjoyed happiness indeed, but only a shadowy happiness compared with the joys of earth."<sup>(47)</sup>

In the Blackfoot tradition the "good" go to a specific geographical location, the Sand Hills, northeast of the Sweet Grass Hills, an area surrounded by quicksand to prevent the living from straying into it. Yet this is not considered a paradise, as the hereafter of the righteous in other tribes, but rather a "monotonous, never ending, and altogether unsatisfying" existence. The shadows of the wicked are not even allowed that dismal habitation but must take the form of ghosts and remain forever near their place of death. "Unhappy themselves, they envy those who are happy and continually prowl about the lodges of the living, seeking to do them harm."<sup>(48)</sup> Thus ghosts are deemed to be the cause of sickness, insanity, mischief of all kinds, or even death.

While the concept of resurrection occurred among the Algonkian tribes as well as among the Blackfeet, it was not common and was not commented on by the missionaries.<sup>(49)</sup> Nor did any see evidence of the tripartite nature of man as described by Jenness and Hultkrantz.<sup>(50)</sup> In spite of these omissions, their writings substantiate significantly the aboriginal belief in an afterlife for both the righteous and the wicked, and the form these beliefs took among certain tribes. The source of Indian beliefs were of course, their myths and legends.

### Myths and Legends

While myth and legend are not synonymous and constitute a corpus of material in their own right,<sup>(51)</sup> for the purposes of this study they will be considered as one, using Jarold Ramsey's definition of myth as the framework: a myth is "always related to a creation, to how things came

to be, or to 'how a pattern of behaviour, an institution, a manner of working was established; this is why myths constitute the paradigms of all significant human acts. . . .' "(52) In other words, in the Indian context myths form the chief source of tribal culture and belief.

One aspect of myth and legend not only often overlooked but having special significance related to native reaction to the missionary message is the moral conveyed by the stories. Henry Schoolcraft, who lived among the Indians and married a native woman, believed the narratives contained the essence of all upright living: "Cruelty, murder, and sorcery are eventually punished. . . Domestic infidelity meets the award of death. . . Religious vows are held inviolate. Respect for parents and for age, fraternal affection, hospitality, bravery, self-denial, endurance under fatigue or suffering, and disinterestedness, are uniformly inculcated. Presumption and pride are rebuked and warnings given against the allurements of luxury and its concomitant vices."(53)

Surely this was common ground for both preacher and "pagan". Yet while a native having this fund of folk-lore might well grasp Biblical stories conveying similar morals, the missionary had great difficulty understanding the significance of Indian narratives. As Chief Elias Johnson explained,

It is very difficult for a stranger to rightly understand the morals of their stories. . .To strangers (the Indians) offer all the rites of hospitality, but do not open their hearts. . . They well fear your ridicule and suppress their humour and pathos. . . And when you have learned all that language can convey, there are still a thousand images, suggestions and associations recurring to the Indian, which can strike no chord in your heart. The myriad voices of nature are dumb to you, but to them they are full of life and power. (54)

This colossal cultural barrier faced and often defeated the missionary.

The missionaries were, of course, aware that these stories existed. Rundle relates a legend concerning the Peigan Chief who was given power to suffer eight fatal wounds yet survive upon being covered by a bear skin.<sup>(55)</sup> It has overtones of both the resurrection myths and various aspects of the Bear cult, but because he tells it in complete isolation from any context ("Sept. 7, 1847 - Story About Pagan [sic] Indian Chief") there is no indication of either the source from which he received the story, or of his own reaction to it.

In contrast, George Barnley frankly enjoyed listening to legends, especially while sitting around the campfire on winter evenings. He records the following:

The coldness of the night, compelling the men to crowd close to the fire, instead of lying down to sleep, gave a disposition to indulge in the relation of legends, and amongst the rest was a story of "the Rock Indians", an imaginary people. Inland from Rupert's House there is (as the story runs) a high rock, inside which reside a body of Indians. "Long ago" an old man overtook some of these mysterious beings as far as to see them distinctly. He paddled after them in his canoe, and found that everything about them partook of the rocky nature of their mountain residence. The canoe itself was Stone, the paddles Stone, and as the ordinary mortal spoke to them, they sunk, with their vessel to the submarine entrance to their home, and, as the Indian listened he heard them "go ashore" and caught the sound of the stone paddles carelessly flung in the rocks below, just as a native would cast similar implements from his hand upon the surface of the earth in the ordinary course of life.<sup>(56)</sup>

He draws no morals and does not denigrate on this or other occasions but simply listens and enjoys the telling of tales as a social event but not as a religious exercise. In this, of course, he is culpable.

As might be expected, however, it was John West who examined myths in greatest detail and with religious awareness. He comments that the persons of whom he inquired concerning traditional beliefs appeared to be either "ignorant or unwilling to relate" these stories, but nevertheless he learned the common deluge narratives, the re-creation of the

world by "Waesackoochack," the stone canoe and other Saulteaux myths. (57)

He also showed his interest in the topic by investigating contemporary publications on the Indian, and was especially impressed by Alexander Mackenzie's description of Chipewyan legends, for he quotes from them at length. But then West draws conclusions, as other missionaries did not, in a manner one has come to expect:

There appears to be a general belief of a flood among all the tribes of this vast continent; and the Bible shews me from whence spring all those fables, and wild notions which they entertain; and which prevail in other parts of the heathen world upon these subjects. They are founded upon those events which the sacred scriptures record, and which have been corrupted by different nations, scattered and wandering through the globe as the descendants of Noah, without a written language. The Hindoo therefore in his belief that the earth was actually drawn up at the flood, by the tusks of a boar, and that it rests at this hour on the back of a tortoise; and the North American Indian in his wild supposition that Waesackoochack, whose reputed father was a snake, formed the present beautiful order of creation after the deluge, by the help of a musk-rat, afford no inconsiderable proof that the Bible is of far greater antiquity than any other record extant in the world, and that it is indeed of divine origin. (58)

In representing the myths as "fables and wild notions," in concluding that all are merely distortions of the divinely inspired Biblical account, and in crediting Judeo-Christian tradition with a recorded continuity which no other religion enjoys, West is merely expressing the evangelical viewpoint in a manner of which the other missionaries, with the possible exception of Evans, were incapable. He is also unwittingly proving himself an example of that cultural superiority and using that ridicule of which Chief Elias Johnson spoke, which effectively closed the heart of the Indian against him. Certainly George Copway, an Ojibwa Christian writing in 1850, spoke from experience when he wrote acidly of the "present dependence of the pale face on letters" while deprecating traditions handed down by other means, forgetting entirely the oral

transmission by which much of the Old and New Testaments came into being, and being totally unaware of the sacred scrolls by which many Indian traditions had been transmitted.<sup>(59)</sup>

Yet myths and legends, although of great importance, were not the sole source of Indian beliefs. There were the conjurors and medicine men with their supernatural contacts; there were experiences of contemporary natives and those of their fathers "in ecstasy, dream and coma."<sup>(60)</sup> There was also the universe around them, and the stars, seen by one Blackfoot as "the handwriting of God, and Nature. . . the book given for the red man to read, in conjunction with. . . his dreams."<sup>(61)</sup> These dreams or visions in various forms, in fact dominated the religious practices of the western tribes.

#### The Vision Quest

Dreams of all kinds were important to the Indians of the West. There were dreams that foretold the future,<sup>(62)</sup> that imparted knowledge of the world to come, that indicated by what name a child should be known, and those that conveyed medical lore or communicated power in war. Even corn and tobacco are said to have come to the Indian through dreams. Vivid day-dreams, alcoholic-induced experiences, delirium, hysterical outbursts, these were also considered valid but of lesser importance than other dreams.<sup>(63)</sup> "Every dream, however insignificant it might appear, carried a meaning or a warning. . . ."<sup>(64)</sup>

Anyone, including women and children, could experience meaningful dreams and the young were trained and encouraged both to dream and to communicate their dreams.<sup>(65)</sup> Here, surely was a point of communication between missionary and Indian, for everyone dreams. Robert Rundle

especially dreamed very vividly and was deeply affected thereby. Yet instead of exploring this avenue of mutuality and using it as a means of building relationships, the young missionary considered dreams "a mockery," denied their validity, and dismissed them out of hand.<sup>(66)</sup> There is no evidence that he ever discussed his own dreams even with close Indian friends. This difference in attitude toward a common human experience was at the root of many missionary-Indian problems of understanding - a largely cultural conflict of values.

But while there might be basic cultural variation in approach to such phenomena as dreams, an experience so vital to native life inevitably found an expression in conversion experiences, where it met with an astonishing degree of acceptance by at least a few of the missionaries in this study. George Barnley for example, gives the following report: "One of the members gave us an account of a kind of dream she had had in which the Saviour had been presented to her, and from that time she stated that she had been happy in the love of God. Without placing any peculiar value on dreams, visions, etc., I received this woman's testimony. . . God will not confine himself to any one way of working."<sup>(67)</sup> James Evans shared this view. He records the dream of a "seeker" who was shown by the Great Spirit the two roads - the broad road to perdition and the narrow road to salvation - and through this experience professed conversion.<sup>(68)</sup> What is remarkable about both accounts is not that the dreams occurred, but that they were given credence and acceptance as genuine conversion experiences.

The missionaries were also aware of other-than-conversion-types of dreams and especially the universal vision quest, for the most important of all dreams for the Indian, was, strictly speaking, not a dream but

the closely related search for a vision.<sup>(69)</sup> This quest was primarily the search for an individual guardian spirit, but it extended far beyond that to include visions sought while in mourning, as an instrument of revenge, as initiation into certain societies, in response to a vow, or before going to war.<sup>(70)</sup> It has been well described as a "culturally prescribed dream, hallucination, or any unusual auditory or visual stimulus" which could be interpreted as a supernatural communication, and which resulted in the acquisition of "power, advice, or ritual privileges."<sup>(71)</sup> It was undoubtedly the most "fundamental and typical religious fact of North America."<sup>(72)</sup>

Although some authorities maintain there were no age or sex limitations among the Plains Indians, the vision sought by females seems qualitatively as well as quantitatively in contrast to that sought by males.<sup>(73)</sup> Mandelbaum, for example, speaks of girls never deliberately embarking on a quest but admits the possibility of them obtaining power through dreams during menstrual seclusion.<sup>(74)</sup> While all tribes practiced the male quest, among the Plains tribes the mature or young man sought the vision, with the Cree and the Assiniboine practicing both the pre- and post-puberty quest, the pre-puberty being the initial search while the post-puberty sought additional power.<sup>(75)</sup> Among most Algonkians and the Beaver of the Northwest with whom Rundle had brief contact, the quest was primarily pre-adolescent, with boys as young as five years of age trained to fast while the eight or nine year old was believed to have attained the proper maturity to receive supernatural visitations.<sup>(76)</sup>

In addition to age, there were significant local and tribal variations in both form and function, but commonality existed in that the quest was always approached through isolation, intense concentration

and self-mortification.<sup>(77)</sup> Keeping the possibility of variants firmly in mind, the procedure began with the erection of a small hut in an isolated place, usually a hill top, where the child remained alone. Aside from the isolation, the hunger, and the thirst, no tribes except the Dakota practiced additional self-torture. Yet the boy's weeping, praying, and fasting, continual concentration on the desired vision, sometimes standing throughout the day looking at the sun - these acts of self-inflicted suffering, surely torture enough, were designed to produce pity among the spirits and thereby ensure a vision.<sup>(78)</sup>

If a vision did not materialize before approximately four days had elapsed, or if the child could not persevere, the quest was continued at some other time or times, but after intercourse with a woman, a youth could no longer seek this supernatural visitation. Even among the tribes practicing post-puberty or adult quests, purity was an important ingredient, purity extending not only to sexual activity, but to clothing and bodily cleanliness. With this emphasis on ritual purification and the stress involved in fasting, isolation and continued prayer, added to the psychological stress of personal anticipation and tribal expectation, the impact of this experience in a boy's life can hardly be overestimated.

The quest invariably included prayers invoking the cosmic powers to have pity.<sup>(79)</sup> In response to these pleas, the young man received a visitation from his guardian spirit, usually an "animal, bird, or power of nature (such as thunder)."<sup>(80)</sup> Sometimes the spirits assumed human form before bestowing greatly diverse powers and privileges such as healing, the right to lead a war dance or perform certain ceremonies,

prowess as a hunter, or even the command to adopt a cross-sexual role or commit incest.<sup>(81)</sup> While there is no missionary comment on the cross-sexual individual as one ordered to assume this role by his tutelary spirit, Rundle was obviously upset when he discovered a Cree who "lived with his daughter as wife and said a spirit had told him he must do it to save his life."<sup>(82)</sup>

Although incest or sexual deviation was not necessarily considered a negative outcome of the vision quest, great caution was required to recognize an evil spirit who might seek to delude the dreamer, for if such a vision were accepted, disaster was certain to follow. Thus Benedict tells of the youth who, despite his efforts to obtain a "good" vision, repeatedly encountered Misikinubick, the black horned, hairy snake of the Central Algonkians, until, rather than risk having no vision at all, he finally accepted the evil power. After waiting until the age of forty, this recipient sacrificed two of his daughters, then used his tutelary "to cripple, ruin, or kill his enemies."<sup>(83)</sup>

A song was invariably included in the granting of vision power by the tutelary whether good or evil, and sometimes also instructions for a dance, tattooing, or face painting. In exchange, the recipient became obligated to observe any taboos connected with the power, such as eating or not eating certain meats or fish, hunting or not hunting specific animals, and restrictions of similar nature. Not only did the seeker undertake to observe the taboos imposed on him, but of much greater importance, he was compelled to surrender himself completely to the spirit who became his guardian, and thus the course of a man's life was in fact largely determined by this momentous encounter.<sup>(84)</sup>

It was impossible for the missionary not to be aware of at least

some aspects of the vision quest, and both Evans and Rundle left descriptions. James Evans' account is the most complete, relating the experience of Oozhuskah, a new convert. Although this particular Ojibwa desired power as a medicine-man or prophet, the essentials of his quest are similar to those experienced by all seekers.

From the earliest period of my recollection, inspired by the traditions of my tribe, I had an insatiable thirst to become a prophet. . . . To accomplish this object I commenced a fast. I partook of no kind of nourishment for twenty days, excepting the broth of a little boiled corn after the going down of the sun. On the twentieth day I caused my tent to be erected alone in the forest: I entered it, and on that evening ate nothing. I was almost famished with hunger; my skin clave to my bones and I had barely strength to stand on my feet. Nearly fainting, I laid down in my tent determined to die or obtain the object of my desire. I lay until nearly midnight when suddenly a man entered my tent. 'What are you doing? Why are you here? and what do you want?' said he. I replied, 'I am fasting, almost dead, and must soon perish with hunger.' Before I had time to say more, he rejoined, 'Follow me;' and it seemed as if my spirit left my body. I rose and went out of my tent; he then took me by the arm and we both ascended into the air, and moved on with the utmost ease and rapidity." Oozhuskah then related the adventures of his journey; how his long fasting had gained the approbation of the gods, and how they made him a mighty prophet. . . . After this he found himself in his tent extremely hungry; he partook of some food and slept sweetly. When he awoke the next morning he felt proud, considering himself superior to all the Indians around him. From this time all the promises of the gods were fulfilled.<sup>(85)</sup>

While Evans himself offers no comment on this experience, he makes sure to include Oozhuskah's own conviction that he was "a child of the devil," an opinion that Evans no doubt shared. Even the usually tolerant Rundle displayed only opprobrium for the quest as it appeared to his pious mind:

Passed in pitching a place where Indians go to sleep(?) about their abominable idolatries. I went up to look at it, saw stones placed or arranged in shape of an oval. Great importance is attached by them to dreams and perhaps it may be said that according to their dreams, so they worship. They are accustomed to remain on the tops of mountains and hills (this hill being one of the places) for days and nights together without food, praying and crying to their "familiar" to pity and instruct them. They then pretend that their

"spirits" appear to them in their dreams and the supposed communications made by them decide their worship for life. (86)

Although the report is correct in all essentials, it is written with an animus unusual in the gentle Rundle, but typical of nineteenth century evangelicalism. Small wonder the Indians were loath to acquaint a missionary with native ritual, ceremony and belief, for fear of receiving only ridicule or misunderstanding.

Although the initial search for a guardian spirit was the crucial encounter, among certain tribes the quest was repeated more than once in an effort to acquire more spirit helpers and thus assure greater material and spiritual benefits. Albers and Parker see the quest as providing a rationale for the distribution of power in the society, for supernatural power received in visions translated into social position and wealth, or the lack of it, for not everyone obtained the greatly desired visitation. (87) As one old man commented, "I was going to be poor; that is why I had no vision." (88)

Certainly the powers granted by the tutelary differed greatly but all had socio-economic consequences. One that was eagerly sought among several tribes was the ability to become a buffalo pound-maker, for to locate the buffalo herds, draw them into a pound, and thus assure food and clothing was to contribute to the essentials of tribal life in much the same way as did the skillful hunter. (89) The pound-maker would delineate the required perimeters and when these had been constructed, hang his medicine bundle from the pole or tree located in the centre of the enclosure. Often the "buffalo dreamer" would himself sit in this central location, chanting and invoking the help of his guardian spirit. Various tribes employed different types of pounds, but the following are examples

Buffalo Pounds

of those most common:

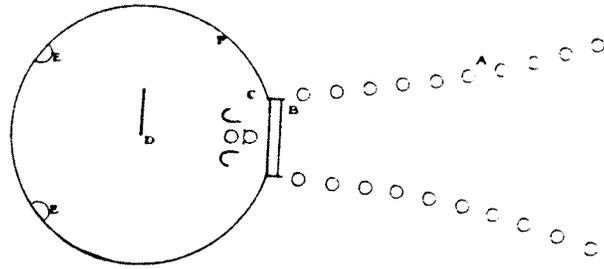


Diagram of a Buffalo Pound, according to Four-clouds. a. Fence; b. Entrance gate; c. Spirit rock, buffalo skull, and sticks hung with eagle feathers; d. Pole for offerings; e. Exits for carrying out the meat; f. Enclosure.

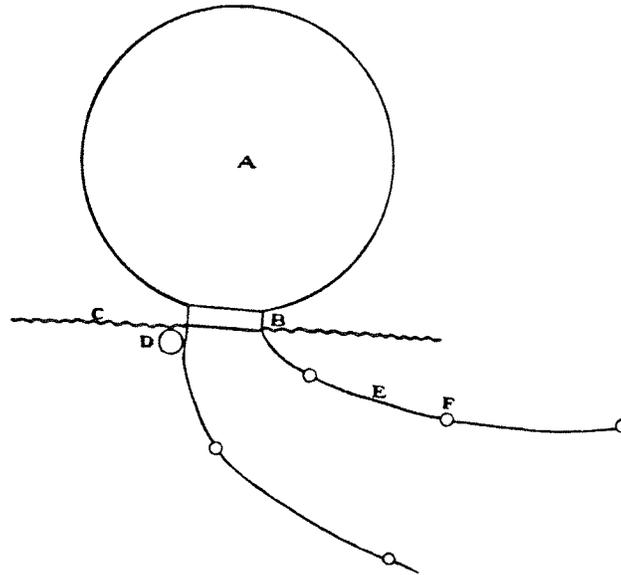


Diagram of Buffalo Pound at Moose Jaw. a. Circular pen; b. Gate; c. Bluff; d. Escape for decoy; e. Funnel-shaped entrance; f. Watchers.

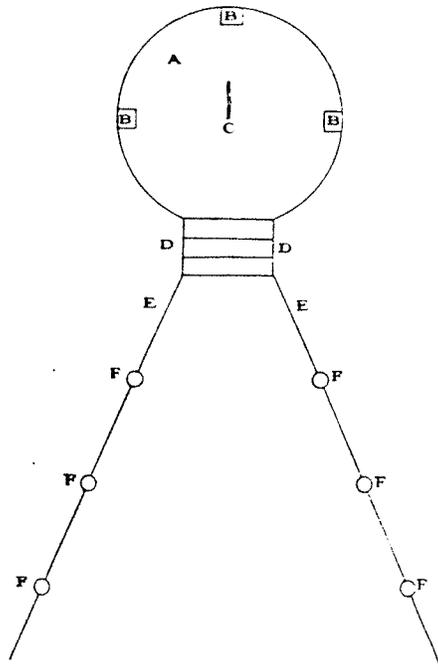


Diagram of a Buffalo Pound. a. A circular pen; b. Tunnel exits; c. Pole for medicines; d. Doors for the escape of the decoy; e-e, Fences; f, Snow banked along fence.

From: A. Skinner,  
"Political Organiza-  
tions," p. 524, 526,  
496.

Both West and Rundle observed these enclosures and Rundle was present when buffalo were being stampeded into one. He did not enjoy the experience, however, and complained of the stench and the waste.<sup>(90)</sup> What was always uppermost in his mind, of course, was the spirit offering, and although he noted the common kind with the central tree, he also remarked on one with an "offering at entrance of pond [sic], stick bent on the top, quills fastened to it."<sup>(91)</sup> Whenever the offerings were removed, he rejoiced seeing this as an indication of receptivity to the Gospel. West, surprisingly, does not mention the offerings at all, but gives a deliberate, detailed and accurate account of the pound in all other respects.<sup>(92)</sup>

Not all gifts received in the vision quest were either as practical as those of the buffalo-dreamer, the healer, the hunter, or the horse medicine which enabled a recipient to cure that animal's diseases,<sup>(93)</sup> or as esoteric as were love potions, especially among the Cree. Often power involved creation of tangible objects such as a medicine bundle, a painted tipi, or simple charms. The latter were frequently ornaments valuable only to the owner - a feather worn in a certain way, bracelets, animal or bird skins, or necklaces made of animal claws - and they ranked least among the powers bestowed.<sup>(94)</sup> It was sometimes possible to purchase these charms, and John West did so when he met a Sauteaux

wearing a necklace composed of "some large claws." West bargained for a price, the Indian accepted, and when he removed it from his neck the warrior addressed the charm as follows:

"My grandfather! you and I have been together some time - we must now part. Go to that Chief; and in leaving me, be not angry, but let me kill buffalo when I am hungry, and another bear when I meet with it, and then I will make another necklace of the claws." I smiled at this address, when, looking at me very seriously, he said, "If you offend the bear," (I supposed he meant the spirit of the bear, whose claws he had given me,) "the bears will be sure to eat you."<sup>(95)</sup>

It is possible, although unlikely, that this Indian was in some way associated with the bear cult which flourished on the Plains,<sup>(96)</sup> because he would hardly have relinquished the claw necklace to a missionary had it been sacred to him. However, most Indians, even those not initiated into the rites of the bear cult manifested a great respect for the animal, considering it the strongest of the animal guardian spirits. John West remarked on the dread with which northern people regarded the polar bear and noticed the head of a newly-killed animal displayed on "some painted sticks, in expression of some superstitious notions. . . ."<sup>(97)</sup> He was obviously not sympathetic or even greatly interested, for, contrary to his habit, he does not describe the content of these "superstitious notions."

West's keen eye also observed other charms bestowed in visions, but there is no indication that he recognized them as such. Shortly after his arrival at Red River for example, he described the appearance of several Indians visiting at the fort:

Whenever they dressed for any particular occasion, they anointed themselves all over with charcoal and grease, and painted their eyebrows, lips and forehead, or cheeks, with vermilion. Some had their noses perforated through the cartilage, in which was fixed part of a goose quill, or a piece of tin, worn as an ornament, while others strutted with the skin of a raven

ingeniously folded as a head dress, to present the beak over the forehead, and the tail spreading over the back of the neck.<sup>(98)</sup>

While the face painting and nose ornaments may or may not have been indications of vision power, the raven skin almost certainly was, as also the head-dress which gave another Indian "the appearance of a wolf."<sup>(99)</sup> But West was, apparently, unaware of the significance of his observations.

As charms were tokens of the least of the vision powers, so medicine bundles were the most potent.<sup>(100)</sup> These bundles might contain war charms such as horse bridles and war shields,<sup>(101)</sup> the immensely complex contents of the beaver bundle,<sup>(102)</sup> or pipes and pipe-stems which were deemed extremely powerful. Taboos, responsibilities and rituals were inherent in owning a medicine bundle, while its unveiling was accompanied by prolonged periods of singing and prayer.<sup>(103)</sup> Petitions related to this significant ceremony were similar to the following Blackfoot prototype: "Thunder, we beseech you. Help me, help me. . . .Have pity on all children and all women, all the old men, and middle-aged men, and married men. . . .Grant them safety. . . . Try to show me mercy; take heed."<sup>(104)</sup> The model is easily recognized in the prayer of a convert recorded by James Evans: "O Great Spirit, pity me, forgive my crooked ways. Give me a good mind. Keep me from sin. Bless my husband and children and give us all a good life (health). I trust in Jesus Christ. Amen."<sup>(105)</sup>

The missionaries reacted to medicine bundles with a uniform and not unexpected attitude: they were anathema. Nowhere does Rundle give a clear description of a medicine bundle and one can only conjecture that his frequent references to "gross idolatry" must include these

Medicine Bundles



Cree Medicine Bag.

From: Henry Youle Hind, Narratives of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition, p. 128.

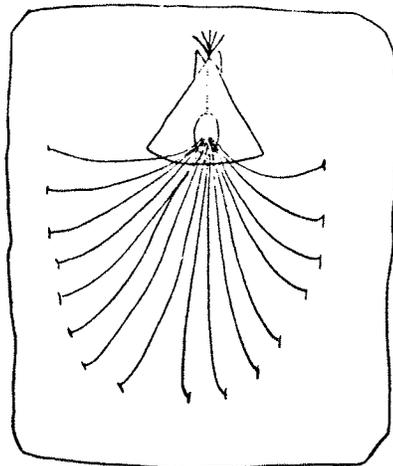
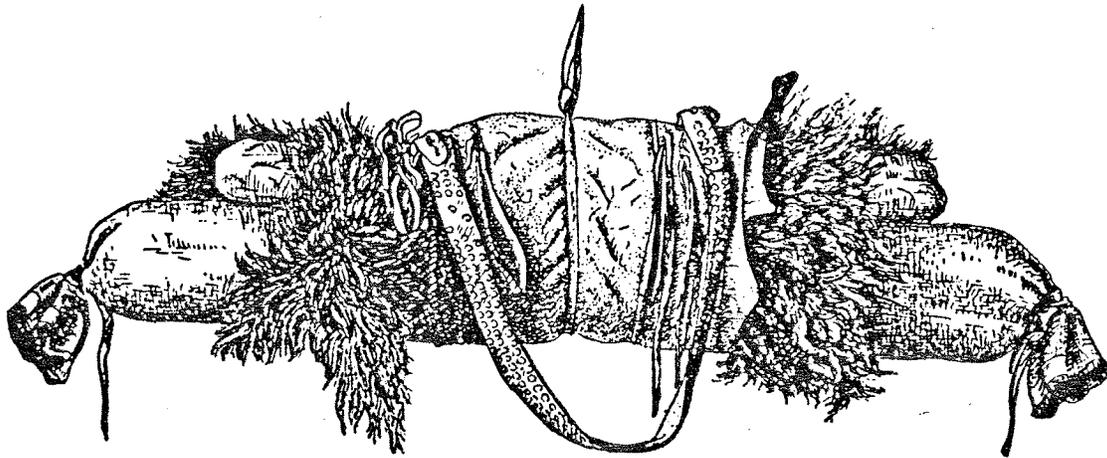


Fig. 1. Design on Birchbark used in the Cree Medicine. Drawn by a Piegan.

From: Clark Wissler, "Ceremonial Bundles," p. 90.

Medicine Bundles



Blackfoot medicine-pipe bundle.

From: Ake Hultkrantz, Prairie and Plains Indians. Leiden: 1973, p. 23.

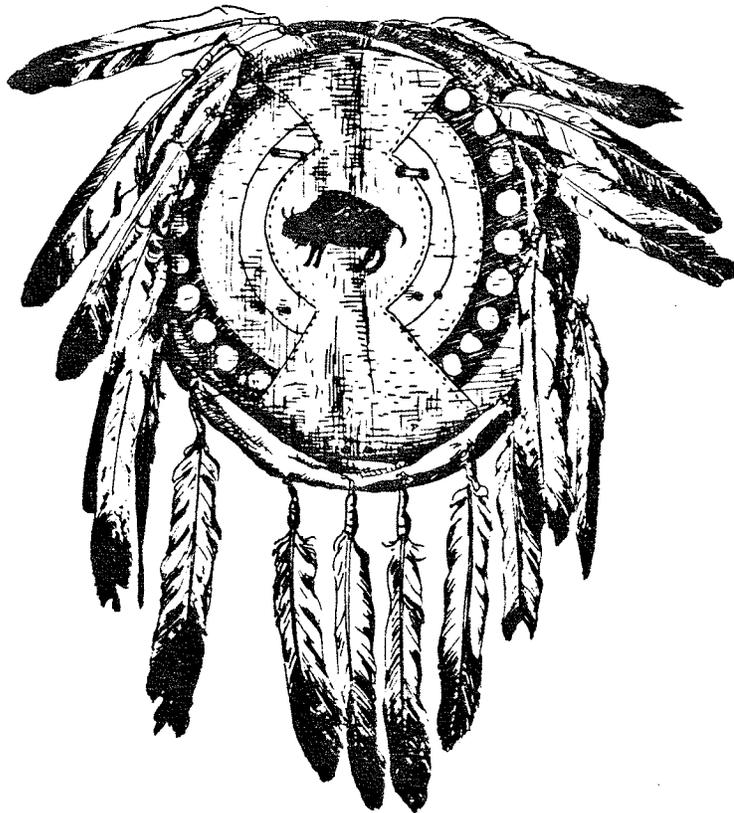


Fig. 16 (50-5760). A buffalo hide Shield from the Northern Blackfoot.

From: Clark Wissler, "Ceremonial Bundles," p. 123.

bundles as well as the images to which reference has already been made. West, on the other hand, recounts an incident in which he came in conflict with an Indian family and their medicine: "The parties were angry at my determination, and looking upon the medicine bag that was suspended on the willows near the tent, and which is carried by most of the Indians, as a sacred depository for a few pounded roots, some choice bits of earth, or a variety of articles which they only know how to appreciate with superstitious regard, they told me that they had bad medicine for those who displeased them."(106)

West displays complete disregard for the content and significance of the medicine bundles. Not so the Indian chief who came to James Evans desiring Christian instruction, informing him that as a prerequisite he had already "thrown away his old superstitions together with his drum, rattles and medicine bag. . . ." (107) This decision was very difficult, no doubt, but common practice among converts to Christianity. Another old man remembered that when he prayed "to the Great Spirit and He heard and forgave me," then he (the Indian) threw away his large collection of medicines, "and my hawk or totem has not since visited me. . . But I bless God that now a Spirit unseen communes with my heart. . . ." (108) The hawk, his tutelary, was intrinsically tied to possession of the medicine bundle, therefore to wilfully disavow and destroy this symbol took great courage, possible only when a greater strength was fully accepted as a substitute.

Also associated with medicine bundles among the western tribes, was the painted tipi, commanding power of a lesser importance in itself, but primarily an announcement, as it were, that the owner possessed the

### The Painted Tipis

In the sketches, Fig. 1 is a small vertical section of the tipi cover. Its entire circumference to about half the height is one continuous array of sketches. From this series a number of typical groups were reassembled in Fig. 2. Beginning at the top in Fig. 1, we have Bear Chief (a) on foot surprised by Assiniboine Indians but he escaped; (b) Double Runner cut loose four horses; (c) Double Runner captures a Gros Ventre boy; (d) Double Runner and a companion encounter and kill two Gros Ventre, he taking a lance from one; (e) even while a boy Double Runner picked up a war-bonnet dropped by a fleeing Gros Ventre which in the system counts as a deed; (f) as a man he has two adventures with Crow Indians, taking a gun from one; (g) he, as leader, met five Flathead in a pit and killed them; (h) a Cree took shelter in some cherry brush in a hole, but Big Nose went in for him; (i) not completely shown, but representing a Cree Indian killed while running off Piegan horses; (j) Double Runner, carrying a medicine pipe, took a bow from a Gros Ventre and then killed him; (k) Double Runner took a shield and a horse from a Crow tipi, a dog barked and he was hotly pursued; (m) he killed two Gros Ventre and took two guns;

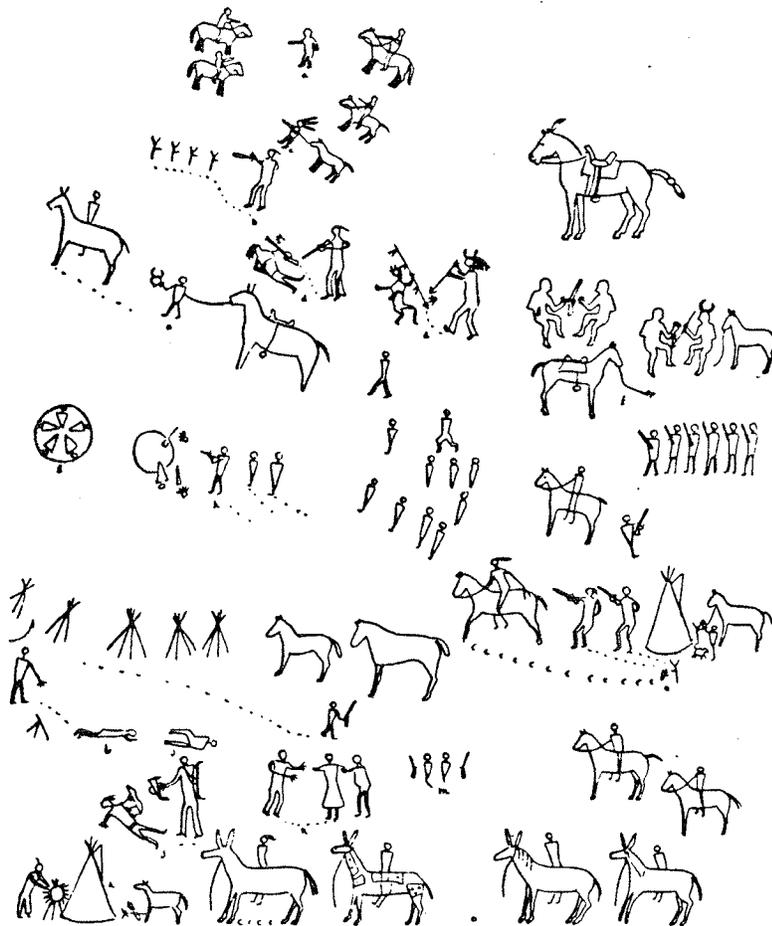
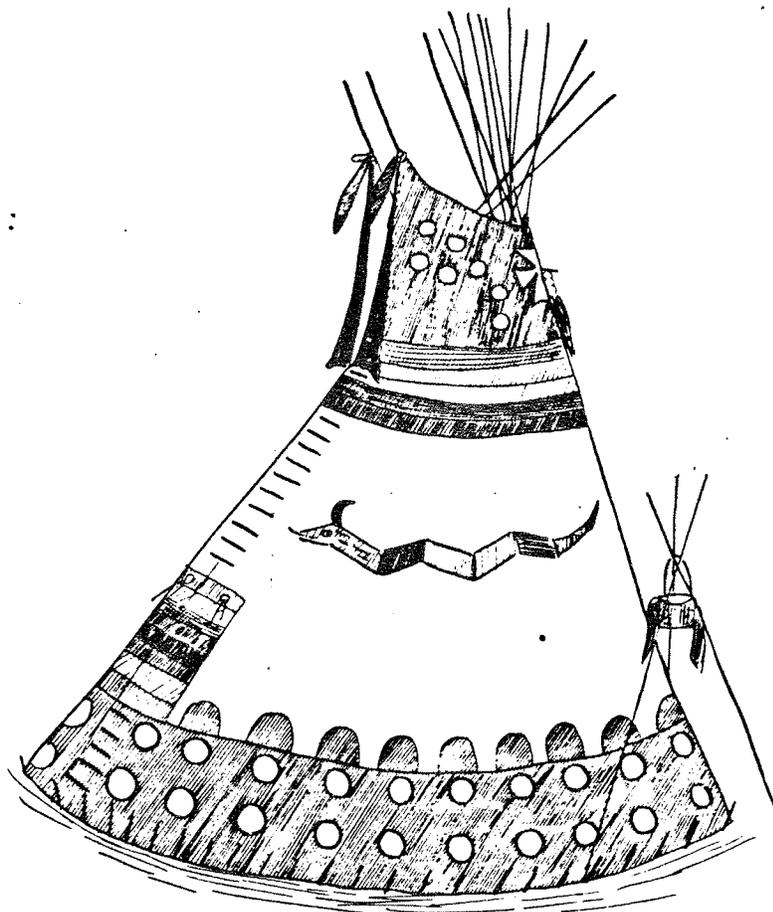


Fig. 1 (50-4485). Section of a decorated Tipi.

(n) he captured a Gros Ventre woman and a boy; (o) he took four mules.

From this sample, it will be noted that a great deal is left for the memory, - - - -

From: Clark Wissler, "Social Organization and Ritualistic Ceremonies of the Blackfoot Indians," A.M.N.H.P., VII. 1 (1912), p. 37-38.



The Water-Monster Painted-Tipi, from a drawing by Tom Kiyo. The bands at the top are red, green, yellow, blue, and black; the sections of the serpent are blue, red, yellow, and green; the door is striped with the same colors; the border at the bottom is in red.

From: Clark Wissler, "Ceremonial Bundles of the Blackfoot Indians," A.M.N.H.P. VIII. 2 (1912), p. 239.

ritual of a certain bundle.<sup>(109)</sup> The design was usually received in a vision and McClintock describes it as a "pictorial representation of the tipi-owner's religion. . .proclaim(ing) the belief. . .that these sacred animals and birds have been endowed with power from the Sun, and, therefore, the owner and his family may secure from them aid in danger and protection from sickness or misfortune."<sup>(110)</sup> These pictorial representations were as varied as the guardian spirits they represented, but the one common to all tribes of the Blackfoot confederacy for example, was the serpent. Wissler describes this motif as usually consisting of two snakes, one representing the male, the other, a female.<sup>(111)</sup> Another frequently seen was the depiction of exploits either in war or in hunting. Entering a Blackfoot camp Rundle noted: "On the exterior of some tents. . . rude paintings of animals; and on one belonging to a Suscee chief, I saw two large figures of serpents. I expect that these were indicative of the objects of their worship. On the tent, also of a Blood Indian was painted what I supposed to be the pictorial history of his wars."<sup>(112)</sup> On another occasion, again among the Blackfeet, he observed: "On the tent near the entrance were represented two figures of serpents one (straight), the other on the other side of entrance curled."<sup>(113)</sup> His observations were accurate.

Rather surprisingly, Rundle indicates no reservations in staying with the Blackfoot chief whose lodge he describes in detail, even though he was obviously aware of the significance of the painted tipi. There is no mention of staying in a place dedicated to the realm of Satan or anything of that sort, but rather he displays an appreciation and enjoyment of the comfort and hospitality extended by the "pagan" host.

It is obvious even from the over-simplified interpretations here given, that there was great diversity both in the means of obtaining the vision, and in the nature of the visions sought and received. Needless to say, there were also many other sacred songs, dances, and ceremonials directly or indirectly connected with the quest of which the missionary had little or no knowledge. The most important of these were the rituals connected with the midewin or medicine societies, the sun dance, and the conjuror's shaking tent phenomenon. (114)

That no missionaries during this period observed a sun dance is hardly surprising, for it was the most sacred of the vision quests, "the great annual religious festival, their holy sacrament, the supreme expression of their religion." (115) As such its very sacredness would preclude observation by those so obviously unsympathetic to its deeper meaning. (116) As for the Midewiwin, powerful secret societies forbidden even to uninitiated Indians, it could hardly be expected that any native would disclose those secrets for fear of reprisal. And while the conjuror's tent was known, only William Cockran described it and that not in the form defined by modern anthropologists as the shaking-tent phenomenon.

Cockran's account, surely a fairly early one, was based on the experience of a converted conjuror. This man fasted, prayed, and received a vision in which "he saw the form of the tent that he was to use, and the spirits that he was to call on to help him to overcome his fellow man. . . ." The conjuror assured Cockran that this was no deception but that he had actually "been able to invite invisible beings that would talk to him . . . answer his questions, and sing and dance for his amusement; and that when these beings entered his conjuring tent through

a hole in the top (left for that purpose) they appeared as small bright spots, about the size of his thumb end."<sup>(117)</sup> Cockran continued, during the dream "a gun was presented to him, and with it he should be able to shoot the greatest man that should rise against him. But just as he was laying hold of it, it broke in the middle and fell to the ground, and after this he was led by a person . . . into a longhouse which he recognized as soon as he saw the church at the Indian Settlement. . . ."<sup>(118)</sup> Cockran, by this time a veteran missionary, evinced no skepticism about the conjuror's vision or his power. Nor did James Evans, also experienced in Indian religion.<sup>(119)</sup> Their less qualified colleagues, however, were considerably more incredulous. John West, although aware of the fear inspired by a conjuror's threats of death, still dismissed them as performing "jugglery" and "deception,"<sup>(120)</sup> and quoted with approbation Samuel Hearne's observation that "conjurors do indeed sing songs and make long speeches to some beasts and birds of prey, as also to imaginary beings, which they say assist them in performing cures on the sick, yet they, as well as their credulous neighbours, are utterly destitute of every idea of practical religion."<sup>(121)</sup>

Rundle, with a similar attitude but more gentleness, met the conjurors head on when he arrived at Norway House and was told that they "would burn a Missionary alive if he came amongst them. In the evening I went to the Lodge before the Service and invited them to come and hear the good news and see how they liked it. One old conjuror hid himself under his blanket. . . .two conjurors and a few others came. . . ."<sup>(122)</sup> Later, in the Saskatchewan, he was to become as vituperative as West on this subject. Some Saulteaux, hitherto listening to his message walked out when he denounced their conjurors as makers of idols who "pretended

to have intercourse with familiar spirits and thereby held the other Indians in terror with their pretended divinations and enchantments. Their miserable dupes are also accustomed to present them with gifts either to avert their vengeance or to be instructed in the mysteries of their act."<sup>(123)</sup> Yet, the longer Rundle remained among the Indians the fewer his outbursts of disbelief in conjurors and their art. He evidently joined the ranks of those who, while proscribing, still recognized the reality of the power of these particular practitioners of native religion.

#### Stone Configurations and Sign Writing

One last aspect of Indian religion to be considered here is the stone configuration. Both Rundle and West commented on "stones" which they saw in their travels. John West, in the Saskatchewan near Qu'Appelle, stopped to have breakfast "at the Standing Stone, where the Indians had deposited bits of tobacco, small pieces of cloth, etc., as a sacrifice. . . ."<sup>(124)</sup> Rundle, at the Red Deer River, observed, "On a hill I saw a pile of stones and wood, what is it?" Some three years later, near Bow River, "Saw roundish. . . stones more or less what I had observed from Red Deer's River."<sup>(125)</sup>

The most interesting of Rundle's observations, however, occurred in the spring of 1841, again in the vicinity of Bow River. He pitched camp on the banks of "O-mis-ce-nipe or writing gulley" on the night of 13 April, and the next day "Went in quest of the Writing rock as I was very curious to see these ancient written characters which they say are near here."<sup>(126)</sup> However, his guide was unable to locate the rock and they moved on. Some days later, he made an historic sighting:

Ap.24--[I passed over a high hill called Old Man's Knoll. On this hill is a grotesque figure of the human form cut out of the earth about thirty-five or forty feet in length. The Indians have a tradition that this was the work of a white man, who, a long time since, came to instruct them. Perhaps the writings on the rock I have spoken of, may be of the same origin; but nothing definite can be obtained on this subject. The spirit of this man is one of the objects of their worship, and they are accustomed to invoke its presence and assistance.]<sup>(127)</sup>

Thomas and Alice Kehoe have described several sightings of figures such as Rundle observed and have linked them to Blackfoot legends. They quote Grinnell: "When [Old man] had come nearly to the Red Deer's River, he reached the hill where the Old Man sleeps. There he lay down and rested himself. The form of his body is to be seen there yet."<sup>(128)</sup>

Since the Old Man's Knoll of Rundle's description is analogous to "the hill where the Old Man sleeps," because the meaning of Old Man - Na'pi - " is often loosely given as white,"<sup>(129)</sup> and because this culture-hero is said to have come here to teach the people, we seem to have in Rundle's Journal one of the first recorded descriptions of an Indian legend connected with an effigy monument. While the Kehoes leave the actual construction, even as to the period of origin, open to speculation<sup>(130)</sup> what is especially interesting is their comment, "It is unfortunate that ethnographers working in the Plains do not seem to have been aware of the practice of building such monuments. We have failed to discover mention of it in the standard literature. . . ."<sup>(131)</sup> Kudos to Rundle!

The other rock formations observed by Rundle obviously puzzled him. There are several possibilities as to their actual nature and purpose. The first, again based on Kehoe's research, is that at least one sighting could be a tipi ring. Kehoe notes that there are literally thousands of these extant, stone rings which served as lodge-cover weights, made of

Various Types of Boulder Effigies

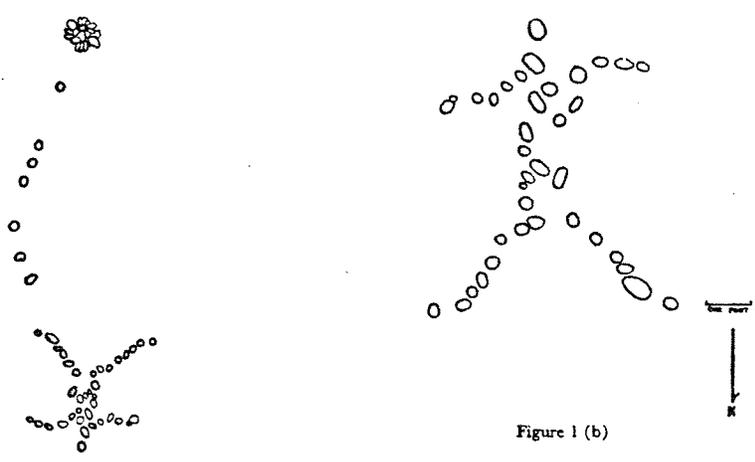


Figure 1 (b)

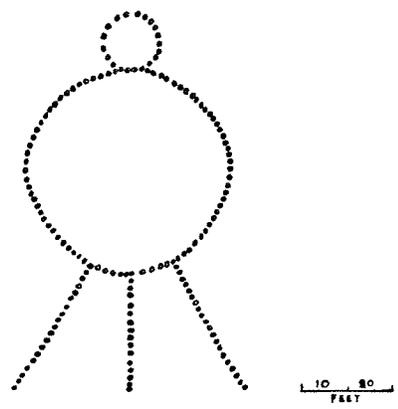


Figure 2

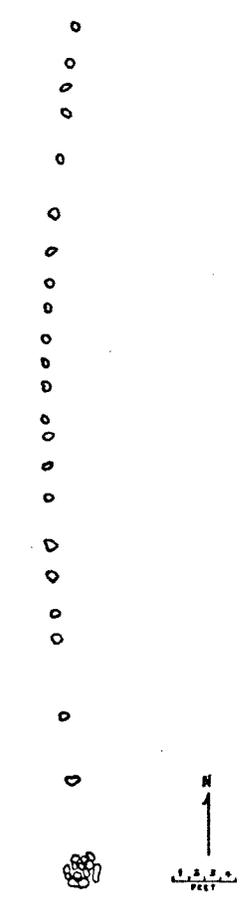


Figure 1 (a)

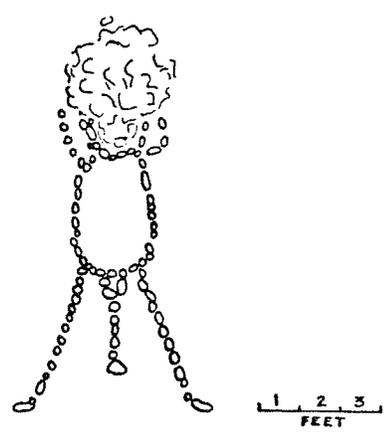


Figure 3

From: Thomas Kehoe, "Boulder Effigy," J.A.F.L. 72 (1959), p. 120.

"naturally fragmented, locally occurring stones," and invariably circular in shape.<sup>(132)</sup> Other possibilities include stone "medicine wheels" as described by both Kehoe and Hugh Dempsey,<sup>(133)</sup> effigy figures and cairns built of small boulders to commemorate memorable events,<sup>(134)</sup> or in the case of the rounded and oval stones, the dwelling places of the stone god. In the latter instance, however, they would have been painted red and this Rundle does not record.<sup>(135)</sup> Whatever their meaning, his sightings were not definitive enough to point with certainty to any of the above.

On the other hand the Standing Stone to which John West refers is almost certainly a medicine rock - rocks of peculiar shape or location, greatly revered by the Plains tribes and clearly of religious importance.<sup>(136)</sup> Offerings of clothing, eagle feathers and the like were presented, exactly as West describes.

What is especially noteworthy about these brief missionary references is the Kehoe's repeated comment on the paucity of information concerning the "seldom recognized traits of several Northern Plains tribes" to utilize the boulder monument complex,<sup>(137)</sup> and yet these mid-nineteenth century clerics, while not always understanding what they saw, still accurately recorded this rare phenomenon.

Rundle and West also noted another aspect of Indian culture connected with both religion and practical usage - sign writing. While Rundle simply mentions in passing the Writing River,<sup>(138)</sup> and the Writing Rock to which reference has already been made, West scrupulously duplicates a message originally drawn on a piece of wood, and describes the "common custom with the Indians to paint hieroglyphic characters on dressed buffalo skins or robes . . . signs of a barbarous people, . . .

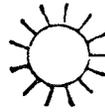
THE CHARACTERS USED IN PICTURE WRITING.



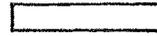
Man.



Sunrise.



Sun.



Sea Water.



Moon.



Sunset.



Sky, heaven.



Fish.



Death.



Life.



River, stream.



Woman.



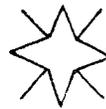
Bear.



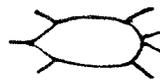
Smooth water,  
Clear day.



Sickness.



Stars.



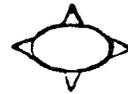
Land.



Noon



Bad spirit, water god.



Great Spirit,  
every where.



Spirit.



Tree.



Old tree.



Rain, cloudy.



Medicine Lodge.



Trees, woods.



Storm, windy.



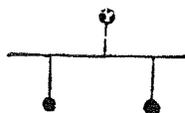
Worship,  
medicine, pure.



War.



Wounded water god.



Bad.



Hemlock.



Bad spirit under earth.



Islands.



Duck, water birds.



Deer, Moose.



Spirits above.



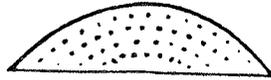
Cold, snow.



Fire.



Great.



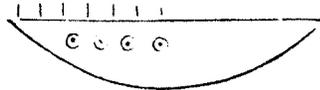
Night.



Fight-man, bad spirit.



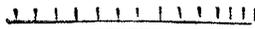
Bear killed.



Spirits under water.



Stand.



Animals under ground.



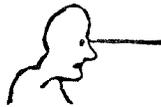
Ran.



Walked, passed.



Hand, did so.



See.



Speak.



Sea Monster, eat man.



Mountains.



Bad Spirit, Medicine.



Scalps, number.

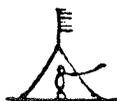


Young warrior,



Dream.

Invitations to Indians to come and worship in the spring are made in the following form :



Medicine House.



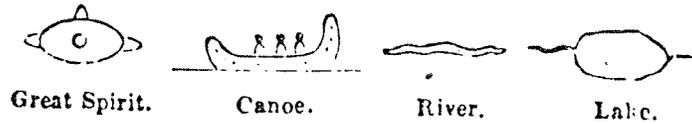
Great Lodge.



Wigwam, woods.



Come.



The whole story would thus read —

“Hark to the words of the Sa-ge-mah.”

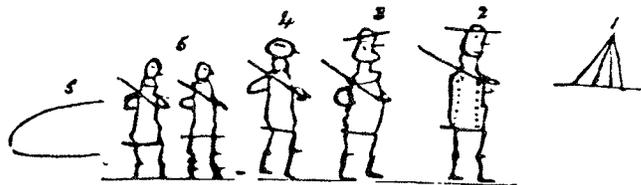
“The Great Medicine Lodge will be ready in eight days.”

“Ye who live in the woods and near the lakes and by streams of water, come with your canoes or by land to the worship of the Great Spirit.”

In the above, the wigwam and the medicine pale or worship, represent the depositories of medicine, record and work. The lodge is represented with men in it; the dots above indicate the number of days.

These picture representations were used by the Ojibways until the introduction of European manners among them.

From: George Copway, Traditional History and Characteristic Sketches of the Ojibway Nation. London: Charles Gilpen, 1850, pp. 134-37.



1. To intimate that the family was gone forward.
2. That there was a Chief of the party.
3. That he was accompanied by a European servant.
4. And also by an Indian.
5. That there were two Indians in company.
6. That they should follow.

From: John West, Substance, p. 164.

recording their war exploits, and communicating information without the knowledge of letters and the art of printing."<sup>(139)</sup> And this is precisely what the Indians had done from time immemorial - communicating information via pictographs, or hieroglyphics. It is highly unlikely that West saw any of the sacred scrolls circulating among the Cree or Saulteaux of his region. If he had, he would surely have included birch bark as a medium, along with skins and pieces of wood, for scrolls were commonly inscribed birch bark,<sup>(140)</sup> although George Copway records the use of slate-rock, copper, and lead as well, especially among the Ojibwa.<sup>(141)</sup> The sacred scrolls of the Midewiwin are classic examples of pictography but no member of these secret societies would have dared reveal their writings to a missionary. Nor does West comment on any rock paintings, also associated with the medicine societies and present in the Lake Winnipeg area of his vast parish.<sup>(142)</sup> But it is highly likely that what Rundle barely recorded and what West called hieroglyphics were either pictographs or glyphstones and therefore of only peripheral religious importance.<sup>(143)</sup>

The significance of missionary interaction with Indian religion lies not so much in the selectiveness with which the clergy accepted or condemned native beliefs and practices, but rather in the considerable information they gathered and the attempts, rare though they were, to bridge the chasm between his belief and theirs. The fact that this occurred at all is noteworthy, for the mid-nineteenth century missionary must be judged by the standards and values of the milieu in which he was fostered, not by those of the twentieth century. In his own society he was assured that all cultures could be measured and that the North American Indian

was very low indeed on this continuum. Why then observe and seek to apply that which in the final analysis was only empty idolatry, for a people destined for extinction? Yet, most of the clergy in this study did at least observe and report, even if they rarely applied what had been perceived, and this they did at a time when Henry Venn's epoch-making directive to the C.M.S. to implement religious dialogue and to "study and respect" the religion and culture of the host was still only on the horizon.

Further, the evangelical precepts in which they were rooted proclaimed confidently the exclusive truth of the Christian faith, therefore to recognize any aspect of pagan religion as positive and especially to build a bridge from it to Christianity, was to earn the opprobrium and suspicion of the churches from whose midst they were sent. Seen in this context, the missionaries under consideration generally served their cause - the conversion of the Indian - well, if not remarkably. Perhaps that is all that could be expected, for on the whole they were unremarkable men.

The methods by which each in his own way sought to reach his hearers showed, however, that while he might not be intellectually or even religiously outstanding, yet the missionary was at least humane, single-minded, and sincere in his devotion and intent.

#### 4. Dynamics For Outreach: Methods

"Brothers,

The Spirit Chief wishes to make known to you the words of the Great Spirit, to teach you how you may be saved from sin, and to teach your children to read the words which the Great Spirit has given to us in the Good Book.

Brothers,

Take courage, the Great Spirit desires to bless you, clear the cloud from your sky, and to send you lighter days. He commands all men to listen to his words, and promises to greatly bless all who obey him."<sup>(1)</sup>

With these words to the chiefs and warriors of the Cree nations, James Evans conveyed the objectives of the Protestant missionaries in the Hudson's Bay territories. While the propagation of the Gospel was undeniably their principal raison d'etre there were many facets to this primary purpose and various means of achieving it. Although the sending Societies provided skeletal guidelines, in the final analysis each missionary implemented procedures and even created policies best suited to his own situation and personality. Therefore, while all were Chaplains of the H.B.C. posts to which they were seconded, some expended the greater part of their energies within the confines of the fort while others barely discharged their basic obligations. All sought to evangelize the Indians but not all agreed on how best to convey their message. All desired schools but in varying degrees and with differing philosophies.

#### Attitudes and Priorities

Robert Rundle early established the pattern and the methods by which he hoped to convert the West. Although he was aware that his stay

at Norway House was temporary, he was not deterred from exerting every effort to lay a foundation for future ministry. He met with the personnel of the Fort as was required of a Chaplain and on 28 June, 1840, shortly after his arrival, reported a service with five of the Company's officers from various districts present, as well as the Governor of Red River, and P.W. Dease of Arctic exploration fame: ". . . during the service, he [Dease] returned public thanks to Almighty God for delivering him and his companions from the perils and dangers of the voyage."<sup>(2)</sup> Rundle was impressed and deeply gratified.

In spite of this highly satisfactory service, Rundle's major activity of that day was the worship he conducted for the Indians, one meeting in the afternoon in the council room of the fort, and another in the evening at their own village. This emphasis was in accordance with the instructions received from the W.M.M.S. which enjoined him to: ". . . promote the best interests of all classes of persons at the various Establishments within your circuit generally, but especially of the Indian tribes which may be found within your appointed sphere. . . to the latter your chief attention must be directed and you must especially spend and be spent for them."<sup>(3)</sup>

For Rundle this direct contact with the Indians, preferably on their own ground, went far beyond compliance with official policy. It became a pattern as well as his delight and main strength as a missionary and he referred to it as his "principal work."<sup>(4)</sup> Yet this exultation in the ministry to natives was quite a reversal from his original position. In the Journal entry for 21 July, 1840, Rundle

remembers, "what a contrast between my feelings now and on my first undertaking the journey to this wilderness. Then the thought of an Indian was almost accompanied with terror and dread but now my chief delight is to be with them."

An initial feeling of fear was not unusual in first contact situations, although Rundle no doubt supposed he was unique. His colleague, George Barnley, more veiled in his admission, felt at ease only after several months of fraternization and then only with the help of "goosecherries" and geese as gifts from the natives,<sup>(5)</sup> while William Duncan of Metlakatla, a scant ten years later, frankly confessed that finally "I seem to have shaken off all fear of [the Indians]."<sup>(6)</sup> From this initial reaction of anxiety and trepidation, Rundle's attitude experienced a metamorphosis which included regard for the Indian as an object of British benevolence<sup>(7)</sup> - a cultural bias never completely overcome or even recognized - to a love for his or her soul, and culminating finally in a wholehearted, reciprocated, joyful acceptance of the individual as a person and friend.

One test of acceptance is a readiness to share food and lodging, and this Rundle did with alacrity, both in offering his hospitality and accepting that of the Indian in return. It is not surprising therefore, to find Rundle's room crowded, with natives sleeping on the floor, welcomed even when ill or spitting blood.<sup>(8)</sup> In contrast, West and Barnley, although sociable to a point, had a genuine need to preserve a semblance of privacy which was, of course, totally foreign to aboriginal society.<sup>(9)</sup> Although Rundle lived with Indians for extended periods and showed great appreciation for their hospitality, occasionally even he found aloneness desirable and instituted rather extraordinary measures

to obtain it. Thus, when a tipi was large enough he might pitch his own canvas tent within the skin structure and there enjoy a measure of seclusion impossible when sharing the same floor space with his hosts.<sup>(10)</sup> What the Indians thought of this arrangement is not recorded.

Not only did Rundle lodge freely with the Indians and journey with them rather than remain always in the fort to await their arrival, he also communicated his pleasure in individual relationships. Expressions such as "my old friend Maskepetoon," or "many of my friends are here now. The Walking Bear came into my tent at night," occur frequently and with no conditions attached to his affection, for Maskepetoon and another friend of long standing, Seenan, frequently turned vicious when drunk.<sup>(11)</sup> Yet Rundle trusted and respected them. Maskepetoon, of whom he was particularly fond, certainly reciprocated the feeling and they together planned a new mission station deep in Cree territory, with the Chief taking major responsibility for location and local support. When Rundle left the territory the two remained in touch for many years with letters written in syllabics.<sup>(12)</sup>

Although Rundle entertained deep regard for the Indian as an individual and a friend, this did not preclude disapproval or disappointment. His caring was not, however, contingent on certain behaviour, nor was it any longer an expression of faceless pietism. Children, of course, are generally more easily accepted than adults, and the Indian youngsters loved Rundle as he loved them. The depth of his feeling for the individual child is expressed in the Journal entry for 27 February, 1843: "Heard today of the death of my dear little favourite Nancy, an Indian girl; how sorry I felt. I nearly wept, indeed I did so,. . . Poor little dear, how I am affected about her. I fancy her near

me and looking into my face as usual."

Certainly John West, George Barnley, and James Evans also considered the Indians recipients of "British Christian sympathy, and British liberality"<sup>(13)</sup> - cultural superiority was a prime ingredient of the white man's baggage - and certainly they too felt concern for lost souls. As James Evans remarked to Thomas Hurlburt, "I love society as you know; but I trust that God knows that I love the poor benighted heathen more. . . ."<sup>(14)</sup> Yet that final, gigantic step into personal friendship was lacking. Indeed, in this respect Rundle appears unique in missionary chronicles for this place and period. Much more common was the attitude of Narcissa Whitman of the American Board in Oregon who reminded a Cayuse that the missionaries would love them "as long as they were good."<sup>(15)</sup>

Even if they were "good" but remained unconverted Indians were still "heathen," "pagans," "benighted souls." This idiom in no way subtracts from the genuine concern of the missionaries, for similar epithets were applied to unconverted whites and indeed, to practicing Roman Catholics.<sup>(16)</sup> It does, however, forcibly demonstrate that the missionaries were products of their culture, their time, and their place and were victims of their particular milieu and belief systems.<sup>(17)</sup> But such an attitude does not mean that the missionary regarded the Indian as "having no more identity than any other expendable resource," an attitude Bernard Sheehan sees as prevalent in American Indian-white contact.<sup>(18)</sup> Rather than an "expendable resource" the native was a pearl of great price to be purchased for the Kingdom or the lost sheep in need of a Shepherd - still an object of evangelism but also a valued individual, not merely a commodity.

In order to seek out these straying sheep the missionaries used various methods. While only Rundle and Evans chose to travel to Indian

encampments and remain for any length of time, all their colleagues also visited villages as well as individual tents and camps, theoretically endorsing an itinerant ministry to reach a wandering people.<sup>(19)</sup>

In essence their methods of evangelism closely reflected convictions regarding the relationship between civilizing and Christianizing. The Wesleyans as a whole were reluctant to impose farming on a hunting and gathering society, preferring to use agriculture or horticulture only to supplement not supplant traditional means of tribal livelihood.<sup>(20)</sup>

So Rundle noted the supply of available fish and buffalo in proximity to arable land, and Evans was concerned with large game in addition to fish and good soil. Who is to say that either intended the Indians to become sedentary farmers when evidence points rather to their mutual desire merely for ensuring the native's physical well-being and survival?

Although John West also considered the least expensive and most effective method of evangelism to be residence with the migratory Indians, he himself built schools and taught agriculture to Indian children.<sup>(21)</sup> This policy was continued by his successors, especially William Cockran, who even philosophically discarded the concept of itineracy. He wrote to the Secretaries, "To convert them [Indians] to Christianity while they continue their erratic habits, would require a Missionary for every family. I am sure that if I were to set out to convert the heathen by a journeying expedition, I should meet with more wolves and foxes than Indians. . . ."<sup>(22)</sup>

Cockran set out to provide a blueprint for agricultural missions in which the Indians would be gathered into self-sustaining Christian

villages, supplied initially with essential tools, seeds, and superintendence by the C.M.S.:

At the center of every village would be the mission farm and school. As well as providing the example of and opportunity for industry the farm was to supply the school and the settlers. After three years Cockran thought, rather optimistically, the Indians would no longer look to the mission farm for support. They would be self-sufficient. Rather than having the mission farm continue to provide seed and charity, a public granary under the supervision of the Indian Chief, the missionary and the miller was to be established. Every farmer would be forced to deposit a quantity of grain sufficient for next year's seed and to ward off famine. No Indian would be allowed to join the settlement who did not intend to farm or send his children to the mission school to be educated.<sup>(23)</sup>

With immense physical exertion Cockran actually established such a settlement just south of Lake Winnipeg, and during his lifetime it flourished and grew.

The one Anglican who theoretically opposed Cockran's agricultural mission, John Smithurst, argued that Indians should not alter their mode of life but that their temporal affairs were their own concern.<sup>(24)</sup> In actual practice, however, Smithurst did not deviate substantially from Cockran, also assisting the natives to settle and providing essential equipment just as did the senior missionary.

Rundle's comment, "I fear little will be done amongst [the Blackfeet] until a missionary be stationed with them and accompany them on their wanderings," is in sharp contrast.<sup>(25)</sup>

Whether by itineration or village work, however, once the Indian was approached communication became a prime consideration. The message could be transmitted both orally and via the written word and therefore while some spent vast amounts of time and energy in translation and printing processes, others showed no concern in this area. All realized the desirability of speaking the tribal language but not all attained the same degree of proficiency. However there is no evidence whatsoever to

suggest that any approached the task of learning the language with easy confidence, assuming "that [it] was so simple that he would master it in a short time."<sup>(26)</sup> Rather there was the realization that it would be a long and onerous task and until it was completed, the interpreter was an essential ingredient in the missionary message, for without his services there could be no message.

#### The Vernacular: Spoken and Written

Even James Evans, proficient linguist that he was, travelled with the Chipewyan, Thomas Hassell, when itinerating in new areas, while those with lesser ability, like George Barnley and Robert Rundle, relied heavily on the services of an interpreter. During his brief stay at Norway House in 1840, Rundle expressed great satisfaction with Hassell who was seconded to him by the H.B.C. in compliance with official policy, and who Rundle believed was "truly converted to God."<sup>(27)</sup> Although none of the missionaries expressed an explicit belief that only a Christian Indian could interpret the Gospel properly - for where, on initial contact, would such a person be found? - yet implicitly the preference was certainly present. Barnley, for example, felt that one interpreter had carried "but little weight" because of his "previous character," while another lived in polygamy and a third was "marred by his tendency to excessive drinking."<sup>(28)</sup> Still, to be without an interpreter was to be without a service and therefore an able linguist was of inestimable value.<sup>(29)</sup>

Such a person was "Jimmy Jock" Bird of the Saskatchewan district, proficient in both Blackfoot and Cree.<sup>(30)</sup> His relationship with Rundle illustrates the complexity of the interaction between missionary and

interpreter and therefore demands examination in some detail. Because of his unquestioned linguistic abilities, Rundle was delighted when at his request James Bird Jr., the country-born son of Chief Factor James Bird of Red River and an intelligent and independent employee of the Hudson's Bay Company, was assigned to interpret for him.<sup>(31)</sup> Not only was Bird competent in languages, he was also annoyingly self-determined in translation. Governor Simpson, apprehensive of the appointment, opprobriously described him as "the most worthless of his breed in the country."<sup>(32)</sup>

It was not long before Rundle suspected that Bird was speaking "part from himself" rather than translating what was said.<sup>(33)</sup> This expression was a common problem. George Barnley, for example, was shocked when he spoke about Jesus to find that his interpreter had used the local idiom and translated "Him that lives in the Moon."<sup>(34)</sup> Aware of such situations Henry Youle Hind expressed the concern of all missionaries everywhere when he commented, ". . . interpreters are dangerous, nor do they always rightly understand or render the words of the missionary."<sup>(35)</sup> But understanding was not Bird's problem, for he was comprehensively proficient in English, Blackfoot and Cree and had no excuse other than obtrusiveness. A lengthy conflict between him and Rundle ensued.<sup>(36)</sup> Suffice it to say that after a series of minor provocations, on one important first contact situation Bird simply refused to interpret. "It was one of the most trying scenes of my life," wrote Rundle to the W.M.M.S. "The place was crowded. . . I sang to engage the attention of the Indians until the dust in my throat compelled me to desist."<sup>(37)</sup> When Bird declined to reconsider even after being approached by several chiefs who were

present, Rundle decided to leave the encampment, believing that to remain "would have a tendency to lessen me and the cause of the Mission in their estimation."<sup>(38)</sup>

Upon returning to Edmonton, Rundle proposed engaging an American interpreter, taking upon himself the responsibility of the cost involved.<sup>(39)</sup> This step did not materialize however, and he wrote to the Rev. William Cockran for help, again without success.<sup>(40)</sup> Finally Rundle returned to the Hudson's Bay Company interpreters, none of Bird's ability but all more malleable.

Rundle embodied missionary concern for complete and accurate interpretation as well as translation. Seeking to impress this upon Jimmie Jock, he solemnly warned him that to present only "partial reformation" was to be a "murderer of souls and one that dishonours the Almighty." Later, when Bird refused his services altogether, Rundle castigated him: ". . . here were souls in the road to everlasting misery and that he stood accountable to the Almighty for his conduct. I moreover told him that he would have to answer for it at the day of Judgement and that I should be a witness against him."<sup>(41)</sup> Bird was not impressed. The frustration of the missionary is almost tangible. Yet the anger on both sides passed, and in time they developed a "complex and unusual friendship."<sup>(42)</sup>

The problems with interpreters were vexing enough to pressure the clergy into making all possible haste to master the vernacular. James Evans, coming to Rupert's Land with knowledge of Ojibwa, was the recognized linguist in the group. He originated the Cree syllabic system and translated and printed portions of hymns, Scripture and religious works into this simple, practical form.<sup>(43)</sup> Because his work is so well

known it is not necessary to detail it here, other than to note the accolade he received from Dr. Wallace Chafe, professor of linguistics at the University of California in 1974, who commented that Evans' system was not only still viable but had been adapted for the Eskimo language and was currently in use for both Cree and Inuit.<sup>(44)</sup> But Evans was the exception - "the linguist of genius" as Hutchinson calls him - while the other missionaries in this study were philologists of very moderate ability.

John West, while endorsing language study in principle, in practice found his duties as chaplain to the H.B.C. as well as minister to the Red River colonists too onerous to spend much time with the Indians, and therefore made no concerted attempt to master their language.<sup>(45)</sup>

George Barnley began optimistically and planned to locate in Indian encampments to master the Cree, and to have an Eskimo lad live with him and thereby learn that vernacular as well,<sup>(46)</sup> but by 1845 he was still far from his goal. Robert Miles wrote to Donald Ross, "I do not think he has made that progress he himself could wish on account of not yet having made himself acquainted with the dialect, he however seems to be studying hard."<sup>(47)</sup> Barnley's own comment in February, 1846, a full year later, that he had "made a little more progress in the acquisition of the language" becomes extremely puzzling in view of the fact that he had as early as October, 1843, developed a system of what he termed "orthography" and begun to translate the Scriptures. In his Journal for 31 October, 1842, he notes that he gave the Indians "a few written copies of the simple characters and a written translation of the first commandment. This is consequently the first part of the Scriptures which has been placed in the hands of the people."<sup>(48)</sup> Surely even with the help of a competent interpreter-translator this would be quite

impossible without a thorough grasp of the language.<sup>(49)</sup>

Be that as it may, Barnley was at first apparently unaware of James Evans' work in syllabics. His first introduction to them came in 1842 from Indians who had in their possession "a piece of writing. . . . The subject was a hymn and the characters employed those of the Rev. J. Evans' invention."<sup>(49a)</sup> But Barnley, to his chagrin, was unable to decipher the words. When presented with Evans' completed alphabet he struggled mightily within himself and finally, in October, 1843, he records: ". . . having determined to lay aside my own system of Indian Orthography I commenced teaching them [the Indians] Mr. Evans' system, though my own I regard as much more simple and indeed in every way better; but for the sake of uniformity, the sacrifice has been made."<sup>(50)</sup>

Barnley's bitter disappointment in the failure of his system of syllabics is hardly surprising. He had devoted an enormous amount of time and energy, not only in devising an alphabet and in translation (by whatever means), but in setting up a printing press. Initially, he, like Evans, implored the Society to send him a press "immediately" but when there was no response, he experimented with molten lead and lamp soot to bring into existence a credible substitute. Barnley also carved printing plates from plaster of paris, made from gypsum collected "a few days travel from Moose."<sup>(51)</sup> In later years he was to claim for himself:

The reduction of the language to a written form, of which Bishop Anderson, after long disapproving because of an imperfect comprehension of it, came to appreciate it as 'the most powerful engine he had yet met with for carrying the natives rapidly forward in the path of improvement.' This change came through my instrumentality, and so the adoption of the syllabic alphabet at all the Church Mission Stations throughout the territory. The creation of a printing establishment, which, though small answered all the purposes of elementary instruction, and laid the foundation for whatever may have been done since by the use of books.<sup>(52)</sup>

"Old Time, that greatest and longest established spinner of all" had

done its work well and spun a yarn Barnley could accept to compensate for past unrecognized accomplishments or the suffering of a misplaced grossly-inflated self-confidence.

While Barnley was struggling with language, press, and ego, William Mason, in the Lac la Pluie area made substantial progress in Cree only after arriving in Rossville to assist James Evans. However, by 18 December, 1848, he was able to report to the Society that with his wife affording "invaluable service" (she was of mixed blood and spoke Cree fluently), a translation furnished by Rundle, one by Steinhauer, one by John Sinclair Jr., and the aid of Howse's Cree Grammar, the Wesleyan Conference Catechism had just been completed. Mason was well launched not only as a printer but as a translator. In 1858 the Masons went to England to revise translations and by 1861 the Scriptures were available in Cree syllabics. (53)

Rundle also worked hard to acquire the language but was handicapped by the number of tribes to which he had access and therefore the number of languages and dialects he should master. Most of his contacts, except the Assiniboine who were Siouan, belonged to the Algonkian linguistic group, but to Rundle's uneducated ear, the various dialects presented a veritable Babel. (54) He therefore emulated the traders and concentrated on Cree. To follow his progress in the pages of his Journal is to read a story replete with tears and frustrations, but also with final success. By 14 January, 1843, he reported: "Can speak fairly in Cree now, hope soon to do well." By 28 June, 1845, he "could fluently talk it," and by November, 1845 was writing a "Cree Book." Rundle also acquired some knowledge of the Assiniboine tongue and became proficient enough to translate a few items such as the Apostles' Creed and several hymns. In 1847 he mentions writing "about the Lord's Prayer in

Blackfoot, but it is not correctly written." Whether this implies more than passing acquaintance with that language is debatable.

There is no doubt that Rundle shared with his missionary colleagues a compulsion to translate the whole Bible into the indigenous languages. Considering the high view they held of the Scriptures - West refers to them as "the fountains of interminable happiness," with "God for their author, truth unmingled with error for their subject, and salvation for their end"<sup>(55)</sup> - this urge is not surprising. In latter years the syllabic alphabet and the readiness with which the Indians could consequently learn to read were added incentives. Yet on first arriving in the Saskatchewan when he himself spoke with faltering tongue, Rundle had the competent assistance of John Edward Harriott, chief trader of Rocky Mountain House, who had mastered Cree as no other white man in the area.<sup>(56)</sup> Together Rundle and Harriott translated the Creed, the "lengthened Catechism," the Te Deum, and the greater part of the Prayer Book as well as much Scripture. Rundle, infinitely less capable than Harriott, wrote to James Evans in 1842, "I do not like to say anything to Mr. H. respecting his translations, but ought the 7th Commandment . . . not be expressed as forbidding adultery? I feel a conscientious scruple respecting it. . . Also the Gloria Patria is wrongly expressed."<sup>(57)</sup> One suspects a dash of the picayune (could it be envy?) in an otherwise open personality.

For all Rundle's concern with translation, and in contrast with his Wesleyan colleagues there is no evidence that he entertained any interest in publishing the material. He enthused to Evans, "Your alphabet will undoubtedly be rendered a great blessing to the country," and happily submitted his manuscripts to Norway House for printing.<sup>(58)</sup>

### Education

Although preaching and translation were important means of sowing the Biblical seed all missionaries looked on the education of the young as the prime vehicle for both Christianizing and civilizing the native. John West expressed this view succinctly when he wrote, "If little hope could be cherished of the adult Indian in his wandering and unsettled habits of life, it appeared to me, that a wide and most extensive field, presented itself for cultivation in the instruction of the native children."<sup>(59)</sup> Certainly West's understanding of what constituted education for the Indian child in its natural environment was extremely dismal. He described the "training in blood" where young birds or animals were caught "that they may disjoint their limbs to make them struggle in a lingering death," and similar stories emphasizing the cruelty of aboriginal instruction.<sup>(60)</sup>

West was clearly unaware that such maltreatment of animals was not sanctioned by mythology or tradition, and decidedly did not form a recognized or approved part of the child's training.<sup>(61)</sup> But given this erroneous conception his conclusions follow naturally: the Indian "is a murderer by habit, engendered from his earliest age; and the scalping knife and the tomahawk, and the unforgiving pursuit of his own enemy. . . is but the necessary issue of a principle on which his education is formed."<sup>(62)</sup>

This perception of an Indian child's training, coupled with the realization that the future of the native Church depended on the conversion of the young, drove West to formulate a comprehensive educational scheme. It projected three different schools: a day school for settlers' children, a Sunday School comprised of adult Indians and the mixed blood

population, and his "leading object", the residential school for native children. The residential aspect was essential, as he learned after encountering various familial problems, for children in residence became "reconciled to restraint and were happy on the establishment" much more readily than those who had easy access to their homes.<sup>(63)</sup>

West suggested that youngsters for such a school could be obtained without difficulty in the interior through the good offices of the gentlemen of the Hudson's Bay Company, especially if there were "a powerful interest excited in favour of the Native School Establishment at Red River," for he was already satisfied that the "North American Indian of these regions would part with his children, to be educated in white man's knowledge and religion."<sup>(64)</sup>

The "powerful interest," however, was excited not in favour of this education, but against it. Although within a few years Governor George Simpson reversed his position, he was adamant in his initial contempt of West's scheme. He wrote to Andrew Colville that in his opinion the education of Indian children would serve "little other good than filling the pockets and bellies of some hungry missionaries and schoolmasters and rearing the Indians in habits of indolence. . .," and added, "an enlightened Indian is good for nothing."<sup>(65)</sup> Yet Simpson's opinions were not the only problem with West's educational schemes as became obvious when many of them were later implemented. They were simply too idealistic and impractical.

West, however, was not deterred, although he was cognizant of "the fears of some of the chief factors and traders, as to the extent to which [Indian education] might be carried. . . ."<sup>(66)</sup> He besieged Simpson with plans. He lobbied the London Committee. He reported enthusiastically

on the educational efforts of the Russians at Norfolk Sound, where a priest and schoolmaster instructed the Indians "not as the Spanish priests do, at Fort St. Francisco, in South America by taking them by force. . . but by mild persuasion and conviction. . . ." (67)

It was with the principle of "mild persuasion and conviction" firmly in mind that West appropriated as his own a unique curriculum apparently developed by Lord Selkirk some years earlier. (68) The plan, which he optimistically hoped to see implemented not only in Red River but also on the banks of the Saskatchewan and in the Athabaska region, included the basic principle that "instruction must be very different from that of an Ordinary School: and should approach more to the system of a School of Industry in which agriculture and mechanic arts must be among the principal objects." (69) West emphasized that the Indian child must not be allowed to forget his dexterity in hunting and fishing "without which they would be despised;" and that while "Reading or writing will gain but little credit. . . if he has learned to mend a gun, he will be highly respected." (70) The boys were assigned individual garden plots to hoe and plant, while such girls as there were should be "taught to knit, and make articles of clothing to wear, like those which white people wore." (71)

Before the invention of syllabics, and for some Anglicans even several years after, all missionaries agreed that English should be the language of instruction, not merely as Berkhofer suggests, because it represented a superior moral and cultural milieu, but because it would "furnish a common medium of communication between the Indians of different nations, and thereby tend, in a great degree, to obviate their dissensions." (72) What West and his contemporaries did not realize was that a common sign language of extraordinary vitality already existed among the Plains tribes which made intelligible communication between them relatively simple. (73)

To the study of English was added "a little of reading and writing, with perhaps the first elements of arithmetic: but these are objects of secondary consideration. . . ." (74) The primary object of the school was, of course, to inculcate the Christian religion and to this end the children memorized the "Church and Watt's Catechism," "Chief Truths of the Christian Religion and Lewis's Catechism," and studied from the Bible and Prayer Book. (75) Hymns were eagerly acquired, both in school hours and during the long intervals reserved for recreation.

Faced with West's determination to educate Indian children and with continued pressure from the London Committee, the Northern Department finally placed the former North West Company fort, at least in part, at West's disposal for a schoolroom until such a time as a separate building could be constructed, (76) thus the residential school at Red River with its English master and mistress opened its doors to become the prototype of Indian education in Western Canada. (77) It was not an unqualified success. Enrollment remained small and while new children were constantly being recruited, others were arbitrarily withdrawn. (78) In some cases West suspected that the youngsters had been sent merely to obtain clothing and blankets and therefore he insisted that these items be left with the mission when a child was removed from the school before the term ended. (79)

While West's emphasis was on the residential school, circumstances dictated that Evans' should be on a day school. With his customary vigour and efficiency he organized classes at Rossville and when the pressure of other work became overwhelming, Henry B. Steinhauer was asked to assist him as both schoolmaster and translator. Steinhauer was much loved by the children and was considered exceedingly proficient, yet an examination of his methods shows him to be as ethnocentric in the European tradition

as the British missionaries. His school, in which Thomas Hassell was also a teacher was visited by John Henry Lefroy, who left the following account:

The school children amounting to 60 were soon got together although it was seven o'clock in the evening, and we heard them read and spell and sing in Indian and English. They are Crees, their language a pretty one; the astonishing thing was to hear them repeat long exercises, such as the creed, sing hymns, read the Testament etc. in English: not one word of which any of them understood. The missionary wishes to prepare the way for their learning the language but I think goes too far. One little boy repeated the Lord's Prayer perfectly in English, putting in his stops correctly, varying the tone in perfect imitation of an intelligent speaker, yet could not say it in his own language: in fact the teacher who is a Chipewyan Indian seemed to have the same sort of pride in their proficiency that a bird fancier has in an ingenious collection of piping bullfinches.<sup>(80)</sup>

In spite of Lefroy's acid tongue he approved of missionary schools and left a good description of their methods,<sup>(81)</sup> but he always favoured Church of England institutions and was not wholly sympathetic to any others.

While Mason and Barnley also conducted schools in their various locations,<sup>(82)</sup> Rundle, although concerned about Indian education and petitioning Harriott for a school in September, 1841, did not succeed in establishing a single on-going class.<sup>(83)</sup> In writing to James Evans in 1843 he admits, "No proper school has been established. I have been accustomed, however, to meet occasionally for some time past a few of the children belonging to this Fort [Edmonton] . . . I have been accustomed to meet the children in the Indian camps. . . I have also occasionally instructed Mr. R[owand]'s daughters in writing and reading English, but this has been done in his own rooms."<sup>(84)</sup>

From Rundle's Journal it is evident that when in an encampment he actually spent several hours each day instructing both boys and girls, and therefore although these periods were of relatively short duration, a great number of children benefited without the trauma of dislocation caused by a residential school. The failure to establish "a proper

school" was quite in keeping with Rundle's general attitude, for he was much more concerned with reaching many natives, both children and adults, in their camps than he was in conducting daily scheduled sessions for a select few in the fort. His independent emphasis, quite at variance from that of his colleagues, occasioned a brief conflict with Governor Simpson who had drawn up specific instructions for educating the sons of chiefs. In a letter dated 12 May, 1843, Rundle blandly informed him that this proposal had not been carried out and that such a school would succeed far better if it were located "at a distance" from the fort.<sup>(85)</sup> Having quietly defied the Governor he continued his usual practice. Simpson did not interfere again.

The content of Rundle's curriculum was extremely limited. While Barnley asked for spellers and various other textbooks, Rundle made no mention of this need, but reported that the Indian children "were taught the Creed . . . part of Cat[echism] . . . and Grace before meat. . ."<sup>(86)</sup> Cree syllabics, of course, were taught whenever and wherever possible, to adults as well as to children. While Barnley used black-board and slate, Rundle used birchbark and sand.

One teaching tool to which Rundle makes an oblique reference but which was extensively used by Catholic missions both in Oregon and the Saskatchewan territory was the "Catholic ladder."<sup>(87)</sup> Very simplistically described it consisted of a series of pictures graphically depicting Catholic Christianity and was so effective that Eliza Spalding of the American Board in Oregon sought to counter its success by fabricating a "Protestant ladder."<sup>(88)</sup> Although George Barnley had in all likelihood never heard of either version, he also developed a unique means of aiding the memorization of religious material which, while in no way similar to

the ladders, worked to his complete satisfaction. He called it a "Mnemonic stick" and it complemented another of his innovations: "The plan of inducing the natives to commit to memory . . . the Decalogue and the Lord's prayer by ranging them in rows and assigning one sentence to each person consecutively, till the whole is disposed of".<sup>(89)</sup> In order to facilitate memory, the notched stick was introduced. "The small notches indicating the number of persons required to repeat each Commandment. The larger ones the number of precepts in the whole."<sup>(90)</sup> In spite of Barnley's pride in the system, it never became a popular teaching tool as did the Catholic ladder, and for rather obvious reasons: it was too complicated, it did not aid an individual in comprehensive memorization apart from a group, and it had no visual appeal.

Not all natives were especially keen on presenting themselves at classes or memorizing catechism and a temptation common to all missionaries was the giving of gifts to encourage attendance - offering a bribe. This temptation became overwhelmingly irresistible when there was strong competition from another denomination. Although Rundle was not unusually susceptible to this particular pressure tactic, on at least two occasions he succumbed when those he regarded as potential converts began attending Catholic prayers. But both times he registered keen discomfort - "it caused uneasiness because I thought . . . I ought not to have given things to stop them"<sup>(91)</sup> and of course he was absolutely right.

Yet it must be kept in mind that the giving of gifts in friendship was a time-honoured practice among Indians in which Rundle and his colleagues participated with no compunction whatsoever. Tobacco and sugar were always carried for this purpose by both traders and missionaries. But uncircumspect gifts to make "Rice Christians" of the natives was

another matter and James Evans, as superintendent of the Wesleyan missions, expressed himself strongly: "We cannot, must not purchase them," he wrote to his brother Ephriam, "such conversions are not worth the labour of man nor to the glory of God. In this opinion I am confirmed by long as well as recent experience."<sup>(92)</sup>

### Medicine

While bribes were considered beyond the pale all missionaries frequently dispensed medicines. It could be argued that this practice was a very subtle form of purchase, but such charges are not usually levelled at the furtrader who carried on similarly, and therefore also cannot in all fairness be entertained against the missionary. Indeed, from all records, it was a humanitarian measure only, without the slightest appearance or overtones of gift giving. John Halkett mentions John West selecting medications for a sick child from a supply "we happened to have with us."<sup>(93)</sup> George Barnley occasionally administered potions, although the most interesting remedy was one he learned from his Indian companions: as protection for blistered toes, the "skin of a rabbit's leg was drawn over the member with the hair outward."<sup>(94)</sup> Robert Hunt was an advocate of homeopathic medicines, as were many Oblates.<sup>(95)</sup>

In comparison Rundle's remedies were very primitive: for toothache he prescribed kreosote and sand; "scrappings of willow" were applied to bruises; peppermint for bowel disorders; camphor on a broken wrist and when that proved ineffective, "red willow bark boiled and applied"; hartshorn for headaches.<sup>(96)</sup> He ordered ginger and sulphur for medicinal purposes but does not record their use and although "eye medicine" was one of the most frequently dispensed medication, its contents are

unknown. It seems likely that much of the medicine he practiced was derived from the traders, or even from the Indians themselves, or was as universal as raising a good sweat for almost any ailment.

Certainly if the medications the traders dispensed are any indication of what the missionary carried in his pharmacy, then the Blackfeet at least, might have been well advised to remain with their own nostrums which included herbs and plants boiled for coughs and colds, chewed for heartburn, eaten as a purgative, taken internally for liver problems, pressed on the forehead for headaches, or used as a poultice for fevers.<sup>(97)</sup> Many of these same medications were known also to the Cree and Saulteaux. In spite of a great store of such practical remedies, however, the Indians preferred European medicine.<sup>(98)</sup> Surely it was often a psychological rather than a physiological healing that the missionaries accomplished.

When neither missionary nor trader was available, in most tribes old women were accepted as the practitioners of medicine, although the main source of healing for difficult cases was always the conjuror.<sup>(99)</sup> Yet missionaries also mention individuals without formal status who practiced the art, often with singular success. John West however was not convinced of the efficacy of such homespun remedies, and his description reflects his skepticism: "When their relations, or children of whom they are passionately fond, were sick, they were almost constantly addressing their manitou, drumming, and making a great noise; and at the same time they sprinkled them with water where they complained of pain. And when the interpreter was sick, they were perpetually wanting to drum and conjure him well."<sup>(100)</sup>

On another occasion West observed a woman anxiously and unceasingly waving "the family conjuring stick" over her sick child. "This holy

instrument was ornamented with painted patches, feathers, porcupine quills and rags of various colours."<sup>(101)</sup> Although it was West's medicine and not the conjuring which eventually healed the child, his description of the stick is unique and adds to the store of knowledge surrounding early Indian medical practices.

In addition to Indian and missionary remedies, the Hudson's Bay Company posts also stocked a meagre supply of medications. Although John Mclean was adamant in his insistence that so far as the Indian was concerned, the Company supported "Neither old nor young, diseased nor infirm - that is the truth,"<sup>(102)</sup> E.E. Rich documents not only that natives were actually at times nursed in trading posts, but also lists medications and remedies applied.<sup>(103)</sup> John E. Foster supports this contention: "The hungry are fed, the naked clothed and the sick furnished with medicines and attended by the factory surgeon."<sup>(104)</sup> Whether or not this was merely for utilitarian purposes is a moot question. In any case it was this beneficence to which the missionaries also bore witness. On one occasion John West refused an Indian's request to bleed him, referring him instead "to the medical gentleman of the Colony,"<sup>(105)</sup> while Rundle submitted that "a party would have died had not relief been kindly sent them from the Fort."<sup>(106)</sup> Certainly the medicine practiced by the traders when no doctor was in residence was rudimentary in the extreme, even for that time: "a dram to keep . . . spirits up; some purges, emetics and expectorants; and ointments, salves and balsams to staunch bleeding or to cure rashes or small wounds."<sup>(107)</sup>

#### The Worship Service

Although medicine as well as education was a means of winning the Indian to Christianity, the main tool of adult evangelism was always the

worship service. This service could take the form of morning or evening prayers, mid-week or even daily teaching sessions and, of course, Sunday worship. Most missionaries conducted at least four services or more on the Sabbath, beginning with an early morning prayer meeting (which James Evans called the "favourite service" of his particular congregation), two morning services - one for the Hudson's Bay Company personnel, another for the Indians - an afternoon session which might take the form of Sunday school as it did for John West at Red River, and evening prayers. (108)

For the fur traders the call to worship came with the traditional ringing of the fort bell. For the Indians it was customary that the missionary visit the lodges and invite the residents to gather; sometimes Indians notified each other; and often especially on initial contact it was merely a gathering of the curious.

Letitia Hargrave presents a marvellous picture of what such a service was actually like:

. . . Mr. Evans has had 30 Pagans, some striding about the Church, some lying on their noses, others smoking and speaking, but he preached right on and never looked as if he had a better right to speak than then. I went to one of the Indian meetings and they all came, not knowing a word that was said. They are a horrid set, the children speaking aloud and those who can walk, as old as 7 at least, going from side to side of mama, opening her blanket and drinking away, the squaws sitting with their eyes on the floor as if they did not know. Mr. E. had once to leave the church in a fit of hysterical laughter. A little boy about 12 who had not a stitch on him but part of the breast and the sleeve of a coloured shirt, marched up, stared at Mr. E. who was preaching, and then retired, but came back and did the same thing again. His little stomach and bottom were so prominent and he looked so majestic and dignified that Mr. E. was fairly set a laughing. (109)

Singing was a basic ingredient of the worship service. From earliest missionary endeavours the Indian love of singing had been harnessed to purposes of evangelism, and in the nineteenth century all missions utilized it to greater or lesser extent. (110) Bishop Provencher went so far as to insist that "a priest who could not sing would not be esteemed by the

Indians."<sup>(111)</sup>

Among the Protestant missionaries, James Evans appears to have been the most musical, with his wife and daughter ably assisting him in this ministry.<sup>(112)</sup> He not only possessed a good singing voice but also played the accordion enthusiastically and used it to attract Indians to his tent when itinerating.<sup>(113)</sup> The importance he attached to music is quite evident from the fact that he printed 2000 pages of hymns before he prepared the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Commandments, or St. Matthew's Gospel.<sup>(114)</sup> Henry Steinhauer also possessed an unusually melodious voice and played the flute with some proficiency, while until Robert Rundle had mastered the Cree or Evans' translations were available, large numbers of Indians remained even after the close of a service to learn English hymns such as "Come to Jesus."<sup>(115)</sup> Cree became the language of Methodist missions<sup>(116)</sup> and although Rundle also translated several hymns into Assiniboine, he records a group of the latter tribe "engaged in singing (before the Serv) a beautiful hymn in Cree. Voices good and excellent singers."<sup>(117)</sup>

This missionary emphasis on singing raises an interesting point: singing and prayers were basic ingredients of native religion, with singing integral to all solemn occasions. Rundle describes a procession of Piegan Indians from the camp to Rocky Mountain Fort: "Before they started . . . they sang and then sedately marched in order to the Fort . . . ." <sup>(118)</sup> He also noted with consternation that when opposition to him developed in a Blackfoot camp, the "young men have been singing songs," and a few days later, "Bad young men. . . singing at night."<sup>(119)</sup> Certainly he made the connection between ceremonialism and singing as well as between what he considered paganism and singing. Could it be that the Indians' keen

interest in learning hymns might be directly connected with a desire to acquire the power of yet another Spirit, another deity, whose secrets, like those of the vision quest, could be mastered in learning the songs and the rituals associated with Him?<sup>(120)</sup> If so, there is no indication even by inference of missionary awareness. Even the experienced Evans makes no mention of the possibility of any ulterior motive in the eagerness of Indians to learn the hymns of the Christian faith. It may well be that the important place which congregational singing held in Methodist worship was considered normative in Indian religious assemblages as well.<sup>(121)</sup>

Much Indian singing especially during the vision quest involved supplication for the spirits to have mercy and pleading for help to refrain from doing wrong.<sup>(122)</sup> When therefore the Prayer Book intones, "Lord, have mercy upon us. Christ, have mercy upon us, Lord have mercy upon us,"<sup>(123)</sup> identification must of necessity have been immediate. Yet rather surprisingly the first hymns translated into syllabics were not pleas for mercy, or of judgement, or of human impotence but rather of the goodness and salvation of God. The message of "Behold the Saviour of Mankind," is embodied in the lines "How vast the love that him inclined, to bleed and die for thee!"<sup>(124)</sup> While "Blow Ye the Trumpet, Blow," emphasizes, "Jesus, our great High Priest, Hath full atonement made: Ye weary souls, rest; Ye mournful souls, be glad; the year of Jubilee is come; . . . ." <sup>(125)</sup>

The central place in the Wesleyan service was not given to music, however, but to the sermon. Even Anglican John West sought to use this vehicle, but quite unsuccessfully, at least in the eyes (or ears) of the settlers. Nicholas Garry wrote of him, "Mr. West is not a good Preacher;

he unfortunately attempts to preach Extempore from Notes, for which he has not the capacity, his Discourses being unconnected and ill-delivered."<sup>(126)</sup> What the Indians thought is not recorded. James Evans, on the other hand, was considered a powerful preacher. Whatever the quality of the delivery, however, the message on initial contact was constant for all the missionaries. As James Evans said, quoting the Apostle Paul, "We preach Christ crucified."<sup>(127)</sup> Robert Rundle has left a detailed account of his first sermon which can be considered representative of such conversion-directed initial contact messages and includes sin, human depravity, the holiness of God, hell and salvation:

"I opened at once the great doctrine of X<sup>t</sup> [sic] crucified. I told them how sin came into the world; we were all sinners and God was a Holy Being. Sin was therefore opposed to His Nature. We all deserved Hell but that God out of his love towards [us] sent His Son to die in our stead and entreated them all to begin to pray to God. I told them the people in England were very much interested about them and very anxious for them to become partakers of the great salvation. So that they were now not only invited to escape hell but also through this means they might gain heaven."<sup>(128)</sup>

Rundle himself summarized his messages in this way: "I offer a full free and present salvation thro' the blood of a once crucified but now exalted Saviour . . . I have . . . insisted on a change of heart as a necessary gratification for Heaven . . . ."<sup>(129)</sup>

Rundle left copious references to his various sermons - well over 200 texts or sermon topics throughout the eight years of his ministry in the Hudson's Bay Company territories - many more than did any other missionary. They were broadly encompassed in the following categories: various approaches to salvation, including the love of God, creation and the fall of man, repentance; judgement, death and resurrection; the Decalogue and its numerous components; baptism and the duties of Christians, including the "Profitableness of Godliness," the Sabbath and prayer.

Obviously there was considerable overlap but the variety of texts and topics is quite surprising.

He appeared to tailor his sermons to meet a discerned need. When therefore he learned about the occurrence of homosexuality among the Blackfeet, he preached on Sodom and Gomorrah; when he encountered theft, exposure of the elderly, or work on the Sabbath, he brought to bear appropriate texts from the Decalogue, the writings of Paul, or the gospels which emphasized the duties of children to parents, Jesus' attention to his mother at the crucifixion and the like.<sup>(130)</sup> On the whole Rundle developed a fairly well-rounded teaching ministry among those to whom he first preached a message of salvation, although conversion and the ensuing Christian "walk and warfare" remained his focal themes.

The type of sermon preached largely reflected the individual missionary's theology and religious conviction, as well as his approach to the Indian. It is interesting therefore to contrast the novice Rundle's first message to one preached by Evans in 1844: "I endeavoured . . . to explain to them the outlines of how God had created the Heaven and the Earth, and the state in which man was created, their fall in disobeying God and obeying the Devil and thereby brought in the words, sin, sickness, darkness of mind, Death temporal and Eternal, and also the deluge, the building of the Tower of Babel and the Confusion of Languages . . . ." (131) Although the points of contact with indigenous religion were many - creation, deluge, heaven to mention but a few - one has a cluttered feeling, too much information too quickly given.

George Barnley's simplicity is striking in comparison. He began his ministry at Moose Factory with the good news that "the Great Spirit loved them"; he preached for the first time at Rupert House from John 3:16,

"setting before the people God's love," and in the evening his text was from Romans 8, "a sketch of the love of Christ in the nature and design of his suffering."<sup>(132)</sup> He sums up the gist of his preaching by writing, "I endeavoured to direct the minds of the Indians to the great doctrines of redemption by Christ, justification by faith, and regeneration by the Holy Spirit, not controversially but so as to show their absolute necessity. . . ."<sup>(133)</sup>

In their different ways, all three Wesleyans began their initial contact with evangelical repentance sermons, generally stressing the love of God. Not so William Cockran of the C.M.S. Although he, like Evans, made contact with Indian experience, his message was of a wrathful God:

I begin and preach about the miseries which those must endure in a future state who die under the displeasure of God, about the happiness of those who repent and turn from all their sins to God, who believe in Christ the redeemer of mankind, and who live a sober righteous, and pious life according to his precepts; and will add, the heathen are under the displeasure of God, the heathen of all the world . . . and will perhaps ask the thrilling question, are not your relatives a part of the heathen, who are perishing for lack of knowledge. To others whom I know to be carnal, I preach the miseries of starving to death by famine, for this is no unusual thing in the Indian Country. I have been informed that 36 relatives, being all the members of a large family, perished for want of food in Swan River last winter. This makes them think about their unfortunate relatives, whose number is diminishing annually for want of food, and whose souls are perishing for want of the knowledge of Jesus Christ who is the only Saviour.<sup>(134)</sup>

As Cockran's message reflected his own aggressive personality, so his methods reflected his denomination's staid deportment, for there is no indication that the C.M.S. missionaries in Western Canada were prone to issue altar calls, a basic ingredient of most Wesleyan sermons. And yet here too there are exceptions, for Peter Jacobs, whom John Maclean describes as a "natural orator," and the only Indian preacher in our study to leave a full account of an initial contact sermon, sent the following report

to James Evans:

. . .we went into a large tent to sit down; and after a few minutes they gave us some rice to eat . . . I gave the Chief some tobacco, and when they began to smoke their pipes, I began to talk with them. . . and told them how God made man and woman at first and told them to be very good and keep his words . . . but they did not keep his word and by so doing they sinned etc. etc. Then God promised them his Son that should die for them, etc. From this man and woman all the nations of this world sprang. . . and thus there is but one God that made all men and all things of this world. [Tells them of Noah and Moses] . . . this good Book which I have in my hand now [is] called the Holy Bible. This is what has made the white man so wise and good and powerful and rich. But God did more than this for the people of this world, for he gave them his only Son to teach them the right way to serve God, and he teach [sic] them the way to heaven. When all break his law and must die forever, then He die on the cross in man's stead . . . And if you the Chief and your young men would serve God in the way that his Son has told us. . . you may all be wise and good - happy like the white man. You will be happy in this life, but much more happy in the world to come etc. etc. [sic]<sup>(135)</sup>

Jacobs, like Evans, begins his sermon with the creation story, stressing the unity of the human race - surely a point of primary interest to a native evangelist. Another salient feature is the Book but then his message deviates from those of his European colleagues, for the emphasis on the message of the Book is material gain (riches and power) as well as spiritual advantage (wisdom and goodness) while the result of the atonement is likeness to the white man (happy, wise, good) rather than escape from hell. Whatever the Indians' reaction to Jacob's preaching, which he himself describes as "very long, very hard, and very often," he was not always appreciated by his European hearers, for Letitia Hargrave reported, ". . . his sermons are horrid . . . ." <sup>(136)</sup>

The contrast between Jacob's message and that of Cockran could hardly be greater, yet neither included that popular evangelical medium, the mourner's bench, in the manner of Rundle, Evans and Barnley. As Rundle described it, he issued an invitation "to those who were so [affected] to come forward that I might give them some advice."<sup>(137)</sup> And affected

the Indians under his ministry certainly were. At times the whole assembly "appeared quite unwilling to leave the place."<sup>(138)</sup> Natives came from surrounding areas to attend service; some sobbed aloud; many asked for baptism or brought their children to receive this sacrament. One chief "in the fullness of his heart, rose and clasped me round the neck and held me fast for some time," while others confessed that they could not sleep and were in "great distress of mind."<sup>(139)</sup>

Particularly interesting is Rundle's description of "six young females sitting together, their long flowing hair was suffered to fall over their faces which were bent to the ground and some of them were weeping bitterly. It was a sight which angels might delight to witness."<sup>(140)</sup> It is a telling comment on the missionary's attitude toward a fervent repentance and the angels' pleasures.

Nevertheless, the fact that scores of Indians were converting is not altogether surprising. Not only were many already prepared to some extent for this new faith, by the religious observances of some traders, and Christianized Iroquois or other eastern tribesmen, but the basic tenets which were preached had at least some connections in their own religions. For example, the comprehension of a Great Spirit was present as is shown elsewhere, and an awareness of some kind of estrangement between man and the divine was conceived dynamistically.<sup>(141A)</sup> While such a conception is not a theological understanding of sin, it is very personal, and evidence of attempted propitiation was everywhere present in the Indian world. Added to this was a concrete awareness of taboos and of crime,<sup>(141B)</sup> and therefore the cognition of sin in various aspects of its meaning, especially as "offending against a standard,"<sup>(141C)</sup> needed no introduction. Even the world of spirits was comprehensible to both European and native, with exorcisms and witches as familiar to many Englishmen of the period as to

Indians,<sup>(141D)</sup> albeit the interpretation and attitude to this supernatural world differed significantly. This is not to say that Indian beliefs approximated Christianity, merely to point to some parallel conceptions, which, had Rundle been aware of at that time, he might have utilized to some advantage, as did James Evans.

However, needless to say Rundle was unique among the missionaries of this study. As he was delighted to witness emotional conviction of sin so he himself in true Methodist tradition experienced intensity of feeling almost beyond endurance: "I was visited with such an overwhelming manifestation of the Spirit," he records in his Journal, "as almost compelled me to shout aloud. It appeared as if Heaven had fixed its seal on my proceedings." Again he exults, "Oh what a happy time for me," and, "truly the Lord is with me."<sup>(141)</sup> He was busy morning, noon and night engaged in a holy orgy of visiting, counselling, instructing, and baptizing. All this energy, of course, was directed toward achieving the ultimate reason for his presence in the territory - the salvation of souls. And to his wonder and amazement this salvation was occurring before his very eyes.

### Conversion and Baptism

Dramatic conversions were of course the stuff of which successful missionary reports were made. The more mundane aspects of ministry such as examination of converts and the type of experience considered genuine were rarely scrutinized and yet are necessary for a complete and comprehensive understanding of missionary methods. The following passage from Rundle's Journal describing an interview with a young woman whom he later baptized as Flora Wesley is illuminating:

On Monday about 12 o'clock she said she followed my advice and she went out into the woods to pray to Jesus and her heart was opened. "Do you feel your sins are pardoned?" I asked. "Yes!" she said. "When I think of my Saviour my heart is glad." "Would you be afraid to die tonight?" I asked. "No, when first I thought of death I was filled with fear but now the fear is taken away because I feel in my heart that I love Jesus and He loves me," she answered. (142) Thus conviction and conversion are the same in every place.

What sets this particular narrative apart from most conversion accounts, is Rundle's comment that "conviction and conversion are the same in every place." It marks the beginning of his complete acceptance of the Indian not merely as an object of British benevolence but as a person, an individual sharing the same emotions and capable of the same experiences as Christians around the world. The emphasis on acuteness of feeling - often referred to as "sensibility" by the Victorians - is also noteworthy. As Rundle judged his own relationship to God according to his emotive state, so he judged others. It is not surprising, therefore, that both Rundle and Barnley used their individual conversion experiences as examples for their hearers to emulate. (143)

Because the Indians' indigenous religion also required fervent dedication and elicited intense response, the Wesleyans' emphasis was readily comprehended. But what must of necessity have caused confusion in the

period following initial contact, when various denominations vied for native souls, was the difference in approach to conversion. The Wesleyans insisted on a change of heart, preferably accompanied by highly emotional, almost primal feelings of guilt, damnation and then glorious salvation. John West, typifying the Anglican position, fervently desired a "spiritual ministry" but began his instruction not with an altar call but with the teaching of simple prayers such as "Great Father, bless me, through Jesus Christ."<sup>(144)</sup> He appears to have shared the repugnance of his friend and fellow Anglican, John Halkett, who castigated the inclination of some missionaries "to deal out long lectures on morality, original sin, vicarious atonement, etc."<sup>(145)</sup> Although West discerned the need to affect "a change of character," a conversion, yet he sought to attain this end through the "mild influences of the Christian religion," rather than by traumatic and sudden rebirth.<sup>(146)</sup>

How did the Indians themselves regard conversion? Although records are sparse there are accounts left by converts who became deeply involved in Christianity, men such as H.B. Steinhauer and Peter Jacobs, as well as the observations of fur traders and travellers. These indicate that frequently acceptance of Christianity was merely opportunism, a desire to acquire more and stronger "medicine" from whatever source, to propitiate the powers of nature or the supernatural, or to receive material aid from either trader or missionary.<sup>(147)</sup> Uncommitted polite assent merely to please was also common. Peter Jacobs bitterly confirmed these various facets of "conversion" when discussing the Lac Seul Indians: ". . . all their wish was that we should temporarily benefit them . . . they think that if they could become nominal Christians they would confer on us very great favour and that we would therefore be under great obligations to

them. . . ." <sup>(148)</sup> Occasionally conversion was so overtly a ploy for mere convenience sake that it occasioned ridicule. "One of our conjurors has become religious," wrote Letitia Hargrave to her mother, " says Grace over his rum and has put away his oldest wife for conscience sake -" <sup>(149)</sup>

Having said all this, however, there is no doubt that some Indians genuinely experienced a change of heart, a conversion to Christianity which was neither opportunistic nor merely "theological openmindedness," and which gave them the forebearance to withstand active verbal abuse and even ill-usage, especially from medicine men and others of influence in their own society. <sup>(150)</sup> Frequently they were the ones who adopted monogamy, settled in agricultural communities, and became literate. Invariably they also included those who became catechists, traders, clergy. George Copway, Peter Jones and Henry B. Steinhauer among others, are examples of converts such as this. <sup>(151)</sup> For them, conversion represented an "other-worldly ideal," a move from the realm of darkness to the kingdom of light. <sup>(152)</sup> For them also, the break with Indian culture was virtually complete.

But the great majority of converts during this period, especially those under Rundle's ministry, did not make this radical break. This is not to say that they lacked genuine conversion, for their enduring in the faith and their witness of this fact to traders and missionaries who came in contact with them after many years is evidence enough. <sup>(152A)</sup> Yet they had adapted Christianity to their own needs and their own understanding, and it had become syncretistic to a certain extent. While some Europeans, such as John Smithurst, found this problematical, genuine conversion and syncretistic practice are not necessarily mutually exclusive, as all who have laboured in the mission field are aware. <sup>(152B)</sup>

For whatever reason an Indian converted, however, subsequent visible signs were required by the missionary to accompany such a profession - moral purity, sobriety, piety, and the like - to assess its authenticity and determine whether the candidate was ready to receive baptism. The standard required differed from one situation to the next, for not only were there denominational variations, there were also individual idiosyncracies. Thus John West baptized two Indian boys in his school when they were able to "read the New Testament, repeat the Church Catechism, and to understand the chief truths of the Christian Religion."<sup>(153)</sup> One of the blackest periods of his missionary career occurred when he refused to baptize a settler's child born of adultery "for an example which might deter others . . . from acting in like manner."<sup>(154)</sup> When the child subsequently died unbaptized, West could still maintain that he acted in the best interests of the community, which may be a barometer of the rigidity of his stand on what he considered moral principles. Usually, however, West's position on baptism lay somewhere between the two examples given, for he freely baptized infants and sought to explain to adults "the nature and object of that Divine ordinance" without requiring extensive Scriptural or creedal knowledge.<sup>(155)</sup> Doctrinally he concurred with baptismal regeneration as embodied in the Church of England formularies.<sup>(156)</sup>

John Smithurst, on the other hand, had very rigid standards. He regarded the practice of baptizing any except those thoroughly instructed in the faith as creating "nominal Christians and leaving them still real heathens."<sup>(157)</sup> He refused to baptize children of "heathen parents, without their being first instructed in the Mission School and being made fully to understand the nature of the baptismal engagement, and able to answer satisfactorily as to their sincere desire to act according to that

engagement."<sup>(158)</sup> Further, if children were under fifteen years of age, he agreed to baptize them only if they had been adopted by Christian Indians. His reasons were based on very practical considerations:

The Indians never scruple to have their children baptized, because they then think no one can injure them by conjuring. Now there is nothing the Indians so much dread, as, the power of their conjurers; and they are therefore glad to seize anything that they imagine will afford them protection. They very naturally say, if the Priest putting water upon a white man, will keep him from being injured by the conjurer, why should not it do the same for the Red Man, let us try the experiment. I sometimes find it difficult to get rid of Indians who apply for baptism under this superstitious feeling.<sup>(159)</sup>

William Cockran also was careful to whom he administered the sacrament, refusing on one occasion to baptize a child because of the parents' "very quarrelsome brawling life" which indicated to him that they could not raise the youngster properly.<sup>(160)</sup>

The Wesleyans differed not only from the Church of England but among themselves. John Smithurst was aghast at William Mason's practice of baptizing children of all who asked, regardless of any knowledge pertinent to Christian commitment. Mason on the other hand, found it gratifying that he should be allowed to do so, thinking "it was a proof that they themselves wished to become Christians."<sup>(161)</sup> Smithurst acidly concluded, "It appears to me that the Wesleyans think, all that is necessary to convert the heathen, is to Preach one or two sermons at a place and baptize all the children that are brought to them, and then visit the same place again in six or 12 months. But alas, what lamentable ignorance of human nature in general and of the Indian Character in particular."<sup>(162)</sup>

But Mason, while an exception to Wesleyan practice, was not completely alone among his colleagues. Robert Terrill Rundle also baptized all babies and infants brought to him, in direct contravention of W.M.M.S. policy, for Dr. Alder instructed Evans to baptize children

only where at least one parent "makes a consistent profession of the Christian faith."<sup>(163)</sup> While Rundle, in his quiet, stubborn manner simply ignored regulations of which he did not approve, the unhappy Barnley sought to conform to every jot and every tittle. As a result, after a full year in the mission field, he wrote to his Superintendent:

You will be somewhat surprised to hear that the ordinance of baptism has not been in any one instance administered to an Indian, either infant or adult by me. I have not had the happiness to know of one instance of decided conversion among them. . . with respect to children their parents would gladly promise, but I have not any means of placing them under religious instruction without which your instructions do not leave me at liberty to admit them to the rite. The subject has given me a good deal of anxiety. . . .<sup>(164)</sup>

For James Evans this was no problem. He baptized children as advised and adult converts only after they had received instruction and "professed their faith in Christ and belief of God's word, and their resolution by His grace, to live to His honour and glory, and to renounce forever all their heathen superstitions and forsake their munnedoos (Gods)."<sup>(165)</sup>

While Rundle experienced no anxiety whatsoever on account of contravening Society regulations, or in instituting his own peculiar eccentricities, he was very conscious of his duty to ensure correct doctrine, and therefore intensively catechised those adults desiring baptism. He was extraordinarily pleased on one occasion when a girl "answered admirably well and her notions of the Trinity with the Humanity and Divinity of the Saviour was [sic] clear as a sunbeam."<sup>(166)</sup> It is evident from this and other writings that while all missionaries sought to teach at least basic doctrines to those who would form the Indian church, some of the finer tenets such as the Trinity were also occasionally introduced at this stage of instruction. Evans and Robert Rundle also made the sign of the cross on the brow of the recipient, unusual at that time in Methodist practice and distressing to more orthodox

observers. (167)

From various descriptions of Rundle's baptismal procedures it is quite clear that making the sign of the cross was one of the least controversial of his practices. Not only did he baptize all babies and infants contrary to regulations, he insisted on the use of "running water." In March 1843 he records: "Several children would have been baptised, but I had no river water, so had to postpone." "No water fetched today for baptisms and I do not care to use 'snow water'." "Water fetched quite a distance; spilt, and again more fetched."<sup>(168)</sup> It seems probable that Jesus' baptism in the River Jordan was the basis for this rather strange idiosyncrasy.

Rundle would not, contrary to common missionary practice of his time, rebaptize those who had already received the rite. During his first years this situation did not arise but as other denominations sent their workers into the West, it became an issue confronting not only Rundle but all his colleagues as well. He believed that to rebaptize was "not right and by so doing [I] should be taking my cause out of the hands of the Almighty. One girl wept at my refusal but I pacified her partly by giving her a book."<sup>(169)</sup> In conformity with this conviction, Rundle baptized "conditionally" when there was any question of an earlier baptism.<sup>(170)</sup>

His stance was consistent with one segment of Wesleyan Methodism exemplified by John Carroll of Upper Canada who insisted that because all baptismal practices were based on Scripture, "They constitute a reason why we dare not repeat the baptism of a person once baptised, whether in adult years or infancy, in any form, in the name of the Holy Trinity."<sup>(171)</sup> That this view was not shared by John Wesley himself

seems not to have influenced Rundle. Wesley regarded baptism as a sacrament and therefore practiced rebaptism of those adults who had received the rite by the hand of "Dissenting laymen."<sup>(172)</sup> Barnley adhered to Wesley's interpretation and rebaptized when requested to do so,<sup>(173)</sup> as did William Mason. Needless to say the whole question of rebaptism was fraught with denominational rivalries and tensions and was a constant source of irritation and annoyance.<sup>(174)</sup>

Whatever the Indians might think of Rundle's methods, they flocked to him in large numbers. Exactly how many were baptized is impossible to determine, for Rundle could be annoyingly vague in his reports. His baptismal register however, lists a total of 592 names, with a group of seventy-six receiving the ordinance on one occasion, fifty on another, and a great-grandfather with his great-grandchild on yet another.<sup>(175)</sup> While not all his colleagues could report similar success, the Indians during this period of initial contact were generally very desirous of obtaining all Christianity had to offer, and most regarded baptism as the door to the kingdom, not to mention the magical powers attributed to the rite.

Like his colleagues Rundle gave English names to Indians at baptism. Far from objecting to this practice the natives saw in it antecedents familiar to their own culture in which names were changed with great frequency - at puberty, in honour of a meritorious feat, or to receive additional spiritual power.<sup>(176)</sup> Indeed, Grinnell goes so far as to say that many Blackfeet changed their names every season.<sup>(177)</sup> The application of water to signify purification was also practiced while some believed that baptism, like the sweat lodge, would insure physical health.<sup>(178)</sup> It is not surprising, therefore, that even from within the context of Indian culture many flocked to priest and parson to receive

a sacrament the ramifications of which they were not fully cognizant, but which promised to provide an entrance to yet another pathway to the Great Spirit. Lefroy, commenting on baptism and the Indians' attitude to it, cynically but probably accurately notes, "He whose medicine is strongest gets the victory."<sup>(179)</sup> Yet, as Rundle observed, there were those natives, deeply imbued with concepts of the power of the supernatural, who feared baptism as well as Christian prayer and rejected both.<sup>(180)</sup>

Among those who desired it, however, not nearly all considered Christianity merely as a means to an end. Many were genuinely converted and viewed their baptism and the sacraments with utmost seriousness. These formed the nucleus of the Indian Church.

IV THE INDIAN CHURCH

## The Indian Church

Conversion and baptism were the gateway to that visible manifestation of Christian faith - the Church. For a very few, like Rundle, the Church was simply a body of believers (the invisible Church), for Christ said, "Where two or three are gathered there am I in the midst of them." For the vast majority of missionaries, however, the Church meant formal organization - "self-supporting, self-governing, self-extending."<sup>(1)</sup> This chapter will seek to examine these aspects of the incipient Indian Church in Rupert's Land.

Any such discussion must of necessity also concern itself with an inquiry into initial native response to the missionary, scrutinize composition of membership with band and tribal variations, and analyze the general pattern of development which in Rupert's Land was fairly consistent: a warm welcome at the outset; a period of response, the fervor of which differed considerably from one group to the next; then gradual, creeping discontent and disillusionment culminating in a falling away of smaller or greater proportions.<sup>(2)</sup> Always however, a remnant remained; a core of faithful and active believers from whose numbers were drawn the native clergy, catechists and teachers. Because Robert Rundle's ministry constitutes a paradigm of this sequence, it will be examined in some detail.

### 1. Initial Response

On his arrival at Norway House, Indians flocked to hear Rundle, not only residents of the immediate vicinity but also scores from many miles away. Conversions and baptisms followed and Rundle in his euphoria exclaimed, "These Indians appear to be a people prepared for the Lord."<sup>(3)</sup>

While this success occurred primarily among the Swampy Cree, a group Lewis Saum has labelled "readily converted" because of their propensity to accept "civilization," and whom Bishop Tache called "easy to influence,"<sup>(4)</sup> Rundle's initial reception among the Rocky Mountain Cree, the Blackfeet, and the Assiniboine of the Saskatchewan was also enthusiastic and these tribes, far removed from any interest in civilization, were certainly not easily susceptible to European influence. A typical Plains' welcome is described by Rundle on his arrival at Bow River:

The chief went ahead to tell of my arrival and I had to wait a short time at a distance from the camp so that they could get in readiness to receive me. A white horse was brought out for me to ride on into the camp and my own was turned loose on to the plains. When I drew near the tents I was met by the principal chiefs who walked abreast of each other, followed by a multitude of men, women and children, nearly all in the camp. Never before had I such a task of shaking hands to perform; their reception was most pleasing. This ceremony being ended, I was conducted to the tent of the head chief of the party where I dined from some fine pemmican. Several invitations to other tents followed for the same purpose, every one of which Indian etiquette compelled me to accept and also to eat a little at each place - no small task I can assure you.<sup>(5)</sup>

The pattern of Bow River was often repeated: a white horse, the chief leading band members in a procession of welcome, fervent handshaking, sometimes singing, always eating, and frequently a reciprocal giving of gifts.

Rundle experienced not only initial acceptance but a personal popularity quite unique among his fellow missionaries which appears directly related to the supernatural origins ascribed to him and related in a legend still current among the Stoney Indians of Alberta:

One night a Stoney had a dream. In his dream a voice said to him, "A white man is coming to Rocky Mountain House. He will tell you about a Great Spirit you have never heard about. He works for that Great Spirit."

Not long afterward, the Indian men went to Rocky Mountain House to get knives and bullets for hunting and to get clothing for the women. When they came back, they said to the old men and to the

women, "The man who works for the Great Spirit is at Rocky Mountain House. His name is Rundle."

The Man's dream had come true.

Next day all the Stoneys went to Rocky Mountain House to see the missionary - all the men and all the women. He taught them about God. (6) As soon as they heard this preacher, the Stoneys believed in God.

Although not as dramatic, Rundle's first encounter with the Blood Indians was also moving: ". . . they displayed great warmth and feeling in saluting me. Some of them after shaking my hand wd [sic] pass their hands over my dress and repeat a kind of prayer. Others kissed me. Nay, start not! Some gave the left hand because nearest the heart and I in return presented them with my left for the same reason." (7)

The meaning of this extraordinary welcome became apparent some days later when Rundle heard the rumor that was circulating ascribing his appearance to direct descent from heaven "in a bit of paper which was opened by one of the Company's gentlemen at the Fort and lo! I came out." (8) Supernatural connotations continued to be associated with his person. On one occasion an Assiniboine "addressed a kind of prayer" to him, while on another he was told that in Blackfoot his name meant "White man's god." (9)

This initial welcome was invariably followed by rapt attention to the spoken word. Although by his own admission the services were long, "the people were not wearied," and Rundle concluded that they preferred the "Word of Life. . . to everything else." (10) Many Indians, deeply affected by the message, burst into tears, confessed sins, sought conversion, requested baptism, and repeatedly urged Rundle to stay with the band, "to remain a long time with them." (11)

Inevitably, greater variation of response followed close on the heels of the almost universal acclaim. While there were still those who heard

him gladly, others now felt ambivalent, totally uncaring, or at worst, actively hostile. Rundle was aware of this equivocality. Some "were very attentive," he observed on 18 April, 1841, "but others appeared as insensible as the grass on which they sat." Certain elements "ridiculed the inhabitants of the village" for listening, while from others he experienced a "Cold reception truly. . ."(12) One band of Sarcees candidly admitted his "words were good but they liked rum better."(13) After such indifference or hostility the ineluctable final rejection by smaller or larger groups culminated in a demand that he return to his own country.(14) Yet from within these disparate responses the seed of the Gospel germinated and the Indian Church took root through conversion and baptism.

It is impossible from the records extant to compute the percentage of those natives in a given area who came under the teaching of the missionary with any regularity. From William Mason's letters for example, it is obvious that he was shunned at Lac la Pluie and refused a hearing until his ministry reached further afield.(15) George Barnley, on the other hand, recorded that "almost all the people" were attentive to him, which was true also for James Evans at Norway House, and for Robert Rundle on occasion.(16) Frequently a band petitioned for the ministrations of a missionary and in these circumstances it seems likely that all would give the message at least initial consideration.(17) Because mission stations were located at fur-trade centres, it appears reasonable to assume that those who came to trade also established contact with the missionary, however briefly. Innate curiosity if nothing else would almost certainly insure such exposure. Not all remained to be instructed, however; of those who did, few converted while fewer still made the final

commitment to baptism, especially among the Plains Indians, as Rundle's baptismal register indicates. From 1840 to 1848 he recorded 592 baptisms in an area estimated to contain approximately 13,250 natives.<sup>(18)</sup> Although incomplete or unavailable statistics make comparisons with other stations impossible, one would assume that in well-established areas such as Red River, containing as it did several clergymen and an Indian chief sympathetic to the Gospel, the ratio would be considerably higher. Be that as it may, there was no lasting mass adherence to the Christian faith anywhere in Rupert's Land in spite of frequent outbursts of enthusiastic initial response.

Who then were those who did convert and why did they do so? Were they mostly women or those on the lower fringe of the social spectrum? Were they the young or the old?

## 2. The "Invisible" Church

There were very definitely local variations in how readily a group responded to the missionary message, determined by several factors, but primarily by prior knowledge of Christianity before actual missionary contact. Often this information was derived from other tribesmen who had already heard the Gospel. William Cockran writing to the C.M.S. remarks that when he preached, ". . .I know that I am not only preaching to the individual present, but to others who dwell remote in the wilderness; it only requires time to carry the echo to their ears."<sup>(1)</sup> James Evans was also well aware of this component and credited the predisposition of his hearers at Cumberland House to "the labours of an Indian connected with the Establishment whom I baptized at a former visit. . . ."<sup>(2)</sup> A remarkable example of hearer preparation is that of the Oregon Territory where Spokane

Garry and other Indian youths educated at Red River propagated their knowledge.<sup>(3)</sup>

Not only were other Indians a source of prior knowledge but certain traders such as James Leith, Alexander Ross, J.E. Harriott and Nicol Finlayson among others, took their religion seriously and sought to instruct those around them.<sup>(4)</sup> The missionaries valued this pre-contact preparation and found their task made lighter because of it.<sup>(5)</sup>

In spite of such positive summary experiences however, and in spite of an enthusiastic initial response to the missionary and his message, many tribes then seemingly grew cold and indifferent. The missionary often did not understand that rapt attention or even apparent consent did not necessarily precede conversion but might simply indicate innate Indian politeness and respect for things religious.<sup>(6)</sup> Yet even genuine conversion could well be a slow and gradual process, not a sudden, dramatic, Damascus Road experience such as especially the Wesleyans expected, and this gradation might mistakenly create an impression of apathy or unconcern.<sup>(7)</sup>

When a missionary did not take these factors into consideration, he became discouraged and lamented, as did Rundle a full two years after contact with the Blackfeet, ". . . the plain truth is that neither the Blackfeet nor any other of the plain [sic] tribes (including the Plain Crees and the Assiniboines) have as yet embraced Christianity."<sup>(8)</sup> The contrast of his jubilation over the numerous conversions among the Swampy Crees as well as among various bands in the vicinity of Rocky Mountain House is striking.<sup>(9)</sup> From Rundle's personal experience then, representative as it is of other missionaries, there was certainly an awareness of significant tribal/band variation in readiness to convert.

Among the tribes that turned a ready ear and an open heart to the Gospel, who were the individuals within the group who formed the nucleus of the infant Church? From Rundle's baptismal records it is apparent that among children an equal number of males and females were baptized, indicating that no stigma was involved for either sex. An analysis of those twelve years and older - the age of responsibility and incipient maturity in most tribes - discloses the number of men and women also to be approximately equal, disproving the assumption of many and the explicit view of some, that women were predominant in the nascent Indian Church.<sup>(10)</sup>

The diaries, letters, and records of the missionaries indicate that in most instances women as well as men were free to make their independent religious decisions without undue pressure from their mates.<sup>(11)</sup> The influence of a chief, however, was considerable and might decide the choice of an entire band, as William Mason once experienced.<sup>(12)</sup>

Age variation was another significant factor in the composition of the Indian Church for a disproportionately greater number of young people than those over thirty were baptized. Only occasionally does Rundle record someone simply as "Old man" or "Old woman," indicating that the older an individual the less likely was baptism or conversion to occur. Certainly this point is substantiated by sociological research, for both from a religious and a socio-economic viewpoint the more secure an individual's position, the less likely is change to be sought.<sup>(13)</sup> The Indian Church, therefore, was in this regard little different from religious groups anywhere.

Yet it should not be inferred that only the socially peripheral or immature converted. One of Rundle's dearest friends and staunchest supporters, the Cree Chief Maskepetoon, not only converted but took the

initiative in planning a new mission at Bow River.<sup>(14)</sup> Tanazebechagge (Master Bow), an Assiniboine, although not a chief, was important among his people, as was Piet Eagle, a Blackfoot, while Tchakta (or Chatka) whose son married a chief's daughter was the first to convert among the Stoney.<sup>(15)</sup> James Evans also mentions the conversion of several chiefs as does William Cockran.<sup>(16)</sup> Obviously, then, the Indian church included a broad cross-representation from all walks of native life.

### 3. The Organized Church

The term "Church" thus far has designated a body of believers rather than a formally structured organization, for not all missionaries gathered the elect into an ordered community. John West did not do so because his converts outside of Red River were too few and far between; William Mason at Lac la Pluie also lacked numbers, but while Robert Rundle had both converts and those possessing leadership qualities, contrary to established Methodist custom, he made no apparent effort to form class meetings, the basic unit in Wesleyan Church structure, or to organize in any manner whatsoever.<sup>(1)</sup>

The only two occasions on which Rundle himself attended class meetings in North America were on 29 July, 1840 at Norway House after James Evans' arrival, and on 21 June, 1848 when Benjamin and Margaret Sinclair, James and Susette Witaskimakan and the Old Man "weak [and] . . . on trial," assembled together at Pigeon Lake where the Sinclairs, newly arrived, were to open a mission. It appears that outside influences were necessary to involve Rundle in such a gathering. Just why this should be so is not clear, although Hugh Dempsey suggests it may possibly be a reflection of his Church of England upbringing.<sup>(2)</sup> Yet it is quite consistent with

Rundle's entire, unorthodox approach, laced as it was with a healthy disregard for or undue concern with formal organization.

Certainly lack of systematized structure did not indicate lack of confidence in Indian believers for he was pleased with the converts and had every reason to be. In 1843 he reported to the W.M.M.S:

The greater part of them [Wood Crees] . . . are accustomed to assemble together for public worship on Sundays, even when absent from the Fort and scattered abroad in the woods. On these occasions they sing and pray, using the excellent translations of Mr. Harriott and perhaps some one, the most gifted amongst them, may give a short address. This practice is also followed, I believe, by the Rocky Mountain Crees and Assiniboines."<sup>(3)</sup>

Whatever Rundle's reasons for leaving these believers without a formally organized church structure, they were not shared by his colleagues. Evans was pleased with his congregation at Norway House and reported, "Our class and prayer meetings are lively, and our people are faithful and exemplary, and industrious."<sup>(4)</sup> Barnley also rejoiced that "The class meeting this afternoon was a season of visitation from on high. . .," and again, ". . .I am constrained to exclaim with wonder, 'What hath God wrought'."<sup>(5)</sup>

Another basic component of Methodist worship, the Love-feast, was also implemented by Barnley and Evans in their native congregations. The usual pattern was to convene a monthly women's and men's Love-feast held separately, followed by a general Love-feast every third month for which tickets of membership were necessary.<sup>(6)</sup> To withhold a ticket was severe discipline only very occasionally implemented by Evans or later by William Mason, and then never without the consent of the Indian Church leaders. Testimony was an intrinsic aspect of this service and Wesleyan missionary literature abounds with long affirmations here shared of the grace of God in individual lives.<sup>(7)</sup>

Although the Anglicans enjoyed neither class meetings nor Love-feasts, William Cockran had "most sanguine expectations" that his congregation of "pure Indians" would soon thrive: "Three years ago my present residence, Congregation and Church were altogether imaginary. The timber was growing in the forest, the glass and nails were in England, and one half of my Congregation sifted among the Heather of Hudson's Bay, laying between the latitude of Churchill and East Main. But when the time appointed by the decree of heaven came, death and hell could hold their prisoners no longer; . . . They came; they heard; the Gospel opened their eyes to see and their hearts to receive and feel the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living . . . ." (8)

Those who came, heard, and felt the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living thus were organized according to various denominational structures, taught doctrine in keeping with their particular missionary's views, were scrutinized as to their Christian walk and warfare, some few were set apart as teachers, catechists and lay preachers, while an occasional individual was ordained to the ministry. (9)

Yet even those Indians who had experienced saving grace sometimes departed from Beulah Land and over these the missionary agonized. Even a shift from Protestant to Catholic adherence (or vice-versa) was considered apostacy and Rundle grieved on numerous occasions: "Several of my old friends among the Indians, both men and women, keep away from me. I went to some of their tents on Saty[sic] but it was of no use. O my God, when shall those things end?" "The Priest . . . succeeded in beguiling away very many from the simplicity of the Gospel"; ". . . the practices of those on the plains . . . appear to be waxing worse and worse." (10)

Occasionally Rundle's patience with the individual backslider crumbled,

and he snapped with uncharacteristic vehemence, "Heard dreadful news about [Maskepetoon]'s son; what a wretch!"<sup>(11)</sup> Although this particular young man stole a horse, other individuals committed adultery, took to drink, gambled, or committed other sins considered cardinal on the missionary roster.<sup>(12)</sup> Often the fall from grace was unexpected. John Sinclair, Jr., for example, a most promising and gifted young convert, educated, fed and clothed by the mission at Norway House for eight years and serving as a Bible translator with Mason and Steinhauer, was finally expelled from the Wesleyan Society" for the crimes of fornication. . . forgery . . . and an attempt to rob the Mission of property given in advance for services."<sup>(13)</sup>

For those who had considered conversion tantamount to material success or a source of immediate and spectacular supernatural power, the inevitable disillusionment resulted in a return to their traditional beliefs. Occasionally also, the strength of ancient faith simply proved stronger than allegiance to Christianity. Letitia Hargrave, discussing the prevalence of conjuring, maintained, "there is no way of prevailing even on those who are Christians to give it up. The Rev. Mr. Jones was taken with a very good and converted Indian. He had been long in his family and on his return to England he left the Indian here, whose first exhibition was to set up a conjuring tent and commence his incantations."<sup>(14)</sup>

Whatever the causes for backsliding, missionaries often felt personal responsibility and guilt, wept, sorrowed, considered themselves incompetent or too unholy for their calling. Yet, had they but known, their experiences with the Indian Church were duplicated in varying degrees throughout the mission fields of the world both Catholic and Protestant.<sup>(15)</sup> All could echo Rundle's lament, "Here I am then after so many years with

such congregations!"<sup>(16)</sup> And one might well add, this complaint was as the problem, by no means confined to the mission field, but has been inherent in the Church from its beginning, throughout all lands, in all ages.

Yet the same congregations which lost members who for whatever reason found the way too narrow, also nurtured many who rejoiced in their new faith, remained devoted and loyal Christians and wished to share the good news with others. Cockran informed the C.M.S., "So anxious have they been in general to extricate their Countrymen and distant relatives from the slavery and ignorance of heathenism that they have imparted share after share of their provision to the last mouthful, on purpose that they might have an opportunity of hearing the Gospel."<sup>(17)</sup> It was this purposeful and enthusiastic element within the indigenous Church that gave the missionary necessary tenacity of purpose to remain in the wilderness year after long year.<sup>(18)</sup>

#### 4. The Indian as Missionary

In an initial contact situation every convert was a potential missionary in the informal sense of sharing the Gospel and his/her experience, but from within this group which formed the Church, there were those of marked ability, literate, and of outstanding piety, who gradually assumed responsibility as class leaders, teachers, lay ministers, catechists. Men such as Philip Ta-Pwa-tum, John Wesley, John Scott, and Adam Moody, all lay ministers at Norway House;<sup>(1)</sup> Benjamin Sinclair, who with his Betsy came to replace Rundle when he returned to England; and Thomas Hassell, lay minister, teacher and trusted interpreter who travelled with James Evans and was finally accidentally shot and killed by him.<sup>(2)</sup> From Red River where Hassell was educated came other catechists and teachers

such as James Hope, James Settee, who was later ordained to the priesthood, Spokane Garry, Cayuse Halket, Ellis, and many others.<sup>(3)</sup> Of particular interest to this study, however, are Henry B. Steinhauer, Peter Jacobs, and Henry Budd, all active co-workers with the European missionary, all ordained to the ministry, and all working at various times in first contact situations.

### Henry Budd

John West, on his arrival at the Red River colony in 1820 brought with him two Indian boys to be educated, Withewacapo later named John Hope, from York Factory, and a Swampy Cree from Norway House, Sakachuwescam ("Going-Up-the-Hill"), later baptized as Henry Budd.<sup>(4)</sup> Evidently a superior student, the young Budd was instilled with all the values of Victorian England by his British tutors during the formative years at Red River.<sup>(5)</sup> After completing as much education as could be secured in the colony he entered the Hudson's Bay Company as a voyageur, then settled down as schoolmaster and farmer. In 1840 he was asked by the C.M.S. to prepare Cumberland House for mission work.<sup>(6)</sup> However, because of fur trade antagonisms his tenure there was very brief and he removed to The Pas (Paskoyac) with his family that same year.<sup>(7)</sup> Nor was the reception here enthusiastic. Budd reports only one man offered any help or hospitality to him, and with a paltry forty-five to fifty pounds provided annually to establish a station, he was forced to give away his own clothing in exchange for work in the erection of his house and schoolroom.<sup>(8)</sup>

It was at The Pas that Budd first met James Evans. An immediate and lasting friendship developed between the two, somewhat to the chagrin of the Establishment at Red River, especially when Budd asked the Wesleyan

to baptize his infant son.<sup>(9)</sup> This request, however, was an indication not only of confraternity, but also of the close relationship between Budd and the Methodists in general.<sup>(10)</sup> Since his relatives were resident in Norway House and under Wesleyan instruction, a circumstance to which Budd referred with "exceeding thankfulness," blessing God "for sending them such worthy Missionaries as your reverences to teach and guide them, the true way to heaven," this affinity is hardly surprising.<sup>(11)</sup> In addition, the lay preacher-interpret, Thomas Hassell, was a childhood friend, "the companion of my youth over to manhood," and this relationship undoubtedly also served to erase many denominational barriers.<sup>(12)</sup> Evans in turn reciprocated the warmth of feeling and fellowship and recorded in his Journal, "Mr. Budd. . . appears to be an excellent young man. I gave him such encouragement as I would offer to any of our own teachers, and am satisfied that a mutual feeling of esteem existed between us."<sup>(13)</sup> Ordained to the Anglican diaconate in 1850, Budd was priested in 1853. By any standard his work must be considered a success. John Smithurst was amazed and pleased at how thoroughly Budd had prepared the numerous new converts for baptism.<sup>(14)</sup> James Hunter considered him to be ". . . a very good interpreter and Indian speaker, perhaps the best in the country. . .," and tutored him in Greek and Latin in preparation for ordination,<sup>(15)</sup> while his aptitude for studying was such that Bishop David Anderson advised the C.M.S., "the Society must not expect the same amount of intelligence and accuracy from James Settee or any others now in active service."<sup>(16)</sup>

After arduous ministries at various outposts and much family sorrow, Budd sickened and died in 1875. As Pettipas rather enigmatically concludes, "Thus ended one of the more successful careers in the history of the

ministry in the Northwest."<sup>(17)</sup>

Henry Bird Steinhauer

Born in Rama, Ontario, in 1820, H.B. Steinhauer was orphaned as a child and taken into the local Wesleyan mission where at the age of eight, he was baptized. His musical ability and fine voice gained him a place in an Indian Children's Choir and while touring the United States, a Philadelphia couple, mourning the loss of their own son, offered to educate him in return for assuming their name.<sup>(18)</sup> With many Indians taking European or biblical names at baptism, an Ojibwa known as Henry Bird Steinhauer created no remarkable stir, but what is truly reprehensible to the twentieth-century mind is the terse report that his Indian name "has been forgotten" - a commentary on the milieu in which the boy grew to manhood.<sup>(19)</sup>

Steinhauer received his elementary education at the Credit (Methodist) Mission, was sent to Cazenovia Seminary in New York state at the age of twelve, and in 1835, after teaching briefly among the Credit Mission Indians, attended Upper Canada Academy (afterward Victoria College) at Coburg (Ontario). Except for one year as missionary apprentice, he remained here until 1840 when he started for the Hudson's Bay territories with James Evans.

Steinhauer's first assignment in the North West was to work as teacher and interpreter at Lac la Pluie with the newly-arrived William Mason, but in 1843 he joined Evans at Norway House. Here again he taught and interpreted while also helping Evans in the important area of translation, a task for which his proficiency in Greek and Hebrew fitted him well. Steinhauer's efficiency as assistant to the missionary in these

various and demanding capacities proved to his European colleagues "the possibility of bringing the pure native to a correct and creditable knowledge and use of the English language," the ultimate, it would appear in Indian education and achievement. (20)

That he was not only proficient but much loved is touchingly illustrated by the dying child who desired "the Schoolmaster come and tell me something good," so Steinhauer came and conversed with her "about heavenly things" - a tender-hearted, compassionate pastor and friend as well as resourceful and competent missionary agent. (21)

In spite of his success at both school and mission, difficult days lay ahead. As interpreter he was required to be present at the ecclesiastical trial investigating charges of immorality against James Evans. The young Indian was heartbroken at the revelations, feeling he had been deceived by a man whom he loved as a friend and respected as a missionary but above all because he felt the cause of Christ had been jeopardized. "Then I wished that these accursed reports may not be true. For the sake of the accused? No - for no man's sake but for the Missions." (22) Finally, reluctantly, he came to the conclusion that his Superintendent was indeed guilty as charged. (23)

Steinhauer was posted to Oxford Lake in 1850 to spearhead a new mission, and by 26 August reported to Dr. Alder that "only a few have not as yet given their assent to become Christians. . . ." (24) Compelled by failing health to return East for a time, on his return after ordination in 1855 he commenced a remarkably powerful and productive period of his career, serving missions at Edmonton, Rocky Mountain House and Whitefish Lake. Hutchinson has characterized the latter as the most successful station established in Alberta during these years, high praise, indeed,

for this was the period of the McDougalls and Father Lacombe.<sup>(25)</sup>

When Steinhauer died in 1884, John Maclean, who worked with him for four years, eulogized: "To know him was to love him as a man and a friend, and to learn about his work was to admire his faith and activity . . . Gentle in his demeanor, his speech was seasoned with grace, and his quiet manner stamped him as one of nature's noblemen, who had not lost his native dignity. . . ."<sup>(26)</sup>

### Peter Jacobs

Without doubt the most colourful of the three ordained Indian clergymen herein discussed is Peter Jacobs. His Journal of the Reverend Peter Jacobs, Indian Wesleyan Missionary (or "Peter Jacobs' History of Himself")<sup>(27)</sup> relates in detail his conversion and subsequent career as a missionary, while numerous verbose and often complaining letters are also still extant.

Peter Jacobs or Pah-tah-se-gan was born at Rice Lake, Ontario, in 1805 of Ojibwa parents. He, like Steinhauer, was orphaned and sent to school.<sup>(28)</sup> According to his Journal he first heard the Gospel from the great Methodist missionary William Case, although he appears to have been converted through the influence of Peter Jones, a mixed-blood, rather than under the preaching of any white man.<sup>(29)</sup> Jacobs lays claim to being the first convert in his tribe, becoming in succession a "prayer leader . . . a class-leader, and than a local preacher."<sup>(30)</sup> Building a large house and store he "made a comfortable living by selling things; but I wanted to be a missionary . . . and I offered myself for the mission work, and was accepted, sold off my store, and went as a missionary."<sup>(31)</sup> He served among the tribes of Lake Superior then moved West sometime in 1839, affiliating with the newly organized British

Wesleyan venture in Rupert's Land.

Jacobs visited England twice, was presented to the Queen on both occasions, and in 1842 was ordained to the Wesleyan ministry at Centenary Hall in London, returning to Rupert's Land the following year.<sup>(32)</sup> During this period of his life his work was highly valued and Evans wrote to the Secretaries: "Mr. Jacobs has been unremitting in his exertions during my winter tour; and I cannot possibly express myself too strongly respecting his Christian deportment, ministerial labours, and daily toil . . . ."<sup>(33)</sup> His high praise was possibly motivated in part by the strong opposition to the native missionary, voiced by Rev. William Case when Evans recruited him for the new work. "He has so often forfeited our confidence that I wish to have nothing to do with him," Case exploded. "I should expect that he would seek the first opportunity to seduce some of your promising females. . . ."<sup>(34)</sup> Time, unfortunately, was to vindicate the veteran Methodist, for Jacobs' temperament, his attractiveness to women and his love for strong drink eventually served to undermine his usefulness. He was expelled from the Methodist ministry in 1858 and died at his birthplace some years later, apparently in disgrace.<sup>(35)</sup>

It is not surprising that Budd, Steinhauer, and Jacobs, all educated in mission schools from an early age, were thoroughly inculcated with British Victorian manners, ideals, and social customs. One external evidence of their acculturation was wearing of European clothing and here it is interesting to note a curious reversal of roles: while Evans utilized Indian dress and Rundle was content to wear "a skull cap. . . made here in the spring from an old trowsers," a torn cloak, and trousers with both legs chewed off by a dog,<sup>(36)</sup> Steinhauer requested a suit of clothes from England as "we must appear with decent though (not superb)

apparell among our people here."<sup>(37)</sup>

Of far greater significance than wearing apparel, which could be and was effected by anyone desiring so to do, was the initial decision to convert followed by the momentous subsequent resolution to serve as missionary. It demonstrates the extent to which the evangelistic conviction of their European mentors had penetrated their own consciousness. At the same time this further contiguous identification with the European missionary served to create a gigantic gulf between them and their Indian brethren. The depth of their acculturation and the consequent chasm separating them from their heritage is evident from their writings, which, as Pettipas says of Budd's diary, differed but little in style or attitude from those of their European counterparts being rife with references to "heathen," "pagan," "idolatry," and fear that "all are doomed to everlasting punishment without exception."<sup>(38)</sup>

Yet such terms as "heathen" and "pagan" are restricted to non-Christian Indians and whereas Cockran can refer to a "Congregation of pure heathen," this would be an unthinkable contradiction in terms to the native missionaries. Instead, when an Indian converted he became a "native brother," or as a group, "the people of the Station," "members," or similar appellations. This distinction is quite explicit in Steinhauer's Report to the Missionary Society when he explains how the "heathen of the plains" are shunned by "Christian Indians" who "hold themselves separate from their heathen and pagan brethren."<sup>(39)</sup>

Jacobs carried his identification with the white community to the extreme of borrowing a page from the sensationalist missionary literature of the time: "Taking a Scalp from their enemies in war is their greatest delight," he writes, "and in the committing of all kinds of sin they do

not think there is any harm . . . they are great beggars . . . they are always dissatisfied. . . ." The dichotomy between him and "them" is complete when he adds, "For my part I am heartily tired of giving away things. . . ." (40) The traditionally limitless generosity of the Indian has been eroded and given place to primary concern for self and family, legitimate in itself but a European rather than an Indian trait.

A strong element of role-playing also seems apparent in Jacobs' overt identification with the European community. In spite of having native role models such as Peter Jones, he appears to have equated success as a missionary with "white" behavior and therefore attempted to change his own image in their likeness. Quite possibly this was motivated at least in part by his desire to be fully accepted by the white community, for, as Niels Braroe points out, how one feels about one's personal and social self will influence behaviour. (40a) Jacobs evidently felt his Indianness to be a handicap and sought to change his image by adopting a more acceptable role.

To a certain extent all native missionaries engaged in "impression management" although not as overtly perhaps as Jacobs. It was, after all, one way of gaining acceptance as clergymen - by whites because it indicated a measure of "civilization," and by Indians because a convert carried no weight of religious authority unless accredited fully by the foreign missionary, as shall be shown.

So while the native preacher sought to impress both communities, in turn the non-Christian and occasionally the Christian Indian as well often ignored or ridiculed him in a manner not generally

extended to the Europeans. While the latter were given hospitality reserved only for honoured guests, Steinhauer complained that he had trouble getting even a boy to help him build his cabin, while Budd paid with his own clothing for the erection of shelter. Budd's problems did not end there: ". . . it is with the utmost difficulty that we can get any body to do anything for us, we are as closely looked after, and our proceedings are as properly measured by our crafty neighbours, as if we had been Traitors or Robbers . . . ." <sup>(41)</sup> Occasionally they were even completely rejected, as was James Settee, an Anglican catechist for the Beaver Creek Indians, because the natives wanted ". . . a white man . . . who can teach more perfectly." <sup>(42)</sup>

Not only were the native clergy at times regarded with suspicion and treated with disdain by their fellow Indians, they were not regarded as bone fide missionaries, at least not until they were fully ordained. Evidence of this is found not only in the native missionaries' complaints but in those of their European colleagues. Mason, for example, acknowledged that "Mr. Steinhauer, though in every respect able and efficient, is not at present looked upon in that light [as a missionary]." <sup>(43)</sup> Under these circumstances it is surprising, to say the least, that Steinhauer was not ordained until 1855.

For the native missionary himself, ordination became a matter of paramount concern, since it affected not only his personal self-esteem but his success in the ministry. This need to establish status may also account for Steinhauer's concern with proper dress. In any case, Peter Jacobs, who considered himself no whit less qualified than his European colleagues,

wrote to Dr. Alder in 1841 that he was leaving the Hudson's Bay Company territories "for Canada or elsewhere" to be ordained, for if he was to continue in mission work, ". . .I plainly see that until I shall be ordain[sic] I shall command but very little respect as a Missionary among these heathens; for they think that if any person or persons can not perform the administration of Baptism or the Solmenization [sic] of Matrimony he has no business of preaching the Gospel . . . ." He adds, almost as an afterthought, "Not only do the heathens think of what I have written above but there are some Christians in this country that thinks the same."<sup>(44)</sup>

However, in spite of problems of respect and recognition the Indian missionary had advantages especially those of kinship and totem to which no white man could aspire. When the Methodists wished to open a station at Munedoo Rapids a poll of sorts was taken by the principal men to ascertain the wishes of the occupying bands. Many were furiously opposed but Peter Jacobs who was no stranger in their midst, wrote, "The Nindootamuch, who were of my private mark of the tribe were also asked. . . and as they were related to me by the particular totem tribe, they said that I should be allowed to build. . . but that a European missionary could not have the same liberties. . . ."<sup>(45)</sup>

Steinhauer was aware of the same advantages inherent in Indian birth. As a mature and thoughtful minister he expressed concern that Christianization would best be promoted by "native agency," those who spoke the language, understood the nature and habits of the Indians and sympathized "with their miserable condition, and would be impelled to promote their

elevation in the scale of being. A foreigner, either as Missionary or otherwise, will never take so well with the natives . . . let him be ever so good and kind to them; there is always a distrust on the part of a native to the foreigner, from the fact that the native has been so long downtrodden by the white man."<sup>(46)</sup>

Immediately this distrust raises the question of the Indian missionary's own relationship to his European colleagues: Did he also share the misgiving mentioned by Steinhauer: Did he also feel downtrodden, perpetually subordinate? Certainly Henry Budd was deeply conscious of his native birth and humbled by it. Writing to Rev. William Knight he confesses: "The more I meditate on the sovereign mercy and love of our Heavenly Father in singling me from my race of Pagan countrymen, and in honouring me with the message of love and mercy to the heathen, the more I feel I cannot do enough for Him; and the more I see the importance of the work before me, as well as my own insufficiency for its performance."<sup>(47)</sup>

The feeling of worthlessness, however, was the marching song of all evangelical missionaries, native as well as white, a refrain reiterated world without end in missionary literature.<sup>(48)</sup> To say therefore that such an attitude indicates shame of heritage, or even an anti-Indian sentiment, is to misunderstand completely the evangelical mind. It is, rather, praise to God for received salvation coupled with an awareness of personal shortcomings, a combination as old as the writings of the Psalmists or the apostle Paul.<sup>(49)</sup> Certainly the inimitable Peter Jacobs was not unduly humbled by his Indian origin. Referring to "my brethren

the Credit Indians" he informed Dr. Alder that although they had desired to make him a chief, he had chosen the Methodist ministry instead, and therefore, he insinuates, the Wesleyans should be honoured by his presence and appreciate his services. (50)

Undeniably the Indian clergy often expressed concern, as did Henry Budd, "at the bad conduct of my Countrymen," and the desire for closer Christian fellowship, intimating that the native Church did not meet this need; but their white colleagues also deplored the actions of their fellow Britons, and also longed for those with whom they could freely share their faith. (51) One must conclude then, that either this was learned behaviour on the part of the Indian missionary, or, more plausibly, that it was a condition common to an initial contact missionary of whatever race, who of necessity preached in social and spiritual isolation.

One note absent, however, from the communications of even the junior European Wesleyans to their Superintendent or the Society and yet immediately evident in the Indian reports and letters, is that of inordinate deference. There is respect of course in the English letters but nothing to compare with Budd's pledge to Smithurst that he will endeavour, through God's grace to regulate all his proceedings by Smithurst's directions, (52) or the usually self-confident Jacobs' quite abject submission to Evans: ". . . I am just at your word; if you say to me when you come, 'There stay,' I will be happy to stay another year; or if you say, 'Go Home,' I will be happy to go home." (53)

In contrast, although both Rundle and Barnley obeyed Alder's directions refusing them permission to return home to marry, when the time came that they felt furlough was imperative they simply left, not waiting for a reply from London. Nowhere is there blind submission to

the orders of their superiors.

The corollary of this evident subordination of the native clergy is an unusually high deference level in their relationship with the European missionaries. Peter Jacobs, always more melodramatic than his colleagues, epitomizes this in his reaction to Evans' death: "In the death of the late Rev. James Evans myself and my Nation have lost Saint Paul." Again: "I was going to say that I love him with all my heart. But I must not, for I must first love God with all my heart. . . I wish to love [Evans] more than myself. . . O Brother Evans, 'very pleasant hast thou been unto me: they [sic] love to me has been wonderful, passing the love of women.'"<sup>(54)</sup>

Not all missionaries were completely accepted however. The ubiquitous Jacobs met both William Cockran and John Smithurst in Red River, and while he liked Cockran "very much" and considered his sermon "excellent," his reaction to Smithurst, with whom he stayed, was rather equivocal: "I think Mr. Smithurst is a Methodist but the Love of money makes him a Church man. Lord save us from this evil."<sup>(55)</sup> One could suspect Jacobs of a tongue-in-cheek approach, but in light of his other correspondence, this is rather unlikely.

Whatever Jacobs' opinion, the relationship between Budd and Smithurst was warm, and when Smithurst returned to England, his Indian colleague mourned the loss of "one Friend more in the Country."<sup>(56)</sup> Yet Budd also had relatives in the territory and Steinhauer, who married Seeseeb Mamenawatum of Norway House in 1845, through marriage had numerous contacts; Peter Jacobs, however, was comparatively isolated from his closest kin, and for that reason perhaps, as well as from ambition and pride, gravitated more to the European missionaries for friendship than did the others. That

Jacobs was not above flattery is quite obvious from his comment to Dr. Alder that since Evans' death he felt himself friendless, "If I had not such an honourable friend as thou art 'in whom the Spirit of the Lord is'."<sup>(57)</sup> Jacobs seems to have made no effort to cultivate male Indian society, or family friendships involving his wife, who is rarely mentioned by him.

Having established the native missionary's attitude to his European counterpart, the converse must be considered: how did the British missionaries regard their Indian co-workers? Evans appears to have accepted both Jacobs and Steinhauer as colleagues and equals, inviting all to dinner when he asked Mason, fraternizing without discrimination.<sup>(58)</sup> His warm relationship with Henry Budd has already been noted, while his general attitude may be summarized in a comment made in 1837: ". . . the day is not far distant when oppression shall cease, and our Indian brethren rise up to stand among us as men."<sup>(59)</sup> One assumes, however, that Clarissa Evans did not reflect her father's true posture when she wrote to him, "Peter Jacobs preached to us on Sunday; he did midlin well for an Indian."<sup>(60)</sup> There is no record of Evans' reply.

As for Rundle, his welcome of Benjamin Sinclair was the welcome of an old friend as one would expect, and while the time of their co-operative labour was too brief to allow for any definite conclusions, Rundle's known rapport and amicability with various individual Indians would militate for an egalitarian relationship.

Some of the Anglican missionaries, however, experienced rather severe inter-personal tensions with their Indian catechists and teachers. Not only were the Anglicans more reluctant to ordain than the Wesleyans - Henry Budd was received into holy orders in 1853 while Peter Jacobs

received ordination as early as 1842 - but their missionaries generally arrived in the North West with a more superior attitude. Whether or not this difference may be attributed to the status enjoyed by the Church of England as contrasted to that of non-conformists is a moot question. Certainly it was not the excellence of their education or cultural superiority which gave them just cause for condescension.

Whatever the reason, complaints were vented both by more experienced missionaries as well as by the natives and country-born. Joseph Cook, for example, the mixed-blood son of Chief Factor William Cook, wrote to the C.M.S. denouncing the inequality of the burden of work expected and the treatment received:

. . . what right and reason has the C.M.S. to impose on me this part of duty to perform more than the European Catechists?. . . it would be well if the C.M.S. would send out a written agreement in what terms they wish us to engage. . . by this means it would avoid all ill feelings and disagreements which will always take place between the Missionaries and Native Catechists if they are treated and looked upon no better than a common labourer. . . I can assure you, Sir, we are beginning to get disgusted with our situations and the treatment and the distinction which as been made between us and the European Catechists, and the too-much Lordship being exercised over us. (61)

William Cockran sympathized with the native Catechist's position and wrote to the C.M.S. in similar vein. Although this excerpt is long it illustrates rather well the relationship of the uninitiated British missionary to the native clergy:

. . . It would be well to give Mr. Hunter a hint to be more kind to his Schoolmasters. Budd and Settee are just on the point of leaving him. So they write to their friends and so they wrote to me in Canada. He ought to exact nothing from them except teaching the School and superintending the children in anything that they may have to do after School hours. He has been treating them as common labourers. This is never done by the Hudson's Bay Company to any of their Interpreters or Post Masters. And you may rest assured they have studied what is most politic. Mr. Hunter forgets there is no analogy between his position and theirs. If he toils to get himself a house he ought to remember that so has others done before

him, and so has Mr. Budd and Settee. But they did not ask him to go and encamp out in the woods two months to saw the timber. The few luxuries which Budd and Settee have been able to command out of 50 pounds per annum they have taken them the easiest way they could. They have never required Mr. Hunter to send a Canoe to any distance to furnish them. Now last summer when Settee returned from Rat River he took him all the way from the Pas to Norway House to steer his boat. Let Mr. Hunter study the golden rule better and he will never again make such demands on these for the future as he has done for the past. You will oblige by touching on this matter to Mr. Hunter in the gentlest way possible. The whole proceeds from an error of judgement and not studying the custom of the country in which he lives. (62)

The last sentence is probably the key to the situation. When the Anglican missionaries became acquainted with the mores of fur-trade society, they relaxed in their attitudes and, as the relationship between Smithurst and Budd demonstrates, could work happily together. Even Hunter came to appreciate greatly their contributions, writing to the C.M.S. ". . . they (native clergy) are acquainted with the habits and language of the Indians. . . they are the best qualified to be employed as agents for the conversion of the Indians." (63)

Yet despite the generally amicable relationships between native and British missionaries there is the suggestion of a subtle and possibly unconscious attitude of racial superiority. It seems inconsistent, for example, that when a shortage of food existed the intellectual Steinhauer went hunting while Mason stayed to teach Steinhauer's school, (64) that Jacobs was reduced to snaring rabbits to feed his children, (65) or that Henry Budd and his family should be destitute to the point of starvation while Mason apparently suffered no deprivations. (66) It is true that Budd and Mason were financed by different Societies; that Rundle, Evans and other Europeans also were extremely hungry at times; that Evans could and did hunt and fish to satisfy his needs while travelling; that Rundle was so incredibly awkward that a gun in his hands would be a threat to

life and limb.

It may be argued that the British missionaries were largely urban dwellers, not raised to understand hunting and fishing. But Jacobs, Budd and Steinhauer also had attended mission boarding schools from very early childhood and also did not trust to gun and net for a living, even taking into consideration the frontier on which the schools were located. Was it assumed that simply because they were natives they possessed these skills innately? Was hunting and fishing for daily sustenance considered below the dignity of a European missionary? The answers can only be assumed or answered by inference.<sup>(67)</sup>

Translations provide another case in point. Although Evans without doubt perfected the syllabic alphabet, why did his co-workers in translation receive so little official recognition? Why was it necessary for the Rev. Dr. Robert B. Steinhauer to write a statutory declaration in 1836 testifying that his father and John Sinclair were the genuine translators of the Bible into Cree Syllabics?<sup>(68)</sup>

Similar examples of subtle and not so subtle denigration of the Indian clergy can be found. On examining the attitude of the European missionary to his native colleague in its totality, it seems that although goodwill was present, too often an innate sense of British superiority was superimposed on the relationships so that countless incidents possibly trivial in themselves accumulated to remind the Indian that he was, in the final analysis not considered fully as an equal. Certainly native workers received very little recognition in the official missionary literature of the day. On the part of the missionary this was probably unconscious. On the part of the sending Society all too often it was not.

Theoretically it was not so much a matter of equality as of assimilation. Henry Venn, in establishing C.M.S. practices, warned against assimilation on the basis that native pastors should not be ". . . thrown out of their proper position to become too European in their habits and the Native Churches to look to the Society for the perpetual support of a Native Ministry."<sup>(69)</sup> However, the reality was at variance with the theory. Henry Budd for example had already experienced a tremendous metamorphosis when he was taken "out of [his] proper position" to be educated at Red River, and subsequently assigned to teaching and catechetical work. That his position was never considered analogous to that of the foreign missionary in spite of his high degree of assimilation is evident from the differential in wages, privileges, and even responsibilities. One example must suffice: In 1856, already an experienced and ordained priest, the Bishop decided to place Rev. Henry George and his wife at Budd's station, in order to "combine the advantages of native experience and European superintendence."<sup>(70)</sup> Why European superintendence if Budd was regarded as fully qualified and eminently competent? In so doing, the C.M.S. was in fact contravening, at least in spirit, Venn's own fifth, sixth, and seventh principles which stated the importance of native agency, advocated "self-reliance rather than dependence," and warned against "the snare whereby only the missionary" was responsible for evangelism and church extension.<sup>(71)</sup>

As for wages, Venn recommended in 1851 that because Budd "has been so much identified with English habits" his salary should be increased from 55 pounds per annum to 100 pounds, the standard C.M.S. missionary stipend. Earlier Budd had been expected to found a new station with all the expenses contingent in such a venture on a mere 100 pounds including his

stipend.<sup>(72)</sup> Small wonder he was required to hunt or fish to supplement the rations available to a family of eight children on such a pittance. In contrast, James Hunter received not only an annual stipend of 200 pounds - "more than he would have received as an assistant curate and indeed by many an incumbent in England - with a further yearly allowance of 150 pounds to cover the expense of the mission."<sup>(73)</sup> The incredible irony is that the mission for which Smithurst was thus generously remunerated, was Cumberland House "already commenced by a Native Indian teacher" - Henry Budd!<sup>(74)</sup>

Although Peter Jacobs, unlike his native colleagues, received the allowance of a commissioned Gentleman (as did the British Methodists)<sup>(75)</sup> he was unable to live within this rather narrow financial stricture. In contrast to Budd and Steinhauer, however, he was not silent about his monetary embarrassments. He wrote to Dr. Alder in 1841 "it was about time" that his salary be increased, and that Alder "must be well acquainted with the Salary of a Missionary. I need not say anything more on the Subject."<sup>(76)</sup> In 1842 he was still receiving only 60 pounds a year but had various accommodation and supply privileges at the Hudson's Bay Company post.<sup>(77)</sup> These prerogatives he was not embarrassed to accept or reluctant to use, and in 1849 a wrathful Society demanded an explanation for the debt of 213.4.6 pounds which he had incurred. With a great equanimity and aplomb Jacobs replied that most of the supplies had been purchased on behalf of his children: "I never wish to be unreasonable. I do not wish to make myself rich by your beneficence. All I wish is to have enough of means if possible to enable me to give my children plain English education and to try to live in such economy as never to be indebted to any man."<sup>(78)</sup> Jacobs was seldom intimidated or at a loss for

words.

Peter Jacobs notwithstanding, the conclusion must be that while the sending Societies appreciated the work of their native clergy and clearly saw the advantages of their linguistic skills and intimate sociological knowledge, these men were not considered as co-equal with their European counterparts. This state placed them under double discrimination - that of their unconverted (and sometimes their converted) Indian countrymen, and that of the missionaries and their Societies.

Yet in all other respects the native clergy of Rupert's Land here under consideration, seemed to conform to the patterns of nineteenth century world-wide evangelical Christianity. There is the same sense of divine call and commission; the same joy at being chosen, of being especially beloved. There is also the same inner conflict, that sense of shortcoming, discouragement, and inadequacy.<sup>(79)</sup> There are those who fall back into unacceptable forms of behaviour - backsliding is not the preserve of the laity either in Indian or white society. There are the same dark doubts as to ultimate salvation. There is loneliness, depression, illness. What is important to see is that the Indian clergy were men, individuals, with the graces and failings of men everywhere.

If these native missionaries considered their lot a particularly hard or unhappy one they did not commit these thoughts to paper, nor is it evident in the lives of the children they fathered. Peter Jacobs, Jr., a very precocious lad was educated by Bishop David Anderson at Red River without financial obligation.<sup>(80)</sup> One of Henry Budd's sons entered the Anglican ministry and was ordained in 1863 after attending the C.M.S. college at Islington; another died while enrolled at Bishop's Collegiate in Red River. At least two of Budd's daughters also attended school at

the settlement.<sup>(81)</sup> Of Steinhauer's five sons and three daughters, two sons, Egerton and Robert, entered Victoria University. Egerton became a missionary while Robert continued his studies after ordination, eventually earning a graduate degree. A daughter married Rev. John McDougall of missionary fame, while a grandson, the Hon. Ralph Steinhauer, Lieutenant-Governor of Alberta from 1974-1979, became the first vice-regent of Indian ancestry in Canada.<sup>(82)</sup>

In gathering together the various strands of the lives of the Indian clergy in the Hudson's Bay Company territories it is quite evident that not only were they effective as men and as missionaries but the legacy they left to the Church and to Canada through their vitality, their children, and their converts remains a living and honourable memorial.

V THE MISSIONARY AND "OTHER WHITES"

## The Missionary and "Other Whites"

Indians provided the missionary with grist for the gospel mill, but the Hudson's Bay Company provided the only means of gathering that grist. Missionary - trader association, therefore, was not simply a matter of European-European interaction, or even of clergy with laity, but rather the infinitely more complex triangular relationship of missionary, trader and Indian.<sup>(1)</sup> While the missionary in Rupert's Land was not required to deal with Federal agencies, both civil and military as was his American counterpart, or with major crises such as Indian removal,<sup>(2)</sup> the fact that the Company represented government and decreed policy, constituted a salient thread in the intricate webwork binding together Company, Indian, and missionary. It is outside the scope of this thesis to examine the nature of the trader's world, but an attempt will be made to see it as the missionary saw it intersecting his own ministry, his own universe.

Missionaries interacted with other whites as well as traders. The clergyman in the course of his work occasionally encountered fellow ecclesiastics both of his own and other persuasions, and sometimes also settlers and colonists. Those preachers with wives faced yet another set of variables, and interactions with completely different connotations. The dynamics of these various relationships and the individual missionary's response contained the power either to bless or to blight his ministry.

### 1. The Missionary and the Hudson's Bay Company

Although the missionary arrived in the new world prepared to do battle for the souls of men, he commonly envisaged these as the souls of red men. Seldom did he consider that employees of the Company, whose invitation and help made possible his ministry in these far-flung reaches, also possessed souls and reason and personality and that interaction with them was as important, if for different reasons, as was Indian evangelization.

Not all came unprepared. John West understood quite clearly that his "instructions were to afford religious instruction and consolation to the servants in the active employment of the Hudson's Bay Company, as well as to the Company's retired servants, and other inhabitants of the settlement. . . ." <sup>(3)</sup> That these "other inhabitants" would include the native Indians he did not doubt, but nor did he give them overt priority in his ministry. <sup>(4)</sup> Because West was the first Protestant minister in these territories and therefore experienced the Hudson's Bay Company as did none of his brethren, his initial contact established precedents and patterns of great importance.

West's relationship with the Hudson's Bay Company began auspiciously enough. He came to his position highly recommended and although his immediate and enthusiastic interest in educating and ameliorating the conditions of the country-born and Indians, as well as his aggressive campaign to formalize marriage a la facon du pays raised skeptical eyebrows already during the first days of his arrival, yet he also met with a measure of success. He not only baptized babies but also legalized many marriages, among them those of traders such as Chief Factors James Bird and Thomas Thomas. <sup>(5)</sup> Although George Simpson was chary in his praise, <sup>(6)</sup> Nicholas Garry of the London Committee, on tour in Rupert's Land, felt the missionary made a decent showing: "Mr. West has done much good in persuading these Gentlemen to marry," he wrote with fine British understatement.

Garry himself was a great source of comfort to West in the months the Officer spent in the North-West. He presided, at West's request, at a meeting in York Factory, 2 September, 1821, at which an auxiliary of the British and Foreign Bible Society was formed, and notes in his diary: "The readiness which was shown by every Gentleman to subscribe proves how

erroneous the opinions of people have been that there is no Religion in the Country. It proves how easily the minds of people may be led to do what is good, and Mr. West has certainly had much merit and has made great advances in producing so desirable an End."<sup>(7)</sup>

On Garry's return to London, he reported to the Committee about West's work, and Harrison and Garry together attended a meeting of the C.M.S. to further recommend Red River as a mission field and West as a missionary. Suffice it to say here that the Company directors sent a warm letter to West, dated 27 March, 1822, which says in part: "We trust that under your Zeal and management the various measures which are now in progress will tend, not only to better the condition of the Native heathen, but be highly beneficial to all the Inhabitants of the whole Country over which the Company has control or influence."<sup>(8)</sup> The same letter, however, examines several complaints West has made, concerning a shortage of lumber for the Church building, the use of liquor, and the education of the native-born children. These complaints and their answers reflect the growing tension between West and the Company's Officers in the territory, tensions which included West's uncompromising insistence on marriage for those living with native wives, the treatment of Indian women, and rest on the Sabbath.

The impression received from reading Simpson's diary entries for early 1822, however, is that relations were still cordial between the Company (in the person of Simpson) and West. For example, excerpts from a selection of the diary entries read as follows:

March 26, 1822: Called at Fort Douglas and from there on Mr. West at the Farm who seems to be in [a] wretched state owing to the scarcity of Provisions; . . . [March 31] . . . had Mr. West to Dinner. . . I will use my influence with the Protestant part of the Colony to have a place of worship and School House. [April 2] Passed the Day with Mr. West; [April 7]

Attended Services - Mr. West Dined with me afterwards; [April 21] This has been a [illegible]. West and I do not know how to kill time; [April 30] Sent Mr. West a piece of Buffalo meat and a note requesting him to appoint a Day for the purpose of commencing his building operations with the Scotch Settlers. (9)

There are more entries in similar vein. Simpson also records that West volunteered to go with him on an expedition to Pembina to confront a number of Sioux acting in a warlike threatening manner. Simpson writes: "I therefore communicated with Mr. McDonell. . . and the principal Settlers on the subject, but could not get a man to Volunteer except Mr. McDonell, the Reverend Mr. West and the Gentlemen of the Companies and Colony Establishments, the Settlers generally preferring to sneak for safety to Lake Winnipeg. . . ." (10) Since West was known to be a good marksman, he was obviously much appreciated on this occasion.

Governor Andrew Bulger of Assiniboia also spoke highly of him; "From what I have seen of Mr. West, I like him exceedingly; he seems to be a worthy man - extremely zealous, and possessed of all the patience and fortitude requisite. . . ." (11) This goodwill among men was not to last. It appears to have been during Simpson's residence in the Colony in 1822 that the differences between the Governor and West became exacerbated. Simpson soon realized that the Settlers would accept neither the man nor his ministry. In discussions he became aware that West was serious in his efforts to Christianize and educate the Indians and country-born, and that this commitment would probably involve the Company in additional expense; he also became very conscious of West's strict and inflexible moral standards. By 20 May, 1822, he wrote to Andrew Colvile:

Mr. West has some idea that through the interest and exertions of Mr. Harrison a fund may be raised or got from some of the Charities to open Schools for the instruction and maintenance of native Indian Children. . . But in my humble opinion [this] will be attended with little other good than filling the pockets

and bellies of some hungry missionaries and schoolmasters and rearing the Indians in habits of indolence; . . . . .

The committee I understand are desirous that Mr. West should attend at York Factory during the business months, this visit will not only interfere with our operations, but may be injurious in other respects, the Transport Season is so very limited that the best use must be made of our time, our Stores, Shops, Counting Houses etc. must be open on Sundays as on Week Days; . . . the men of each District must have their two or three Days Drinking bout, . . . Mr. West I believe to be a very good well meaning man and strictly correct in his conduct, but as the Hudson's Bay Companys Chaplain or Servant, inclined to deal too freely in politicks. In a conversation with him the other day I understood it is his intention to lay before some of the pious societies with whom he corresponds an expose of the baneful consequences of the use of Spiritous Liquors among the Indians and hopes that through their interference and that of some members of the Committee that it will be prohibited.<sup>(12)</sup>

During that summer Simpson also wrote cynically concerning West and Miss Elizabeth Bode, a schoolmistress engaged to George Harbidge, whom West was escorting from York Factory to Red River: "Parson West and Miss \_\_\_\_\_ were encamped in Knee Lake when I passed, he will certainly take the Shine out of her before the unfortunate clerk gets possession."<sup>(13)</sup>

West's attempts at peacemaking between various Company Officers may also have hastened the deterioration of his influence and popularity. In any case he comments on the traders' "cold indifference" to him, and the fear they express that evangelizing the Indian "will lessen the quantum of fur and consequently of gain."<sup>(14)</sup> On receiving a letter from George Simpson in which the Governor assures him of full co-operation in his Indian work and affirms, that "no difference of opinion exists between us on the propriety and importance of the objective. . ." West bursts out in the privacy of his unpublished Journal: "The general practice is opposed to that solicitude expressed for the moral and religious interests of the natives and others. [It is] good for nothing, for it is totally destitute of an executory principle."<sup>(15)</sup> His disillusionment is almost tangible, and not surprisingly, he took recourse to the unforgiveable

tactic of "pulpit denunciation."<sup>(16)</sup>

On that discordant note West returned in 1823 to England ostensibly to escort his wife and children back to North America.<sup>(17)</sup> The tone of his subsequent reports to the London Committee and to the C.M.S. is indicated by the following comment: "The grand bar to an immediate victory over many obstacles, and difficulties in the way of raising the standard of the Cross, is European depravity and apathy in the Country."<sup>(18)</sup> For "European" read "Hudson's Bay Officers."

Although West appears to have relied heavily on the London Committee to support his position on evangelism and mission against the more obdurate and commercial attitude of the Officers in Rupert's Land, he was disappointed. On 11 February, 1824, he was informed that, in view of his report and other communications, the Committee deemed it inexpedient for him to resume his situation as Chaplain.<sup>(19)</sup> West challenged his dismissal but to no avail. The Officers in Rupert's Land were elated and Simpson spoke for the majority when he expressed his pleasure to Benjamin Harrison: "Under all circumstances, I am glad that Mr. West does not return, he was a man of no influence of character, extremely unpopular and appeared to be more of a bustling money making man of the world than his situation warranted -."<sup>(20)</sup>

Whether the opinion expressed is simply Simpson's personal animus to a man he could not control is open to debate.<sup>(21)</sup> Obviously the Officers of the Northern Department were also hostile to West's interference with Sunday travel, the use of liquor in the trade, and his implacable resistance to marriage a la façon du pays. Moreover, they authorized the payment of his salary with great reluctance, regarding these funds as rightfully their own.<sup>(22)</sup> This pattern was to be repeated in greater or

lesser degree with most of the missionaries in this study, but especially with James Evans who again proved to be a man of unusually strong and aggressive disposition. It seems, therefore, that individual personality, in addition to the moral and financial restrictions which the clergy represented, was the cause of much of the hostility engendered among the Officers by missions and missionaries.

Positive benefits did result from West's clash with the Company. He prepared the way, as it were, for his successors. As Simpson told David Jones, "I have written to Mr. Harrison . . . and have assured him that you should not have occasion to attack us so fiercely as we have lately been by your predecessor."<sup>(23)</sup> West established that missionaries were not appendages of the Hudson's Bay Company or subservient to trade, and that they possessed the right to comment on public and private behaviour where it contravened accepted British moral standards.<sup>(24)</sup> Although these suppositions did not go unchallenged, the destructive mutual hostility between Officers and clergy was considerably softened.<sup>(25)</sup>

The severance of West's connection with the Hudson's Bay Company affected his relationship with the C.M.S. as well and led the Society to re-examine the behaviour of its personnel. The C.M.S. discreetly announced to its constituency that on "several accounts" and "for the present" the Mission would be left in the care of David Jones, while the Society Minutes disclose, "it appears from the circumstances of the case to be inexpedient for Mr. West to return to the Station, as was proposed, till further notices shall be received from the Bay."<sup>(26)</sup> The further notices never came. In the meantime, the Society "strongly recommended" that David Jones "cultivate a friendly relationship with the Gentlemen in charge of the Red River Settlement," to treat them with respect and

attention.<sup>(27)</sup> Jones and Cockran were further admonished to "be thankful for the measure of aid and co-operation which they may be disposed to afford you . . . [and] cherish in your mind a favourable opinion of the motives of those who cannot be induced to come cordially into your measures. . ."<sup>(28)</sup> Obviously, West's conduct was not to be repeated.

The only other missionary in our study to engender Hudson's Bay Company hostility like that experienced by West was James Evans. Even the pattern of his relationship to the Company and to Simpson shows marked similarities.<sup>(29)</sup> It began well, even enthusiastically, with Evans in high esteem with Simpson, Donald Ross, and even traders such as John Rowand who much preferred him to the less dynamic Robert Rundle.<sup>(30)</sup> The London Committee went so far as to recommend Evans as Chaplain at Red River should William Cockran resign, a great deviation from practice in this Church of England stronghold.<sup>(31)</sup>

The period of mutual satisfaction and admiration was short-lived. The problems were legion and complex but included among others, Evans' insistence on a printing press; excessive use of Company rations; social antagonisms between the families of Evans, Ross, and other traders; mission expansion; the treatment of women by Company personnel; and especially Sunday observance.<sup>(32)</sup> Not only did these factors create severe tension between Evans and Simpson but the Governor appeared to view Evans as a potentially dangerous rival for power, as well as a threat to the Company's prosperity and public image. Nor were his apprehensions totally unfounded. Among Evans' many supporters were his son-in-law, John McLean, increasingly antagonistic to the Hudson's Bay Company although still a trader within its ranks, and William Paterson MacKay, also a Company employee who wrote to Evans in June, 1845 that on

his (MacKay's) arrival in England he would publish in any "papers as will take my letters . . . the atrocious doings of this company in Hudson's Bay, and the way they are persecuting the Missionaries - Certainly a Protestant, Religious Government like Great Britain will not listen unmoved. . . ." <sup>(34)</sup> This threat was cause for great alarm given the pending application of the Company for its renewal to trade. Not only was the press to be alerted, but Evans himself threatened to report alleged mistreatment of Indians to the powerful Aborigines Protection Society.

To add to Simpson's anxiety, Ross informed him that Evans was seeking to divert furs both to himself and to free traders. The facts here are confused, for while Ross accuses, Evans denies. The missionary insisted that what Ross interpreted as trade was merely encouragement for the native Christians to tithe their income and contribute to the support of their clergy in conformity to Methodist practice. Since furs were their only medium of wealth the Indians should be free to give of what they had. <sup>(35)</sup> The Company did not agree.

By 1845 the conflict had reached fever pitch. Ross, once Evans's staunch supporter, was now a bitter foe, calling him "that King of Hypocrites," supplying Simpson with damaging information, asserting that Evans was a "Bad Teacher," and seeking everywhere to undermine his influence. <sup>(36)</sup> Simpson, in disgust, wrote to Dr. Alder requesting Evans' recall. <sup>(37)</sup> Shortly thereafter Simpson submitted a report to Alder in which he alluded to the "almost inconceivable character" of some of the charges against Evans (which he believed to be true), to Evans' financial incompetency, and to his obstructionist behaviour "down to the day of his departure." <sup>(38)</sup>

The animosity was reciprocal. Evans in his turn felt as much a martyr as had John West before him. Their methods of fighting the Company were also similar: pulpit denunciation; personal reprimand; appeals to the London Committee as well as to their own Societies; wider publicity within England including contact with the Aborigines Protection Society on the treatment of the Indian.<sup>(39)</sup> But the outcome for the Wesleyan - Hudson's Bay Company relations was considerably more damaging than that following West's embroilment. Not only was Evans discredited in the eyes of the Company with much greater bitterness and scandal,<sup>(40)</sup> but the Methodist presence in the North West was jeopardized to an extent unthinkable in Anglican relations,<sup>(41)</sup> while the whole cause of missions received a set-back which might well have been disastrous.<sup>(42)</sup>

Although not all shared the problems of West and Evans, among first contact missionaries Robert Rundle alone enjoyed a satisfactory relationship with the Company throughout his years in the North West. George Barnley began well but left in anger and frustration,<sup>(43)</sup> while William Mason early encountered the hostility of Allan McDonnell in the Lac la Pluie area yet ended his days at Norway House and York Factory in full agreement and accord with those in fur-trade authority.

The Hudson's Bay Company was initially prepared to welcome the Wesleyans, as James Evans' reception indicated. Chief Factor Duncan Finlayson expressed this sentiment when he wrote to the W.M.M.S., "They shall have our protection, and every personal kindness and attention in our power; in short, we shall attend to their wants, and afford them every facility and assistance to extend their sphere of usefulness, and to promote the great work they have taken in hand."<sup>(44)</sup> Robert Rundle was to appreciate this beneficence greatly.

Rundle's first mission, designedly temporary and only awaiting James Evans' arrival, was at Norway House where he ministered from 5 June to 7 September, 1840 and where he made fast friends with Donald Ross, the veteran trader in charge.<sup>(45)</sup> Eight years later the affection still remained<sup>(46)</sup> in spite of Ross's subsequent disillusionment with missionaries so evident in the bitter letter he wrote to Governor Simpson: ". . . the old proverb, 'familiarity breeds contempt' was never more signally realized than it is likely to be between us and the missionaries. . . ." <sup>(47)</sup>

While Ross was deeply rooted in the Presbyterian faith and could therefore be expected to extend some sympathy and understanding to the Protestant missionaries, John Rowand at Fort Edmonton, to which Rundle was permanently posted, was a Roman Catholic who in 1839 had approached the Bishop at Red River for priests in his area.<sup>(48)</sup> According to his own admission, however, he was not enthusiastic about either priest or parson within the walls of his fort, and when the Methodist Rundle appeared, the rough-mannered Rowand grumbled, "The minister is in my way. I cannot go on with such fellows as when I am alone."<sup>(49)</sup> The seeds of conflict were apparent. Evans on a visit in 1841, commented to his wife, "Rundle and Rowand do not see eye to eye. I think all a little wrong. . . Mr. Rundle is an Englishman and must become a Hudson's Bay Company man."<sup>(50)</sup> But a "Hudson's Bay Company man" Rundle would never become, any more than could Evans in the final analysis, and gradually and grudgingly Rowand not only accepted the young Englishman but repeatedly went out of his way to be accommodating and helpful,<sup>(51)</sup> even to the extent of assuring Governor Simpson that Rundle was "a good man" albeit a vexatious one at times.

Rowand of course, in spite of his general disinclination towards missionaries, had his own reasons for appreciating Rundle. The minister tutored Rowand's three daughters, and also conducted a school for children of the fort when he was in residence.<sup>(52)</sup> This was commonplace, but in Edmonton one of the pupils was John Simpson, the Governor's son, who was "a smart fellow that requires breaking in, "a job Rowand at least partially assigned to Rundle."<sup>(53)</sup>

It was with John Edward Harriott, however, that Rundle developed a strong and supportive friendship, a relationship surely unique among missionaries and Hudson's Bay Company Officers. Harriott, Chief Trader at Rocky Mountain House and Chief Factor after 1846, was a devout Anglican with a deep concern for the spiritual welfare of the Indian. Rundle describes his "exceeding kindness," and "great service in facilitating the work of the Mission. The Rocky Mountain Crees have been instructed by him for some time past and he has rendered very useful service amongst them. Whilst I was at his Fort we had regular family worship . . . and also services on the Thursday evenings. All the services there were well attended."<sup>(54)</sup>

Harriott interpreted for Rundle, read Prayers and took charge of the Indians to whom Rundle was ministering when the latter itinerated, translated both Scripture and liturgy, and was altogether helpful and encouraging. While there were differences of opinion, they were never serious.<sup>(55)</sup> Through the eight years of his Journal entries, Rundle consistently and affectionately refers to "my dear friend," "my tried friend," "my warm and sincere friend," and similar appellations.

There were other officers to whom Rundle related well: Archibald McDonald who spent the winter of 1844-45 at Edmonton; George McDougall

of Lesser Slave Lake.<sup>(56)</sup> Pannekoek quite rightly states that "by 1848 the Company's officers and Rundle were very close friends."<sup>(57)</sup>

Yet Rundle did not concentrate his activities exclusively on the leadership of the Company. He was concerned for all and sundry, and whenever practical had Prayers and services translated into French as well as the native languages, for frequently the Company's rank and file were Canadiens or Indians. Occasionally, when a Gaelic-speaking interpreter was available, he also sought to reach the "raw Scotchmen" as he called them, who did not hear him gladly. Rundle's concern therefore, was not limited to any one stratum of fur trade society, but he sought to be all things to all men. In his final instructions to Ben Sinclair, he wrote: "Try to bring as many sorts as you can to Xt [sic]; preach not only by word but by example."<sup>(58)</sup> Rundle, artlessly but with sincerity, followed his own advice.

Nevertheless, Rundle's relationship with the Company and its employees, in spite of many positive aspects, also had its darker side. He, like his missionary colleagues, was not unduly reticent about impugning marriage according to the custom of the country although it formed no fetish in his thinking.<sup>(59)</sup> And in John Rowand, Rundle did not have the most virtuous of traders as his resident Officer. Rowand for example, refused to have his union with Louise Umfreville solemnized by a priest although several opportunities existed well before Rundle's arrival.<sup>(60)</sup> On her death he described her as "my old friend the Mother of all my children," while his seven offspring he recorded as "reputed." In spite of what Rundle must have considered Rowand's blatant immorality, there is no censorious or judgmental word even in the privacy of his

Journal, and references to Mrs. Rowand are affectionate reflecting only on her kindness. (61)

As Rundle kept his opinions regarding Rowand's marital practices to himself, so he also acted with restraint in the matter of Sabbath observance. Unlike Evans' unequivocal refusal to travel on this day, Rundle, Barnley and Mason adjusted to Hudson's Bay Company policy, especially during the first years. (62) When Rundle decided to alter his policy he described his experience in a letter to Evans:

I have invariably stopped the Sunday in travelling for the last two and a half years. I had difficulty in doing this when I went to Lesser Slave Lake in the fall of 1842. . . The men said that Mr. Rowand had directed them to leave me behind if I stopped on the road. . . and I said I should say nothing to them about stopping but that if they intended to proceed on the Sabbath that I should leave them the Saturday and try to travel as far up the river in one day as they would go in two. . . We all stopped, however, and I believe not a moment was lost by it. . . I said nothing to Mr. Rowand about it. . . . (63)

By being quietly stubborn instead of abrasively self-righteous, Rundle, in sharp contrast to his Superintendent, managed neither to alienate the Company nor to compromise his own convictions.

Rundle was, however, keenly aware that missionary activity and its effects on the Indian was scrutinized very critically by those in authority. (64) Cognizant of Rowand's attitude, Rundle wrote to Evans:

Mr. Rowand has been producing complaints against the Indians in consequence of their idleness and he thinks I believe that things in that respect are different than they once were. I heard him say, "They must work and pray too." I have not heard him say that he attributes their idleness to their change in religious affairs and I do not like consequently to say more about it. For my part I have endeavored to steer a neutral course with the Indians with respect to their connection with the Honourable Company but have felt it my duty to enforce the Apostolic injunction, "Not slothful in business, fervent in spirit serving the Lord." . . . my aim has been to say as little as possible with the Indians respecting their connection with the Honourable Company. . . Mr. Rowand informed me that he was informed that the Indians at Norway House had stated that [they] could not pray aright in the woods. Mr. Ross I hear, has stated that the returns of the settled Indians at his place are not equal to those in the woods. (65)

In seeking to "steer a neutral course with the Indians with respect to their connection with the Honourable Company" Rundle was again adopting an attitude at variance with that of his colleagues, especially Evans. The latter openly advised the Indians that they were not bound to work on Sundays", and that if required to do so, it will be meritorious on their part to disobey. . . orders -"<sup>(66)</sup> Thereupon Donald Ross angrily accused Evans of seeking to "sap" the allegiance of influential natives to the Company, and of "brewing mischief" among the rank and file.<sup>(67)</sup>

Evans of course felt justified in his actions. He complained to his brother of the Company's greed, which "so impoverished the country that it is utterly impossible for the poor Indian to procure a subsistence by the hunt," and decried the Governor's resistance to anything which would affect the profits of the trade.<sup>(68)</sup> Others, like Cockran, had long shared this view,<sup>(69)</sup> while West, in addition, lamented the generally "barbarous" treatment of Indian women.<sup>(70)</sup>

Whatever the truths in these charges and counter-charges, it is evident that the triangular relationship between missionary, Indian, and trader was a fragile one, its problems compounded by the residence of most missionaries within the walls of the fort and holding the position of Chaplain. Inevitably the Indian viewed the missionary as an extension of the Company, and almost as inevitably the trader regarded the minister as interfering with the Indian.

To counter this vexation, the missionaries diligently sought to persuade the Indians that they (the clergy) were not traders in any guise whatsoever,<sup>(71)</sup> while a few, notably Rundle and to some extent Evans, spent no more time than absolutely required within the confines

of the trading post.<sup>(72)</sup> While persuading the natives that they were not innately connected with the Company was no easy task, reconciling the duties of Chaplain and missionary was equally delicate. Many traders had ambivalent feelings about the missionary living in such close proximity,<sup>(73)</sup> yet for various reasons they required their services: education for their children, the required Chaplaincy, and obligations to Indians for social and political reasons.<sup>(74)</sup> When the clergy therefore spent a considerable portion of their time in missionary duties, tensions were created between the two obligations. While the trader might complain that the Chaplain "thinks of nothing but tripping to see the Indians,"<sup>(75)</sup> the missionary might retort that little success accompanied his labours in the fort.<sup>(76)</sup> The tensions and workload were such that Cockran wrote to the C.M.S., "It appears both to Mr. Jones and myself that the separation of the duties of the Missionary from the Chaplain would be advantageous."<sup>(77)</sup> While the Wesleyans seem not to have questioned the Chaplaincy, their preference for stations outside the fort was generally evident, but to this policy the Company in the person of Governor Simpson, objected.<sup>(78)</sup>

There is also disconcerting evidence that at least occasionally missionary and trader saw the monies expended for Chaplaincy and evangelism from totally different perspectives: "We find Alexander Isbister testifying before the Select Committee of 1857 to what cannot have been a solitary opinion, that the annual grants to missions at certain places were moneys given to the missionaries personally, and intended - not necessarily accepted - as 'saps' to make them shut their eyes to many matters which occurred."<sup>(79)</sup> Since the support of the Company was in kind - transportation, interpreters, supplies and the like - rather than

in cash, this attitude does not stand under closer scrutiny, but may have caused misunderstanding nevertheless.

Tensions, and differences then, between the missionary and the Hudson's Bay Company existed on various levels, just as did compatibility and co-operation on others. It has been suggested that the geographical distance separating a clergyman from Governor Simpson could materially influence the working relationship.<sup>(80)</sup> Certainly this factor must be considered in light of the very negative experiences of Evans and West. However, men such as Jones and Cockran were just as subject to Simpson's immediate supervision and encountered no substantial problems; indeed, Cockran was his ardent supporter.<sup>(81)</sup> On the other hand, Herbert Beaver, far removed in Fort Vancouver, enjoyed disastrous Company relationships, as did George Barnley in Moose Factory.<sup>(82)</sup> While personal proximity to George Simpson, therefore, seems only a peripheral cause at best for missionary-Company conflict, the Governor's influence was certainly strident. As James Hunter contended, ". . . our missionaries will never prosper under the Company rule, and Sir George Simpson has done all he can to suppress them."<sup>(83)</sup>

Was it then that the Company wanted "tame . . . missionaries or none at all" - "lackeys" to act "as glorified Chaplains?"<sup>(84)</sup> Again, the accusation must be considered but it is far too comprehensive to be totally accurate. Certain traders in the earliest period of Rupert's Land missions could probably fall into this category - men like John Clarke at Red River during West's time and Sir George of course - but certainly not the majority, not men such as James Hargrave, Duncan Finlayson, J.E. Harriott or Donald Ross. And equally certain, the missionary whose crowning achievement must be "that throughout his eight

years as Chaplain to the Hudson's Bay Company he neither offended nor became dependent upon it. He accepted the hospitality and was grateful for the opportunity provided by the Company, but he remained free to exercise his own judgement" - this Robert Terrill Rundle was no lackey. (85)

Certainly missionaries were often a thorn in the trader's flesh with their baggage and their wives to be transported, interpreters, supplies and canoes to be provided, houses and chapels to be built. Often they were critical of Company practices such as the sale of liquor, marriage according to the custom of the country, work on the Sabbath, lack of piety among its Officers and men. Moreover, the missionaries were outsiders to fur-trade society. Except for William Mason, they brought in "imported" wives and therefore had none of the kinship ties binding so many traders to the country and to each other. (86) In short, they were an expensive and little-appreciated burden. Yet, because of circumstances in Britain involving keen interest in the obligations of companies to aborigines, and because of the religious sensitivities of some members of the London Committee, the missionaries were a necessity as well as an encumbrance.

With such possibility for tension therefore, it might well be assumed, that the underlying problem between clergy and traders would be structural; that of necessity their worlds might intersect but were basically at variance and could never coalesce. This is certainly true where mutual suspicions flourished such as that described by William Cockran: "We find the man who increases his wealth by the oppression of the Indians. . . looks upon us as a common enemy because we seek to ameliorate the condition of those from whom he has his gain." (87)

Yet missionary-trader problems were structural only up to a point. There were traders - H.E. Harriott, Robert Harding, George Barnston, James

Hargrave among others - who were fully sympathetic with the missionary cause.<sup>(88)</sup> On the other hand, there were missionaries who moved freely in fur trade circles: David Jones (even with an "imported" wife), William Mason after his marriage, Robert Rundle.

Therefore, while structure was no doubt a factor, it seems plausible to suggest that in addition the two most crucial factors in Hudson's Bay Company - missionary relations were personality and attitude in both trader and clergy, and circumstances.<sup>(89)</sup> These loom larger than Company policy or doctrinal position, for policy was ever open to personal interpretation by those in the field, while adherence to doctrine has through the ages been either harsh and literal or mellowed by love and flexibility. In the face of the latter, Company policy or personal intransigence could be accepted in proper perspective. In the face of legalistic rigidity, emotional martyrdom and antagonism flourished. Small wonder wiser heads in London counselled the zealous to "cherish in [their] minds a favourable opinion of the motives" of their associates.

Circumstances played a role not only in Company-experienced pressures which have been noted, but in the juxtaposition of personalities at posts, in marriage within fur-trade society, in the relationship of senior officials (i.e. Simpson and Robert Alder), even in such relatively minor areas as physical distance from Governor Simpson's presence.

Although structure, personality, attitude, and circumstance might be major factors in parson and post relationships, Officers frequently cited another cause for discord - missionary wives.

## 2. Clerical Womankind<sup>(1)</sup>

". . . imported [missionary] wives, fancy themselves such great woman that there is no possibility of pleasing them," wrote Governor

George Simpson, reflecting the disgruntled views of the majority of Company Officers.<sup>(2)</sup> Undoubtedly the wives of the clergy played an important role in Hudson's Bay Company-missionary relationships, and in the final analysis, their influence appears to have been almost uniformly negative.<sup>(3)</sup> The women were often lonely with their husbands frequently away itinerating;<sup>(4)</sup> they were desperately over-worked, having the care of children and household, visiting the sick and the aged, carrying responsibility for education both within their own families and for the mission school. Several also actively participated in translation work.

Small wonder few of the Rupert's Land missionary wives were robust or in good health.<sup>(5)</sup> Not only were they over-worked, they also produced off-spring at an alarming rate - Mary Jones, for example, birthed six infants in seven years - and when these children died as they so often did, in the North West as in Europe, sorrow inevitably took its toll.

While Company Officers frequently expressed scorn, disdain or open dislike for these imported wives, their husbands, publicly at least, appear remarkably devoted.<sup>(6)</sup> To procure a few extras to ease the harshness of their lives caused a considerable amount of the friction in the Hudson's Bay Company-missionary relations, for the wives were blamed as the cause of their husband's complaints and extravagances. It made a celibate clergy appear highly desirable. Letitia Hargrave burst out: "We are getting rather tired of Wesleyans and quite sick of Episcopalians. . . . The Catholic clergy here let them be what they may elsewhere are exemplary [sic]. The Indians see them living perfectly alone and caring for nothing but converting them and often they think more of such men than those who come with families and bully for every luxury and complain of every appearance of neglect getting literally furious on the slightest annoyance felt by them or their accomplished ladies."<sup>(7)</sup>

This derisive reference to "accomplished ladies" is indicative of the social opprobrium with which missionary wives were generally regarded.<sup>(8)</sup> With social position and class distinction as important as it was in Rupert's Land, the missionary wife was caught in a complexly ambiguous position. Her husband was neither a Gentleman in the Company sense of the word nor did he (or she for that matter) have connections within the hierarchy of the fur-trade's prominent families.<sup>(9)</sup> The Methodists, in addition, laboured under the onus of being considered socially inferior, of lower class. As Letitia Hargrave confided, ". . . I know I would never get on with a Wesleyan."<sup>(10)</sup>

As strangers within the gates, as outsiders, the missionaries and especially their wives were shredded by the gossip mills of this exclusive fur-trade community, a "small closely knit society [which] was by no means pleasant. . . . It was a society in which an outsider required tact, bachelorhood, or a humble wife."<sup>(11)</sup>

John West, first of the Protestant missionaries, had neither tact, bachelorhood nor even a wife, for he did not bring his family with him to Rupert's Land.<sup>(12)</sup> The territory, he felt, was too uncertain to risk a family of three children and a wife eight months pregnant, and although he was confident her "useful talents" would greatly aid in forming and superintending a school, Harriet West remained in the comfort of the Rectory of Chettle in Dorset while her husband fought his lone battles in the New World.<sup>(13)</sup>

Robert Rundle also arrived without a wife, and although he pleaded with his Society for a marriage furlough, he returned to Britain eight years later, still single. His English colleagues were more fortunate. Less than a year after William Mason's arrival, he announced his engagement to Sophia Thomas, a young woman of mixed blood from Red River. Mason rejoiced that the forthcoming marriage would "strengthen the

already growing affection "for both country and people, that it would eliminate the need for his return to England, but above all "it will be the means of removing many other inconveniences which are inseparable to a Bachelor doom [sic] especially in this country. . . ." (14) All these arguments were surely rather utilitarian reasons for marriage. However, from all indications and in spite of Dr. Alder's pique at Mason's dalliance in Red River during the period of courting - missionaries should "stay at home and instead of hunting for a wife hunt for souls" (15) - the marriage seemed a happy one. Certainly Sophia provided Mason with an entree into fur-trade society elite, for her relatives included not only Thomas Thomas, but John Edward Harriott, Letitia Hargrave, Alexander Christie, and others of importance. (16) Even James Evans spoke well of her, Simpson had favourable comments, and Letitia Hargrave, while deprecating her mother as "a pure Indian and the most notorious drunkard at Red River," allowed that Sophia herself "is very quiet and inoffensive." (17) She helped with the school at Norway House, visited the sick and performed the myriads of tasks expected from a missionary wife. But her greatest contribution was in translation, for with her knowledge of Cree she was an invaluable asset to her husband's ministry. When she died of tuberculosis shortly after giving birth to her ninth child, Mason mourned: "O how great is my loss and that of the nine poor orphan children. . . Yet in the midst of all we have much to be thankful for. She has been spared to accomplish a great work, the Cree Bible; and to bear such a testimony for Jesus among the heathen, by the patience with which she suffered and her zeal and perservering labours to make known the glorious Gospel of salvation . . . ." (18)

Jane Barnley could hardly be eulogized for her patience in suffering

or even for her persevering labours, in spite of her husband's ardent affirmation that "the heart of Mrs. Barnley as well as my own beat high with the hope of devoting ourselves to the work of our high calling . . . ." <sup>(19)</sup> Although she could be most affable, was apparently a successful teacher, and discharged her role as missionary wife, it was not long before both Society and Company were deluged with complaints. <sup>(20)</sup> Robert Miles fumed that Barnley's "studied system of arrogance, insolence and annoyance" were instigated by Mrs. Barnley, who had "no more consideration than the gratification of her own wishes, be that effected at whatever sacrifice and which her hysterics seem always at hand to force him to compliance." <sup>(21)</sup> "Mr. Barnley married and single are I assure you totally different personages." <sup>(22)</sup> The Barnleys, needless to say, aborted their "work of high calling" and in 1847 returned to England in a state of martyred dudgeon. <sup>(23)</sup>

While Mary Blithe Smith Evans was not the cause or even the primary factor in her husband's fall from grace, she certainly played a significant role in his problems with the Company. While ethical and doctrinal differences were of his own making, Mary's social antagonisms and increasing rivalry and animosity with the Ross women finally resulted in the Evans's move from the fort to the Indian village: ". . . our pious neighbours removed down to their new Establishment," Donald Ross reported to James Hargrave, ". . . the old Lady is quite savage, about what she calls being 'turned out of the Fort' - never mind, let her grumble . . . ." <sup>(24)</sup> In the considered opinion of Letitia Hargrave, the move was "caused by Mrs. Evans and her daughter's successful rivalry over Mrs. Ross and her children - For they were the derision of the whole passers by for their finery and exhibition of good education and knowledge

of astronomy . . . whereas Mrs. Ross and Jane did not know the names of the commonest stars . . . ." <sup>(25)</sup> And in another letter she comments, "Mrs. Ross's hatred of the parsons wife has reached a pitch." <sup>(26)</sup> Jealousy must not be discounted as a cause for Mary Evans' unpopularity, especially when the critical Lieutenant John H. Lefroy registered agreeable surprise to find her a "much more ladylike person" than he had expected, accompanied by a "fine handsome daughter." <sup>(27)</sup>

Lt. Lefroy notwithstanding, Mrs. Ross's hatred was joined to Mrs. Finlayson's dislike and to Letitia Hargrave's annoyance at Mary Evans' social pretensions. She was judged "dangerous," a meddling gossip, and a common garden thief. <sup>(28)</sup> Like Jane Barnley, Mary Evans was considered the cause of her husband's subsequent attacks upon the Company and Governor Simpson felt little sympathy for her when scandal removed Evans from his post. <sup>(29)</sup> Rather, Simpson believed she had connived "at proceedings which so immediately affected her own peace and comfort." <sup>(30)</sup> To this Dr. Alder reacted with indignation. He found it impossible to believe that "an English Woman, a Woman of spirit too, as Mrs. Evans is, would have remained quietly in her bed during these proceedings, and by her silence not merely connive at but encourage the sin of her Husband. . . ." <sup>(31)</sup> Yet it is not impossible. Mary and James Evans were a deeply devoted couple. Evans put his wife first in his priorities - "my duty is clear: to care for you first, next for the heathen" <sup>(32)</sup> - and she apparently reciprocated his affection. <sup>(33)</sup> However, she was often ill and may have felt it her duty not to discourage his sexual advances to other women. Speculation aside, the fact remains that the Evans' had no one in their vicinity with whom they remained on friendly terms - they only had each other. Husband and wife were equally alienated from

the fur trade society in which they sought to minister.

The wives of missionaries not in initial contact situations fared somewhat better than those already examined. This difference may be, at least in part, because they were Anglicans and as such more readily accepted than their Methodist counterparts. Even these women, however, were not immune to criticism or attack.

The first missionary wife actually to accompany her husband to Rupert's Land was Ann Cockran. A former scullery maid, she was disparaged by Governor Simpson as a dollymop with an "assumed puritanism" which "ill conceals the vixen,"<sup>(34)</sup> stigmatized by the catechist Roberts as "one devil," and charged with perjury by Recorder Thom in the case of Mrs. John Ballenden and Captain Foss.<sup>(35)</sup> Yet this same Ann Cockran also taught Sunday school and day school, shared her home as a church when necessary, bore five children, and assisted in her husband's native ministry. "None are beneath her notice," he wrote, "no tent or hut is too mean for her to enter into."<sup>(36)</sup> The Society also recognized her worth as a "true Missionary's wife, as important in her sphere to the spiritual good of the Mission as you in yours."<sup>(37)</sup> Ann Cockran alone of all the British-born missionary wives, possessed the physical stamina and the adaptability to serve successfully in the work to which she and her husband felt called.<sup>(38)</sup>

Mary Lloyd Jones, apparently from a respectable middle class background, arrived at Red River in 1829.<sup>(39)</sup> Like her missionary sisters, she kept boarding scholars in addition to all the duties of a minister's wife, yet she also entertained extensively, much to the vexation of William Cockran who charged the Joneses were "captivated by the world."<sup>(40)</sup> Although critical also of his colleague, Cockran attributed the primary

problem to Mary, for he concluded: "Cast your eyes upon a Clergyman that is totally a man of fashion, and there you have a counterpart of our unfortunate brother. It is a great misfortune, he has many good qualities, and has fine abilities, would he only devote them to God. He has been on a deep declension ever since he was married."<sup>(41)</sup> In spite of Cockran's disapprobation, Mary Jones functioned well in fur-trade society, gaining Governor Simpson's approval as a "good, unassuming woman," and Donald Ross's commendation as "most pleasant and amiable."<sup>(42)</sup> From the tenor of these remarks, added to those of her husband that she "went on easily and silently with the concerns of an establishment of Eighty individuals without their in the least interfering" with his duties as Chaplain and missionary,<sup>(43)</sup> it is apparent that she remained very unobtrusive, very self-negating, conscientious and obedient. Mary Jones bore six children in seven years, then died.

Although there are other missionary wives who could be noted - the young Mrs. James Hunter who died a fortnight after giving birth, Jean Ross Hunter, Mrs. Abraham Cowley<sup>(44)</sup> - suffice it to say that "clerical womankind" was at least considered essential to the well-being of the missionary by the male missionary. Barnley, for example, expressed the opinion "that the presence of a wife is almost indispensable,"<sup>(45)</sup> while Cockran assured the secretaries, "it would add much to the usefulness of the missionary to be married . . . ."<sup>(46)</sup>

Once again, Governor Simpson did not agree. The experience of the Company with missionary wives was generally not salutary and re-enforced Simpson's opinion that "missionaries are troublesome people. . . ."<sup>(47)</sup> That missionaries could be troublesome was enthusiastically endorsed by the clergy themselves, although quite naturally they believed only their

colleagues or their rivals to be at fault.

### 3. Holy Men of Different Orders: Missionary and Missionary

"That holy men of one order should not hold out the hand of good fellowship to holy men of a different order, is a sign of the times," wrote Alexander Ross to James Hargrave.<sup>(1)</sup> Rather than a sign of the times, it indicates Ross's unfamiliarity with history, for co-operation among men of the cloth has never been a hallmark of the Christian Church and no where is this more evident than in the zeal of its various clergy to proselytize. The missionaries of Rupert's land were no exception.

Perhaps not surprisingly, given the state of communications, the first point of irritation was often with the missionary's own Society and colleagues of his own denomination, particularly with the Wesleyans. Their main grievances were lack of understanding on the part of the London-based Secretaries, none of whom had ever set foot in Rupert's Land, and lack of direction. As James Evans, on being assigned to Rupert's Land, confided to his brother, "Mr. Alder is surely a curious fish, for I know no more than a blind man how I am requested to take charge of their missions. . . ."<sup>(2)</sup> Later, when the situation still had not changed, he expressed even greater frustration: ". . . the Secretaries not having sent me a scrap of paper [for instruction] . . . I am much disappointed and more grieved; they know no more of this country than the man in the moon. I will give you a specimen of their knowledge, when I tell you that last year they requested me to visit Saskatchewan, Lac La Pluie and Moose Factory and return to winter at Norway House, whereas to visit the former I must be absent nearly a year. . . ."<sup>(3)</sup>

The letters of all four Wesleyans are replete with similar bitter

disappointment in this lack of understanding and communication from the "reverend fathers," yet the three inexperienced and desperately lonely young Englishmen particularly longed for encouragement and instruction. Their discontent extended also to Evans, however, who, as supervisor, was expected to advise and reassure and who also failed to communicate with any regularity. Typical of the young men's discouragement are Rundle's laconic Journal entries for 21-22 November, 1845: "An express arrived from below and brought me - what? Why two Temperance (Bristol) Heralds. . .!! No letter from Mr. Evans. No box of clothes. No letter from Mr. Mason, nor anyone else."<sup>(4)</sup>

Evans, in turn, bemoaned that "his boys from England" were not "made of Canadian materials, they are Englishmen in everything; now an Englishman, take him altogether, is the most complete human under the sun, but for this Country, although something valuable might be lost in the cropping, I cannot but think that, for the forests of America, there should be just a sprinkling of something genuine, a taste for tools. And a taste for economy."<sup>(5)</sup> He labels his relationship with these raw recruits as "ludicrous and ridiculous. . . constantly half smile and half tear."<sup>(6)</sup>

Unfortunately, in the case of William Mason the relationship quickly degenerated to the point where there were no longer any half-smiles. Evans criticized Mason's conduct at Lac La Pluie,<sup>(7)</sup> while Mason did not hesitate to accuse Evans of "telling fibs, cheating the Indians, aspersing the Company and cheating him of his allowances from the Wesleyan Society."<sup>(8)</sup> Donald Ross believed that Evans "wanted to get rid of Mason with whom he never agreed very well, and . . . they had a furious quarrel which commenced about a calf or some wretched nonsense

. . . in the course of which he accused Mason of some rather unclerical and unmethodistical proceedings, among other things, that of kissing his daughter. . . ." (9) While the accusations flew, the rancour burgeoned.

It remains an incredible irony, therefore, that when Evans faced charges of immorality, it fell to Mason in accordance with Methodist discipline, to act as judge in the ecclesiastical hearing. Although he has been unjustly painted as the Judas in this unfortunate episode, (10) nevertheless the acrimony, the gossip, the ill-will engendered by the Mason-Evans relationship gives substance to the observation that "the unresolved root problems of isolation, individualism - and even rivalry . . . wracked the missionary force, depriving them of desperately-needed mutual support, and blunting the cutting edge of their mission. 'They were not enough a community in love. . .'." (11)

The C.M.S. missionaries appear not only to have enjoyed greater harmony within their ranks but also more adequate communications with their Society, although they also had muscular, individualistic Christians among them. William Cockran, for example, was not afraid to criticize his superiors vigorously when it seemed required. In a long letter to the Secretaries, Cockran scolded that they should treat a certain problem by committing it to God and "not as a dry matter of business. . . you seem not to have the growth of the Church of God so much at heart, as your own ease, the growth of your own purses, and families." (12)

Strong words from a preacher to his fathers-in-God.

Inter-personal relationships fared in similar fashion. The rift between Cockran and Jones elicited charges that the Welshman spent his time entertaining and attending "Pick Nick Parties," showing little concern for the Indian work or even for "Religion except in the pulpit." (13)

There were also other irritations among various of the Anglican clergy, yet the rancour and bitterness of the Evans-Mason discord was absent.<sup>(14)</sup> However, Letitia Hargrave spoke astutely when she commented, "The Romans keep their opinion of each other to themselves, and they seem the wisest, and I think will hold out."<sup>(15)</sup>

Although the initial point of discord was frequently between members of the same Society, that between missionaries from different denominations was generally more uncompromising and severe. ". . .the Priests and the Church Missionaries have been stirring themselves actively of late, and both seem equally hostile to the Wesleyans, wherever they go they re-marry and re-baptise those who had previously undergone a ceremony by Mr. Evans. . . ."<sup>(16)</sup> So wrote Donald Ross to George Simpson, while Letitia Hargrave confirmed the spiritual carnage when she confided to her father that Mr. Smithurst was "rechristening" those baptised by Evans, that "the Wesleyans revile the Roman Catholic clergy," and that, except for Cockran, the missionaries all left the Settlement "to combat each other amongst the Indians. . . Mr. Evans says his instructions are to go only where there is no minister of another sect, but the others hate him with all their heart."<sup>(17)</sup>

The weapons used by the missionaries to combat each other are described by James Evans: the Catholics informed the natives that "theirs was the only true religion, that the country would soon become French and that then the only religion would be the Rom.Cath. [sic] and the Episcopalians preached from their old text. 'Ours is the Queen's religion' we endeavoured to pursue the good old way and preach XT [sic] and him crucified. . . ."<sup>(18)</sup> If such was Evans' considered opinion, that the Wesleyans alone preached Christ crucified, then small wonder the others

"hated him with all their heart."

This destructive state of affairs had its roots not so much in basic doctrine as in opposing methodology, yet each body claimed for itself preferred entrance to the Kingdom of God. Although there was " a school in the Church of England that absolutely unchurched every other communion, and regarded all Dissenters as outside the pale of salvation,"<sup>(19)</sup> it does not appear that the Anglicans in the Hudson's Bay territory subscribed to such exclusiveness. As John Smithurst wrote to the C.M.S., "I regret very much having to lay before you these facts [problems with Wesleyan baptismal views] for I had hoped the Wesleyan missionaries and ourselves would have co-operated cordially in forwarding the great cause of our Heavenly Master, but since their views and proceedings are so much opposed to what we deem right, we cannot of course adopt them. And they on the other hand appear very unlikely to adopt our plans."<sup>(20)</sup>

As a consequence Smithurst and James Hunter especially became antagonistic toward the Wesleyans,<sup>(21)</sup> to the point where the C.M.S. itself felt constrained to remonstrate. When Smithurst sent the Society a copy of the report he had submitted to the Hudson's Bay Company, Richard Davies, a Secretary, replied: ". . . allow me to say. . . that there are one or two expressions in your letter to the Hudson's Bay Company which on reconsideration you would wish you had omitted. Everything bordering upon harshness of expression or imputation of motives should be most carefully avoided. This is another of the evils of controversy. O that the time were come when there was only one contest between those who bear the christian name, viz. who should love the Saviour most and who should serve him best!"<sup>(22)</sup>

The situation was distressful and embarrassing also for Henry Budd,

who was James Evans' close friend. To prove his regard, Budd asked the Methodist to baptize his son. "I know not what Mr. Cockran will say to this but it was at Mr. Budd's own request," wrote Evans to his wife. (23)

With the removal of Evans, co-operation between the Wesleyans and Anglicans improved remarkably, possibly because William Mason was less aggressive in his evangelism than Evans. By 1848 Mason called the attention of the Society to "the truly catholic and Christian feeling" in which Smithurst and Hunter visited Rossville and celebrated the Sabbath with the Methodists, "a day long to be remembered for the union and brotherly love manifested by soldiers of Christ belonging to the same army, though enrolled in different departments." (24)

While Wesleyans and Anglicans might well from henceforth march in time to "Onward Christian Soldiers" neither could or would concede that Roman Catholics possibly also formed part of the Lord's army. "Had there been a lively sense of Christian community among the early missionaries. . . the harshness and isolation of their situation might not have weighed so heavily. But that koinonia was lacking, and with it, a shared sense of mission." (25) Never was this truth more flagrant than in the relationship between Catholic and Protestant in Rupert's Land from 1820 to 1850.

The antipathy, of course, was unique neither to this time nor to this place. As Kenneth Latourette has aptly said, "Christianity has been the most quarrelsome of religions. No other faith has shown so many acrimonious divisions." (26) Initially, however, very sanguine hopes had been entertained by Lord Selkirk on the possibility of co-operation between Protestant and Catholic in Rupert's Land. On 30 December, 1819, anticipating John West's arrival, he wrote to Bishop

Plessis:

Although I have not seen personally the Anglican clergyman that is destined for the Red River, I have spoken very urgently with one of my friends, who is also a friend of the clergyman, asking him to recommend strongly to him to use moderation in his remarks on Catholicism and not to become involved in matters that concern only Catholics. I have been informed that he appears to appreciate the weight of this advice, only expressing fears of the proselyting spirit that in England is usually attributed to Catholic priests. But I shall not fail to tell him on his arrival in Red River he will find that the Catholic missionaries are busy instructing the Indians and reclaiming their own stragglers. . . , and that the fundamental duties of their mission do not allow them time, even if they had the disposition, to trouble the consciences of Christians of other sects. As soon as he is reassured on this point, I do not doubt that the missionaries will find in this clergyman a sincere willingness to further as far as possible the good work in which they are engaged, and to restrain within the bounds of Christian charity all the colonists of Red River. (27)

Fortunately, he was not aware of the Bishop's reaction when Plessis in turn wrote to Father Dumoulin: ". . . be on guard against the fanatical zeal with which this kind of person is sometimes seized, and which could do much detriment to your flock." (28) Dumoulin took heed, advising Father Destroismasons, who had been approached by West for French language instruction, "to make use of him to learn English, but in such a way as not to teach him French. . . ." (29) The Catholics saw West's presence as an evil retarding the progress of Christianity, (30) and when he, with peculiar lack of basic sensitivity, asked Dumoulin for a contribution to the newly-organized Bible Society the priest castigated "that fanatic" and his "fundamentally heretical and subversive" organization. (31) It seems that at this juncture the relationship between West and the Roman Catholics abruptly changed for the worse.

An outright rupture occurred with the arrival of Swiss settlers in Red River and the subsequent refusal of priests to solemnize marriages between their adherents and Swiss Protestants. When West did so, the

hierarchy "expressed an opinion that a Catholic could not be present, even as a witness, 'sine culpa' when I performed the marriage ceremony, 'inter Catholicos et Hoereticos'." (32) Further aggravations followed until West exploded in wrath, "I thank God that I am a Protestant against such idolatry and ecclesiastical tyranny!" (33) Doubtless the priest reciprocated the feeling.

While this initial encounter has been discussed in some detail, it is representative of what occurred throughout Rupert's Land when Protestants and Catholics worked contiguously. As William Mason confided to James Evans, ". . . our greatest enemy is Romanism. . .," (34) and again, "Shall Popish superstition and anti-Christ be more zealous in the propagation of error than christians are of the truth?" (35) Assuredly, this was not a "community in love." Still there were occasional although very rare exceptions, such as Robert Rundle's friendship with the witty Belgian Jesuit, Pierre Jean De Smet. (36)

De Smet arrived at Rocky Mountain House in October, 1845, and at his departure some months later, Rundle wrote a report of their relationship in his Journal: "I found him very agreeable and we parted with each other when we left on very friendly terms. He did not interfere with my Indians at all, though he had an opportunity of doing so. I met him again at Edmonton later, where we passed a part of the winter together, and before we parted he gave me a letter of introduction to his brother in Belgium. Perhaps a Roman Catholic Priest and a Wesleyan Missionary never before met and parted on such good terms." (37)

What Rundle omits in this recital is the anecdotes they exchanged, the arguments, the late nights of talking, but above all, the offer he made to Mr. Harriott to share part of a service with the priest. (38)

Although this event did not materialize and Rundle withdrew when the trader made a counter proposal the following week ("I could not agree in consequence of the worship paid to Virgin Mary"), the two clergy parted with prayers and the utmost amiability.<sup>(39)</sup> Certainly this friendship was unique in a general atmosphere of antagonism and mistrust, and one which appears to have influenced Rundle's attitude to the priests, Fathers Bourassa and Thibault, his neighbours in the Saskatchewan.<sup>(40)</sup> Although Rundle had already come to accept their presence and feel less threatened by them, the year after De Smet's visit he went to call at Lake St. Anne, their station, and while he makes no further comment on the visit, the act in itself was highly significant and most unusual, given the religious climate of the times.<sup>(41)</sup>

The Indians were of course aware of this distressing rivalry between Catholic and Protestant. J.H. Lefroy believed the natives "quite acute enough to take advantage" of missionary divisions by seeking for material gain - schools and the like.<sup>(42)</sup> But Donald Ross, much more intimately knowledgeable of Indian reaction, feared that "all this tends to unsettle the minds of the natives in regard to the missionaries and the religion they propogate among them - there will soon be as hot a religious opposition in the country as we had formerly about the Fur Trade."<sup>(43)</sup> When it is realized that Ross is referring to the bitter Hudson's Bay-North West Company rivalry, the full significance of his concern becomes apparent.

Paul Kane in his wanderings also discussed the denominational rivalry with Maskepetoon, a Cree chief who reflected that evangelization would not be very successful as long as "Mr. Rundell [sic]. . . told him that what he preached was the only true road to heaven, and Mr. Hunter

told him the same thing, and so did Mr. Thebo, and as they all three said that the other two were wrong, and as he did not know which was right, he thought they ought to call a council amongst themselves, and that then he would go with them all three; but that until they agreed he would wait."<sup>(44)</sup>

The general Indian attitude was to wait, not necessarily for the same results as the shrewd Maskepetoon, but rather to see who would win this power struggle: "He whose medicine is strongest gets the victory." It reduced the missionary in an Indian's eyes to the same level as that of medicine men, who also disputed and engaged in petty feuds.<sup>(45)</sup>

As for the effect of the rivalry on Hudson's Bay Company personnel, the matter of Thomas Corcoran and George Barnley is a case in point. Corcoran, a Catholic and Barnley enjoyed good rapport, even to the extent of joining together in family prayers, until one day they became involved in a long discussion on Catholicism. This polemic resulted in Corcoran declining further attendance at worship and sending the following note to Barnley: "When I think that you would refuse to be present were a Roman Catholic Priest officiating, that you say a Priest of that persuasion cannot show the way to Heaven, and that probably my forefathers for sixteen centuries have all gone to perdition, I do not see how I can attend." Barnley comments, "To the first part I made no reply being conscious it would countenance idolatry. . . My previous convictions have been strengthened and my hostility to this apostacy confirmed."<sup>(46)</sup>

Truly, Protestants and Catholics were not a "community in love"; they did not hold out the hand of fellowship to holy men of a different order. Indeed, it seemed difficult at times for them even to extend the hand of fellowship to other men whom they had come to serve - non-missionary

Europeans.

#### 4. Missionary and Settler

In sharp contrast to the American missionary experience the Rupert's Land clergy in this study encountered settlers only at Red River.<sup>(1)</sup> Before arriving at Norway House, however, James Evans met with a Canadian frontier community while on a mission tour of the Lake Huron area and retained very negative impressions of its impact on the Indian population. He describes how "during Divine service [in the Indian chapel] . . .some of the white civilized persons were carousing, to the no small annoyance of their once savage neighbours; and one mounted on a stump was heard vociferating, 'Come here, Indians, come and take some whiskey'."<sup>(2)</sup> In conversation with the natives, Evans observed "that those who reside in the vicinity of whites, or the Catholic settlements, are most opposed to Christianity, and say 'We are now as good as your drunken Christians.' While those from Lake Superior, and the far West, are unprejudiced and open to conviction . . ."<sup>(3)</sup> Evans' experiences with settlers closely paralleled those of his American brethren and he concluded, as did they, that most white influence was pernicious and the less contact the native had with them the more likely he was to give the Gospel a favourable hearing.<sup>(4)</sup>

John West echoed this opinion. He wrote, "The Indians have been greatly corrupted in their simple and barbarous manners by their intercourse with Europeans. . . ."<sup>(5)</sup> Certainly his initial reaction to the colony at Red River was completely disapproving, for those he saw appeared to him "in a wild and hunter-like state," little law and order was in evidence, and the resident Europeans (he concluded), were given

to "infidelity and vicious habits."<sup>(6)</sup>

It may be argued that these were merely the views of a religious prude and bigot. However, Andrew Bulger, Governor of Assiniboia, voiced his contempt much more strongly than West, insisting that "the greater part of our population . . . are sunk in vice and depravity, and daring enough to despise our laws. . . ." He called them "a den of thieves," "dishonest paupers," "the most worthless of God's creatures in one of the most miserable countries on the face of the earth - for such, at present, is the Red River."<sup>(7)</sup> Even the less-than-pure Simpson commented on the "vicious" habits of the people,<sup>(8)</sup> while Alexander Ross refers to "the barbarous spirit of those disorderly times."<sup>(9)</sup>

In spite of such pessimism and gloom, there were also very positive elements in the colony. Red River differed significantly from frontier settlements in both Upper Canada and the American West, mainly because of the various components of its population. On the periphery roamed the Indians, French-speaking Metis lived mostly on the east side of the Red River, while retired traders, their Indian wives and country-born children, Hudson's Bay Company Officers and men, and the Selkirk settlers composed the majority of inhabitants.<sup>(10)</sup> Disbanded soldiers of the De Meuron regiment became a factor after 1816, while a company of Swiss colonists arrived in 1822.<sup>(11)</sup> The Metis and De Meuron were Catholics and therefore under the pastoral care of the French priests, but for the others John West was presumably responsible.<sup>(12)</sup> Even a cursory reading of the first chapters of West's Journal presages the possibility of conflict between West and the settlers, for his sympathy and interest appear to lie primarily with the Indians although he acknowledges responsibility to the

colony as well.<sup>(13)</sup>

The majority of the Protestant colonists to whom West was to minister, were Selkirk settlers, Gaelic-speaking and devoted to their Presbyterian form of church government, but destitute of spiritual guidance since their Elder, James Sutherland, was forcibly carried off to Canada by the North West Company.<sup>(14)</sup> Understandably, when West, a Church of England clergyman arrived instead of one of their own as they believed had been promised, bitter disappointment erupted.<sup>(15)</sup> With West's uncompromising devotion to the Prayer Book and Anglican liturgy pitted against the Settler's equally stubborn exclusiveness, it is small wonder that his presence heralded ". . . rather the signal of discord than of consolation . . . and . . . produced nothing but religious strife and animosity. Attempts at compromise all failed, as Mr. West could not be prevailed upon to discontinue the English ritual, and the Scotch, . . . could see no spirituality in such forms. . . ." <sup>(16)</sup>

This undesirable impasse might have been avoided had there been less rigidity and more understanding on both sides. West could easily in good conscience have met the Scots at least partway, by establishing Bible studies as his successors did, and by modifying the liturgy.<sup>(17)</sup> That he did not do so is somewhat of an anomaly, for he writes in his Journal, ". . . we derive all true sentiments in religious subjects from the Bible, and the Bible alone; and . . . the exercise of private judgment in the possession of the Bible, [is] the birth-right privilege of every man."<sup>(18)</sup> While his position was absolutely untenable, it seems that West, while laying self-righteous unction to his soul, was not fully cognizant of the full extent of the discontent. He records that in spite of the Scots "prejudice against the English Liturgy, and the

simple rites of our communion I visited them. . . in their affliction, and performed all ministerial duties as their Pastor; while my motto was Perseverance."<sup>(19)</sup> His report to the C.M.S. for 3 December, 1820, reads, "My Ministry is well attended," and for 10 March, ". . . the ringing of the Sabbath bell now collects an encouraging congregation. . . ." West gives the impression of encountering a difficult but successful ministry and either was unable to perceive his unacceptability to the majority of Scots or else refused to acknowledge it.<sup>(20)</sup> The necessity for the active and continued intervention of Governor Simpson on West's behalf, even in such mutually beneficial projects as the erection of a schoolhouse and church, reflect the disappointing and altogether unsatisfactory relationship.<sup>(21)</sup> The end result, as Alexander Ross wryly remarked, was "that the Kildonan settlers had no minister and West had no congregation."<sup>(22)</sup>

Although the discussion here has focused on West's relationship to the Selkirk settlers, that with the country-born did not differ significantly. Racial consciousness increased considerably during the 1830's,<sup>(23)</sup> but during the time of West's tenure there was less social stratification and West himself does not appear to have differentiated one group of colonists from another to any great extent. Indeed, in describing the various component groups he notes the "large population of Scotch emigrants. . . , who with some retired servants of the Hudson's Bay Company were chiefly Protestants. . . ."<sup>(24)</sup> There is no mention of another category, although elsewhere he adds "Indian wives and country-born children" as an appendix to the retired servants. The conclusion therefore is that in West's view his instructions were to minister to the colony as an entity and this he endeavoured to do.

In 1823, with tears and the hope that he might "return to the Settlement and be the means of effecting a better order of things," John West returned to England after a "long, and anxious, arduous scene of labour,"<sup>(25)</sup> still, apparently, unaware that his lack of conciliatoriness was the root cause of his stormy and unsuccessful ministry.

With the arrival of David Jones, the emphasis of the Anglican mission shifted from exclusiveness, rigidity, and an emphasis upon the Indians who had absorbed West's greatest interest, to the settlers for whom Jones felt primary responsibility.<sup>(26)</sup> The transition did not occur immediately or without rancour. Jones sent a report to the Missionary Register (a copy of which made its way back into the colony) in which he accused the Scots of "an unchristian-like selfishness and narrowness of mind," although he praised the country-born for walking "in simplicity and godly sincerity."<sup>(27)</sup> Needless to say, the article rankled and caused Alexander Ross to comment that doubtless the reason for Jones' criticism was that he "found it a much easier task to dictate" to "halfbreeds" than to the stubborn Scots. Petitions and counter-petitions flowed to London.<sup>(28)</sup> For Jones it seemed a time of awakening and as a result of this "little breeze with the Scotch," he adapted the liturgy, made the prayer-meeting an essential part of the mission program, emphasized the education of the country-born and employed teachers from among them.<sup>(29)</sup> He also sought to involve the settlers actively in all aspects of the mission and although he, with others of the Anglican clergy, has been criticized as being too much concerned with the elite of the colony, Jones ministry and that of those others succeeding West saw a marked improvement in the relationship between missionary and "other whites" in Red River.<sup>(30)</sup> Indeed, Alexander Ross says of Jones,

"Mr. Jones was a fine and eloquent preacher; tender-hearted, kind and liberal to a fault. And so popular was he on account of the last mentioned trait of his character that he was all but idolized in Red River."<sup>(31)</sup>

It seems self-evident from this over-view that missionary interaction with "other whites" was often problematical. It was not an age which encouraged or expected cross-denominational co-operation, especially between Roman Catholics and Protestants, each of whom regarded the other as non-Christian, which makes Rundle's relationship with De Smet so outstanding. That Henry Venn specifically encouraged C.M.S. missionaries to work in peace with other Protestant denominations is an exceptionally far-sighted instruction, well beyond the tenor of the times, and obviously ignored by most clergy in Rupert's Land. Yet from Alexander Ross's remark, quoted at the beginning of this chapter, "good fellowship" between men of the cloth was expected by at least some traders, not to mention the Indians who were universally confused by the acrimonious behaviour they witnessed. However personality is always a prime ingredient in relationships and the very presence of these men - clergy and layman alike - in the wilderness with its attendant dangers and isolation shows them to be of sterner stuff than the common herd. Given the times and the added tinder of intense religious conviction, explosions of discord and fires of hostility can only be regarded as natural - not desirable, not a living testament of faith and love not defensible, but surely only human.

## VI CONCLUSIONS

## CONCLUSION

The missionaries of this study understood themselves to be bearers of Good News, and their work a spiritual ministry of healing and help to the native people of Rupert's Land. This is not how they have been understood by many modern historians, however, and therefore this thesis has adopted as its premise Bruce Trigger's conclusion that "if we are to understand the total (Indian) situation, we must attempt to achieve a similar dispassionate understanding of the motives of European groups, such as the Jesuits, who interacted with the Indians. In the long run, this may require as much effort, and even more self-discipline, than does an understanding of the Huron."<sup>(1)</sup> Replace "Jesuit" and "Huron" with applicable designations and the focus of this work is discerned, for it is an attempt to "dispassionately understand" the first contact Protestant missionary in Rupert's Land. And while not Indian history, it nevertheless should contribute to an understanding of the total Indian situation, as Trigger suggests.

Historical analysis demands both grouping and individuality in a study such as this, therefore the missionaries were linked, albeit loosely, within the general framework of Protestant evangelicalism and the 19th century British working class, with the expectation that similar men under similar circumstances would produce similar results. The hypothesis was found to be untenable. Instead, it became very clear that what separated the missionaries and contributed to their failure or success, was, in the final analysis, their individuality, circumstances and the structures of fur trade society. Not only did a chasm frequently exist between official policy and actual practice in mission and fur trade alike, but each representative in both groups tended to interpret directives in his own

way, thereby creating vastly divergent circumstances in different locales.

Among the missionaries this personal element extended even to denominational doctrine, for the demarcation between moderate Calvinist and evangelical Arminian is, at times, confused beyond recognition. Moreover, an examination of their personality, relationships, and methods reveal similarities between them to be only general, not specific. Clearly, as Cornelius Jaenen remarks, "not only character but also the attitudes of the participants" are important. "It matters which cultural representative [of France] came into contact with which representative of the Indians."<sup>(2)</sup> That it mattered in missionary-trader as well as missionary-Indian contacts became increasingly evident in this study also, hence the emphasis in seeking to understand the individual, "the human reality" - a legitimate historical exercise, for in the words of J.M.S. Careless, "Describing personal conduct and individual responses are equally essential to the full comprehension of social behaviour, while the penetration of character is basic in giving concrete historical meaning to abstract social categories."<sup>(3)</sup>

It became apparent also that early missionaries differed for the most part from those who followed after, for the former appeared more individualistic, and less doctrinaire insofar as cultural compliance was concerned. Their methods need only be compared with those of their successors, men such as the McDougalls, father and son (and their arch-rival Father Albert Lacombe), John Maclean, Robert Hunt, and Archdeacon John McLean to name but a few, who encouraged large agricultural settlements, extensive residential schools, and comprehensive cultural confirmation to European ways. But times were changing as settlements began to impinge on hunting grounds and the railway brought cataclysmic adjustments. Even so, early nineteenth century missionaries were, generally speaking, a breed apart, different in their social origin and educational background, as

well as in their attitudes and methods from those in the last half of the century. In this the first contact clergy of Rupert's Land conformed to world-wide patterns as charted by Stuart Piggin, Sarah Potter, and A.F. Walls.<sup>(4)</sup>

While this thesis is not a study in Indian history, the fact remains that natives cannot be separated from the missionary's ministry, and therefore tribal social and cultural practices become a facet in understanding that ministry. On the one hand, the tribes considered here were a roughly homogeneous group, with all except the Sarsi, of Algonkian stock. Closer examination, however, revealed myriads of differences, and it became apparent". . . there is almost nothing that can be said about 'the Indians' as a whole. Every tribe is different from every other in some respects, and similar in other respects . . . ."<sup>(5)</sup> In their relationship with the missionary, it is not surprising therefore to find varied responses, with relatively large numbers of conversions occurring among some groups (i.e. Swampy Cree), and virtually none among others (i.e. Assiniboine), for circumstances as well as tribal characteristics proved important factors. One conclusion of this study is simply that personal (and tribal) differentiations are of intrinsic importance in social history of this nature; that THE missionary, THE trader, or THE native is a generalization insufficient for a study of "the living community" - in this case, early 19th-century fur trade and missionary society.

The evangelists' "success was marginal," writes Frits Pannekoek, "with no missionary achieving the ultimate goal of self-sufficient and predominantly agricultural communities."<sup>(6)</sup> In the context of this study, Pannekoek's statement bears careful analysis. First of all, what is meant by "success" or for that matter, "failure"? These terms are obviously subjective at best and open to interpretation, but the criterion established

by Pannekoek is achievement of an ultimate goal, and this definition will suffice in this study also. However, to assume that the "ultimate goal" of these missions was a "self-sufficient and predominantly agricultural community" or even to equate Indian agricultural settlement with conversion to Christianity is to disregard entirely the stated aims and obvious objectives of the missionaries in this study, thereby doing them a grave injustice. Time and again not only statements of policy but concrete action demonstrated that the ultimate goal as well as the primary purpose for their presence was to preach the Gospel for the purpose of converting heathen. This goal was the evangelical clergy's Leit - motif and to suggest that they "imparted Christian and secular knowledge in exchange for conversion and other changes in the behaviour of the people" is to perpetuate a serious misapprehension.<sup>(7)</sup> For William Cockran the distinction between salvation and settlement tended to become somewhat blurred, but for the majority of these first-contact clergy the foundational tenets of the evangelical revival - faith, saving grace, good works - formed the basis of both their message and their methods.

When the convert, as a consequence of experienced grace, occasionally changed not only the God he worshipped but his entire lifestyle by putting away all but one wife, becoming literate, or even choosing to farm in addition to or instead of hunting and gathering, this alteration was seen by some as evidence of living faith, a demonstration of putting into practice New Testament admonitions given to all Christians everywhere, not as an acquisition of civilization without which faith was dead. For the few converts between 1820-1850 who changed their lifestyle in this radical manner, the cultural break with their own society was, of course, virtually complete. These were the natives who came to live in settled communities such as Cockran's at Red River or Evans' near Norway House. These were also

the catechists, teachers, and missionaries, among others. They were those of whom John Freeman wrote, "In personal piety, prayer and private devotion through evangelistic work among the unconverted and in the signs given at his death, the convert reflected his joy in this world and his awareness of a greater Glory yet to come. This was the ideal for all Christians, missionary and Indian alike."<sup>(8)</sup> According to this ideal the missionaries of this study were successful, for although the numbers of the irrevocably committed was small, their devotion was beyond dispute, while death-bed testimonies frequently were as radiant as the most anxious missionary could desire.

The great majority of converts, however, especially those under Robert Rundle's ministry, did not make this radical break. Rundle did not require extensive cultural changes, admitting, "I have not attempted to reform outward acts of morality but have levelled at the seat of all corruption, the human heart" (Journal, 21 July, 1840). In his district he established no communities, organized no churches, and gathered no children into residential schools. Instead, he travelled extensively with the natives, lived for long periods of time in their villages, and sought to win them by preaching and example. While many conversions that occurred as a result of his ministry may be seen as temporary aberrations, those that endured were certainly genuine, albeit frequently syncretistic. But genuine conversion and syncretistic practice are not necessarily mutually exclusive, witness the conversion of Constantine for but one example.<sup>(9)</sup> As Augustine reflected, ". . . wisdom is not approached by only one way; each man according to his capacity grasps the one God, just as eyesights may differ in power to see a bright light."<sup>(10)</sup>

In view of authentic and lasting Indian conversions, therefore, this thesis takes exception to the concept expressed by Howard Harrod, an

American scholar, that the "penetration of Christianity into the center of Indian life and thought was impossible. And from this point of view of the grand missionary intention, there was very little success."<sup>(11)</sup>

While this observation may have some merit for the United States, continuation to the present day of an Indian Church in Canada with its roots in the evangelism of this period immediately casts doubt on such an assertion as applicable to our country. Not only did the Church survive but it grew, producing missionaries and ministers from within its own ranks. Although the missionary was admittedly troubled by the relatively insignificant numbers who converted and by the scores who strayed from the narrow path once it had been entered, yet his heart rejoiced in those who remained faithful in spite of opposition and especially for the handful who became catechists, teachers, and priests. Not only the Steinhauers and Henry Budds of this study but their children and their children's children, as well as the Ahenakews, the MacKays, and the Setters, the Sinclairs, the Settees and the Erasmus's and the many more who could be named, all gave efficient and effective service in the Kingdom of God. Christianity beyond any shadow of a doubt could and did penetrate deeply into the centre of at least a significant number of Indian lives.

Although the native ministry has not been discussed as fully as that of the British clergy, the conclusion of this thesis is that the structural problems encountered by both were infinitely more formidable for the Indian, resulting in greater or lesser degrees of "impression management". The sending Societies and most missionaries did not treat them as fully equal (although the Methodists more so than the Anglicans), Indian society regarded them with suspicion until each had proved himself worthy of respect and attention, and traders generally were less open to aiding and

abetting them in their work. In spite of this, the ministry of Indian evangelists was largely exemplary, and the survival of the Indian Church from its roots in this period owes much to these men.

The missionaries' contribution to native welfare in such forms as Cree syllabics and literacy must not be neglected in assessing the presence of the clergy among the Indians of Rupert's Land. Reducing any language to written form is an acknowledged contribution to learning and when this form is practical, adapted to native usage and still functional a hundred years later, it becomes a formidable contribution indeed. Translated Scripture, hymns, and liturgy were tools not only for the missionary but also for the Church which resulted from his presence.

One aspect of Indian-missionary inter-relationships which is often overlooked is that the native who became involved with Christianity did so largely of his own volition. All too frequently the missionary becomes "without any doubt the very dregs of the white invaders: 'They broke things up, they burned, they prohibited, they destroyed without rebuilding. These holy men did evil in the name of their God, and left those whom they claimed to save more vulnerable than they were before.'"<sup>(12)</sup> In juxtaposition to the image of this unsavoury interloper the native is depicted as "an essentially powerless figure . . . swept along . . . without any real hope of . . . influencing the character of the contact situation."<sup>(13)</sup> This view communicates not only a grossly erroneous impression of the missionary but also of the Indian, for while the missionary brought with him the trappings of a culture inimicable to the Indian's own, in the final analysis during the period under consideration it was the native who eagerly sought the man of God to come and stay and teach. The reasons for such initial enthusiasm have been demonstrated

to be widely varied, and might well involve more curiosity and self-interest than religious ardour. Furthermore, not all natives desired a missionary presence - witness William Mason's early experience or that of Peter Jacobs - but in any case, the situation in 1820-1850 was one of non-directed contact with no coercion possible, and it was the Indian who could and did decide whether or not to accept a missionary presence and his teaching for whatever reasons. To emphasize only the cultural and religious changes introduced by the missionaries, be they minimal or gargantuan, is to present but half the picture, and to perpetuate an impression of the natives as "savages without intelligence,"<sup>(14)</sup> unable to choose for themselves the God they would embrace and how they would serve Him.

Because religion is such an emotive issue, it is frequently forgotten that native religions, even before the advent of missionaries, were not stagnant during the period of initial contact, but were already evolving in an attempt to adjust to new elements introduced by traders or by various intertribal contacts. Various adaptations occurred, some giving birth to revitalization religions or cults such as those encountered by George Barnley.<sup>(15)</sup> While the process of religious evolution was in some cases greatly precipitated by missionary contact, the evangelists were not the initial agents of change. Acculturation had already made substantial inroads after a hundred years of exposure to the fur trade with all its attendant ramifications. While preacher and priest brought with them a substantially different philosophy of life, the traders, especially those with children for whom they assumed responsibility, had in many cases already breached the cultural and religious barrier by teaching their country-born children and wives. This is not to absolve the missionaries of all culture-destruction for certainly it did occur. Even when the converter

sought only to introduce the Kingdom of God, in his very being and orientation he carried the seeds of conflict, and whether he desired it or not, he was the harbinger of change. Yet pressure for adherence to "civilization" was on the whole quite minimal, and as a result relatively little occurred during this period although it accelerated rapidly after mid-century.

Another conclusion of this thesis is that missionary writings added a valuable insight into native life. "Even when they wrote in pious horror or with stinging disapproval of what they saw, the missionary provided on-the-spot reporting of Indian life,"<sup>(16)</sup> especially in the area of Indian belief and religious practices. Because the observations of the men in this study were found to be accurate and because of the popularity of missionary reports in 19th-century Britain, the impact of this aspect of missionary contribution to knowledge is significant.

Yet what they saw and misunderstood of Indian religion and society, and what they failed to see, constitutes a most serious charge against the missionaries, for their vision was constricted by their own culture and the narrowness of their religious conviction.<sup>(17)</sup> In spite of good intentions this limitation of culture and conviction frequently led to the introduction of practices or restrictions entirely unsuited to initial contact converts, such as monogamy. There were other failures also, especially in the poor example of Christian love and respect exemplified by the hatred and fear all too often obvious between denominations or even among brethren of the same mission.<sup>(18)</sup> While the concept of love between Christians of various denominations may be argued to be a 20th-century perception, surely brotherly love is a Biblical injunction and therefore its lack as nefarious then as now. Henry Venn, years before his time in many

things recognized this when he urged C.M.S. missions to work peacefully with other Protestant denominations. Roman Catholics were obviously still excluded as beyond the pale. As Max Warren realized, one must "face frankly the fact that the missionary movement . . . was no pure stream flowing in crystal purity from the throne of God".<sup>(19)</sup>

In spite of such deficiencies in the missionary community, and in spite of the fact that their presence signalled the dawn of a new era, for settlement was inevitable given the world situation, this thesis concludes that in the final analysis, the missionary presence was more beneficial than destructive to the native peoples. In Michael Mooney's words, "the frontier itself, the advancing boundary between the cultures was always the zone of disease, despair, and desperation, precisely because it was a tumultuous zone between two Medicines, two conceptions of time and earth and reason, two systems of imagination and faith."<sup>(20)</sup> Given this situation, which existed whether or not the missionary was present, and despite all their faults and shortcomings, the initial-contact clergy still offered one of the most humane alternatives to the Indian in a mercurial physical and social environment. Where it was needed or wanted, they had recourse to knowledge and funds for agricultural settlement. They could and did side with the Indian against the settlers' destructive impact, and where this was no issue during the period under consideration, they helped prepare the natives for its advent by introducing literary and rudimentary education. In some cases they offered medical help and in all cases, spiritual solace. As John Henry Lefroy observed, "Christianity is the only remedy for the rapid decline of the northern Indians, and the terrible distresses they sometimes endure."<sup>(21)</sup> Although sometimes stern, arrogant, superior and

demanding, the missionary gave the Indian an alternate Weltanschauung in a changing society, and someone who cared and who was at hand. In the chronology of missions, it was, in W. Labarre's words, "a yeasty time."

## Abbreviations Used in the Text and Notes

C.M.S.	Church Missionary Society
G.-A.I.	Glenbow-Alberta Institute
H.B.C.A.	Hudson's Bay Company Archives
P.A.A.	Provincial Archives of Alberta
P.A.B.C.	Provincial Archives of British Columbia
P.A.M.	Provincial Archives of Manitoba
P.A.C.	Public Archives of Canada
R.L.A.	Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land Archives
U.C.A.	United Church of Canada Archives
V.U.L.	Victoria University Library
W.M.M.S.	Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society
A.H.R.	Alberta Historical Review
A.A.	American Anthropologist
A.A.A.M.	American Anthropological Association Memoirs
A.M.N.H.A.P.	American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers
Am. Quart.	American Quarterly
A.P.A.M.N.H.	Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History
A.P.N.M.N.	Anthropological Papers National Museum of Man

## Abbreviations Used in the Text and Notes

C.C.H.A.S.S.	Canadian Catholic Historical Association: Study Sessions
C.H.R.	Canadian Historical Review
H.R.	History of Religions
J.A.F.	Journal of American Folklore
J.C.C.H.S.	Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society
J.C.S.	Journal of Canadian Studies
J.R.A.I.	Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland
J.W.A.S.	Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences
M.M.	The Canadian Methodist Magazine
M.N.	Missionary Notices
O.H.Q.	Oregon Historical Quarterly
P.M.	Primitive Man
S.J.A.	Southwestern Journal of Anthropology
S.R.	Studies in Religion
W.C.J.A.	Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology
W.M.M.	Wesleyan Methodist Magazine

NOTES

## NOTES TO PROLOGUE

- <sup>1</sup> Quoted in Max Warren, Social History and Christian Mission. London: 1967, p.62.
- <sup>2</sup> Quoted in Cornelius Jaenen, "French Attitudes towards Native Societies." Old Trails and New Directions. ed. Carol M. Judd and Arthur Ray. Toronto: 1980, p.63.
- <sup>3</sup> See Wilcomb E. Washburn, "A Moral History of Indian-White Relations: Needs and Opportunities for Study." Ethnohistory. IV (1957), p.52 ff. for a discussion of these myths and their relationship to history. H.M. Jones, O Strange New World, 1964 calls the same concepts the Edenic image and the counter-image, while Bruce Trigger, The Children of Aetaentsic I, Montreal: 1976, p.9-10, believes that both these stereotypes "continue to offset most writers' views of the Indian. . . ."
- <sup>4</sup> Francis Parkman is the most noted advocate of this position, but for Canadian historians see George Bryce, A Short History of the Canadian People. London: 1887; A.R.M. Lower, Canadians in the Making: A Social History of Canada. Toronto: 1958; Gustave Lanctot, A History of Canada, 3 vols., Toronto: 1963, to name but a few.
- <sup>5</sup> Lionel Groulx, Histoire du Canada Francais, Vol. 1, Montreal: 1952, p.156.
- <sup>6</sup> A good example is Edgar McInnis, Canada. A Political and Social History, first published in New York in 1947, in which his descriptions of Indians are generally very negative, while Harold Innis, The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History. Toronto: 1956 treats natives almost entirely in terms of the trade.
- <sup>7</sup> A.G. Bailey, The Conflict of European and Eastern Algonkian Cultures, 1504 - 1700: A Study in Canadian Civilization. Saint John: 1937. The vacuum is, of course, in historical studies. Anthropology was an active area.
- <sup>8</sup> Bruce Trigger, Vol. I., p. 9.
- <sup>9</sup> Calvin Martin. Keepers of the Game: Indian - Animal Relationships and the Fur Trade. Berkeley: 1978. See also "Subarctic Indians and Wildlife," Old Trails and New Directions, p.73-81. See also Chief John Snow, These Mountains Are Our Sacred Places: The Story of the Stoney Indians. Toronto: Samuel Stevens, 1977.
- <sup>10</sup> Robin Fisher, Contact and Conflict: Indian - European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890. Vancouver: 1977, p. XIV. See also Wilson Duff, The Indian History of British Columbia. V.I, The Impact of the White Man. Victoria: Anthropology in British Columbia, Memoir 5, 1964.
- <sup>11</sup> Ibid., p.145 and 124.
- <sup>12</sup> John W. Grant, "Indian missions as European enclaves," SR (summer, 1978), p. 264.

<sup>13</sup> Note the current controversy in anthropology concerning Derek Freeman's attack on Margaret Mead. Derek Freeman, Margaret Mead and Samoa: The Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth. Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1983. See the debate in various issues of Anthropology Newsletter, including April and September, 1983; New York Times, 31 January, 1983; The Economist, Newsweek, Time Magazine, etc.

<sup>14</sup> The term, as Brown points out, originates with Gerald D. Berreman, Behind Many Masks: Ethnography and Impression Management in a Himalyan Village. Society for Applied Anthropology, Monograph 4, 1962.

<sup>15</sup> Ian A.L. Getty, "The Failure of the Native Church Policy of the C.M.S. in the North-West," Religion and Society in the Prairie West. ed. Richard Allen. Regina: 1974.

<sup>16</sup> H.L. Ross, Perspectives on the Social Order. New York: 1963, p. 205.

<sup>17</sup> Clyde Kluckhohn in Mirror for Man, quoted in H.L. Ross, p.98.

<sup>18</sup> The writer is aware that not all Anglicans regard themselves as Protestant, although John West and his colleagues did so, but because they did, and because this grouping here is set in juxtaposition to the Roman Catholics, the term seems justifiable.

<sup>19</sup> J.M.S. Careless, "Donald Creighton and Canadian History: "Some Reflections," Character and Circumstance. ed. John S. Moir. Toronto :1970, p. 15.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p.19.

## I INTRODUCTION: The Evangelical Awakening

<sup>1</sup> The area of Victorian studies is fairly bursting with activity and too much new material has appeared recently to bring this note comprehensively up to date. Yet, although Victorian Studies was consulted, and Laurence Lerner, ed., The Victorians. New York: 1978, as well as Norman Gash, Politics in the Age of Peel, Sussex, 1977 and Bernard Reardon, Religious Thought in the Victorian Age. London, 1980 were found to be quite helpful, the most appropriate sources for the area particularly relevant to this study still seemed to be the old ones, particularly Kitson Clark, although the others are quoted also. Therefore for a survey of these conditions and their relationship to the religious tone of the day, see: Elie Halevy, England in 1815. London: 1949; G. Kitson Clark, The Making of Victorian England. London: 1962; E.A. Knox, The Tractarian Movement 1833-1845. London: 1933 especially chp. 4; Eugene Stock, The History of the Church Missionary Society. Vol. I. London: 1899, and many others.

<sup>2</sup> E. Hodder, Life of Lord Shaftesbury, quoted in Stock, p.272. This description reflected England before 1833 when Peel established the police force and includes events such as the "Manchester Massacre" ("The Battle of Peterloo") in August, 1819, and agitation for the final abolition of slavery, among many others.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted by Stock, p.33. John C. Ryle (1814-1900) first Bishop of Liverpool, a noted evangelical and writer of pious tracts and discourses. See also Kenneth Scott Latourette, The Nineteenth Century in Europe: The Protestant and Eastern Churches. London: 1960, p.256 ff. for a succinct description of conditions in the Church of England.

<sup>4</sup> John Dillenberger and Claude Welch, Protestant Christianity Interpreted Through Its Development. New York: 1954, p.128. The 5 principal tenets were: there is a divine being; that this being is to be worshipped; that proper worship consists in moral obedience and piety; that obedience is rewarded and disobedience punished; that reward and punishment continue after death.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 122-123.

<sup>6</sup> See especially L.E. Elliott-Binns, The Early Evangelicals: A Religious and Social Study. London: 1955, with special emphasis on chapter 7, "The Revival Movements" and chapter 8, "The Pioneers." An example of the calibre of these people is found in Hannah More, "novelist, theologian, reformer of morals, evangelist of the poor, founder of schools, and a woman who treated on an equal footing with bishops, collaborated with the 'Saints' [Clapham Sect] by her writings and philanthropic activities" (Halevy, p.436). The terms "Methodist" and "Evangelical" are not synonymous, although both were manifestations of a "peculiar activity of the Spirit of God" (ibid., p.33).

<sup>7</sup> Elliott-Binns, p.418. The Tractarian movement developed slightly later but can also be regarded as a genuine awakening, although Bishop Knox regards it as "reactionary, guided by romanticism and desire to re-establish the rule of the clergy over the laity. . ." (E. A. Knox, The Tractarian Movement 1833-1845. London: 1933 p.53). See also Trevor Deering, Wesleyan and Tractarian Worship. London: 1966.

<sup>8</sup> Bernard M.G. Reardon, Religious Thought in the Victorian Age A Survey from Coleridge to Gore. London: 1980, p.29 Reardon sees this as the great weakness of Evangelicalism for when "the sacred pages were treated as an oracle" an exaggerated biblicism developed which became "narrow and naively reactionary." This was a basic difference also between the Tractarians and the Evangelicals although both were concerned with the purity of the Church and Henry Newman sought to draw Evangelicals into the Oxford Movement (Knox, p.53).

<sup>9</sup> Stock, p.36.

<sup>10</sup> The Religious Tract Society of London, for example was established in 1799. See Proceedings of the First Twenty Years of the Religious Tract Society: Being a Compendium of its Reports, and Extracts From the Appendices. London: 1820. For the Sunday School Movement see especially Thomas W. Laqueur, Religion and Respectability: Sunday Schools and Working Class Culture 1780-1850. New Haven and London: 1976. The British and Foreign Bible Society is discussed elsewhere.

<sup>11</sup> Dillenberger and Welch, p.134. Arminianism constitutes tenets formulated by the Dutchman Arminius, chief of which was a rejection of predestination, the concept that God decreed who would or would not be saved. The Arminians declared that Christ died for all, and obtained forgiveness for all, which could be received by faith. John Calvin's Institutes gives a comprehensive background on which Calvinism is based. To further complicate one's grasp of the theological situation, neither Methodists nor Evangelicals were of one mind throughout. Even within the Wesleyan tradition Arminians were at odds with non-Arminians, while the Church of England harboured in her bosom not only Evangelicals (of both radical and moderate Calvinistic views), but High and Broad Churchmen with Arminian or Anglo-Catholic views.

<sup>12</sup> The term seems to have originated with the Rev. Sydney Smith, the caustic Canon of St. Paul's Cathedral (Stock, p.42) and refers primarily to the origins of the group in Clapham. For further information see especially Ernest Howse, Saints in Politics: The 'Clapham Sect' and the Growth of Freedom. London: 1960.

<sup>13</sup> Henry Venn the first was one of the chief leaders of the evangelical revival, his son John took a principal role in building the C.M.S., and Henry Venn the second was for thirty years its "Honorary Secretary and virtual Director" (Stock, p.67).

<sup>14</sup> See Howse, p.79 ff. for other activities which included support for Wilberforce's efforts to abolish slavery and because of the group's munificence, the founding of the Christian Observer by Zachary Macaulay in 1802, a journal priced to bring it within the reach of even the underpaid lower clergy. It proved a genuine boon to the British public and to missionary interests.

## 2. The Church Missionary Society

<sup>1</sup> The reasons for founding of the Society are spelled out in great detail by Stock, p.64-65, where he also explains why the London Missionary Society was not desirable as a vehicle for Anglican Missions and the Societies for the Propagation of the Gospel and for Christian Knowledge (S.P.G. and S.P.C.K.) were not possible because of differing principles. See also R.W. Thompson and Arthur N. Johnson, British Foreign Missions 1837-1897. London: 1899, "Introductory," for an overview of the founding of various missions.

<sup>2</sup> Eugene Stock, p.57-58, the chronicler of the C.M.S., cites 1786 as an especially important year in the history of missions in general and the C.M.S. in particular. Among the twelve events listed are the landing of David Brown - the first of the "Five Chaplains" - in Bengal; the conception of a great mission to India by Charles Grant, William Carey's proposal that Baptists should consider their responsibility to the heathen (and was told by the chairman to sit down); and the passing of an act by Parliament enabling the Church of England to commence its Colonial and Missionary Episcopate.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p.68. This was the first resolution of the new Society and challenged not only every Church, as Stock points out, but every Christian.

<sup>4</sup> Stock, p.71, 72.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p.72.

<sup>6</sup> See Stephen Neil, Christian Missions. Vol. VI. London: 1966, p. 254-266 for examples of Martyn's devoted life and service. His influence on West is discussed elsewhere in this paper.

<sup>7</sup> Stock, p.239-240.

<sup>8</sup> See the background for this branch of the C.M.S. in Stock, p. 245 f.

<sup>9</sup> The first Principal was the Rev. J. Norman Pearson of Trinity College, Cambridge (*ibid.*, p.265-266). The term for probationers was three to four years. Philosophy, astronomy, English and grammar were later added to the curriculum.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p.266.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p.384.

<sup>12</sup> Stock calls this "fatherly, or brotherly, correspondence. . ." (p.253).

<sup>13</sup> Jean Usher, 'Apostles and Aborigines' The Social Theory of the Church Missionary Society, Social History. 7 (1971), p.29, 30. The Missionary Register commenced publication in 1813 with Josiah Pratt as

13 Cont'd

editor, and although not officially a C.M.S. journal, it was closely associated with the Society. However, there is no evidence that it was distributed to overseas workers, but rather to C.M.S. "subscribers and collectors" (Stock, p.128). Later the Register and the Intelligencer combined to form the Church Missionary Intelligencer and Record (Usher, "Apostles," p.30 n.5) which was sent to the missionaries. See also The Centenary Volume of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, 1799-1899. London: 1902, p.7 for a survey of all the papers published under C.M.S. auspices.

14 Ibid., p.32.

15 Quoted in Stock, p. 116 (ca 1814).

16 Usher, "Apostles," p.36.

17 Ibid., p.39. Usher here emphasizes the policy and attitude prominent from 1855 onward; although the basis was laid earlier the full development came later.

18 Stock, p.166. Usher quotes the Intelligencer to the same effect. ("Apostles," p.37).

19 Ibid. This will be especially obvious in the career of William Cockran.

20 Wilbert R. Shenk, "Henry Venn's Instructions to Missionaries," Missiology. V. 4 (Oct., 1977), p.474-476. Venn drew up these regulations in 1851. Usher, "Apostles," discusses these principles also but in different form. Frits Pannekoek, "Protestant Agricultural Zions for the Western Indian," J.C.C.H.S. XIV.3 (Sept., 1972), p.60, points out that during the first part of the nineteenth century the C.M.S. policy was one of paternalism, which changed during the second half.

21 C.M.S. Proceedings, 1817-1818, p.163; also quoted in Shenk, p. 483n.3.

22 See Ian A.L. Getty, "The Failure of the Native Church Policy of the C.M.S. in the North-West," Religion and Society in the Prairie West. ed., Richard Allen. Regina: 1974, p.19-34 for an appraisal of the Society's policy in the latter part of the nineteenth century, especially as the title indicates, in its native church policy as implemented by Samuel Trivett and John Tims.

### 3. The British and Foreign Bible Society

<sup>1</sup> Judith Fingard, "'Grapes in the Wilderness': the Bible Society in British North America in the Early Nineteenth Century," Histoire Sociale. V.9 (1972), p.5.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p.6. See also E.C. Woodley, The Bible in Canada: The Story of the British and Foreign Bible Society in Canada. Toronto: 1953, especially chapter I, "Antecedents," which outlines the background of the Society in Europe and Britain and its relationship to the Religious Tract Society and other missionary endeavours.

<sup>3</sup> John West, The Substance of a Journal During a Residence at the Red River Colony. London: 1824 reprinted New York: 1966, p.9, 73. These were supplied to the missionary for distribution without charge.

<sup>4</sup> Woodley, p.9.

<sup>5</sup> West, Substance, p.66; J. Orin Oliphant, "George Simpson and Oregon Missions," Pacific Historical Review: VI.3 (Sept., 1937) p.227. Fingard, p.11 and p.18 gives the date erroneously as 1820, quoting a letter of West's to the Society; but while the letter is dated 18 May, 1820, he did not board his ship at Gravesend until 27 May, 1820, therefore it must necessarily be a letter of intent rather than procedure. For British precedents, see Fingard, p.9.

<sup>6</sup> Grace Nute, ed., Documents Relating to Northwest Missions 1815-1827. Saint Paul: 1942, p.341. Dumoulin explodes, "That fanatic. . . established an auxiliary Bible Society. . . fundamentally heretical and subversive, and, in his fanatical zeal sent it [constitution] to me, in order that I might contribute something." See West, Substance p.73 for his version of the incident. Fingard, p.13: "the Bishop of Rosine . . . Alexander Macdonnell, the first Catholic Bishop in Upper Canada, did not find the French and Gaelic version. . . obnoxious. . ." (ibid., p.14; also p.15); for the de Sacy information, see p.13, and for the Society as non-sectarian, p.7, 16.

<sup>7</sup> Quoted in Fingard, p.19, who discusses his mission on p.26-28. It was generally a successful visit, as seen from West's own record, A Journal of a Mission to the Indians of the British Provinces, of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, and the Mohawks, on the Ouse, or Grand River, Upper Canada. London: 1827.

<sup>8</sup> Substance, p.73.

#### 4. The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society

<sup>1</sup> G.G. Findlay and W.W. Holdsworth, The History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. Vol. I. London: 1921, p.65, 73. See also William Brooks, "Methodism in the Canadian West in the Nineteenth Century," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Manitoba, 1972, p.9 ff. Brooks discusses the regulations p.73 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Findlay and Holdsworth, p.68, trace the growth of this executive from the General Superintendence of Dr. Coke.

<sup>3</sup> Goldwin French, Parsons and Politics: The Role of the Wesleyan Methodists in Upper Canada and the Maritimes from 1780-1855. Toronto: 1962, p. 59, 87. Frits Pannekoek, "The Rev. James Evans and the Social Antagonisms of the Fur Trade Society, 1840-1846," Religion and Society in the Prairie West. ed. Richard Allen, Regina: 1974, p.4 insists that Alder "was not interested in the western missions. At best they were a personal obligation to Sir George Simpson." It would seem rather that Alder was overly-anxious to personally supervise every detail of the far-flung responsibilities of the W.M.M.S. and therefore had little time for the northern off-spring.

<sup>4</sup> "Laws and Regulations of the Wesleyan-Methodist Missionary Society," Report of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, 1840. London: 1840, p.VII.

<sup>5</sup> Sarah C. Potter, "The Social Origins and Recruitment of English Protestant Missionaries in the Nineteenth Century," Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1974, p.145.

<sup>6</sup> "Laws and Regulations," p.161. The instructions are discussed p.161-164.

<sup>7</sup> In this connection, the following areas of study were suggested with corresponding texts: Theology (including among others, Wesley's Sermons, Treatises, Notes, Watson's Theological Institutes, Fletcher's Five Checks to Antinomianism); Philosophy of Language; Ecclesiastical History; Geography; History (including among others Gibbon's Decline and Fall, Plutarch's Lives); Logic; Natural Philosophy; Moral Philosophy; Rhetoric. See The Christian Guardian (21 April, 1847), p.106.

<sup>8</sup> "Laws and Regulations," p.162, emphasis theirs.

<sup>9</sup> "Instructions to Missionaries," Report of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, 1840, p.XII.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. XIII.

<sup>13</sup> Findlay and Holdsworth, p.163; Emphasis theirs.

<sup>14</sup> In "Additional Instructions for the Wesleyan Missionaries Appointed to the Hudson's Bay Territory" (V.U.L., "James Evans' Papers," dated 11 March, 1840), p.4 the rates of pay are: "a Single man 30 Spanish Dollars or 6 Pounds 15 shillings and no pence per quarter, and one Pound ten Shillings and no pence for washing and Stationary."

<sup>15</sup> "Instructions to Missionaries," p.XIV.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p.1.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p.5.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p.2.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p.5.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p.5. The social background of these missionaries is discussed elsewhere in this paper.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., p.6.

<sup>22</sup> Edmund Grindrod, A Compendium of the Laws and Regulations of Wesleyan Methodism With Notes and An Appendix. London: 1842, p.220 f.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p.20. Elsewhere they are admonished "to take as little meat, drink, and sleep as nature will require" (p. 339). Many of these regulations are taken directly from John Wesley's personal example as found in his Journal. See Trevor Dearing, Wesleyan and Tractarian Worship. p. 92-93 especially.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p.339.

<sup>25</sup> Evans mentions ". . . as a dessert, a pipe of tobacco or a paper segar" ("1836 Mission Tour of Lake Huron," P.A.M., BV 2813 E8A3); while Donald Ross to Evans, 31 Jan., 1844 hopes to smoke "a cigar with you on Friday evening . . ." (V.U.L., "James Evans' Papers," Add. mat. Box 1). Rundle's occasional drink is discussed elsewhere in this paper.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., p. 13-17. The outline for ordination is found in detail on p. 18 of Grindrod.

<sup>27</sup> Findlay and Holdsworth, p. 162.

<sup>28</sup> For example, his "Additional Instructions" (p.3) hold up James Evans for emulation in that he "has obtained a familiar acquaintance with the language, manners, opinions and customs of the Indians. . ." Again, Alder to George Simpson, 4 Sept., 1841, notes the necessity "of aptitude for the acquisition of languages, without which, as you are aware, a Missionary, however pious, would do but little for the benefit of the Indian tribes" (H.B.C.A., D.5/6). See also Alder to Evans, 21 May, 1841 (V.U.L., "James Evans' Papers," Box 2) and many others.

<sup>29</sup> Discussed elsewhere in this paper.

<sup>30</sup> William Brooks, "British Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Activities in the Hudson's Bay Company Territory, 1840-1854," Canadian Catholic Historical Association Study Sessions. V.37 (1970), p.21f.

<sup>31</sup> W.M.M., Aug., 1844, p.665. Brooks, loc, cit., maintains, "Their discipline remained but their power, in a spiritual sense, disappeared." Robert J. Loewenberg, Equality on the Oregon Frontier: Jason Lee and the Methodist Mission 1834-1843. Seattle: 1976, p.4. comments, "Theologically Methodism does not differ from Anglicanism." John Carroll, however, observed that Methodism had three "peculiar doctrines . . . its manner of emphasizing the doctrine of assurance, or the witness of the Spirit, and the possibility of 'perfecting' of that 'holiness'. . . (and) certain prudential means of grace of a social character, such as the class and fellowship meeting and the lovefeast. ." (A Humble Overture for Methodist Unification in the Dominion of Canada. Toronto: nd., p.3). On the side of the Established Church, however, there were some who had great problems with co-operating with the Methodists or anyone else. E.A. Knox, The Tractarian Movement 1833-1845. London: 1933, shows that "there were clergy who refused, on conscientious grounds to make use of the prayer. . . Give us all grace, to put away from us all religious dissensions. . ." (p.99) and "There was a school in the Church of England that absolutely unchurched every other communion, and regarded all Dissenters as outside the pale of salvation" (p.100).

<sup>32</sup> There were strange overtones to this disharmony. For example, the Rev. J. Stinson of Kingston, Ontario, claimed Egerton Ryerson was writing in support of the establishment of the Church of England (U.C.A. Winnipeg, File 177, Box 26 roll 23-24), while Ryerson called extracts from letters of the W.M.M.S. "the most erroneous, unfriendly and imperious of anything we have seen. . ." (Christian Guardian. 2 June, 1841, p.126).

<sup>33</sup> See E.H. Oliver, The Winning of the Frontier. Toronto. 1930, p.114-126 for the various unions and dissolutions; also John Carroll, A Humble Overture for Methodist Unification in the Dominion of Canada. Toronto: n.d., and by the same author, Case and His Contemporaries or The Canadian Itinerants' Memorial: Constituting a Biographical History of Methodism in Canada. Vol. I, IV, V, Toronto: 1867. See also Reply of the Canadian Wesleyan Conference June, 1841, to the Proceedings of the English Wesleyan Conference. London: 1841.

<sup>34</sup> See, for example, his letter to Ephriam Evans, 3 July, 1843, where he comments that Egerton Ryerson's D.D. degree should perhaps stand for "Double Deceiver, Dowing Street Dodger, or some such appropriate reading. . ." (V.U.L., "James Evans' Papers"). There are many similar remarks.

<sup>35</sup> Findlay and Holdsworth, p.471.

<sup>36</sup> Thomas Hurlburt of the Canadian Methodists succeeded Mason at Norway House while Mason served the C.M.S. at York Factory.

## 5. The Hudson's Bay Company

<sup>1</sup> See Max Warren, Social History and Christian Mission. London:

<sup>1</sup> Cont'd 1967, p.18. Elaine A. Mitchell, Fort Timiskaming and the Fur Trade. Toronto: 1977, p.175. See also Jennifer S.H. Brown, Strangers in Blood, p.10, for a note on John French who was with the Hudson's Bay Company at James Bay, 1683-1687.

<sup>2</sup> Hereafter referred to as "Committee" or "London Committee." Frederick Merk, ed., Fur Trade and Empire: George Simpson's Journal, 1824-1825. Cambridge: 1931, p. XII-XIII. See also A.S. Morton, A History of the Canadian West To 1870-1871. Toronto: 1973, p.631 for a discussion of the members of the Committee.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> J.W. Chalmers, "Education and the Honourable Company," Alberta Historical Review. XIII.3 (1965), p.25; E. Mitchell, p.175-176.

<sup>5</sup> Chalmers, p.25-26. Clouston taught only one year before going into trade, while Garrioch also found life in the service more interesting than teaching, and Matheson taught for only three months before the dispersion of the Colony by the North West Company.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Benjamin Harrison and Nicholas Garry, both Directors of the Hudson Bay Company, were enthusiastic evangelicals.

<sup>8</sup> P.A.M., MG2 A1 M189. In MG2 A1-16 M312 he writes to Lady Selkirk outlining his grant of land to the Church. See also G. Nute, Documents, p. XIII for a discussion of this matter. An interesting letter from Lady Selkirk in Nov., 1818, suggests to Lord Selkirk that she came out to Red River "with the mother of the priest. . . I will do 'mon possible' to send up the old lady. . ." (P.A.M. MG2 A1-16 M312). There is no evidence that either Lady Selkirk or the "old lady" ever arrived.

<sup>9</sup> John S. Galbraith, The Little Emperor: Governor Simpson of the Hudson's Bay Company. Toronto: 1976, p.64 puts it bluntly: "those who helped to promote the interests of the fur trade were assets; those who worked against these same interests should be given no help."

<sup>10</sup> Merk, XXXII. John West was the only missionary in this study to be caught so heavily between these opposing policies of the Committee and Simpson.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p.205.

<sup>12</sup> J. Orin Oliphant, "George Simpson and Oregon Missions," Pacific Historical Review. VI .3 (Sept., 1937), p.222 f.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p.215, paraphrasing Merk, p. XXXIII.

<sup>14</sup> Merk, p. 108f. See also Michael Ames, "Missionary Soil For Souls and Survival - Introducing Christianity to the Pacific Northwest," American West. X.1 (1973), p.30 who, commenting on this subject, writes, ". . . George Simpson, no praying man, now speculated that converting the Indians might be profitable, because an Indian who settled down

<sup>14</sup> Cont'd became dependent on the Hudson's Bay Company, too. (The Church of England Missionary Society would have been appalled)."

<sup>15</sup> Donald Ross to Simpson, 10 April, 1841 (H.B.C.A., D.5/6). Simpson certainly shared this prejudice. See Martha McCarthy, "The Missions of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate to the Athapaskans 1846-1870: Theory, Structure and Method," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Manitoba, 1981, for a discussion of the latter years of Simpson and the Catholic priests. See also correspondence between Simpson and Father J. Laverlochere and Father Poire for evidence of his earlier prejudice.

<sup>16</sup> E. Mitchell, p.185: "The Oblates, asking nothing more in the way of food and shelter than the country provided, and as ready to endure hardships as the best of the Company's servants, compelled his admiration and their cosmopolitan backgrounds made them far more congenial travel and table companions than the narrow Wesleyans and Evangelicals. . . Above all. . . they possessed the overwhelming advantage of having no wives or families to be considered or to cause friction." The change occurred gradually, culminating in the cited opinion ca. 1852.

<sup>17</sup> See for example, Simpson's instructions to Thomas Fraser (H.B.C.A., D.4/28 fols. 4d-5) and again 8 May, 1843 (H.B.C.A., D.4/28 p.51-52); to Joseph Beioley, 14 April, 1841 (H.B.C.A., D.4/26 fols. 15d - 16).

<sup>18</sup> E. Mitchell, p.179.

<sup>19</sup> Governor and Committee to Simpson, 1 April, 1843 (H.B.C.A., D.5/8 fols 191d-192). This is only one incident among several which shows the London Committee to be primarily interested in helping all missions regardless of creed, although it would be unusual, considering the religious composition of the Committee, if prejudice, possibly unconscious, did not at times dictate policy in favour of Protestants.

<sup>20</sup> Martha McCarthy, p.140 ff. discusses this problem in some depth, while E. Mitchell (p.181) notes: "By this time. . .the Catholic hierarchy in Canada had learned how to deal with Lachine and while preserving the outward amenities, proceeded to make its own arrangements."

<sup>21</sup> Although Roman Catholic Officers also occasionally made life difficult for Protestant missionaries. See for example, William Mason's experience with C.T. MacDonell (Mason to Secretaries, 9 June, 1841. U.C.A., Mic. D.8.1 #13).

<sup>22</sup> See Simpson to Ross, 1 March, 1840 (H.B.C.A., D.4/25) p.142-143; Mason to Secretaries (U.C.A., Mic. D.8.1 #13); Brooks, "Methodism," p.31; Pannekoek, "The Rev. James Evans," p.3; Pannekoek, "The Churches," p.120. For further information on the Aborigines Protection Society with which John West and James Evans were involved, see especially Raymond Cooke, "British Evangelicals, Native Peoples and the Concept of Empire, 1837-1852," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oregon, 1963. Cooke discusses the first fifteen years of the Society's life and focuses on its founder, Thomas Buxton as representative of Victorian humanitarianism and imperialism.

<sup>23</sup> 16 June, 1845 (H.B.C.A., D.4/33) p.4. See also Simpson to Alder, 22 Jan., 1840 (H.B.C.A., D.4/25) p.115-116.

<sup>24</sup> M.N. (Feb., 1841) See also Findlay and Holdsworth, p.466. This view is supported by W. Brooks, "British Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Activities," p.21, and by a letter from the Governor and Committee to Duncan Finlayson, 4 March, 1840 (H.B.C.A., B. 235/c/1). See also Simpson to Evans, 30 July, 1839 (H.B.C.A., D.4/25, fo.86) in which Simpson suggests to Evans that he take the matter of H.B.C. missions to "your Board in order that the subject may be discussed with the Governor and Committee. . ."

<sup>25</sup> The C.M.S. was reorganizing internally and expanding extensively and found itself in severe financial troubles which culminated in 1841-1842. See Stock, p.482, and The Centenary Volume of the Church Missionary Society, p.10.

<sup>26</sup> The commitment was made by Harrison in March, 1839 and brought to the attention of the Secretaries again on 4 Aug., 1841 by William Cockran, deeply resentful of Wesleyan intrusion (C.M.S., A78). See also Pettipas, "Henry Budd," p.44-45.

<sup>27</sup> See Evans' letter to Donald Ross, 16 April, 1846 (P.A.B.C., Ross Collection, Add. mss. 65, Box 2, file 41) where the decision of Recorder Adam Thom, decreeing the exclusive right of the Anglican and Catholic Churches to marry and baptize, is strongly contested. The decision was later revoked but at the time Church of England exclusiveness seemed legally defensible.

<sup>28</sup> Pannekoek, "The Rev. James Evans," p. 3. He adds, "The Committee had forced modifications of Simpson's anti-missionary policy in the early 1820's and might do so again." See also Michael Owen, "Wesleyan Methodist Missionaries in Rupert's Land 1840-1854: Educational Activities Among the Native Population," M.Ed. thesis, University of Alberta, 1979, p.60 who shares Pannekoek's view.

<sup>29</sup> Cockran to Secretaries, 4 Aug., 1841 (C.M.S., A.78). Also in Pettipas, "Henry Budd," p.45. See also Simpson to Cockran, 3 July, 1843 (P.A.C., MG19 E 6VI): "In answer to your inquiries as to whether the Company would have any objection to continuing the missionary establishment that has been formed at Manitoba and the school in the neighbourhood of Beaver Creek; I beg to say that no objection will exist. . . on the contrary, that we shall be happy to promote the objects of those establishments by our good offices towards them."

<sup>30</sup> See Pannekoek, "The Rev. James Evans," p.3-4 for a discussion.

<sup>31</sup> Pannekoek, *ibid.*, calls them "intimate friends."

<sup>32</sup> Alder to Simpson, 4 Feb., 1840 (H.B.C.A., D.5/5 fo. 243A). See also *ibid.*, p. 243d, 244.

33 Cockran to Secretaries, 1 Aug., 1840 (C.M.S., A.78), emphasis his. Also in Pettipas, "Henry Budd," p.45.

34 Simpson to Alder, 22 Jan., 1840 (H.B.C.A., D.4/25 fo 115-116). That Simpson negotiated these terms is apparent from the introductory paragraphs of the letter where he speaks of the interviews he and Captain Drew had with the "Treasurers and secretaries" of the W.M.M.S.

35 Simpson to Joseph Beioly, 1 March, 1840 (H.B.C.A., D.4/25 fo. 156) re: Barnley, and Simpson to Evans, 29 June, 1843 (H.B.C.A., D.4/29 p.13).

36 John McLean, a trader and Evans' future son-in-law, commented, "The great evil of these arrangements was, that the Missionaries from being servants of God, . . . became the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, dependent upon and amenable to them; and the Company were of course to be the sole judges of what was, what was not, prejudicial to their interests." W.S. Wallace, ed., John McLean's Notes of a Twenty-Five Year's Service in the Hudson's Bay Territory. Toronto: 1932, p.364. McLean was, of course, a prejudiced and bitter observer, yet someone as loyal as John H. Lefroy shared the feeling. He wrote, ". . . the real assistance given by the Comp. [sic] is very considerable: but it would tend to relieve the missionaries of some difficulties if they were altogether independent of the Company" (In Search of the Magnetic Pole, p. 153).

37 Committee to Simpson, 1 March, 1841 (H.B.C.A., D.5/6 fo. 66).

38 Simpson to Robert Miles, 29 Dec., 1845 (H.B.C.A., D.4/33 fo 265). Emphasis mine.

39 Evans to Simpson, "Friday morning," 1841 (H.B.C.A., D.5/6).

40 Views of this animosity range from complete vindication of Simpson (Pannekoek) to complete condemnation (Young, The Apostle, p.231) who says Evans was destroyed by a despotic, "jealous and unprincipled" Sir George.

41 George Barnley is the classic example in this thesis.

42 D. Ross to Simpson, 14 Aug., 1844 (H.B.C.A., D.5/12 fo.171).

43 John Todd, quoted in A. S. Morton, A History, p.626.

6. Indians of the Canadian West

<sup>1</sup> For general similarities between the tribes see June Helm, ed., Subarctic Handbook of North American Indians. Vol. 6, Washington: 1982; Diamond Jenness, The Indians of Canada. Ottawa: 1932, and John Milloy, "The Plains Cree," M.A. thesis, Carleton University, 1972, p.VIII and passim.

<sup>2</sup> Jenness, The Indians of Canada. Ottawa: 1958, p.125.

<sup>3</sup> Jenness, The Indians. p.169.

<sup>4</sup> Ruth Underhill, "Religion Among American Indians," p.99.

<sup>5</sup> Jenness, p.172.

<sup>6</sup> Milloy's thesis divides the Cree wars into three chronological periods: wars of migration and territory; wars for horses 1810-1850; buffalo wars 1850-1870.

<sup>7</sup> J. Ewers, The Horse in Blackfoot Culture. Washington: 1955, p.240.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p.241.

<sup>9</sup> The vision quest is discussed elsewhere; mention of it here is related to economic life.

<sup>10</sup> See Patricia Albers and Seymour Parker, "The Plains Vision Experience: A Study of Power and Privilege," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology. 27.3 (Autumn, 1971), p.203-233 who make a strong case for financial and social disparity among the Plains tribes.

<sup>11</sup> Journal entries particularly for 19 April, 1841; 17 April, 1841; 24 Feb., 1841.

<sup>12</sup> Jenness, "The Sarcee Indians of Alberta," National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 90, p.10, 11.

<sup>13</sup> Jenness, The Indians of Canada, p.162.

<sup>14</sup> Jenness, "The Sarcee," p.11.

<sup>15</sup> Albers and Parker, p.221.

<sup>16</sup> J.C. Ewers, The Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture, p.314. See also p. 240 ff, in which Ewers expounds in greater detail on the three classes, and Ewers, The Blackfeet: Raiders on the Northwestern Plains. Norman, Oklahoma: 1976, p.26.

<sup>17</sup> David Mandelbaum, "The Plains Cree," A.M.N.H.A.P. 37.2 (1940), p.222.

- 18 Ibid., p.224.
- 19 Paul Kane, Wanderings of an Artist Among the Indians of North America. ed. J.R. Harper, Toronto: p.144.
- 20 R. Lowie, "Plains Indian Age - Societies: Historical and Comparative Summary," A.M.N.H.A.P. 11. 13 (1916), p.884, 904 and passim.
- 21 West, Substance, p.36 especially describes this quite well, as does Rundle in various places.
- 21A See June Helm, "Introduction," Subarctic, p.1, 3 for a discussion of the problems with the word "tribe."
- 22 For further reference see: Alanson Skinner, "Notes on the Eastern Cree and Northern Saulteaux," A.M.N.H.A.P. 9.1 (1911), p.7-177; Diamond Jenness, The Indians of Canada, as well as other publications by the same author; James H. Howard, "The Plains-Ojibwa or Bungi," Lincoln, Nebraska: 1977; George Copway, Indian Life and Indian History by an Indian Author. Boston: 1860, reprint A.M.S.: 1978; E.S. Curtis, The North American Indian, Vol. VIII. Norwood: 1911; various books and articles by A. Irving Hallowell; Charles Bishop, The Northern Ojibwa and the Fur Trade. Toronto: 1974; and many others which will be referred to in the appropriate context. The most recent compendium on subarctic Indians is June Helm, ed., Vol. 6 The Subarctic Handbook of North American Indians.
- 23 Jenness, The Indians of Canada, p.277. In note 2 he comments that the Ojibwa "are often called Saulteaux, from their meeting place at the falls (Sault) of Sault St. Marie." See also Charles Bishop "Demography, Ecology and Trade Among the Northern Ojibwa and Swampy Cree," Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology. 3.1 (1972), p.58-67; A. Skinner, "Notes on the Eastern Cree and Northern Saulteaux," p.117.
- 24 Bishop's map, "Demography," p.61, depicts the Ojibwa as occupying the Norway House area and beyond, but Jenness, The Indians of Canada, p.309 definitely assigns this area to the Swampy Cree. See also Leonard Mason, "The Swampy Cree: A Study in Acculturation," Anthropological Papers, No. 13. Ottawa: 1967. And numerous works by A. Hallowell. For the latest Cree synonymy, see David Pentland in Handbook of North American Indians, V.6, 1981, p. 227-28.
- 25 Jenness, The Indians of Canada, p.285.
- 26 Ibid., p.317. For a useful description, see Alanson Skinner, "Political Organization, Cults and Ceremonies of the Plains Ojibway and the Plains Cree," A.M.N.H.A.P. 11.6 (1914); also by the same author, "Notes on the Plains' Cree," A.A. 16.1 (Jan.-March, 1914), p.68-87. David Mandelbaum, "The Plains Cree," A.M.N.H.A.P. 37.2 (1940), p.163-316.
- 27 Jenness, The Indians of Canada, p.317.

<sup>28</sup> See Skinner, "Political Organizations" and James Howard, "The Plains Ojibwa or Bungi." Henry Youle Hind referred to them in 1857 as "Bungays." For an excellent though brief discussion, see Jack H. Steinbring, "Saulteaux of Lake Winnipeg." Handbook of North American Indians, V.6, 1981, p.244 ff.

<sup>29</sup> West, Substance, p.63. The confusion of names, dates to early trader contact, for Alexander Henry the younger, in 1800 stated, "the Ogeebois are commonly called by the English Algonquins, by the Canadians Saulteurs, and by the Hudson's Bay Company servants Bungees" (Skinner, "Political Organization," p.477). For an excellent synonymy see David Pentland in Handbook of North American Indians. V.6, 1981, p.240-242.

<sup>30</sup> Skinner, p.477. This would put the period pre 1670.

<sup>31</sup> Jenness, The Indians of Canada, p.308. See also Robert Lowie, "The Assiniboine," A.M.N.H.A.P. 6.1 (1909), and various articles by the same author.

<sup>32</sup> West, Substance, p.34.

<sup>33</sup> Jenness, The Indians of Canada, p.314.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., p.316. Lowie, "The Assiniboine," p.8 says the number is unknown. See especially Arthur Ray, "Smallpox: The Epidemic of 1837-38," Beaver (Autumn 1975), 8-13.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., p.325. Jenness (ibid., p.127) indeed lists them as a fourth member of the Blackfoot confederacy.

<sup>37</sup> Jenness, The Indians of Canada, p.318.

<sup>38</sup> H.M. Chittenden and A.T. Richardson, Life, Letters and Travels of Father Pierre Jean De Smet, S.J. 1801-1873. Vol. I. New York: 1905, p.949 declare six tribes to belong to the Confederacy, while Oscar Lewis, The Effects of White Contact Upon Blackfoot Culture: With Special Reference to the Role of the Fur Trade. Seattle: 1942, p.39 lists the usual three and then comments that the Blood and the Blackfoot proper (Siksika) were more closely united to each other than to the Piegan, the largest of the three.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., p.319.

## II. Clerical Rough Diamonds: General Background

<sup>1</sup> I Corinthians 1:26-27 (King James Version).

<sup>2</sup> Rundle, 29 March, 14 April, 1840.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted in Jean Usher, William Duncan of Metlakatla Ottawa: 1974, p.3.

<sup>4</sup> K. Clark, The Making of Victorian England, p.132. See also Max Warren, Social History and Christian Mission, chapter 2 entitled, "The Social and Economic Background of the Nineteenth Century protestant Missionary."

<sup>5</sup> Sarah C. Potter, p. 136, 138. On p.254 she lists the following occupations for the C.M.S., 1799-1830; out of 95 men: artisans, trades, 35 (36.84%); business, 2 (2.1%); retailers, 14 (14.73%); clerks, 6 (6.31%); schoolmasters, 11 (11.58%); curates, property owners, doctors, lawyers, 17 (17.89%); farmers, gardeners, 8 (8.42%); university graduates, 2 (2.105%). The numbers are Potters', the percentages, mine. The figures change according to dates.

<sup>6</sup> Even Robert Alder, one of the powerful secretaries of the W.M.M.S. was of humble birth, having served as a printer's apprentice before being taken on trial by the English conference in 1816. See Goldwin French, Parsons and Politics. Toronto: 1962, p.59. Also in Brooks, "Methodism," p.12

<sup>7</sup> Warren, Social History, p.52.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 40-41.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p.40. Both Frits Pannekoek, "The Churches and the Social Structure in the Red River Area 1818-1870," Ph.D. dissertation, Queen's University, 1973, and John E. Foster, "The Country-born in the Red River Settlement: 1820-50," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1973, deal in part with the social ambitions of the clergy.

<sup>10</sup> Potter, p. 153, 170 n. She continues, "Missionary and colonial positions seem to have been less sought after than positions in the church at home. Candidates refused positions abroad to wait for a home posting. . .partly the attraction of the close-knit ministerial elite of which there was no equivalent in the other denominations, and partly to the nature of the Wesleyan Methodist mission fields."

<sup>11</sup> Edmund Grindrod, p.217.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p.160.

<sup>13</sup> See Eugene Stock, p.246, for an account of the varying emphases within the C.M.S.

<sup>14</sup> Warren, Social History, p.77.

<sup>15</sup> Potter, p.140.

2. JOHN WEST

<sup>1</sup> Stock, p.264: "Up to 1841, the missionaries from the Universities were few indeed, only sixteen altogether." He does not mention John West, which implies that he was regarded as Hudson's Bay Company Chaplain and C.M.S. Associate, rather than as full-time missionary.

<sup>2</sup> For an exhaustive study of his life see the unpublished ms. by Elsie J. Lawson, "The Unfulfilled: A Study of John West, His Family, Friends, and Times, 1778-1845," presently in this writer's possession.

<sup>3</sup> West matriculated in 1801, took his B.A. in 1804 and his M.A. in 1809. Stock, Church Missionary Society, p. 287 comments: ". . . St. Edmund Hall was the 'Low Church' preserve, but it was a good deal looked down upon." Kenneth S. Latourette, however, simply indicates that "a succession of vice-principals gave to St. Edmund Hall a strong evangelical tone." (p.257).

<sup>4</sup> Ian H.S. Stratton, "The Work and Ideas of John West, 1778-1845," M.A. thesis, University of Durham, 1979, p.3, l. For further information on St. Edmund Hall see Alfred Brotherston Emden, An Oxford Hall in Medieval Times; Being the Early History of St. Edmund Hall. Oxford: 1968. Lawrence Stone, ed., The University in Society: Oxford and Cambridge from the 14th to the Early 19th Century. Princeton: 1974 is also useful, while Evangelicalism in Oxford is best portrayed in Marcus L. Loane, Oxford and the Evangelical Succession. London: 1950 and J.S. Reynolds, The Evangelicals At Oxford, 1735-1871. A Record of an Unchronicalled Movement. Oxford: 1953.

<sup>5</sup> In his Memoir of Mrs. John West: Who Died at Chettle, Dorset, March 23, 1839. 2nd ed., London: 1842, West refers to this happy relationship and quotes from the correspondence between Harriet West and Simeon. See also H.C.G. Moule, Charles Simeon (1892) reprint ed. London: 1965.

<sup>6</sup> In late 1814 or early 1815. For the life of the Rev. Henry Budd see Rev. Thomas Harding and Rev. Dr. Hastings, A Memoir of the Reverend Henry Budd, M.A., Late Chaplain of the Royal Hospitals of Bridewell and Bethlem and Minister of Bridewell Precinct, and Rector of White Roothing, Essex. London: 1855 (copy in British Museum).

<sup>7</sup> Moule, p.85.

<sup>8</sup> E.H. Oliver, The Winning of the Frontier. Toronto: 1930, p.177, states incorrectly that when West was unsuccessful with the settlers, "Rather than remain inactive (he) became a Chaplain to the Hudson's Bay Company . . ." The Chaplaincy was always West's main assignment although not necessarily his greatest interest.

<sup>9</sup> For a detailed account of West's correspondence with the C.M.S. about publication, see Arthur Thompson, "The Expansion of the Church of England in Rupert's Land, from 1820 to 1839 under the Hudson's Bay Company and the Church Missionary Society." D.Phil., Oxford University, 1962, p.85-86.

<sup>10</sup> See for example, C.M.S. Proceedings, 1824.

<sup>11</sup> C.M.S., Committee Minutes. Vol. VI, p.620. Also in Thompson, "Expansion," p.515.

<sup>12</sup> Substance, p.209.

<sup>13</sup> The New England Company was originally formed in 1649 for the "civilizing and Christianizing" of Indians in New England. In 1662 its title was changed to "The Company for Propagation of the Gospel in New England and the parts adjacent in America"; during the time of the American Revolution its work was transferred to New Brunswick and from there to Ontario in 1822, with its work largely evangelistic and educational. It was here that West was connected with it. See The Encyclopedia of Missions, 2nd ed., New York and London: 1910, p.533-34.

<sup>14</sup> New England Company Minute Book 1816-1830 (Guildhall Library, London: MS 7920/2), p.164.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p.302.

<sup>16</sup> West was the one-man commission inquiring into the Apocrypha controversy in the Maritimes. For a full discussion, see Judith Fingard, "'Grapes in the Wilderness': The Bible Society in British North America in the Early Nineteenth Century," Histoire Sociale. V. 9 (1972), p.5-31, especially p.26-28. See also Stock, p.278.

<sup>17</sup> Stratton, p.41.

<sup>18</sup> John West, A Journal of a Mission to the Indians of the British Provinces, of New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, and the Mohawks, on the Ouse, or Grand River, Upper Canada. London: 1827, passim. See also J.J. Talman, "John West's Visit to Ontario," Canadian Churchman. LXVII.29 (Aug., 1940) p.452.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p.310 Unaware, apparently, that Charles G. Finney was one of the most celebrated evangelists on the American continent, who later also extended his campaigns to England.

<sup>20</sup> These were published separately under the title A Journal of a Mission and in connection with Substance of a Journal in 1827. The appendix to A Journal contains an article from the Christian Guardian, Oct., 1825, about West, which says in part, "who, after labouring with great zeal and assiduity for three years, and erecting the first Protestant Church in this immense wilderness, returned to England, under the idea of conveying his wife and family to the seat of his labours, but who, from some cause, not here assigned, has been induced or compelled to relinquish his important services." Inclusion of this article two years after the fact, would seem to indicate West's lingering bitterness at his dismissal.

<sup>21</sup> Stratton, p.47. The "Society for the Education and Improvement of the Poor in the Island of Newfoundland," organized in 1823, gave way

to the "Newfoundland School Society" and later to the Colonial and Continental Mission Society. West and his mentor, Henry Budd, were present at the first anniversary meeting in July, 1824 and are listed among the movers and seconders of resolutions. In 1829 both West and David Jones are thus listed (ibid).

<sup>22</sup> These letters are located in the R.L.A., with a government report addressed to Sir George Murray.

<sup>23</sup> Obituary Notice in The Gentleman's Magazine, Feb., 1846 gives the date as 1834, the Dorset Year Book as 1835. The value of the Farnham living in 1831 was £149, that for Chettle, £180 (The Clerical Guide, 1836; also in A. Thompson "The Expansion," p.516, 575). West was also associated with Aldershot (Stratton, p.8, p.12).

<sup>24</sup> The Dorset Year Book, p.98.

<sup>25</sup> National Schools were founded in the early 19th century by the Anglican National Society, later the National School Society. See especially H.J. Burgess and P.A. Welby, A Short History of the National Society 1811-1961. London, 1961; Thomas Laqueur, Religion and Respectability: Sunday Schools and Working Class Culture 1780-1850. New Haven and London 1976; G. Kitson Clark, The Making of Victorian England. London: 1962, among many others.

<sup>26</sup> The Dorset Year Book, pp. 99-100 and The Gentleman's Magazine, Feb., 1846. West attended the first anniversary of a certain Mr. Crabb's annual gypsy gathering at Spring Hill, Southampton, becoming his fast friend and fellowworker (Stratton, p.63 and passim).

<sup>27</sup> It was located "nearly midway between the Parish Churches of Chettle and Farnham, which are about a mile distant from each other" and 16 miles from Salisbury. The land had been purchased and the County Member, Lord Ashley had consented to be patron. The school was begun in 1845, then became the Pitt-Rivers Museum until 1965 when it closed.

<sup>28</sup> Of the remaining children, two sons entered the ministry: John Rowland attended Trinity College, Cambridge, became a fourth Wrangler in 1832, was elected a Fellow of Clare Hall in 1834, and became Vicar at Wrawley-cum-Brigg in Lincolnshire. Charles entered St. John's College, Cambridge. Both sons were influenced by the Tractarian movement and did not share their father's evangelical views. His wife Harriet, in poor health for some years, died on 23 March, 1839. West published A Memoir of Mrs. John West in 1842. In his will, only five children are mentioned, the youngest, Alfred, being inexplicably omitted. A copy of the will is in the R.L.A. "The estate included a freehold property at Farnham, called Sir Andos Farm, (interests) at Newton, which together West valued at 1,500 pounds. Reference in the will is made to his advowson right of patronage and free presentation to the Rectory of Stoke-next-Guildford, which must have been held in the family." (A. Thompson, "The Expansion" p.516).

<sup>29</sup> West's moralizing, even in his Journals, is quite overwhelming, while certainly the H.B.C. Officers found him intrusive as did the Selkirk settlers.

<sup>30</sup> See V. Fast, "A Research Note on the Journals of John West," J.C.C.H.S. 21 (1979), p.30-38 for a comparison of his Journals.

<sup>31</sup> For example, making pemican (Substance p.57); ice fishing (p.78); polar and grizzly bear habits (p.161); icebergs and iceblink (p.5); description of beaver and beaver dams (p.174) and much more.

<sup>32</sup> His new experiences included eating beaver tails (p.174), bivouacking in the snow (p.138), travelling completely without provisions and living off the land (p.165). He was even prepared to eat dog if necessary (p.139). His marksmanship was appreciated by the ship's crew (p.10) and in foraging for supplies (p.45,32). West was not afraid to go with Simpson to face the Sioux, nor did he fear storms or wildlife. His energy and endurance in walking from York Factory to Churchill, a distance of 180 miles one way, was viewed with awe and admiration especially when hordes of mosquitoes were driving even animals mad (p.160). West also comments that during his three years in Rupert's Land, he did not experience a single day's illness or any accident (p.208).

<sup>33</sup> For the books he left to the C.M.S. library in Red River, see appendix I. In England he left 700 volumes (Stratton, p.62 m.29). See also Substance, p.188, 192, 205 and passim.

<sup>34</sup> His cautiousness about money matters antagonized both his successor, Jones and Gov. Simpson, as did his very practical suggestion for circulating currency in Red River.

<sup>35</sup> His rigidity with Presbyterian Scots has already been noted. See Substance, p.156, 206-207 for expressions of his love for the Church.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., p.111.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., p.112. Brainerd (1718-47) has been discussed elsewhere but served, through his diary ("a classic of the devotional life") as a model for Martyn and Schwartz as well as for West (Stephen Neill, Christian Missions, p.226). Henry Martyn the great Anglican missionary linguist, whose Urda version of the Scriptures, translated in 1810, is still in use, was "by far the most notable of the 'pious chaplains'" to serve Indians (ibid., p.254,266). Christian Schwartz, (1724-98), although not as well known to the 20th century, was the "most famous of all the missionaries who have worked in South India" (ibid., p.233), at one time actually Diwan of Tanjore. He served as an Anglican missionary as well as Chaplain to the English community, a man with "wide knowledge . . . charm . . . extreme simplicity of life . . . utter selfforgetfulness and integrity . . . a simple and stalwart faith . . ." (ibid., p.234).

<sup>38</sup> Substance, p.209.

### 3. Other Anglicans

<sup>1</sup> For information on Jones see T.C.B. Boon, The Anglican Church From the Bay to the Rockies. Toronto: 1962, p. 22 ff. Before the C.M.S. college was established at Islington, probationers were sent to study under ordained men (ibid., p.22).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p.34.

<sup>3</sup> For Cockran's life see A Brief Sketch of the Life and Labours of Archdeacon Cockran Late Missionary in North-West America. London: The Religious Tract Society, n.n., n.d. (R.L.A., Diocesan Office). For the unhappy story of young Thomas Cockrane (spelling by family agreement) and his son Henry see MacLeod, Letitia Hargrave, p.145 n.; also Barry Potyondi, Selkirk: The First Hundred Years, Winnipeg: 1981, p.16. Cockran himself was also apparently at one time an under baliff in Scotland (Boon, p.36).

<sup>4</sup> A brief Sketch, p.4.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> MacLeod, Letitia Hargrave, p.145 written in 1843, and this in spite of her ridicule at his social awkwardness. The story of his arrival at Governor Simpson's riding "on his devoted cow's back" must surely have raised hilarity at many gatherings (ibid., p.69).

<sup>7</sup> Quoted in Boon, p.41. In another letter written by Chief Peguis who signed himself by his newly chosen name, William King, the same caring is revealed: "My friends, my heart is sore to see our praying master (Cockran) driven about like a slave to teach all the people here. . . You cannot know how far he has to travel . . . I think you are killing our friend. . ." (quoted in Margaret A. MacLeod, "The Lamp Shines in Red River," The Beaver (Sept., 1936), p.42.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p.44. Although Cockran lived at Westbourne (named after John West) at this time, he died in his daughter's home at Portage la Prairie.

<sup>9</sup> Although Cockran's work and philosophy of missions is discussed elsewhere it is of note that he was a strong proponent of "civilizing" the Indian before Christianizing, and that he fits the missionary stereotype as depicted by Berkhofer and others more closely than any of the other men here studied. Yet his dedication was beyond dispute, illustrated by serving forty years without returning to England (Stock, p.264).

<sup>10</sup> Quoted in Boon, p.40. The full text of the letter is given here and well-worth reading. Also in Stock, p.363, and in S. Gould, Inasmuch, Toronto: 1917, p.99-100.

<sup>11</sup> See Margaret A. MacLeod, "The Lamp Shines in Red River," The Beaver (Sept., 1936), p.41-45, 65-66.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p.42.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., what his work was is not stated.

<sup>14</sup> Pannekoek, "The Churches and the Social Structure in the Red River Area 1818-1870," Ph.D. dissertation, Queen's University, 1973, p.88. Pannekoek makes a case for Smithurst as "a mediocre product" in spite of the reputation of superiority which he has enjoyed in Rupert's Land tradition. This case, however, is severely damaged by taking circumstances into consideration, as well as by the fact that as a cousin of Nightingale's, he certainly had good breeding and culture and probably also education.

<sup>15</sup> For example, Smithurst is accused more often than any other Protestant of re-baptizing those already having received the rite from other Protestants, especially Wesleyans. This is further discussed elsewhere and Smithurst also aggressively advocated a bishopric for the colony which was granted with the arrival of David Anderson in 1849.

<sup>16</sup> MacLeod, "The Lamp Shineth," p.44.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p.66.

<sup>18</sup> According to Boon, p.52, Lord Dynevor had been Cowley's vicar, the Rev. Canon F. Rice, while his title "derived from Dynevor Castle, Carmarthenshire in South Wales." See also Eugene Stock, The History of the Church Missionary Society, Vol. I, p.363.

<sup>19</sup> Pannekoek, "The Churches," p.88.

<sup>20</sup> For an interesting account of Cowley's arrival in York Factory, see MacLeod, Letitia Hargrave, p. 106, 106m. "Mr. Cowley was nearly dead and had to be carried out of and into the boat in a blanket. He attributed his illness to our bread. You will say he is a fit person to come to a savage country."

<sup>21</sup> F.A. Peake, "The Achievements and Frustrations of James Hunter," J.C.C.H.S. XIX. 3-4 (July-Dec., 1977), p.139. Peake's article is a thorough study of the taciturn yet talented Hunter.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., p.149.

<sup>23</sup> Pannekoek, "The Churches," p.87.

<sup>24</sup> David Anderson was consecrated as Bishop of Rupert's Land in Canterbury Cathedral, 29 May, 1849. See T.C.B. Boon, The Anglican Church From the Bay to the Rockies, p.60-61. Also M.P. Wilkinson, "The Episcopate of the Right Reverend David Anderson, D.D., First Lord Bishop of Rupert's Land 1849 to 1864," M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1950.

#### 4. The Wesleyan Methodists: James Evans

<sup>1</sup> Such an abundance of material has been written on Evans that his biographical sketch here is much shorter than his importance would indicate.

<sup>2</sup> So John McLean, James Evans: Inventor of the Syllabic System of the Cree Language. Toronto: 1890, p.16-17. Fred Landon, "Letters of Rev. James Evans, Methodist Missionary," Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records. XXVIII. (1932), p.47 says Evans was converted in 1830. This, however, was after a period of backsliding as McLean shows.

<sup>3</sup> McLean, James Evans, p.17. Also Nan Shipley, The James Evans' Story Toronto: 1966, p.3 who comments that teaching in the backwoods "required neither special training nor experience, and a teacher had almost daily to engage in fisticuffs with illiterate man-size boys to maintain authority."

<sup>4</sup> Egerton Young, The Apostle of the North: Rev. James Evans. Toronto: 1900, p.21.

<sup>5</sup> With an interval of only a few months at Guelph in 1839 (*ibid*, p.83).

<sup>6</sup> Evans to E. Evans, 9 Feb., 1839 (Landon, p.68).

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p.69. for information on Clergy Reserves see especially John S. Moir, ed., Church and State in Canada 1627-1867. Basic Documents. Toronto: 1967, p.159-211.

<sup>8</sup> Young, The Apostle, p.99, also p.146.

<sup>9</sup> Although Evans worked out a program to help the Indian with subsistence farming while encouraging him to hunt (which will be discussed elsewhere) he was often accused by his Anglican counterparts of having no interest whatsoever in "civilizing" the natives.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p.112.

<sup>11</sup> Evans to E. Evans, 9 Feb., 1839 (V.U.L., "James Evans' Papers, Box 2).

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 1842 (V.U.L., Add. mat. Box 1).

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p.197. John Murdoch, "Syllabics: A Successful Educational Innovation," M.Ed. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1981, p.132 says he burned them. This is substantiated by James Woodsworth, Thirty Years in the Canadian North-West. Toronto: 1917, p.17 who quotes Ephriam Evans.

<sup>14</sup> See for example G.M. Hutchinson, "James Evans' Last Year," J.C.C.H.S. XIX (March-June, 1977), p.42-56, a well-documented analysis. Nan Shipley, The James Evans' Story, E. Young, The Apostle, J. McLean,

James Evans, all very biased in Evans' favour; J. Murdoch, "Syllabics" a unique interpretation. There are also others including the various works by William Brooks (especially "Methodism," appendix p.376-403) and Frits Pannekoek which should be examined.

<sup>15</sup> Murdoch, p.148.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p.150-151.

<sup>17</sup> Simpson to Alder, 15 June, 1846 (H.B.C.A., D. 4/68, pp. 96 entire letter p.93-96). Also in Murdoch, p.149.

<sup>18</sup> Hutchinson, "James Evans," p.55 quotes Sinclair as concluding at last "that Evans was a bad man," while Steinhauer's full disillusionment, discussed elsewhere, is especially evident in his letter to Mason, 15 Dec., 1846 (V.U.L., "James Evans' Papers").

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p.55-56. The "disease" is referred to by Letitia Hargrave: "(Evans) has been dangerously ill and consulted Dr. Smellie who says he has got chronic affection of the kidneys" (MacLeod, Letitia Hargrave, p.208).

## 5 Robert Rundle

<sup>1</sup> Evans to E. Evans, 17 May, 1840 (V.U.L., "James Evans' Papers," Box 2).

<sup>2</sup> What his father's occupation was at the time of Rundle's birth is unknown, but because the family leased Dowstall Farm just south of Maylor in 1832, it seems probable that this had also previously been his area of work. See Gerald Hutchinson, "Introduction," The Rundle Journals 1840-1848. ed. Hugh Dempsey. Calgary: 1977, p. X for details of the Rundle family.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. IX. See also Alfred Carter, "The Life and Labors of the Reverend Robert Terrill Rundle, Pioneer to the Saskatchewan, Canada," Ph.D. dissertation, Boston University, 1952, p. 25f; John MacLean, Vanguards of Canada. Toronto: 1918, p.46f. Carvosso's memoirs, The Great Efficacy of Simple Faith in the Atonement of Christ, Exemplified in a Memoir of Mr. William Carvosso, Sixty Years a Class Leader in the Wesleyan Methodist Connexion. Written by Himself, and edited by his Son. New York: 1837, gained a wide readership both in Britain and America. The son who edited the volume, Rundle's uncle Benjamin, an ordained minister, served as missionary for ten years in New South Wales, Australia, and as Rundle's letters indicate, also exercised considerable influence over the young man.

<sup>4</sup> See Hutchinson, "Introduction" p.X. The evidence indicates that Alfred Carter, p.25, is incorrect when he states Rundle "was raised in an atmosphere of fervid Methodist doctrine and practice from the cradle." The "atmosphere" and "doctrine" were certainly present, but the "practice" was Church of England according to the Maylor parish church records and the Rundle tombstone in the churchyard.

<sup>5</sup> Quoted in Hutchinson, "Introduction," p.XII-XIII. Original examined at Glenbow-Alberta Institute under "Original Journal, Personal and Ministerial Papers" A/R941D.

<sup>6</sup> It will be remembered that the Wesleyan Methodist connexion was very closely linked to the Anglican Church, and that Wesley himself never left the Mother Church.

<sup>7</sup> Emphasis his. Although the original Journals and letters were examined at the Glenbow-Alberta Institute, for the sake of convenience when reference is made to the Journals hereafter it will be indicated as "Rundle" while the letters quoted in Dempsey, will be referred to as "Dempsey, Journals."

<sup>8</sup> Carter, p.28, states Rundle was "converted in a series of meetings led by (his grandfather)." Although he cites John Maclean, Vanguards, p.46 as the source, Carter is reading into the text what is not there. Rundle himself makes no mention of how or where his conversion occurred. Hutchinson "Introduction," p. XI ventures the date as "between 1832 and 1837, and may have been related to the death of his grandfather and the visit of Uncle Benjamin."

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. XII. One assumes the "Old Ship" to be Methodism and Rundle to be at least a member of the "crew".

<sup>10</sup> Rundle, 1 March, 1848. The Reform Bill was passed in 1832. See G. Kitson Clark, The Making of Victorian England. London: 1962, p.41; R.K. Webb Modern England. London: 1968, p. 193 who gives the date as 1831: ". . . Parliament reassembled in February, and on March 1, Lord John Russell redeemed the commitment of the Whigs to parliamentary reform. The comprehensiveness of his bill stunned the House. . . ." Probably one of the best summaries of the Act is in Norman Gash, Politics in the Age of Peel: A Study in the Technique of Parliamentary Representation, 1830-1850. 2nd. ed. Hassocks, Sussex: 1977. The Reform Bill was actually the culmination of a series of reforms beginning with the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts in 1828.

<sup>11</sup> Eugene Stock, p.271 says of the period, "Parliamentary Reform has been effected after a conflict far exceeding in bitterness anything that we in the second half of the century have witnessed. . . Quiet families in the country were terrified at night by seeing the flames of burning hayricks and even of farm houses, and in the day by the news of riots in all directions. . . .In the midst of it all came the Cholera, a disease hitherto unknown in Europe, and caused universal terror by its ravages."

<sup>12</sup> Hutchinson, "Introduction," p. XII.

<sup>13</sup> In the same letter he comments regarding his interest in politics, "You (his father) will say I suppose I have no business with these matters. I don't worry much about them."

<sup>14</sup> Rundle, 24 April, 1840. Joseph Papineau, the leader of the French in the uprising of 1837, retired to "his beautiful Montebello" (W.L. Morton, The Kingdom of Canada. Toronto: 1977, p.285).

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 27 Dec., 1847. Daniel O'Connell, the great Irish patriot, died on a pilgrimage to Rome in 1847.

<sup>16</sup> His certificate of ordination is in the U.C.A. in Toronto. G. Hutchinson in "Robert Terrill Rundle" refers to it as a "special ordination," probably because of his aborted theological training.

<sup>17</sup> Rundle, 29 March, 1840.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 28 March, 1840; 11 April, 1840. On 8 September he acknowledges that with familiarity and success he feels very differently about both his mission and the journey which lies ahead than on first arrival at Norway House.

<sup>19</sup> Lady Lefroy, ed. The Autobiography of General Sir John Henry Lefroy. London: 1895, p. 98. Also cited in J.P. Berry and F.G. Roe, eds., "Extracts from the Journals and Letters of Rev. Robert Terrill Rundle," G-A.I., typescript, A/R941, n.703). Also in Hutchinson, "Introduction," p. XI. Lefroy, a devoted Churchman, has some rather harsh things to say about the Wesleyans generally, calling them "men of little education and deficient in qualities which make an impression on the Indians" (J.H. Lefroy, In Search of the Magnetic North. ed. George Stanley, Toronto: 1955, p. 150). In the first instance he is perfectly correct; in the second he is not.

<sup>20</sup> Quoted by Hutchinson, "Introduction," p. Xliii.

<sup>21</sup> Rowand to Simpson, 4 Jan., 1841 (H.B.C.A, D.5/6). In the same letter he reiterates, "I have nothing but good to say of this man."

<sup>22</sup> Young, The Apostle, p.158.

<sup>23</sup> Rundle was self-conscious about his height. He records in his Journal on 26 Feb., 1841, ". . . I felt the insignificance of my stature in comparison with these tall sons of the plain. . . ."

<sup>24</sup> Quoted in G. Hutchinson, "Robert Terrill Rundle," Canadian Methodist Society Papers. (June, 1978), p. 11. The circumstances were as follows: In 1848 Rundle, preferring to travel on his own rather than with the Company mainly because of Sabbath observance, started out for Norway House on his way home to England. He fared reasonably well until faced with the Grand Rapids on the Saskatchewan River. "Rundle had seen these rapids. . . and had no idea how to handle them. He knew that his cumbersome, frail craft patched up with ashes, grease, soap and butter could not carry them through. Apparently his only plan was to let the

boat tumble through on its own, walk down the shoreline and hope to retrieve it at the other end." (ibid.) It was at this point that he met Rowand who had his men maneuver the craft safely through the dangerous waters.

<sup>25</sup> See Journal entries for 9 Nov., 1844; 25 May, 1847; 13 May, 1847; 23 July, 1847; and 23 Jan., 1848 where to his chagrin, he even forgets to pray for the Queen "at the second kneeling."

<sup>26</sup> Rundle, 11 April, 1840: "Oh for that child-like simplicity and trust which I was wont to exercise in his promises!" He believed this to be the required state of a believer in that it admitted of no questioning of the will and wisdom of God. Yet if his faith had been more child-like than it already was, one would fear for his life and for his mission, for he was quick to assess his own foolhardiness as the occasion for God's working. e.g. When he almost drowned in crossing the Bow River on horseback because he refused to allow an Indian to lead his horse, he gives God the glory for his damp and narrow escape; when he climbed a mountain without adequate preparation and almost perished, he calls "to the Almighty to assist me and praise His name, my prayer was heard." See also 9 Nov., 1844; 26 May, 1845; 25 May, 1847 and passim for this type of incident and reaction.

<sup>27</sup> Barnley also appears to have fasted on certain days, but other missionaries in this study make no mention of so doing. Some of the religious works Rundle read included Wesley's Sermons, Apostolic Succession, Mrs. Rowe's Devout Exercise of the Heart, Fletcher's Appeal, and Essays on Truth, Milner's, Church History.

<sup>28</sup> So we read in the entry for 19 March, 1840 "My country! My friends! Shall [my] pulse ever cease to vibrate for you? never! . . . Home! Home! How the sound vibrates! But whence this weakness?" In a more mature fashion, he describes a camp site on 4 Nov., 1845: ". . . before I slept, I went to the beach. What a spectacle! No sound was heard but the rise and splash of the fish in the lake. A slight ripple was all that was discernible. . . . It lay almost like a sea of molten silver and the stars were reflected on its glassy breast. A mirrored heaven!" One can almost forgive him for earlier speaking of "Sea gulls deprived of their wave-girdled resting places. . . ." (11 Sept., 1840). Actually Rundle considered himself somewhat of a poet. In his journal entry for 29 April, 1840, he muses: "Mind tranquil. Composing poetry." Again on 3 May, 1840: "Poetizing in sleep." He believed he had "romance in my disposition."

<sup>29</sup> G. Hutchinson, "Introduction," p. vii. An example of this, also noted by Hutchinson, is in the original journal at the Glenbow-Alberta Institute, 15 January, 1847: "Perhaps the reason why the Express did not leave was on account of Friday. The Express left, perhaps early on Saturday morning or on Friday night, possibly, but not before midnight, perhaps, but, perhaps not before Saturday morning. What time was it? Ask . . . ." Often Rundle asks William Rowland, the Indian boy who stays with him, for verification of even the simplest statements. If his speech was like his writing, Rundle must frequently have given the

impression of floundering aimlessly.

<sup>30</sup> Rundle, 19 October, 1846.

<sup>31</sup> Paul Kane, Wanderings of an Artist Among the Indians of North America. ed. J. Russell Harper. Toronto: 1925, p.147.

<sup>32</sup> Rundle, 21 Oct., 1846. It could well be that tribal jealousies were evoked by the incident, with the Assiniboines feeling victorious and the Blackfeet angered.

<sup>33</sup> Rundle, 24 Oct., 1844; 24 June, 1847 and passim. He was dreadfully upset on 9 Sept., 1846: "Mind horrified this evening in consequence of my little cat having had kittens! May the Lord pardon me if I did wrong in taking her!" When she was killed by dogs during his absence he freely admitted his loneliness for her. John West shared this love of animals but his concern was for dogs especially one which he brought with him from England and was forced to abandon to the wolves in the bitter cold (Substance, p.32).

<sup>34</sup> Kane, Wanderings, p.79. Rowand, commenting to Simpson probably on the same incident, relates, "When my friend was thrown God knows how far, he never thought of his danger, only calling out, I hope my poor cat is not killed." (H.B.C.A., D.5/18). Rundle's name for a succession of felines was always simply "Puss."

<sup>35</sup> Evans to E. Evans, "last days of 1841" (V.U.L., "James Evans' Papers").

<sup>36</sup> Diary of James Evans, 31 Dec., 1841 (V.U.L., "James Evans' Papers"); also in Murdoch, p.145.

<sup>37</sup> Lefroy, Autobiography, p.98.

<sup>38</sup> This seems to be a common vocational hazard, for another young missionary, William Duncan of Metlakatla, wrote to Edward Cridge in Victoria, "I feel almost crushed with a sense of my position. My loneliness; the greatness of my work . . . ." (J. Usher, William Duncan, p.41).

<sup>39</sup> Rundle, 27 Sept., 1840 and passim. He adds, "What a mockery dreams are." Mylor Bridge and Dowstall were related to his home area.

<sup>40</sup> The long letter Rundle wrote to his sister, Alice Corylon in September, 1843, fully expecting to hear from her via the fall brigade, is in the Glenbow-Alberta Institute and has been printed in Dempsey, Journals. p. 139ff. It has "Too bad! Too bad! Too bad!" followed by thirteen exclamation marks scrawled across its back, apparently in utter frustration about the lack of news. The incident is also recorded by G. Hutchinson, "Robert Terrill Rundle, 1811-1896, "Canadian Methodist Historical Society Papers. (June, 1978).

<sup>41</sup> MacLeod, Letitia Hargrave, p.212.

42 Dempsey, Journals, p.139 f.

43 Margaret the daughter of John Edward Harriott by his first wife, Elizabeth Pruden, was raised by her grandparents at Red River following her mother's disappearance. Dempsey, Journals, p.337, n.20 says Mrs. Harriott became demented after an infant daughter was smothered, wandered off and was never seen again. However, J.E.A. MacLeod, "John Edward Harriott," Alberta Historical Review. (Spring, 1958), p.11, says Mrs. Harriott was insane and needed forcible restraint, but on the journey out of Edmonton, disappeared, leaving Margaret as an infant who was kept alive by her grandparents only with difficulty. The Hudson's Bay Company sources quoted by Macleod and the dates cited lend credence to his version. See G. Hutchinson, "Early Wesleyan Missions," Alberta Historical Review. VI.4 (1958) for references to the wedding itself; also J.R. Harper, Paul Kane's Frontier, p.26, who explains why Rundle and not Father Thibault was asked to officiate.

44 Rundle, 9 Jan., 1848.

45 Rundle, 9 March, 1848.

46 See Hutchinson, "Introduction," p. lxiii for names and dates and other pertinent information, especially of the only four children who survived to adulthood.

47 Rundle's relationship with these men is discussed elsewhere in this paper, but it is characteristic of the man that even before his arrival at Norway House, Rundle went into the home of his guide, "shook hands with all; played with dogs and left. Could talk no English" (Rundle, 28 April, 1840).

48 Rundle, 26 Sept., 1845.

49 Rundle travelled on the Sabbath when with the Hudson's Bay Company brigades, albeit reluctantly, but when the time came for him to return to England he chose to travel alone rather than subject himself to this regulation. See Harriott to Simpson, 12 May, 1846 (H.B.C.A., D. 5/17). This was a reflection of an earlier resolution which he conveyed to Evans in 1844: "I have invariably stopped the Sunday in travelling for the last two and a half years. I had difficulty in doing this. . . ." (Dempsey, Journals, p.149).

50 Rundle, 25 March, 1848. Dempsey says in a footnote about this obscure incident: "This was the only reported dispute with Harriott in eight years. It is probably significant that Harriott was with Kane [the artist] and that Rundle felt drinking had complicated the affair" (Journals, p.338 n.7). He continues, "Harriott was eventually forced to take early retirement because of his excessive drinking." However, J.E.A. Macleod, "John Edward Harriott," p.10-14, says nothing about a drinking problem while Donald Ross to Simpson, 28 June, 1846 states "Mr. Harriott I am sorry to say is in a very bad condition being in fact a perfect cripple" (H.B.C.A., D.5/17 fo. 414) which might indicate arthritis or some similar ailment rather than alcoholism.

51 Rundle for example did not desist from visiting the Indian camps despite Simpson's disapproval (Simpson to Evans, W.M.M.S., Reel 12), nor did he build a school inside Fort Edmonton to educate an elite and selected number of students. As far as his own Society is concerned, when he felt a certain action was right he simply did it, let the chips fall where they may - his return home is such an example.

52 Sometimes the line between physical courage and foolhardiness is very thin indeed and one could put the climbing of Mount Rundle into this twilight zone. Yet his physical courage is well documented as in the face of antagonistic Indians who had threatened to burn him should he come among them, etc.

53 Rundle, 26 Sept., 1845; 21 April, 1841 when his interpreter refuses to interpret, and passim.

54 Ibid., 18 March, 1841. Note also his often reiterated, "Lord sanctify this affliction or chastisement."

55 See Gerald C. Davison and John M. Neale, Abnormal Psychology, 3rd. ed., New York: 1982, p. 201 table 7.1, which lists "headaches, indigestion, constipation, nervous stomach, stomach aches and diarrhea" as psychophysiological symptoms. This thesis makes no pretense whatsoever at analyzing or diagnosing Rundle's continued physical complaints, but only assumes a common sense, holistic approach which is strengthened by Rundle's being invalided home in 1848 (so his obituary, while in the U.C.A. an unknown source in "The Rundle Fete," says "enfeebled health compelled him to return") yet then living to an active and ripe old age.

56 His Journal entries for 1, 2, 3 March, 1842, are indicative of the desperately hard circumstances Rundle endured on some journeys.

57 Quoted by Hutchinson, "Introduction," p. XXIX.

58 Rundle, 26 Aug., 1840.

59 See for example, Helen T. Alexander, "Rundle of Edmonton," The Beaver (Dec. 1950), p.15 who relates a hilarious anecdote about Rundle, an Indian, and De Smet. See also Rundle, 8 Oct., 1845.

60 Hutchinson, "Introduction," p. lXiii.

61 Ibid.

62 Ibid., p. lXLV.

63 Egerton Young quoted in Hutchinson, "Introduction," p. lXLV.

6. George Barnley

<sup>1</sup> The only work known to the writer which centres on Barnley is John Long, "A Dual Mission: the Methodist George Barnley, Pioneer Gospel Messenger in the James Bay Region, 1840-1847," typescript (U.C.A., Doc., BV 2813 B3 L6). Long's thesis, however, is also on Barnley. This is underway, while various articles published by him have also been brought to the writer's attention.

<sup>2</sup> Dated 14 Jan., 1842, reprinted in Methodist Magazine, 1843; Barnley Journal (U.C.A., A20).

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., June, 1840, appearing in M.N., Feb., 1841.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> See especially the sketches found in "Diary of a Winter Journey from Moose Factory to Matawagaingue," typescript copy (G.-A.I., M60).

<sup>6</sup> U.C.A., D.8.1 #12.

<sup>7</sup> Journal 23 Sept., 1843; 23 Aug., 1842; 25 Aug., 1842.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 29 Sept., 1840.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 24 Aug., 1840. Also in M.N., Feb., 1841.

<sup>10</sup> The schedule is found in his Journal for 1843. He does not elaborate on the content of "English," and actually school took up more time than allotted. The Wesleyan Magazine, 1843, p. 235, quotes from a letter: "With the exception of Saturday I spend about four hours daily in instructing the children and young people. . ." One wonders when or if he found time to spend with Indians in evangelism, or whether all were out hunting at this particular time.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. Another schedule exists, relevant to his Sunday observance. On 20 Aug., 1842 he notes: rising at 6 a.m.; prayer meeting at 7; breakfast, conducts "mess worship." "Regular English Divine Service" from 11 to 1:30, another from 3:30 to 5:30, "immediately preaching again to the Indians." In October of that year he began retiring at 9 or 9:30p.m. and rising at 4 a.m. but does not indicate how long he maintained this particular schedule.

<sup>12</sup> Extract from Sunday at Home. (Jan., 1897), p.202 (U.C.A., "Barnley File").

<sup>13</sup> Barnley Journal, Sept., 1840.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 8 March, 1842.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., Jan., 1843, 31 April, 1841, 12 Oct., 1840.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 31 April, 1841 - apparently misdated since April has only thirty days.

17 Ibid., 12 Oct., 1840.

18 Ibid., 14 Oct., 1840.

19 Ibid., 15 Oct., 1840. See Davison and Neale, p.230 for symptoms of depression which include sad, depressed mood; loss of interest and pleasure in usual activities; loss of energy; negative self-concept; feelings of worthlessness and guilt; recurrent thoughts of death or suicide.

20 Ibid., 21 Oct., 1840.

21 Ibid., Jan., 1843.

22 This overview is not intended as a psychological study, but merely as an insight into the personality of this initial - encounter missionary.

23 Dated Sept., 1834 in Glazebrook, The Hargrave Correspondence 1821-1843. Toronto: 1938, p. 150.

24 Journal, 16 Jan., 1842. M.J. Amdur and Martin Harrow, "Conscience and Depressive Disorders," British Journal of Psychiatry. 26 (Feb.-March, 1972), p.261 have found "the depressives . . . had significantly stricter consciences than the non-depressed patients."

25 Journal, Nov., 1842.

26 Ibid; 14 Dec., 1841. His Journals abound in such entries, relating also to his mission e.g. "I felt a little sympathy for souls while praying for the church today. . ." (ibid., 17 Dec., 1841).

27 James Lynch, The Broken Heart: The Medical Consequences of Loneliness. New York: 1977, p. 7, 59.

28 Journal, 20 Nov, 1842.

29 Ibid., 20 Nov., 27 Nov, 28 Nov., 1843. See Davison and Neale, p.165, 201 for physical symptoms caused by acute anxiety which are almost identical to Barnley's complaints.

30 Lynch, p.209, observes, "For many lonely or isolated individuals, illness itself becomes the only legitimate method of gaining attention."

31 Already in December, 1842 he wrote the Secretaries asking them to "send out a lady to become my wife," without results. He repeated the request in May, 1843 (H.B.C.A., D.4/28 fo 39) and again in 1844 (Brooks, "Methodism," p.54).

32 Ibid., p. 66. See also ibid., p.78 and Long, p.105 for the information following.

<sup>33</sup> Barnley Journal, 2 March, 1842. The context of his remark: "complaint seems to be my most general language. . . I am too easily overcome by trifles. . ."

<sup>34</sup> When the C.M.S. took over the area, it wisely requested its candidate, John Horden to marry before embarking for his work.

<sup>35</sup> Lynch, p.34.

<sup>36</sup> David Anderson, The Net in the Bay. London: 1854, reprint New York: 1967, p. 64, 94; E.J. Peck, "John Horden," Leaders of the Canadian Church. Vol. I., ed. W.B. Heeney, Toronto: 1918, p.140.

<sup>37</sup> A.R. Buckland, John Horden, Missionary Bishop: A Life on the Shores Of Hudson's Bay. London: n.d., p.37. Archdeacon Faries, "John Horden," Leaders of the Canadian Church. Vol. II. ed. W.B. Heeney. Toronto: 1920, p.206, bluntly states, "Horden was not the first missionary to attempt the work of Christianizing the Indians at Moose, but he was the first to succeed."

<sup>38</sup> Evans to George Simpson, 10 June, 1845 (U.C.A., Mic. D.8.1 #14).

## 7. William Mason

<sup>1</sup> The Catholic presence had been there intermittently since approximately 1816 when Father Pierre Tabeau was sent into the area on a "travelling" mission (Nute, p. XVI).

<sup>2</sup> A. Thom (Recorder at Red River) to Evans, 29 Sept., 1840 (G.-A.I., M 486)

<sup>3</sup> See for example Nan Shipley, p.215, who deprecates "his treacherous behaviour," and Bruce Peel, "Frustrations of the Missionary-Printer of Rossville: Rev. William Mason," Bulletin, United Church of Canada on Archives. 17 (1965), p.20-25.

<sup>4</sup> W. Brooks, "Methodism," p.29.

<sup>5</sup> Mason to Secretaries, 9 June, 1841 (U.C.A., Mic. D.8.1 #13). Also in Brooks, "Methodism," p.29.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> 21 June, 1845 (V.U.L., "James Evans' Papers"). Mason was also the butt of Hudson's Bay Company Officers' humour - see D. Ross to Simpson, 15 Aug., 1844 for an example (H.B.C.A., D.5/12 fo. 174).

<sup>8</sup> MacLeod, Letitia Hargrave, p. 177.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 188.

<sup>10</sup> Donald Ross, 21 April, 1847 (P.A.B.C., "D. Ross Holdings," Add. mss. 635, file 177, Box 6).

<sup>11</sup> Mason to Ross, 20 April, 1847 (Loc.cit., Add. mss. 635, file 124, Box 4). Ross's attitude is strikingly similar: "the recollection and discussion [of Evans' trial] should, in my belief, as soon as justice to the living will permit - be buried in the oblivion of the silent Tomb, with the talented, but unhappy man who gave rise to them" (Loc.cit., Add. mss. 635, file 177, Box 6).

<sup>12</sup> There is a rather sad letter dated 25 Aug., 1848, when Rundle, the last of his old associates, sails for England and leaves him as the sole Wesleyan west of Lake Superior (U.C.A., Mic. D.8.1 #15).

<sup>13</sup> Boon, "The Anglican Church," p.75. Crockford's lists his return as 1875.

<sup>14</sup> Crockford's, 1887.

### III. The Missionary and the Indian

#### 1. Motivation For Mission

<sup>1</sup> Lamothe Cadillac quoted in J.M. Bumsted, ed. Documentary Problems in Canadian History: Pre Confederation. Vol. 1. Georgetown, Ont.: 1969, p.5 f. "...The Jews prayed to God to take the souls of their relatives to Eden.... The Indians pray to the Sun to guide and light the spirits of their tribe during their journey until they reach the happy dwelling place of their ancestors...." etc.

See also Roy H. Pearce, The Savages of America. Baltimore: 1953, p.81; and Lewis Saum, The Fur Trade and the Indian. Seattle: 1963, p.29.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Berkhofer, The White Man's Indian. New York: 1978, p.34 ff, which elucidates de Costa's theory in Natural and Moral History of the Indies. (1590).

<sup>3</sup> West, Substance, p.55, p.87.

<sup>4</sup> Barnley Journal, 14 Dec., 1840.  
The comparison of things Indian to things Hebrew is not restricted to the nineteenth century. J.W.E. Newberry at Edmonton in 1977, describing the pipe ceremony and its attendant invocation says of the sacred music, ". . . the songs have kinship with the restraints of Hebrew worship and with the recital nature of the Hebrew scriptures, particularly the great psalms which celebrate creation and the mighty acts of Jahweh. What you did in the past, do now again for us here!" J.W.E. Newberry, "The Universe at Prayer," in Native Religious Traditions. eds. E. Waugh, K. Prithipaul, Waterloo: 1977, p.173. Newberry also mentions Megis, the shell "arising out of the great eastern sea to lead the people. Through five long periods of their history it led them westward" (p.169). This is analogous to the Pillar of Cloud/Fire which led the Israelites in the wilderness.

<sup>5</sup> V.U.L. "James Evans Papers," Box 2.

<sup>6</sup> Evans' Journal, 4 Oct., 1840, quoted in Young, The Apostle, p.203.

<sup>7</sup> This was true for Indian missionaries as well as European as has been noted elsewhere. For some, the terms "Christian" and "British" were inextricably linked. See Foster, "The Country-Born in the Red River Settlement: 1820-50," Ph.D dissertation, University of Alberta, 1973.

<sup>8</sup> Rundle, 14 June, 1840; Barnley Journal, M.N, Feb., 1841, also P.A.C. MG 24, J40. M. Jarrett-Kerr, Patterns of Christian Acceptance: Individual Response to the Missionary Impact, 1550-1950. London: 1972, p.3, contends, "This expression of racial superiority seems characteristically British. The assumption that not merely white civilization but Great Britain. . .is the centre of the universe, is implied in the educational syllabus" of various English missionaries. This does not follow the facts for Americans felt themselves the "city set on a hill," the French thought themselves infinitely superior, while Halkett, a Britisher, inveighs against such an attitude (Halkett, p.407).

<sup>9</sup> Bishop Provencher, for example took sharp issue with Fr. Belcourt, insisting that "evangelism should precede civilization, and that Belcourt should preach and make converts rather than spend all his time in building a mission . . . 'Pour moi j'ai toujours juge que des vaches et des moutons instruiront point les Sauvages ni sur l'agriculture, fabrique d'etoffe et encore moins sur la religion.' "(McCarthy, p.123).

<sup>10</sup> West, Substance, p.152. His friend John Halkett of the H.B.C. shared this view most fervently (Halkett, p.352 ff).

<sup>11</sup> John Foster, "The Country-Born," p.144. Frits Pannekoek, "The Churches and the Social Structure in the Red River Area 1818-1870," p.49, says "The Protestant missionary demanded a sedentary agricultural existence. . . ." This is too broad and general a statement as shall be shown; yet Pannekoek is particularly effective in his rather pungent description of racial overtones in the attempts of the clergy to establish a "little Britain" in the Red River.

<sup>12</sup> Smithurst to Secretaries, 8 July, 1847 (C.M.S., A37). Also in Pannekoek, "Churches." p.98.

<sup>13</sup> "Laws and Regulations", Report of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, 1840. (U.C.A., BX8350 M5R4). These instructions, sent also to West Indian missionaries, were designed to avoid confrontation and controversy in slave holding communities which certainly involved teaching only the "simple Gospel" and shunning not only things political but some things practical, such as education, a pivotol component of "civilization".

<sup>14</sup> Brainerd, an American convert of the 18th century's Great Awakening. His Life and Diary were published by that great theologian, Jonathan Edwards.

<sup>15</sup> West, Substance, p.112.

<sup>16</sup> Quoted in John F. Freeman, "The Indian Convert: Theme and Variation," Ethnohistory XII (1964), p.124.

<sup>17</sup> II Corinthians. 5:17 King James Version.

<sup>18</sup> Freeman, p.124.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p.122.

<sup>21</sup> Evans quoted by Ross (H.B.C.A., D. 5/8 fo 445.)

<sup>22</sup> Evans to E. Evans 15 Oct., 1838 quoted in Landon, p.64.

<sup>23</sup> Dempsey, Journals, p.155.

<sup>24</sup> Dempsey, Journals, p.87.

<sup>25</sup> The Anglican missions of course, had several settlements. It is interesting to note Bishop Anderson's reaction to John Smithurst's efforts at St. Peter's: "the little church, the schoolhouse and the parsonage, looked almost like an English village," with "the air of a parish at home." Quoted in Margaret A. MacLeod, "The Lamp Shines in Red River," The Beaver (Sept. 1936), p.44.

<sup>26</sup> Although Rundle even tried to grow wheat, he was itinerating constantly and besides, he was a city boy, no farmer; therefore it is not surprising that he laments the "almost altogether" failure of his little weed-covered plot (Rundle, 7 Feb., 1848). Still, he recognized the importance of agricultural produce in times of famine, and begged the W.M.S. to send someone to start a station although he did not feel this his personal responsibility. In 1846 he takes the Society to task for not having acted on this suggestion even after five years (Dempsey, Journals, p.229). It seems therefore, that Pannekoek's remark "Rundle had not even established an agricultural mission at Pigeon Lake. . . ." ("The Rev. James Evans and the Social Antagonisms of the Fur Trade Society, 1840-1846," in Religion and Society in the Prairie West, ed. R. Allen, Regina: 1974, p.11) places Rundle in the wrong light.

<sup>27</sup> Berkhofer, "Protestants, Pagans and Sequences Among the North American Indians, 1760-1860," Ethnohistory X .3 (1963), p.203. Cockran, however, fits the description remarkably well.

<sup>28</sup> Here again the Anglican missionaries differed from the Wesleyans. James Hunter reported to the C.M.S., 2 Aug. 1847: The Indians "are now dressed in European clothes. . .," while John Smithurst recorded a wedding in January, 1841, where all the Indians were "dressed in the costume of dear old England. . . ." (Smithurst to Society, 26 January, 1841, C.M.S.). However, see West, Substance, p.139.

<sup>29</sup> Bernard Sheehan, Seeds of Extinction: Jeffersonian Philanthropy and the American Indian. Chapel Hill: 1973, p.127.

<sup>30</sup> "Non-directed contact" is one in which neither side has the power to coerce the other (R. Berkhofer, "Protestants", p.202). In many cases where the missionary lived in great isolation, the situation could be one of directed contact, with the Indian in a position of power (ibid., p.203-04).

## 2. Indian Customs

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Freeman, p.124.

<sup>2</sup> West, Substance, p.26. For definitive studies on marriage and women in fur trade society see Sylvia Van Kirk, "Many Tender Ties": Women in Fur Trade Society in Western Canada, 1670-1870. Winnipeg: 1980; and Jennifer S.H. Brown, Strangers in Blood, Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country. Vancouver: 1980. Both studies comment on John West's attitude, as well as that of other missionaries.

<sup>3</sup> Hutchinson, "Introduction," p.Xlvi.

<sup>4</sup> Rundle, 23 Oct., 1845.

<sup>5</sup> Dempsey, Journals, p.84. Actually polygyny was the only form of polygamy practiced. As Wissler states, "There were no restrictions as to the number of women taken to wife, but no woman could have more than one husband ("Social Organization and Ritualistic Ceremonies of the Blackfoot Indians," A.P.A.M.N.H. VII. 1(1912), p.11.)

<sup>6</sup> John West also commented on sororate marriage in Substance, p.14. For details of marriage customs and mother-in-law taboos particularly among the Blackfeet, see Clark Wissler, "Social Customs," p.9 ff; John C. Ewers, The Blackfeet: Raiders on the Northwestern Plains. Norman, Oklahoma: 1976, p.99 ff; George B. Grinnell, Blackfoot Lodge Tales: The Story of a Prairie People. 1892, reprint ed., Williamstown, Mass.: 1972, p.217 ff.; and Oscar Lewis, The Effects of White Contact Upon Blackfoot Culture With Special Reference to the Role of the Fur Trade. Seattle and London: 1942, p.38 ff.

<sup>7</sup> West, Substance, p.39.

<sup>8</sup> Wissler, "Social Customs", p.11 contends that economic conditions were unfavourable to a household containing a plurality of wives. Oscar Lewis, p.38, traces the growth of polygyny among the Blackfeet and comes to the opposite conclusion, as does Grinnell, p.218, and others.

<sup>9</sup> Grinnell, p.218. By 1855 Chief Many Horses of the Blackfeet had twenty wives.

<sup>10</sup> O. Lewis, p.39.

<sup>11</sup> O. Lewis, p.40.

<sup>12</sup> Wissler, "Social Customs" p.10 comments that death for adultery was: "described as having been barbarous beyond belief." Yet he goes on to say that more by way of purity was demanded of the senior wife/wives, "the other wives, especially if young, were generally assumed to have lovers among the young men even though such was formally forbidden" (ibid, p.11).

<sup>13</sup> This is verified in Indian legends also, where suicide is depicted as not uncommon when a first wife learns her husband is taking another wife. See for example the story of "Ampata Sapa or the First Wife" in M. Williams, ed., Schoolcraft's Indian Legends. East Lansing, Mich.: 1956, p.266. See also O'Meara, Daughters of the Country: The Women of the Fur Traders and Mountain Men. New York: 1968, p.76 for the legend of Dark Day.

<sup>14</sup> J. Ewers, Blackfeet: Raiders, p.99 points out that women outnumbered men two or three to one among the Blackfeet (and therefore among most Plains tribes) because of heavy losses sustained in war. Father De Smet also placed the imbalance at two-thirds to three-quarters of tribal population (Pierre J. De Smet, Western Missions and Missionaries: A Series of Letters (1859), reprint ed., Shannon, Ireland, 1972, p.256). Women without male support (husband, brother, father, son) led a fringe existence at best of times and starved quickly during difficult periods. It should not be overlooked that there were also many instances of deep attachment among Indian couples, both in legend and in life. See David Mandelbaum, "The Plains Cree," A.M.N.H.A.P. 37.2 (1940) p.246; O'Meara, p.66; etc.

<sup>15</sup> Lewis, p.39. The chief weakened "the moral fiber of his remarks" considerably as Southesk noted, by showing what economic benefits were derived from these women as opposed to merely one wife.

<sup>16</sup> Barnley Journal (P.A.C. MG 24 J40). Evans occasionally used the criteria of greater need or number of children rather than chronological relationship.

<sup>17</sup> See for example West, Substance, p.51: "The apostolic injunction is clear and decisive. . .," or p.104: ". . .the good book condemned the practice. . . ." It may be argued that commandments and doctrine were themselves rooted in human need but if the missionaries held this concept they did not so indicate in their writings.

<sup>18</sup> Rundle, 20 April, 1846. The nose of course, was cut off in cases of suspected adultery. On 28 May, 1842 he refers to a "castoff wife" as "poor woman," yet never addresses the misery of an Indian female's life in any comprehensive manner.

<sup>19</sup> West, Substance. p.39. West also noted that an Indian "adds to the number of wives, according to his success and character as a hunter" (ibid.p.53).

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p.189 and p.42.

<sup>21</sup> Nan Shipley, The James Evans Story. Toronto: 1966, p.100. See also J. Usher, William Duncan, p.82 for Duncan's similar opinion.

<sup>22</sup> Mason Journal, 8 Nov., 1847 (U.C.A., D.8.1 #15).

<sup>23</sup> Not one of the missionaries mentions a problem described by Charles Bishop, The Northern Ojibwa and the Fur Trade: An Historical and Ecological Study. Toronto: 1974, p.173 where a hunter cannot go on the chase because his three wives, all sisters, quarrel constantly, yet turn on him as the Common Enemy. The story does not generate much sympathy.

<sup>24</sup> Rundle, 2 Oct., 1846; 18 June, 1844; 18 April, 1846.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 23 Oct., 1845; 13, 18 June, 1844.

26 West, Substance. p.53; Barnley to Society 7 July, 1841 (U.C.A., D.8.1)etc. Among Barnley's James Bay Cree incest seems more plausible because of the isolation of individual families but conditions were quite different on the Plains. Rundle mentions daughter - father, sister - brother, aunt - nephew relationships (Rundle, 5 July, 1847, 21 June, 1847). Mason reported a case of incest by an H.B.C. employee with his daughter, but Simpson replied that nothing could be done unless the daughter "bound over" her father/husband in which case he could be imprisoned but alas, there were no prisons (U.C.A., Mic.D.8.1 #15).

27 Rundle, 11 April, 1846. Although sodomy may, of course, also refer to intercourse with animals, the juxtaposition of the two here would indicate homosexuality, or the "sin of Sodom" as used in the Bible. Note also the use of "bad" to denote sexual transgression: the young couple "did bad by going together before marriage"; "bad young men" re: homosexuality; the girls accusing James Evans of sexual misdemeanor saying "he did bad" to them, etc.

28 A. Hultkrantz, Prairie and Plains Indians. Leiden: 1973, p.29. Charles Shedd and Henry Angelino, "A Note on Berdache," A.A.57.1 (1955), p.121-126 discusses thoroughly the various meanings of "berdache" concluding that it is an "exceedingly ambiguous term" as used in anthropological literature but that its etymological roots show it to refer to "kept boy," "a male prostitute," a "catamite" (p.121). They then define the term as "an individual of a definite physiological sex, (male or female) who assumes the role and status of the opposite sex and who is viewed by the community as being of one sex physiologically but as having assumed the role and status of the opposite sex" (p.125).

29 Claude E. Schaeffer, "The Kutenai Female Berdache: Courier, Guide, Prophetess and Warrior," Ethnohistory 12.1 (1965), p.193. See also George Devereux, "Homosexuality Among the Mohave Indians," in The North American Indians: A Sourcebook. ed. R. Owen, J. Dietz, A. Fisher, New York: 1967, p.410-416.

30 Quoted in Walter O'Meara, p.82.

31 Indian mythology is replete with sexual union of humans and animals. See S.C. Simms, "Traditions of the Sarcee Indians," J.A.F., V.17-18 (1904-05), p.181. The "Seven Sisters" among the Blackfeet also involves bear - woman union which seems to be quite common. Wissler and Duvall, "Mythology of the Blackfoot Indians," A.M.N.H.A.P. 2.1 (1908), p.36, 13. Beaver - woman mating also occurs frequently. This, however, is not evidence that the practice existed.

32 John C. Ewers, The Blackfeet: Raiders, p.126; David G. Mandelbaum, "The Plains Cree," p.221. Horses, of course, were of no importance to the canoe people of the northern areas.

33 J.C. Ewers, "Intertribal Warfare as the Precursor of Indian - White Warfare on the Northern Great Plains," in The American Indian Past and Present. ed. R.L. Nichols, New York: 1981. See also O.Lewis, The Effects of White Contact, p.56, and Ewers, Blackfeet: Raiders, p.126. Stealing a picketed horse ranked among some tribes as a "deed of valour" equal to taking a scalp, slaying an enemy or taking a gun. See

Bernard Mishkin, Rank and Warfare Among the Plains Tribes. Seattle:1966, p.2f; A.Skinner, "Political Organization, Cults and Ceremonies of the Plains Ojibway and the Plains Cree," A.M.N.H.A.P. 10.6 (1914), p.484.

34 Rowand to Simpson, 5 Jan., 1844 (H.B.C.A., D.5/10 fo.43-44).

35 "Memo" in Dempsey, Journals, p.264.

36 Ibid., p.129, also pp.131, 135, 150, 313.

37 D. Jenness, The Indians of Canada, p.131. Horses and widespread warfare were, as noted by Mishkin and Jenness, post 1780's phenomena.

38 Rundle, 18 Oct., 1845; 20 Dec., 1845. Shrub was a mixture of fruit juice and spirits.

39 In another version of the incident he clarified, "two or three Indians were wounded" (Dempsey, Journals. p.146).

40 West, Substance, p.56. See also p.36-37.

41 The latest study on Indians and alcohol is Jill R. Schumann, "The Diffusion of Alcohol: Through Membrane Into Culture." Papers of the Thirteenth Algonquian Conference. ed. William Cowan. Ottawa: 1982. Certain studies indicate there may be greater physical intolerance because of metabolic changes in Indians than in Caucasians, a situation likely to be exacerbated in first contact situations. See Marilyn Hamilton Light, "Alcohol: A Physical Intolerance," Akwesasne Notes. (Late Spring, 1974), p.46. See also "Alcohol Problems Among American Indians and Eskimos: Bibliography," Alcohol Health and Research World. (Winter, 1975/76), p.30-31. See also Frederick Merk, Fur Trade and Empire, p.109 where Gov. George Simpson describes initial contact reaction of Indians west of the mountains on first witnessing inebriation: ". . . nothing gave them such a contemptible opinion of the Whites as seeing them . . . deprive themselves of reason thereby. . . as they got familiarized to those scenes they became fond of indulging themselves in like manner and are now getting as much addicted to drunkenness as the tribes on the east side of the mountain. . . ."

42 Quoted in J. Ewers, The Blackfeet: Raiders. p.35. The more diluted of course, the greater the profit.

43 "Most" qualifies the generality for by 1837, Gov. Simpson reported to John Pelly that drunkenness was "quite unknown" among the Chipewyan and other northern tribes. See F. Merk, Fur Trade and Empire, p.334.

44 John E. Foster, "The Home Guard Cree," p.54. The reference here is to a period some one hundred years before Rundle's mission.

45 After the union of the fur companies in 1821 the use of liquor in trading by the H.B.C. was drastically reduced but in areas where there was competition, as in southern regions of the Saskatchewan - largely Blackfoot territory - where American traders could draw off much trade the practice continued for longer than in most other regions. See correspondence of Chief Factor Keith (H.B.C.A., B. 134/b/9) for a policy

45 Cont'd statement. See also F. Merk, *ibid*, p.183 where Simpson writes to A. Colville in 1822 showing that a quart of "mixed liquor" will buy more from the Indian than a bale of cloth and expressing the hope that the London Committee will not "prematurily" determine to halt the liquor traffic since it would be "very injurious to the interests of the Concern." See also *ibid*. p.334, for Simpson's changed attitude by 1837.

46 Ironically, the victim of this particular murder was the same Louis Piche who had been instrumental in bringing Father Thibault to the Saskatchewan (See Hutchinson, "Introduction", p.XXXII).

47 Rundle, 18 Aug., 1843.

48 D. Jenness, The Indians of Canada, p.125. Rundle himself mentions the death of a chief who was killed while seeking to prevent killings in a blood feud (Rundle to W.M.M.S., 24 May, 1843, in Dempsey, Journals, p.130).

49 Rundle, 6 Oct., 1845 records that the missionary De Smet finally negotiated an end to the blood feud, since "Nearly all the parties professed to be Roman Catholics."

50 Quoted in Dempsey, Journals, p.147.

51 *Ibid.*, p.278. Rundle mentions another bloodbath caused by the Blackfeet, whom he calls "Slaves", in August, 1845. This was against the Cree, traditional foes of the Blackfeet. But as Jenness points out, because of geographical necessity the Sarcees had "aligned themselves whole-heartedly with the Blackfoot and ranked as the fourth tribe in the confederacy." (D. Jenness, "The Sarcee Indians of Alberta," National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 90, Ottawa, 1938, p.3). Therefore, the surprise element in the massacre was multiplied.

52 Dempsey, Journals., p.278. The young man is referred to in the Journal entry for 19 June, 1847, as the man "with six fingers." Another of the horse thieves was Joshua, baptized by Rundle in 1843, a son of Maskepetoon, Rundle's close friend, which made these events very personal and devastating for Rundle.

53 Rundle, 29 Aug., 1846.

54 West, Substance, p. 84f.

55 Barnley to Society, 7 July, 1841 (U.C.A. Mic. D.8.1 #13).

56 J. West, "The British North West American Indians with Free Thoughts on the Red River Settlement," p.76. See D. Jenness, The Indians of Canada, p.386 for Chipewyan practices which substantiate West's observations: "The aged and infirm of both sexes were abandoned by their companions and starved to death on the trail." See also Rundle, 17 April, 1843.

57 J. West, Substance, p.125.

58 A. Skinner, "Notes on the Eastern Cree," p.152.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid. A particularly moving description of abandonment is found in Michael M. Mooney, ed., George Catlin Letters and Notes on the North American Indians. 1841; reprint ed., New York, 1975, p.236 f.

<sup>60</sup> Barnley Journal, 2 Nov., 1840.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., Sept., 1840.

<sup>62</sup> G. Barnley, "The Diary of Rev. Barnley's 1844 Winter Journey," (G-A.I., typescript), p.21.

<sup>63</sup> Rundle, 17 April, 1843.

<sup>64</sup> Grinnell, Blackfoot Lodge Tales, p.189. See also J. Ewers, Blackfeet: Raiders, p.106.

<sup>65</sup> Grinnell, Blackfoot Lodge Tales. p.194. H.C. Yarrow, Introduction to the Study of Mortuary Customs Among the North American Indians. Washington: 1880. reprint ed. New York: 1976, p.159, is less kind. He calls the mourning "heartrending, almost hideous wails and lamentations in which all join until exhausted." See also Clark Wissler, "Social Organization and Ritualistic Ceremonies of the Blackfoot Indians," A.P.A.M.N.H. VII.1 (1912), p.30 ff.

<sup>66</sup> West, Substance, p.33.

<sup>67</sup> See Walter McClintock, The Old North Trail or Life, Legends and Religion of the Blackfeet Indians. Reprint ed. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1968, p.150, p.165 f.; Ruth Benedict, "The Vision in Plains Culture," American Anthropologist. 24.1 (1922), p.4 and others. The discovery of a skeleton with "the distal portion of the fifth distal phalanx" amputated can surely be more intelligently explained than that a Sarcee "had bitten off a joint from one finger" (Mark Skinner, "The Seafort Burial Site," U.C.J.A. III .1 (1972), p.133.)

<sup>68</sup> West, Substance, p.55, 33.

<sup>69</sup> David Mandelbaum, "The Plains Cree," A.M.N.H.A.P. 37.2 (1940), p.250.

<sup>70</sup> H.C. Yarrow, p.72, p.159. See also McClintock, p.164 f. for a most interesting description of the whole death, burial, mourning and dispersal process in the case history of the Blackfoot Chief, Ma-sto-peta. See also J. Ewers, The Blackfoot: Raiders, p.106, for the pillage of property common when a man died without a will, particularly if the person had been wealthy but miserly. "The men might take all his best horses and leave the poorest ones for his widow. Close relatives of the deceased, preoccupied with mourning his loss, made no attempt to prevent this raid on his property. Custom decreed that they should not do so."

<sup>71</sup> See McClintock, p.164; Ruth Benedict, "The Vision in Plains

71 Cont'd

Culture," A.A. 24.1 (1922), p.4, p.150 to mention but a few. Yarrow, p.73, points out that cutting of hair as a sign of mourning is of "very great antiquity." It is not surprising that the horse, so important to most Plains Indians, played a significant role in mortuary customs. Among the Cree merely clipping the tail and mane was sufficient as a token of mourning. See Mandelbaum, p.250; Ewers, Blackfeet: Raiders, p.106f. Yarrow, p.73, points out that the Persians did the same, while "Alexander, at the death of Hephæstus, not only cut off the manes of his horses and mules, but took down the battlements from the city walls, that even towns might seem in mourning and look bald." Among the Blackfeet, horses were literally sacrificed beside the burial site, sometimes as many as twenty or more if the deceased were wealthy. See Grinnell, Blackfoot Lodge Tales, p.193; Ewers, Blackfeet: Raiders, p.106; McClintock, p.150; Yarrow, p.73f. While McClintock and Ewers maintain that a favourite or best horse(s) was sacrificed, Yarrow contends that "great care was taken to select the poorest in the band."

Among the Ojibwa where dogs were of greater importance than horses, the sledge dogs of the deceased were often destroyed in like manner, while a white dog was customarily buried with a prominent chief. See Diamond Jenness, The Ojibwa Indians of Parry Island, Their Social and Religious Life. Ottawa: 1935, p.106.

72 Rundle, 24 July, 1847. It could also conceivably be buried under a cairn of logs or stones as described by Diamond Jenness, The Indians of Canada. Ottawa: 1958, p.312.

73 Rundle, 29 Aug., 1846.

74 Barnley Journal.

75 West, Substance, p.33.

76 Ibid., p.55 f.

77 Yarrow, p.68. A. Paget, The People of the Plains. Toronto: 1909, p.25

78 A. Skinner, "Notes," p.81.

79 Ibid., p.167.

80 D. Jenness, The Indians of Canada, p.386. Yarrow, p.67. Many of the mortuary customs discussed are obviously only for males (e.g. sacrifice of horses) yet few anthropologists or ethnohistorians differentiate, and the missionaries are no more astute.

81 A. Skinner, "Notes," p.167. Cremation, not only of the insane, was occasionally practiced by the Assiniboine as well as by the Cree.

82 Nan Shipley, The James Evans' Story. p.98.

83 Evans' Journal quoted in Young, Apostle, p.201 f.

84 West, Substance, p.140.

85 See also Rundle, 19 Oct., 1844; 31 July, 1844; 3 May, 1844, etc.

86 Harold Hickerson, "The Feast of the Dead Among the Seventeenth Century Algonkians of the Upper Great Lakes," A.A. 62 (Feb., 1960), p.81-107. See also D. Jenness, The Indians of Canada, p.317, and Charles Bishop, "The emergence of the northern Ojibwa: social and economic consequences." American Ethnologist 3.1 (39-54), p.40 who finds some evidence for the Algonkian Feast of the Dead having Algonkian origins, in contrast to Hickerson.

### 3. Indian Beliefs and Practices

<sup>1</sup> The writer is aware of the controversy among authorities in religion regarding a dichotomy between the sacred and the profane, which will not be here considered. The writer's own position is that, while the division is an artificial one, nevertheless for purposes of this study it will be utilized as a tool to facilitate examination - a means to an end. See Ake Hultkrantz, The Religion of the American Indian, trans. Monica Setterwell, Berkeley: 1980, p.10 for a brief but concise discussion of the various approaches to a dichotomy between the natural and the supernatural.

<sup>2</sup> Diamond Jenness traces the evolution of Indian belief in a Supreme Being in "Canadian Indian Religion," in Religion in Canadian Society. eds. S. Crysdale and L. Wheatcroft, Toronto: 1976, p.71-78.

<sup>3</sup> While Hegel had already touched on the question of the origin of religion, the problem was yet to rise to its apex in the wake of Darwinian evolution which is outside the scope of this paper.

<sup>4</sup> West, Substance, p.134.

<sup>5</sup> See 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. eds. Carol M. Judd, Arthur J. Ray. Toronto: 1980, p.85-101, who discusses the arrival of these tribesmen on the Plains. The Iroquois had, after all, been exposed to the Jesuits and other missionaries since the 17th century.

"Christian" Protestant traders and explorers included men such as J.E. Harriott, James Hargrave and many others mentioned elsewhere in this paper.

<sup>6</sup> This subject of course can never be fully or confidently answered, but must remain prone to interpretation until such a time as further evidence is brought to light. See, however, Donald Ross's 1822 Report, where he mentions "Scarcely the Shadow of Faith was to be observed amongst them. . ." (P.A.B.C., MG 1 D20 M311 file 185).

<sup>7</sup> West, Substance, p.134.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p.116.

<sup>9</sup> Rundle, 16 July, 1840. He was referring to the Cree around Norway House.

<sup>10</sup> D. Jenness, "Canadian Indian Religion." Although West and Barnley both had brief contact with the Eskimoes, they will not be considered in this study. However, see Arsane Turquetil, "Have the Eskimo the concept of a Supreme Being?" Primitive Man. IX.3 (1936), p.33-38.

<sup>11</sup> Paul Radin, "Religion of the North American Indian," J.A.F. XXVII. 106 (1914), p.362.

<sup>12</sup> J.M. Cooper, "The Northern Algonquian Supreme Being," Primitive Man 6. 3-4 (1933), p.74. Although Jenness, The Ojibwa Indians, p.29, uses the term "Kitchi Manido," Cooper believes this to be of post-missionary derivation. Yet it was used as early as the seventeenth century by la Potherie, spelled as "Quichemanitou" (Jenness, Ojibwa). There are other variations: Gitche Monedo, (M.Williams ed., Schoolcraft's Indian Legends. East Lansing, Michigan, 1956, p.XIII); Kejie Manido, B.Coleman, "The Religion of the Ojibwa of Northern Minnesota," Primitive Man. X. 3-4 (1937), p.34; etc. Ruth Underhill, "Religion Among American Indians," p.101, maintains that "the Algonquian Great Spirit generally turns out to have a very limited concept, either of a distant creator who later ceased to function or merely of a spirit higher than others." It should also be noted that Schoolcraft made the generalized statement, based on legends which he gathered, "The tales refer themselves to a people who are polytheists, not believers in one God or Great Spirit, but of thousands of spirits" (Williams, Schoolcraft p.18). Subsequent studies, however, indicate that while there may well be band or individual variations, generally speaking Indians of Algonkian stock hold to the concept of one Supreme Being. On the subject of monotheism among the North American Indian, see P. Radin, "Monotheism Among American Indians," in Teachings from the American Earth: Indian Religion and Philosophy. eds. D. Tedlock and B. Tedlock, New York: 1975, p.226. See also Radin, "Religion of the North American Indian," p.335-373 for an excellent overview. Diamond Jenness, "the Sarcee Indians of Alberta," National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 90, (1938), p.68 notes that after the middle of the 19th century the Sarcees were "true monotheists," but this post-dates missionary activity and can reasonably be explained thereby. See also Wilson D. Wallis, "Beliefs and Tales of the Canadian Dakota," J.A.F. 35. 135 (1922) p.36-41.

<sup>13</sup> Grinnell, p.257f.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid. Although Grinnell's suggestion that belief in Old Man as supreme deity may very well antedate belief in the Sun, it seems more likely that Grinnell is confusing chief God with culture hero. Certainly his description of Old Man as a "combination of strength, weakness, wisdom, folly, childishness and malice" is much more depictive of the trickster than of the Supreme Being. Grinnell's further observation that "There is some reason to suspect, however, that the Sun and Old Man are one. . ." (p.258) must also be discounted on the strength of Grinnell's own argument concerning the very different attributes of the two. See also McClintock, p.169. The Plains Cree, whose beliefs were essentially those of the Algonkians, did not personalize the Master of Life, but regarded him as creator who fashioned everything by his will, a concept more akin to the Christian God than the Algonkian. For a full description of Cree and Saukteaux beliefs, see Mandelbaum, p.251; Hallowell, The Role of Conjuring in Saukteaux Society. Vol. II Publications of the Philadelphia Anthropological Society, New York: 1971, p.6. Hallowell sees Kitchi Manitou as otiose, "extremely remote from any direct participation in human affairs." See also L. Mason "The Swampy Cree: A Study of Acculturation," Anthropology Papers No.13 (Jan., 1967) p.57 who states that some bands relate "kitchi manitu" to the sun. A. Skinner, "Notes on the Eastern Cree," p.59 is the only authority consulted who disagreed

<sup>14</sup> Cont'd on Cree belief in a Supreme Being. He maintains that "the idea of a single 'great spirit' (Kitche-manitou) is entirely a European importation. . . ."

<sup>15</sup> Underhill, p.34. Cooper, p.76 states he "was not of the otiose type," while Jenness, The Ojibwa, p.30 describes him as being "so far away, and so little active in the universe. . ." or again as "interferring but rarely with the working of the universe." Hallowell, "The Ojibwa World View," p.219 supports Jenness.

<sup>16</sup> B. Coleman, p.34, cites pictographs in which Kitchi Manitou is represented as the sun. Jenness, The Ojibwa, p.29, confirms this equation. Cooper, p.75, however, states emphatically, "No hint at all emerged of any relationship of the Supreme Being to the sun or other heavenly body." There is obviously no unity of opinion among the authorities, although one must also allow for differences among the Algonkians.

<sup>17</sup> Jenness, The Ojibwa, p.29 refers to him as the "god of misfortune" worshipped because of fear and equated with the moon; see also Cooper, p.76; Mandelbaum, p.252; Hallowell, "The Spirits of the Dead," p.35; Coleman, p.40; Paget, p.22.

<sup>18</sup> The Cumberland House Cree called him Kepoochikawn or Gepuchikan according to Mason, p.58. No similar belief appeared among the Blackfeet. The only other evidence of images appears in Calvin Martin's work, where an unsuccessful Ojibwa hunter retires alone to his lodge, carves figurines of Nanabozo and a stylized form of the animal he desires to kill, then, placing "both of these before him, in tangible representation of the hunter and the hunted, he prayed most earnestly to the manitou to save his starving family by leading him to the elusive game," in Keepers of the Game: Indian-Animal Relationships and the Fur Trade, Berkeley: 1978, p.79.

<sup>19</sup> See for example his letter to Benjamin Carvosso in Dempsey, Journal, p.154; his Journal entries for 6 Aug., 1846; 26 May, 1845, passim. Before this writer became aware of the article by Leonard Mason, Rundle was thought to be either fabricating or possibly referring to medicine bundles. He was vindicated by Pahkuk!

<sup>20</sup> West, Substance, p.134. Although William Mason makes a brief reference to Indians "exchanging their wooden idols" for the brass or silver ones of Catholicism, whether this is metaphorical or actual is open to question (U.C.A., Mic.D.8.1 #13).

<sup>21</sup> Hultkrantz, Conceptions of the Soul, p.398f, details four different types of cannibalism, not all connected with the Windigo. See also John R. Colombo, ed., Windigo: An Anthology of Fact and Fantastic Fiction, Saskatoon: 1981. The most critical analysis is Lou Marano's "Windigo Psychosis: The Anatomy of an Emic Confusion." Current Anthropology. 23.4 (August, 1982), 385-412, who calls the term psychosis into question.

<sup>22</sup> J. Cooper, "The Cree Witiko Psychosis" Primitive Man. VI.1 (1933), p.20ff. Conjuring can occasionally turn a man into a WITIKO, but drumming and swallowing a little hot bear grease will melt the ice forming inside

22 Cont'd. him. See Thomas Hay, Ojibwa Emotional Restraint and the Socialization Process. Ph.D. dissertation, Ann Arbor, Michigan, microfilm-xerography, for an analysis of the causes of this psychosis among the Northern Algonkians.

23 Hultkrantz, Conceptions of the Soul, p.399.

24 A. Paget, p.57. See also Calvin Martin, p.84; Mason p.58. D. Jenness, The Ojibwa, p.41 and Coleman, p.40. Both mention Misabe in connection with the Witiko: Coleman as an evil spirit seeking to turn an Indian into a Witiko; Jenness as a supernatural protector against the anthropomorphic cannibal. An article by Bob Lowry in the Winnipeg Free Press, 13 Feb. 1982, quotes an old trapper, Okimow, as saying "the number of Wetegos-Cree for devil person - declined in the North with the growth of mental hospitals." The emphasis is obviously on insanity rather than cannibalism.

25 A.R. Buckland, John Horden, Missionary Bishop. London: n.d. p.46.

26 Letter recorded in Young, The Apostle, p.77.

27 Substance, p.89f.

28 Ibid. He relates another incident later in which parents eat their children (ibid., p.128). In another vein he describes an old chief who sees intoxication for the first time, concludes the culprit is mad and immediately orders him shot (ibid., p.146), the inference being that the offender has become/is becoming a witiko and therefore must immediately be eliminated. But this may be reading into West's words a meaning which he did not intend and of which he may indeed have been totally ignorant.

29 Among the Blackfeet they were designated "Above Persons" (Thunder being the most important), "Under Water Persons" (among them Wind Maker), and "Ground Persons" (typefying the power of the earth). See Grinnell, Blackfoot Lodge Tales, p.259. In Conjuring, p.6f. Hallowell classifies the Cree and Saulteaux spirits as anthropomorphic beings, existing somewhere on earth and seen in dreams or encountered as semi-human spirits; "masters" or "owners" of natural phenomena such as plants and animals (including inorganic objects such as rocks); and the spirits of the conjuring tent.

30 The symbol of the thunder bird is, of course, well known. Hallowell, "Ojibwa World View," in The North American Indians: A Sourcebook. eds. Owen, Dretz, Fisher, New York: 1967, p. 220, presents some acute observations regarding the equation of thunder with an avian image when he demonstrates the presence of birds, especially hawks, to coincide seasonally with the occurrence of thunder.

31 Rundle, 9 June, 1847.

32 M.L. Ricketts, "The North American Indian Trickster," H.R. 5.4 (1966), p.327-350, argues persuasively that the culture hero is a religious figure, albeit not a spirit or a deity to whom prayers are addressed, but rather a prototype of man himself, representing a religion in which "man is the measure. Thus the essence of the many trickster legends and myths is that, although there are some limits to the powers of man, he can transcend himself by questioning, thinking and acting. Although there are some things beyond him, things for which he was never intended, he should not grieve but make a joke of this fact. The trickster is the embodiment of humor - all kinds of humor. He plays tricks on others, he ridicules sacred customs, he breaks taboos, he boasts when he should blush, he is the world's greatest clown, and he can laugh at himself" (ibid. p.347).

33 Ibid. p.327.

34 Ibid., p.328. See also Williams, Schoolcraft, p.23f, 65 ff. Hallowell, "Ojibwa," p.232, Hallowell, Conjuring, p.6; Mandelbaum, p.251; Wessler, North American Indians of the Plains, p.98. Wessler and Grinnell see Napi or Old Man in different perspective. See also W.D. Wallis, p.38.

35 West, Substance, p.130 ff.

36 Letter to J. Evans, 4 July, 1844 (V.U.L., "James Evans' Papers"). Wasetak meant "light" and was the name of Abishabis's ("Christ") companion. See Jennifer Brown, "The Track to Heaven."

37 "Address to an Indian Assembly" (V.U.L., "James Evans' Papers," Add. Mat., Box 1). See also a message "To the Chiefs and Warriors of the Chipewyan and Cree Nations," written by him March, 1842 (ibid.).

38 "To the Chiefs and Warriors of the Chipewyan and Cree Nations," (V.U.L. "James Evans' Papers," Add. Mat. Box 1).

39 Barnley Journal, 2 Nov., 1840, (U.C.A.).

40 West, Substance, p.135f. Cp. with Jenness, The Indians of Canada, p.387 - even details are identical with those of the Chipewyans afterlife. See also Schoolcraft's legend, "The White Stone Canoe" (Williams, Schoolcraft), p.246 ff.

41 Ake Hultkrantz, Conceptions of the Soul Among North American Indians: A study in Religious Ethnology, Stockholm: 1953, compiles these beliefs most comprehensively; A.P. Reid, "Religious Beliefs of the Ojibois or Saukteaux Indians," J.R.A.I. (1873) p.113, Hallowell, "The Spirits of the Dead in Saukteaux Life and Thought," J.R.A.I. 70.1 (1940) p.35f See also A. Hultkrantz, The North American Indian Orpheus Tradition Stockholm: 1957, p.97, for further arguments on the authenticity of aboriginal Indian views of the afterlife. Also A.H. Gayton, "The Orpheus Myth in North America," J.A.F. 48.(1935) p.263-286. Of necessity, the views of Hultkrantz especially are over-simplified here, but a reading of the indicated sources will correct any misunderstanding.

42 Barnley Journal, 6 Oct. 1840 (U.C.A.,A20).

43 Ibid. June, 1840.

44 Reed, p.110-111. Compare this with the River Styx or the Jordan. See also Hallowell, "The Spirits of the Dead in Saulteaux Life and Thought," p.34, where he adds that children are helped across by Nanibush, the folk-hero. Jenness, The Ojibwa Indians, p.109f, adds the aspect of a soul being devoured by frogs at the river's edge if a tribute of tobacco cannot be paid, but if paid, then moving across logs to the village of the dead on the far side of the river. See also Henry Youle Hind, p.251; A. Skinner, "Notes," p.160.

45 Luke 16: 19-31. Rundle lists at least half a dozen references to the subject as a sermon topic.

46 A.P. Reid, "Religious Belief of the Ojibois or Saulteaux Indians," J.R.A.I. (1873), p.109, 111. Calvin Martin, Keepers of the Game, p.72 confirms that "all things animate and inanimate had spirit, and hence being." However, he then uses the term "soul-spirit, or shadow" (p.82) which confuses the issue, but a thorough reading of Martin shows him to use "spirit" and "soul" interchangeably. A better discussant on the subject is Mary B. Black, "Ojibwa Taxonomy and Percept Ambiguity," Ethos. 5.1 (Spring, 1977), 90-118.

47 Jenness, The Ojibwa, p.109f.

48 Grinnell, p.273-275. See also McClintock, p. 142 ff.; Ewers, The Blackfeet: Raiders, p.184; J. Maclean, Canadian Savage Folk, p.445f.

49 See Hallowell, "The Spirits of the Dead," p.32; A Skinner, "Notes," p.62. Hallowell does not accept the concept of eternal happiness or misery contingent on behaviour on earth as aboriginal but views hell particularly as a Christian derivation (p.35f).

50 For a thorough study of tripartite and dualistic concepts of the soul, see Ake Hultkrantz, Conceptions of the Soul Among North American Indians: A study Religious Ethnology, Stockholm: 1953, in which he discusses the body which dies, the soul which goes West (or South) to the realm of the dead, and the shadow which becomes the grave ghost. See also D. Jenness, The Ojibwa Indians of Parry Island, Their Social and Religious Life, Ottawa: 1935, p.18f. The souls of the insane or intoxicated "move at a distance from him" and therefore that individual is not held responsible for his actions. See also Mandelbaum, p.251.

51 These were usually orally transmitted but also sometimes written on scrolls. Sacred scrolls will be discussed later in this chapter. Ake Hultkrantz, The North American Orpheus Tradition, p.12ff. meticulously distinguishes between myths, four different types of legend, and fairy tales. He defines myth as "an epic narrative dealing with figures belonging to the supernatural sphere: cosmic beings, gods and

51 Cont'd

spirits," while legends are "an actual occurrence in the past, a meeting between human beings and spirits which have really taken place, and. . . therefore an object of genuine belief." Needless to say the distinctions are often blurred. D. Jenness, The Indians of Canada, p.187, simplifies the division of myths into the two cycles recognized by all Canadian tribes except those of the far north: those referring to the world of today, and those referring to "a supposedly earlier epoch before the earth and its inhabitants had assumed their present form." G. Copway, Traditional History and Characteristic Sketches of the Ojibway Nation London: 1850, p.97, uses three divisions: The Amusing, the Historical, and the Moral.

52 J. Ramsey, ed. Coyote Was Going There: Indian Literature of the Oregon Country, Seattle: 1977, p.XXIII. See also Anna Birgitta Rooth, "The Creation Myths of the North American Indians," Anthropos .52 (1957), p.497-508 which contains excellent maps showing the distribution of various types of creation myths; Ella Elizabeth Clark, Indian Legends of Canada Toronto: 1966; E. Clark, Indian Legends of the Pacific Northwest, Berkely: 1963, which is less relevant to this particular study but adds to one's knowledge of the function and purpose of myths. Whether myth is merely informative or in itself a religion will not be discussed in this paper, but see Wessler and Duval, p.17 and Hultkrantz, "Myths in native North American Religion," Native Religious Traditions. eds. E.H. Waugh, and K.D. Prithipaul, Waterloo, Ontario: 1977, p.92.

53 Williams, Schoolcraft, p.23. See also J. Ramsey, Coyote, p.XXIX, and Elizabeth Clark, Indian Legends of Canada, p X, for very similar analyses. In addition consult Simms, "Traditions of the Sarcee Indians," J.A.F. 17-18 (1904-05), p.180-182; Hultkrantz, "Myths in Native North American Religion"; J.R. Creswell, "Folk Tales of the Swamy Cree of Northern Manitoba," J.A.F. 35 (1922), p.404-406; Roger Vandersteene, "Some Woodland Cree Traditions and Legends," W.C.J.A. I.1 (1969), p.40-65.

54 E. Clark, Indian Legends of Canada, p.XII.

55 Rundle, 7 Sept., 1847.

56 G. Barnley, "Diary of Winter Journey From Moose Factory to Matawagaingue" (G.-A.I. typescript M60), p.23.

57 West, Substance, p.131, 135, etc.

58 Ibid., p.133.

59 Copway, p.138.

60 Hultkrantz, The Orpheus Tradition, p.293f. Also Hallowell, "The Spirits of the Dead" in the section entitled "Accounts by Travellers Returned from the Land of the Dead," p.30f.

<sup>61</sup> Quoted in John Maclean, Canadian Savage Folk, p.444.

<sup>62</sup> In this regard there are several supposedly foretelling the coming of the white man. See for example Jenness, The Ojibwa, p.47, and E. Clark, Indian Legends of Canada, p.150 for the dream of a Chippewa Indian predicting in great detail this advent. Rundle's imminent arrival was divined in the dream of a Stoney Indian (ibid., p.168).

<sup>63</sup> Jenness, The Ojibwa, p.48. See also Hallowell, "The Spirits of the Dead in Saulteaux Life and Thought," p.31f. on approaching and entering the Land of the Dead in dreams.

<sup>64</sup> C. Wissler, "Ceremonial Bundles of the Blackfoot Indians," Anthropological Papers of the A.M.N.H. VII.2 (1912), p.101.

<sup>65</sup> Hallowell, "Ojibwa World View," p.228 says this was not true of the Ojibwa who had a taboo against recounting dreams.

<sup>66</sup> Rundle, 27 Sept., 1840; 2 Nov., 1840; 6 Dec., 1840, etc.

<sup>67</sup> Barnley Journal, 9 Aug., 1842 (U.C.A., MG 24, J40). Emphasis his.

<sup>68</sup> Quoted in Young, The Apostle, p.204f.

<sup>69</sup> In her article, "The Concept of the Guardian Spirit in North America," A.A.A.M. 29 (1923), 26, Benedict is very certain that dreams and visions are not synonymous, but her stand is largely a matter of semantics.

<sup>70</sup> R. Benedict, "The Vision in Plains Culture," American Anthropologist. 24.1 (1922), p.12.

<sup>71</sup> P. Albers and S. Parker, "The Plains Vision Experience: A Study of Power and Privilege," S.J.A. 27.3 (1971), p.203. The difference between Albers and Parker and Ruth Benedict as to whether the vision quest was or was not a dream, seems resolved by Benedict's distinction between dreams as an involuntary experience, and visions as an induced phenomenon sought by deliberate preparation (Benedict, "The Concept," p.26). Albers and Parker do not make that distinction and therefore to them the terms could be used interchangeably.

<sup>72</sup> Benedict, "Concept," p.28.

<sup>73</sup> Benedict, "The Guardian Spirit," p.15.

<sup>74</sup> Mandelbaum, p.252, 244. Wissler makes the same case for Blackfeet women ("Ceremonial Bundles," p.104). It was not mandatory and therefore less significant.

<sup>75</sup> See Benedict, "Concept," p.2; Mandelbaum, p.252; Jenness, "The Sarcee Indians of Alberta," p.70; Grinnell, p.191; A Skinner, "Political Organization, Cults, and Ceremonies of the Plains - Ojibway and Plains Cree Indians," A.M.N.H.A.P. XI.6 (1914), p.496.

76 The difference in age for the quest among various groups appears to be related to the assumption of adult roles. Among the "True Plains" societies, such as the Blackfeet, Assiniboines etc., maturity was required for raiding and warfare, while in the peripheral hunting, gathering and horticultural societies, adult roles could be assumed at a much earlier age. See especially Albers and Parker, p.224. Benedict, "Concept," p.2 notes the parents decided on the exact time, and sometimes if the time was not propitious, the child became ill. Paul Radin, "Religion of the North American Indian," p.365, has an excellent description of a boy's vision quest. Benedict, "The Guardian Spirit," p.10ff. sees the pre-puberty quest as being primarily and predominantly a training process to prepare the child for adult responsibilities. For Beaver experiences, see R. Ridington, "Beaver Dreaming and Singing," Anthropologica. XIII. 1-2 (1971), p.121.

77 These are, of course, components of the spiritual quest throughout the known world. See R. Benedict, "The Concept," p.26, and Underhill's various works on mysticism, to name but a few.

78 Mandelbaum, p.252. Self-torture, was, of course, inflicted in certain aspects of the vision quest, such as the Sun Dance, which will be discussed under a separate heading. Only A.P. Reid, p.107, mentions gorging for a week prior to the quest, in order to induce sleeping and dreaming. But the theme of begging pity from the spirits is constantly reiterated in the literature and pertains to all tribes.

79 J. Ewers, The Blackfoot: Raiders, p.163, cites the following as a common formula among the Blackfeet: "hear sun; hear old man; above people, listen; underwater people, listen."

80 Ibid. Benedict, "The Concept," p.13, sees the Blackfoot vision as differing from others in that their vision stories described "actual and rather minor occurrences without any particular formula," rather than the more elaborate visions described by other tribes.

81 C. Shaeffer, "The Kutenai Female Berdache," p.220; Hultkrantz, Prairie and Plains Indians, p.29.

82 Rundle, 19 March, 1841.

83 Benedict, "The Concept," p.45.

84 See M. Shippo, "Native Religion in Sociological Change," in Religion in Canadian Society. eds., S. Crysedale, L. Wheatcroft, Toronto: 1976, p.131, for the concept of absolute surrender.

85 Quoted in Young, Apostle, p.41f.

86 Rundle, 9 June, 1847. See also William Cockran's description in his Journal, 2 Aug., 1837 (C.M.S., A78) p.280. His informant assured him that there was no deception, but the vision and the power were absolute realities.

<sup>87</sup> Albers and Parker, p.206, 223. See also P. Radin, "Religion Among the North American Indians," p.366 for these socio-economic consequences.

<sup>88</sup> Benedict, "The Vision," p.20. Failure to receive a vision is noted by Benedict, "The Concept of the Guardian Spirit," p.25: "Most tribes where information is at all full, mention more or less common lack of success."

<sup>89</sup> See Mandelbaum, p.262, 190f. As Mandelbaum comments, "It is noteworthy that the making of a fish weir did not require vision authorization." The Cree were obviously not primarily fish eaters.

<sup>90</sup> Rundle, 14 Aug., 1845; 16 Jan., 1841. Here Rundle also refers to the practice of pursuing buffalo on ice and when they slip and fall the kill is simple.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., 19 May, 1845; 14 Aug, 1845.

<sup>92</sup> West, Substance, p.46f.

<sup>93</sup> See Ewers, The Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture, p.257ff. for an entire chapter on "The Horse Medicine Cult" which enlarges the scope of horse medicine power much beyond curing.

<sup>94</sup> Wissler, "Ceremonial Bundles of the Blackfoot Indians," Anthropological Papers of the A.M.N.H. VII.2 (1912), 69-289, presents an excellent study. On p.91, he notes that charms were "almost exclusively the property of men; general charms are chiefly for children, but rarely for women."

<sup>95</sup> West, Substance, p.190f. Note the use of the term "grandfather," a common honorific mode of address, both in the human and the supernatural worlds. See Hallowell, "Ojibwa World View," p.210f.

<sup>96</sup> See J. Ewers, "The Bear Cult Among the Assiniboia and Their Neighbors of the Northern Plains," S.J.A. XI.1 (1955), p.1-12.

<sup>97</sup> West, Substance, p.190.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., p.24.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., p.41. Since face painting was a universal tribal custom, the likelihood of this particular cosmetic exercise being connected with the vision quest is extremely remote.

<sup>100</sup> Wissler defines a medicine bundle as "any object or objects, kept in wrappings when not in use, guarded by the owner according to definite rules and associated with a ritual containing one or more songs ("Ceremonial Bundles," p.107). Michael M. Mooney, ed., George Catlin Letters and Notes on the North American Indians, New York: 1975, p.112ff. has a very good section on the medicine bag with illustrations.

101 Ewers, The Blackfeet: Raiders, p.127, describes these in more detail, as does Hultkrantz, Prairie and Plains Indians, p.23 ff; and others.

102 Ewers, The Blackfeet: Raiders, p.167, calls the beaver bundle the oldest type of medicine bundle and by far the largest. Its owners were the tribal calendar keepers. H. Harrod, Mission Among the Blackfeet, p.15, tells the Blood version of its inception.

103 Wissler, "Ceremonial Bundles," p.248 and 252 says, "every knot and cord is sung off the bundle," and again, "the whole proceeding. . . is a prayer."

104 Ibid., p.252f. He quotes several prayers to various deities, all containing the refrain, "Take pity."

105 Appearing in Missionary Notices, January, 1843.

106 West, Substance, p.119.

107 Evans to E. Evans, 30 June, 1842 (V.U.L. "James Evans' Papers"). "Old superstitions" was not likely the Indian's description.

108 Letter quoted in Young, The Apostle, p.42f.

109 Ewers, The Blackfeet: Raiders, p.165, observes that among the Blackfeet the lodge cover was considered "part of a complex of sacred objects" rather than a sacred entity in itself. See also Mandelbaum, The Plains Cree, p.286.

110 McClintock, p.223. Frans Boaz, "Some Traits of Primitive Culture," J.A.F. 17-18 (1904-05), p.243-254, observed the close correlation between power and animal motifs on tipis and garments, especially prowess in hunting and war. Jenness, The Indians of Canada, p.324, contends that "Painted tents, special war shirts, amulets, everything in fact that originated from a vision, the Blackfeet regarded in the same light as the medicine bundles." He is obviously not in full agreement here with most other authorities.

111 Wissler, "Ceremonial Bundles," p.237f. describes the various motifs and also the tribes and bands in which they were found. There were taboos in connection with the painted tipi also. According to Ewers, The Blackfoot: Raiders, p.165, the owner of a snake-painted lodge must not break a bone of any kind while in the tipi.

112 Rundle, 19 April, 1841.

113 Ibid., 14 June, 1847. Emphasis his.

114 For further information see Leslie Spier, "The Sun Dance of the Plains Indians: Its Development and Diffusion," A.P.A.M.N.H. XVI.7 (1921), p.433-527; C. Wissler, "The Sun Dance of the Blackfoot Indians," A.P.A.M.N.H. XVI.3 (1918), p.229 ff; Pliney Goddard, "Notes on the Sun Dance of the Sarsi," A.P.A.M.N.H. XVI.4 (1919); A. Skinner, "The Sun Dance of the Plains-Cree," A.P.A.M.N.H. XVI.4 (1919), p.287 ff; Claude E. Shaeffer, Blackfoot Shaking Tent. Glenbow Institute Occasional Paper No. 5. Calgary, 1969; Ruth Landes, Ojibway Religion and the Midiwin. Madison, Wisconsin: 1968; C. Wissler, "Societies and Dance Associations of the Blackfoot Indians," A.P.A.M.N.H. XI.4 (1913); Wissler, Social Organizations and Ritualistic Ceremonies of the Blackfoot Indians, A.P.A.M.N.H. VII.1 (1912), p.1-63; Pliney E. Goddard, "Dancing Societies of the Sarsi Indians," A.P.A.M.N.H. XI.5 (1914) p.465 ff. In the shaking tent phenomenon, the conjuror is tied up tightly then left isolated in his tent. He calls his spirit helpers who impart wisdom and knowledge in various forms after which the conjuror emerges from his tent completely unbound.

115 McClintock, p.170. Spier, "The Sun Dance of the Plains Indians," p.464-466 has excellent charts depicting the tribes and the particular ceremonies of the sun dance ritual observed by each.

116 If Nan Shipley can be taken as a reliable source, this is precisely what J.E. Harriott, one of the few white men to see the dance, told James Evans (Shipley, p.102 ff.).

117 Cockran's Journal, 2 Aug., 1837 (C.M.S., C.1 A78, p.280).

118 Ibid.

119 MacLeod, Letitia Hargrave, p.109. Evans describes the revelation of a conjuror to the family of a man long absent, that he is sleeping in the fork of two trees in a rain storm but will be home on a certain day. When the man returns on the predicted day, Evans questions him and finds the situation as the conjuror described. "Evans converted the conjuror and tried to get the secret of his art from him, but he always evaded the subject and said it was bad."

120 West's Eskimo guide, Augustus, was so threatened. West, Substance, p.182; 170.

121 Ibid., p.169.

122 Rundle, 13 July, 1840.

123 Ibid., 17 Jan., 1841. On 19 July of the same year he again mentions "severely reproving" some "in regard to conjuring."

124 West, Substance, p.36. Emphasis his.

125 Rundle, 29 Oct., 1844; 24 May, 1847.

- 126 Ibid., 13-14 April, 1841.
- 127 Rundle, 24 April, 1841.
- 128 Grinnell, Blackfoot Lodge Tales, p.143, also quoted in Thomas F. and Alice Kehoe, "Boulder Effigy Monuments in the Northern Plains," J.A.F. 72 (1959), p.25.
- 129 Grinnell, Blackfoot Lodge, p.256.
- 130 They end the article stating a preference not "to hazard any guesses on the age or possible diffusion of the boulder monument complex" but hope their research will lead to "further documentation and greater clarification of what is now an intriguing but still obscure" subject. (Kehoe and Kehoe, p.127).
- 131 Kehoe and Kehoe, p.119.
- 132 T. Kehoe, "Tipi Rings: The Direct Ethnological Approach Applied to an Archeological Problem," A.A. LX (1958), p.864, 871.
- 133 Hugh Dempsey, " 'Medicine Wheels' - Memorials to Blackfoot War Chiefs," J.W.A.S. XLVI. (1956), p.177. See also T. Kehoe, "Stone 'Medicine Wheels' in Southern Alberta and the Adjacent Portion of Montana: Were They Designed as Grave Markers?" Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences. XLIV (1954), p.133-137.
- 134 Kehoe, "Boulder Effigy Monuments," p.120 mentions for example the "monument to shame" to commemorate the infidelity of a wife.
- 135 See Maclean, Canadian Savage Folk, p.438.
- 136 Kehoe, "Boulder Effigy Monuments," p.20; Grinnell, p.263.
- 137 Kehoe, "Boulder Effigy Monuments," p.127.
- 138 Rundle, 24 May, 1847. And incidentally picks up "huge bones" (most likely those of a dinosaur) as he does on several other occasions also.
- 139 West, Substance, p.164 f. It is very likely that West saw some of these pictographs while travelling with John Halkett, for the latter describes them, and gives some historical background (Halkett, p.343, ff).
- 140 See S. Dewdney, The Sacred Scrolls of the Southern Ojibway. Toronto: 1975 for a comprehensive discussion of various types of pictography, and also a complete bibliography. See also Harry Moody, "Birch-bark Biting," The Beaver, 287 (1957), p.9-11.
- 141 G. Copway, Traditional History, p.132. Dewdney, p.3, quotes an Indian Christian as saying the midewin scrolls contained "as much and

141 Cont'd

more" information as the Bible, which would certainly have made them anathema to any missionary in our time frame. See also B. Coleman, p.49 on midewin scrolls and especially G. Copway, The Traditional History, p.132 ff. in which he describes the ritual of burying/hiding the sacred Ojibway scrolls, examining them periodically and re-working when necessary, as well as the men chosen for this task, etc.

142 See figure 153, Dewdney, p.145, for an excellent reproduction of a mide shaman painted on rock near Bloodvein, on Lake Winnipeg; and a rock painting on Rainy Lake (p.2) which William Mason should have noted. For more information on rock painting, see S. Dewdney and K.E. Kidd, Indian Rock Paintings of the Great Lakes. Toronto: 1967.

143 Glyphstones were fairly common on the prairies and were simply inscribed rocks. See Dewdney and Kidd, p.3.

#### 4. Dynamics for Outreach: Methods

- 1 Evans, "To the Chiefs and Warriors of the Chipewyan and Cree Nations," March, 1842 (V.U.L., "James Evans' Papers," Add. Mat., Box 1).
- 2 Rundle, 28 June, 1840.
- 3 "Additional Instructions for the Wesleyan Missionaries appointed to the Hudson's Bay Territory," (V.U.L., "James Evans Papers," Add. Mat., Box 1).
- 4 Letter to his uncle, Rev. Benjamin Carvosso, dated 17 May, 1844 (G-A.I., "Rundle Papers").
- 5 Barnley Journal, Sept., 1840.
- 6 Quoted in J. Usher, William Duncan of Metlakatla: A Victorian Missionary in British Columbia. Ottawa: 1974, p.40.
- 7 Rundle, 14 June, 1840; 12 Aug., 1843, etc. He writes: "I told them the people in England were very much interested about them and very anxious for them to become partakers of the great salvation."
- 8 Rundle, 14 Jan., 1848; 17 Jan., 1848, etc. Drunkenness however was not condoned and on several occasions he ejected an inebriated visitor.
- 9 See for example West, Substance, p.115.
- 10 Rundle, 19 April, 1841. Blackfoot tents could be enormous. Oscar Lewis, Effects of White Culture. Seattle: 1942, p.35, quotes Heday: "the 'leaders' tent in a camp of two hundred was large enough to contain 50 persons'." See also Rundle, 14 March and 14 July, 1843 for expressions of appreciation for Indian hospitality. This practice approximated West taking his carriage into a tent and sleeping therein, a habit learned from the traders and also occasionally followed by Rundle.
- 11 Rundle, 1 Sept., 1843; 21 Sept., 1844; 12 Aug., 1843, etc.
- 12 Ibid., 19 Feb, 1848. See also Hutchinson, "Introduction," p. LXIV. Egerton Young who spent some time with Rundle before the latter's death, describes Maskepetoon as follows: "He was a magnificent looking man physically, and was keen and intelligent, but he had before his conversion, a fierce despotic way, and was a man of ungovernable temper (The Apostle, p.139).
- 13 West, Substance, p.14. Barnley Journal appearing in M.N., Feb., 1841.
- 14 Quoted in R. Young, The Apostle, p.83; also in J. Carroll, Case and His Contemporaries. Vol. 4, Toronto: 1867, p.226.
- 15 Whitman College, "Whitman Collection," W-3/10c.

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<sup>15</sup> Whitman College, "Whitman Collection," W-3/10c.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., p.XXIX. He was also poorly regarded by James Hargrave, and John Rowand. See George Glazebrook, ed., The Hargrave Correspondence, 1821-1843, Toronto: 1938, p.34; and Rowand to Hargrave, 11 Jan. 1834 and 31 Dec. 1838. For a differing opinion, see Paul Kane, Wanderings of an Artist. ed. J.R. Harper, Toronto: 1925, p.146.

<sup>33</sup> Rundle, 30 June, 1847. Again on 25 Oct., 1846 Rundle suspected, "He spoke a little by himself, I believe."

<sup>34</sup> Barnley to Simpson, 7 Sept., 1846 (H.B.C.A., D.5/18 fo 216-19). Yet Barnley should have appreciated the connection made between Indian religion and Christianity but obviously did not. Letitia Hargrave reports Cockran's experience when he was preaching on "The Soul that Sins Shall Die," and seeking to explain "that the death meant was a spiritual one as the soul was immortal. The Interpreter had never heard of immortal but he had of mortar so he . . . informed them that the soul that sins shall be made white mud that being the nearest translation for mortar" (MacLeod, Letitia Hargrave, p.173).

<sup>35</sup> H.Y. Hind, Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858. Vol. II. London and New York: Reprinted 1969, p.200.

<sup>36</sup> See Rundle 20 April, 1841, and letter to Rowand, 8 May, 1841 (Dempsey, Journals, p.69f) for a full explanation.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., p.71.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., p.72. This was a fear also expressed by Simpson, only the Governor's fear was "insult and ridicule" for the H.B.C. and the missionary, not the missionary and his cause (Hutchinson, "Introduction," p. XXIX). Rundle was afraid Bird would turn to work for the Catholic priests, but Jimmy Jock wished to turn to horse trading and be done with interpreting altogether (ibid., p.88). However, he soon changed his mind. When Father Pierre De Smet came through the area in 1845, Rundle (4 Oct. 1845) remarks without comment, "he came to see the Slave Indians but his plan was rendered abortive through the refractoriness of his interpreter." The same Jimmy Jock! J.E. Harriott is less kind to Bird. "He [Bird] engaged himself last fall to Pere De Smet . . . but got into one of his sulky fits before he reached the Blackfoot camp and left the poor man to shift for himself. He with some difficulty, made his way back to my place. . . ." (H.B.C.A., D.5/17 fo 271).

<sup>39</sup> The H.B.C., as previously noted, paid for this service under the Wesleyan agreement. In a letter to Evans, 31 May, 1841, Rundle proposes "to go to the Missouri after a Blackfoot interpreter" (Dempsey, Journals, p.74). In a further letter to the Society, he comments that J. Harriott "is of opinion that there is neither one amongst the Americans qualified . . . but I hope he is mistaken. . . ." (Ibid., p.88). Harriott in turn, writes to Simpson, "[Rundle] appears to be very sore on the subject of Interpreters, . . . and will I dare say write about it, I shall however in the mean time endeavour to facilitate his mission as far as is consistent with your instructions concerning it" (H.B.C.A., D 5/6).

<sup>40</sup> Rundle to Society, 1841, quoted in Dempsey, Journals, p.88.

<sup>41</sup> Rundle to Rowand, 8 May, 1841 (Dempsey, Journals, p.71). See also Rundle to Governor Simpson, 2 May, 1841. (H.B.C.A., D.5/6 fo.289). The problems with Bird were ongoing. In April, 1848, just before Rundle's departure, he records: "heard about Birds interpreting last summer . . . but I should not say interpreting, for I am sure I never said about 'dying soon' or what it is respecting things stolen."

<sup>42</sup> Hutchinson, "Introduction," p.XXVII. Rundle, for example, baptized Bird's infant daughter, and upon her death, conducted the burial service. Bird's children and wife also attended his services. An entry which says much about both Bird and Rundle is that of 28 June, 1847: "She [another of Bird's daughters] took great delight in religion and once when prayers were held in her father's tent and she was unable to sit up without assistance, she was held in her father's arms so she could take part." Rundle experiences "emotions of hallowed pleasure" whenever he passes her "tomb."

<sup>43</sup> See especially J.S. Murdoch, "Syllabics: A Successful Educational Innovation," M. Ed. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1981, for a comprehensive analysis of Evans' work. He argues persuasively that the syllabics were so successful because Evans recognized the "adaptive culture" of Indian society and therefore devised "a system of writing which could be easily adapted to such a nomadic or mobile existence" (p.143). For a partial listing of other works dealing with Evans see: Nan Shipley, The James Evans Story. Toronto: 1966; Egerton R. Young, The Apostle of the North: Rev. James Evans. Toronto: 1900; Gerald Hutchinson, "Early Wesleyan Missions," Alberta Historical Review. 6:4 (1958); "James Evans' Last Year," J.C.C.H.S. XIX (March-June, 1977) p.42-56; John Maclean, James Evans: Inventor of the Syllabic System of the Cree Language Toronto: 1890.

<sup>44</sup> Quoted in G.M. Hutchinson, "James Evans' Last Year," p.42.

<sup>45</sup> He did make an initial effort. See Dumoulin to Bishop Plessis, 6 Jan., 1821 in Grace Nute, ed. Documents Relating to Northwest Missions 1815-1827. Saint Paul: 1942, p.287.

<sup>46</sup> Barnley to Society, 24 Aug., 1840 in M.N. Feb., 1841; Barnley to Evans, 1 July, 1841 (V.U.L., "James Evans Papers," Box 2).

<sup>47</sup> Dated 10 Dec., 1845 (P.A.B.C., "Donald Ross Holdings," Add. miss. 635, Box 4, File 129). Robert Miles was Chief Trader at Rupert River in 1840 and then served at Moose Factory.

<sup>48</sup> See William Brooks, "Methodism in the Canadian West," p.47 f. for a detailed letter from Barnley to the Society, Aug., 1843, describing his alphabet, as well as stating his conviction that Evans' syllabics could not adequately express the Cree dialect spoken in the James Bay area. See J. Murdoch, "Syllabics," for the view that Barnley received Evans' alphabet in 1842 and from it proceeded to work on his own. This writer considers Murdoch's view erroneous in light of Barnley's diary.

49 Governor Simpson on 19 Dec., 1845, again granted Barnley the use of a Company interpreter, therefore his need was still apparent (H.B. C.A., D.4/33, p.252). However, as has been noted, even experienced linguists such as Evans travelled with interpreters.

49a Barnley Journal, 6 Oct. 1842. Also in Jennifer Brown, "The Track to Heaven," p.58 where she relates it to the Abishabis "heresy" just surfacing in the Moose Factory area.

50 Barnley Journal, Oct., 1843.

51 Barnley Journal entries from Aug. to Oct., 1843; the matter of a press was revived again in 1846.

52 Extract from Sunday at Home, Jan., 1897, p.202, in which Barnley is listing his accomplishments. (U.C.A., "Barnley File").

53 See Mason's letters to W.M.M.S., especially those appearing in M.N., March 1850, and Aug., 1849. See also Bruce Peel's article, "Frustrations of the Missionary-Printer of Rossville: Rev. William Mason." Bulletin, United Church of Canada Committee on Archives 17 (1965), p.20-25. This is when the unfortunate incident of Mason's name appearing as sole translator on the title page of the new Bible occurred. See Mclean, James Evans, p.199.

54 See Murdoch, p.13; A Skinner, "Notes,"; R. Lowie, "The Assiniboine," p.7 and many others. In his letter to the W.M.M.S., 31 May, 1841, Rundle reports, "What a confusion of tongues there is here. No less than eight different languages being spoken in the district." (reprinted in Dempsey, Journals p.72). In his Journal he mentions meeting with the following tribes (some belonging to the same confederacy): Assiniboine, Strongwood Assiniboines, Gros Ventres, Blackfeet, "Pegans," Blood, Chippewyan, "Saulteaux," Stoneys, Kootenays, "Suscee," Cree, Rocky Mountain Cree, Plains Cree, Iroquois, "Thickwood Indians," Slave, Beaver.

55 West, Substance, p.140. In the latter instance he is quoting an unidentified source.

56 Harriott entered the H.B.C. in 1809, became Chief Trader in 1829 and Chief Factor in 1846. See G.P. de T. Glazebrook, ed., The Hargrave Correspondence 1821-1843. The Champlain Society Vol. 24, Toronto: 1938, p.42. John Henry Lefroy said of him, "I wanted to get a literal translation of the Cree Te Deum. The translation is by the most perfect master of that language in the North, as Mr. Harriott is and no doubt the very best that could be made." He adds, "The Wesleyan [Rundle] whom I used to hear reading it, did not himself understand it sufficiently to explain it to me, in fact, repeated it by rote" (John Henry Lefroy, In Search of the Magnetic North. ed., G.F.G. Stanley. Toronto; reprinted 1955, p.158). Since Lefroy was there in 1844, Rundle had not yet acquired the proficiency which in another year would be his.

57 Quoted in Dempsey, Journals, p.113. Yet Rundle greatly appreciated Harriott's work. In the same letter he writes, ". . . Mr. Harriott may be regarded quite as a helper amongst us; he has been the means of doing great good . . . He has many translations, I believe, to submit to you. . . ." (ibid., p.112).

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., p.112. Rundle learned the syllabic system in 1841 during Evans' visit and effectively taught it to the Indians.

<sup>59</sup> West, Substance, p.14. Emphasis his.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., p.154.

<sup>61</sup> For example, cruelty to animals was considered reason enough to deny a Cree access to a happy hereafter. See also Ruth Underhill, Red Man's Religion, p.42, the hunter kills "without undue pain to his quarry."

<sup>62</sup> West, Substance, p.154.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., p.143 f., 59, 26. The other schools are discussed elsewhere. See J.E. Foster, "Program for the Red River Mission: The Anglican Clergy 1820-1826," Social History, IV (Nov. 1969), p.49-75. See also R. Berkhofer, "Model Zions for the American Indians," Am.Quart. XV (1963), p.184 for a discussion of missionary preferences for boarding schools.

<sup>64</sup> West, Substance, p.15.

<sup>65</sup> Simpson to Colville, 20 May, 1822 (P.A.M., Selkirk Papers XXIV, 7587), also quoted in F. Merk, Fur Trade and Empire, pp. 181-83 and in A.N. Thompson, "John West: A Study," p.48.

<sup>66</sup> West's unpublished Journal, "The British Northwest American Indians with Free Thoughts on the Red River Settlement," 24 May, 1822 (R.L.A., MG 7 B1 M33).

<sup>67</sup> West, Substance, p.147.

<sup>68</sup> Although West's name is not attached to the document printed in the appendix of C.M.S. Proceedings, 1820, p.367-372 (P.A.M., MG7 A1 CMS 03040) the implication is definitely there and has been so assumed by historians. However, an identical document, but without title, signature, date or place, bearing an 1814 water mark is found in the Selkirk papers, (no.15,) and is considered Lord Selkirk's proposal. Thanks to Dr. J.M. Bumsted for bringing this to my attention.

<sup>69</sup> "Proposal for an Establishment in the Territories of the Hudson's Bay Company in British North America, for the Instruction of the Indians," C.M.S. Proceedings, 1820, p.367-372. This is in marked contrast to Berkhofer's statement that missionaries adhered to the use "of contemporary pedagogical methods and curricula no matter how poorly suited to their immediate goals. . . ." (Salvation, p.16 also p.22).

<sup>70</sup> "Proposal." James Evans' theories were basically identical. See J. Evans to E. Evans in Landon, p.59, 64, and E.R. Young Apostle, p.154. Also J. Murdoch, "Syllabics," p.118. ". . . he developed an approach to educating and Christianizing Indians which involved participation in a mixture of hunting, fishing, trapping and limited farming."

<sup>71</sup> West, Substance, p.103.

72 West, Substance, The emphasis on learning English West derived from his reading of David Brainard, because as well for the reasons given, in the "native tongue no words exist for 'Lord,' 'Salvation,' 'Saviour,' etc." (Extract from a letter, West to C.M.S. 4 June, 1821. C.M.S. 00302 appendix XVIII, p.370). He was, of course, incorrect. Berkhofer, Salvation, p.33.

73 C. Wissler, North American Indians of the Plains. New York: 1912, p.130, describes the signs made with hands and fingers and based primarily upon ideas. It was only among the Plains tribes "that we find a system so well developed that inter-tribal visitors could be entertained with sign-talk on all subjects. . . could be used among all tribes familiar with it and must, therefore, be considered one of the striking peculiar traits of the Plains. . ." This is substantiated by McClintock, The Old North Trail. Reprint edition, Lincoln: 1968, p,402, 405 f. who gives several pages of examples.

74 West, "Proposal."

75 Substance, p.59, 104. For a discussion of West's advocacy of the Bell and Lancaster system of education, see Ian Stratton, "The Work and Ideas of John West, 1778-1845," M.A. thesis, University of Durham, 1979, p.71. See also Berkhofer, Salvation, p.25 f. for the use of this method in American mission schools.

76 H.B.C.A., B.235/a/5. See also A./6/20, p.61 where West is first promised the fort by the Directors and A.10/2 West to Governors, where the expectations have not yet been fulfilled. See also J.E. Foster, "Program for the Red River Mission," p.62-63.

77 The master, George Harbidge, educated at Christ's Hospital, London, and apprenticed to Bridewell, came to Red River with West, while his fiancée, Elizabeth Boden, a qualified teacher trained at the National Society's Central School at Baldwin's Gardens in London's East end, arrived in 1822. See Stratton, p.23 ff, also V. Fast, "John West: A Survey," paper written for Prof. W.L. Morton, 1976, for a full discussion of the problems with both Harbidges which culminated in their disgraced dismissal by West's successor, David Jones, in 1824.

78 When West and Harbidge first submitted a Memorandum to the C.M.S., it called for 16 boys and 15 girls to be admitted (C.M.S., A.77). When West made his last report in 1823, the enrollment was a scant eight children - six boys and two girls.

79 West, Substance, p.120, 143. See Berkhofer, Salvation, p.20-21, for similar experiences among American missionaries.

80 John H. Lefroy, In Search of the Magnetic North: A Soldier - Surveyor's Letters From the North-West, 1843-1844. Toronto: 1955, p.50. The teacher referred to is Thomas Hassell (thanks to Jennifer Brown).

81 Ibid, p.73.

82 The wives of these men became the primary strength of the schools, but this will be discussed later in this paper.

83 Harriott to Simpson, 14 Sept. 1841 (H.B.C.A., D.5/6). See also Rundle to Simpson 16 Sept. 1841 (ibid); "I beg to inquire if it be your wish that the Indian School should commence at once: and also if two boys are to be taken from each tribe or whether the total number is to be limited to ten. The number of tribes in the district is six." Obviously Simpson's intention was to educate only a selected few as future leaders, which of course did not include girls.

84 Quoted in Dempsey, Journals, p.134.

85 G-A.I., "Rundle Papers"; also in Dempsey, Journals, p.126 f.

86 6 June, 1847. Rowand's children were instructed in writing and reading English, as has been noted.

87 Rundle, 31 May, 1847: "Peagan chief showed picture and thing about popery." M. McCarthy, "The Missions of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate to the Athapaskans 1846-1870," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Manitoba, 1981, p.129 states the Rev. Father Thibault sent a copy of the Catholic ladder which she credits to Father Blanchet, into the Saskatchewan territory with Pichet (or Picher), so the article was in circulation among the Indians Rundle visited. McCarthy also describes the ladder in some detail. See especially Philip M. Hanley, "The Catholic Ladder and Missionary Activity in the Pacific Northwest," M.A. thesis, University of Ottawa, 1965.

88 C. Drury, The Diaries and Letters of Henry H. Spalding and Asa Bower Smith Relating to the Nez Perce Mission 1838-1842. Glendale, Calif: 1958, p.170. The original copy of Mrs. Spalding's ladder is in the museum of the Oregon Historical Society in Portland, Oregon.

89 Barnley to Society, 23 Sept., 1843, appearing in M.N. 1845.

90 Ibid. "Mnemonical" is of course derived from "mnemonic: designed to aid the memory" (The Concise Oxford Dictionary). The Ojibwa have a "teaching wand" called "The Tree of Life" which appears to be pre-contact, and based on "The Powers of the Four Directions - Grandfathers; The Six Powers (the Four and the Earth and the Sky); the Seven Powers (the Six and the Here); the Three Worlds (the Heavens, the 4 Directions, and the Earth); The Two Bases of Existence (Father Sky, Mother Earth)." See J.W.E. Newberry, "The Universe at Prayer," Native Religious Traditions. eds. E.H. Waugh, K.D. Prithipaul, Waterloo: 1977, p.172. The wand itself consists of 3 equi-length sticks. See also Hanley, p.34 for a description of the Sahale stick used by the Catholics in the Cowlitz region of the Oregon territory.

91 Rundle, 18 April, 1846; 24 April, 1847. What he gave was sugar and rice.

92 Evans to Ephriam Evans 8 July, 1842. (G-A.I., M 486) From the contents of this letter it appears to have been written to William Mason rather than to Ephriam to whom it is credited. Berkhofer, Salvation, p.20, calls boarding schools "the largest bribe of all, since the children received gratuitous clothing, board and lodging."

93 J. Halkett. Historical Notes Respecting the Indians of North America with Remarks on the Attempts Made to Convert and Civilize Them. London: 1825; reprinted ed. Millwood, New York: 1976, p.388.

94 Van den Burgh, ed., "The Diary of Rev. Barnley's 1844 Winter Journey," (G-A.I., unpublished typescript), p.15.

95 See M. McCarthy, p.271 ff. She describes homeopathic medicine as follows: "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" (ftnte. 42, p.375).

96 Rundle, 28 April, 1840; 7 May, 1842; 27 July, 1847, etc.

97 W. McClintock, The Old North Trail or Life, Legends and Religion of the Blackfeet Indians, p.524 ff. See also Frances Densmore, How Indians Use Wild Plants for Food, Medicine and Crafts. New York: 1974; D. Jenness, "The Sarcee Indians of Alberta," National Museum of Canada.90 (1938), p.73, etc.

98 A. Skinner, "Notes on the Eastern Cree and Northern Saulteaux," A.P.A.M.N.H. 9.1 (1911), p.77. See also p.160-161, 76-77. Skinner observed another very unique aspect of Cree medicine: "When a blister rises in the foot from the frost, the chafing of the shoe, etc., they immediately open it, apply the heated blade of a knife to the part, which painful as it may be, is found to be efficacious. A sharp flint serves as a lancet for letting blood, as well as for scarification in bruises and swellings. For sprains, the dung of an animal just killed is considered the best remedy."

99 McClintock, p.142. See also Henry Y. Hind, p.127; A. Skinner, p.77 and many others.

100 West, Substance, p.39.

101 Halkett, p.388.

102 W.S. Wallace, ed., John Mclean's Notes on a Twenty-Five Years' Service in the Hudson's Bay Territory. Toronto: 1932, p.320.

103 E.E. Rich, "The Fur Traders: Their Diet and Drugs," The Beaver (Summer, 1976), p.48. This is not to say that gross indifference did not

103 Cont'd

mark the reception of sick Indians by certain traders at certain times and places but this was not Company policy. By 1837 Governor Simpson reported to the London Committee that the Indians "have the benefit of the care and attention, free of expense, of our medical men, of whom about 12 are usually employed in the service . . . ." (Merk, Fur Trade and Empire, p.337).

104 John E. Foster, "The Home Guard Cree and the Hudson's Bay Company: The First Hundred Years," Approaches to Native History in Canada: Papers of a Conference Held at the National Museum of Man, October, 1975, ed. D.A. Muise. Ottawa: 1977, p.53, quoting Andrew Graham. Foster, "Rupert's Land and the Red River Settlement, 1820-70," The Prairie West to 1905: A Canadian Source Book, ed. Lewis H. Thomas, Toronto: 1975, p.26, quotes John Rae: "Our different trading establishments are the resort or refuge of many of the natives who, from age, infirmity, or other causes, are unable to follow the chase; they have the benefit of the care and attention, free of expense, of our medical men, . . . every trading establishment being in fact an Indian hospital."

105 West, Substance, p.127.

106 Rundle, 13 April, 1842. The relief was probably food, but not necessarily only that.

107 Foster, "The Home Guard Cree," p.53. Rich, "The Fur Traders," p.48 lists also tarter, "burned sponge" later suspended by iodine (in 1840's), opium against coughs, "Spanish flies and blister plasters, hartshorn. . . lavender water, tincture of rhubarb. . .Glauber salts, sulphur. . . ." and so on. These among others, however were medications used by doctors such as John Rae.

108 See, for example, Rundle, 26 July, 1840: "Meet Indians in morning at 9, Preach English at eleven, Indians again in the afternoon and evening. . . ."

109 MacLeod, Letitia Hargrave, p.97-98.

110 See Hugh D. McKellar, "Hymns in the Aboriginal Languages of Canada," Dictionary of American Hymnology, 1980, p.2-3.

111 McCarthy, p.119.

112 Eugenia to Evans, 5 Dec., 1838, "You say in your letter that you think I shall beat you in playing upon the accordian, but . . . I cannot play without [notes]" (V.U.L., "James Evans' Papers." Box 1). James Hargrave, after the Evans' arrival in Norway House, had a piano similar to that of his wife, shipped in for Mrs. Evans' use (Margaret A. MacLeod, Letitia Hargrave Correspondence, p.lvi). J. McLean, James Evans, p.184 says of him, "The missionary possessed musical talent, which he used to good purpose in training the people to sing, so that they were soon able to read music and sing their different parts in a very creditable manner."

113 So Shipley, p.19 and Murdoch, "Syllabics," p.102 f.

- 114 Evans' Journal, quoted in Young, Apostle, p.208.
- 115 Rundle, 28 March, 1841. Rundle mentions repeatedly "spent much time in teaching them to sing" and more than 30 references in various contexts are made to Indians' singing.
- 116 Dempsey, Journals, p.328, n.l.
- 117 Rundle, 6 Jan., 1842. John West left no record of how he conducted actual services among the Indians, but mentions singing the Old Hundredth Psalm, and "How Sweet the Name of Jesus Sounds" and also quotes in full Reginald Heber's "From Greenland's Icy Mountains" (Substance, p.4, 206). See also Stratton, p.69 n.11 for West's use of hymns.
- 118 Rundle, 24 Feb., 1841.
- 119 Ibid., 10 June, 1847; 13 June, 1847.
- 120 As Jennifer Brown points out in "The Track to Heaven," p.53, the members of Abishabis's religious movement also indulged in orgies of Psalm-singing.
- 121 That it was indeed normative is substantiated in Bruno Nettl, North American Indian Musical Styles. Philadelphia: 1954, p.8 where he notes that the function of Indian music is primarily religious. He also maintains that there has been "a minimum of hybridization of musical styles between European and American Indian cultures north of Mexico," which obviously does not refer to the music of the Indian Christian church. Young's insistence that "The Indians have no music worth saving" (Apostle, p.194) and the H.B.C. trader Ballantyne's contention that "There is no music in the soul of a Cree" (Stephenson, One Hundred Years of Canadian Methodist Missions. Toronto: 1925, p.82) may have its roots in what to European ears was dissonance, but also to a "characteristic which typifies North American music . . . the predominance of meaningless syllable song texts" (Nettl, p.8). Since words were of primary importance to European missionary' ears, "entirely or partly meaningless syllables" would be non-songs. See also B. Coleman, "The Religion of the Ojibwa of Northern Minnesota," P.M. X 3/4 (1937) p.33-57.
- 122 See A. Skinner, "Notes," p.77.
- 123 Book of Common Prayer: Morning Prayer.
- 124 John Wesley, A Collection of Hymns. London:1830, p.27.
- 125 Ibid., p.590. These hymns and "Jesus My All to Heaven Has Gone" were the first three translated by Evans (Young, Apostle, p.207).
- 126 N. Garry, "Diary of Nicholas Garry" in Royal Society Canadian Proceedings and Transactions, 2nd series VI, section ii. See V. Fast, "John West Reexamined," unpublished paper for W.L. Morton, University of Manitoba, p.5 ff. for a full description of West's preaching style and the background from which this emanated.

- 127 Evans' diary, 5 Jan., 1842: "I find 'Christ and Him crucified,' to be the best subject under all circumstances" (Quoted in Young, Apostle, p.219).
- 128 Rundle, 14 June, 1840. An interesting aspect of this message is the equation of England with Christianity, an assumption which will be discussed elsewhere.
- 129 Ibid., 21 July, 1840.
- 130 See for example, 7 March, 1842: "'Sodom and Gemorrah' which took hold of the congregation and was talked about afterwards"; 30 Jan., 1842; 12 April, 1846, etc.
- 131 Evans, "A Sketch of a Journey to York Factory," 29 Feb., 1844 (V.U.L., "James Evans' Papers," Box 2).
- 132 Journal, 12 June, 1840, appearing in M.N., Feb., 1841; Journal, 13 Sept., 1840.
- 133 Appearing in M.N., Feb. 1841.
- 134 Cockran to Secretaries, n.d. quoted in Foster, "Missionaries," p.113.
- 135 Jacobs to Evans, 4 Dec., 1839, appearing in the Christian Guardian. April, 1840.
- 136 P. Jacobs, Journal, p.5, MacLeod, Letitia Hargrave, p.113. Yet some thought his preaching excellent as did Egerton Young and John Maclean.
- 137 Rundle, 19 July, 1840. See also 9 Aug., 1840; 17 July, 1840, etc.
- 138 Ibid., 13 July, 1840.
- 139 Ibid., 8 August, 1843. This occurred among the Rocky Mountain Creees.
- 140 Ibid., 21 July, 1840.
- 141 Ibid., 14 June, 1840; 21 July, 1840; 19 July, 1840. In this connection it is interesting to read a conversion account by William Black, an 18th century Wesleyan Minister in the Maritimes. He speaks of repeatedly "wrestling with God" and finally the young man in question has the Lord lay "his hand on him in a wonderful manner; so that he rolled up and down, and roared as in the agonies of death" (J. Bumsted, p.122).
- 141A See Bruce Trigger, The Children, V.I, where he says "Failure . . . was believed to anger the sky, or the spirit of the lake, and would result in further accidents or dangerous change in the weather". (p.52). See also J.J. DeVries' article on the development of sin-consciousness in the Old Testament, The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, p. 361.

141B Trigger, p. 59: "The Huron recognized four major categories of crime: murder and its lesser equivalents . . . , theft, witchcraft, and treason".

141C American College Dictionary.

141D Stanley Ayling, John Wesley. London: Collins, 1979, says Wesley was "passionately convinced on the subject of witches and witchcraft". (p. 268).

142 Rundle, 21 July, 1840. For other conversion narratives see Barnley "Journal" 23 Nov., 1840; 16 Jan. 1844; James Evans' "Journal" 28 Dec., 1841 (Methodist Magazine, 1843) and many others.

143 Rundle, 13 Nov., 1845; Barnley to Society, 14 Jan. 1842, printed in Methodist Magazine, 1843.

144 West, Substance, p.16.

145 Halkett, Historial Notes, p.401. Although an H.B.C. official and not a missionary, Halkett travelled in company with West on a tour of the Saskatchewan.

146 West, Substance, p.152. Contrary to 19th century contemporary Protestant belief, the Catholic priests also looked for conversion, a change of heart apart from a change of lifestyle, "La parole de Dieu dans ces cœurs albrutes par toutes les passions" (Bishop Provencher, quoted in McCarthy, p.124).

147 See Saum, The Fur Trader and the Indian. Seattle, 1965, p.226 ff. for an interesting discussion. See also Traits of American Indian Life and Character By a Fur Trader, modern ed., San Francisco: 1933, p.84-85; Alexander Ross, The Red River Settlement, pp. 322-23; Ewers, Blackfeet: Raiders, p.188 f; Howard Harrod, Mission Among the Blackfeet, p.XX, 38.

148 Jacobs to Dr. Alder, date unreadable (U.C.A., Mic. D.8.1, #15).

149 M. MacLeod, Letters of Letitia Hargrave, p.109.

150 William Mason for example, mentions his first convert in Lac la Pluie who "continues steadfast amidst the scoffing and evil insinuations and surmizes of his brethren . . ." (Letter to Secretaries, 9 June, 1841. U.C.A., Mic. D.8.1 #13).

151 For more information on these men read G. Copway, The Traditional History and Characteristic Sketches of the Ojibway Nation. London: 1850, R. Young, The Apostle of the North, p.29 ff.; J. Maclean, Henry B. Steinhauer: His Work Among the Cree Indians of the Western Plains of Canada. Pamphlet published by the Methodist Young People's Forward Movement for Missions, n.p., n.d.; etc.

152 See John F. Freeman, "The Indian Convert: Theme and Variation," Ethnohistory. XII (1965), p.113-128.

152A See for example, C.W. Vernon, The Old Church in the New Dominion. London: 1929, who mentions the converts John Horden found in the Moose Factory area; John Maclean, Vanguards of Canada. Toronto: 1918, and E.H. Oliver, His Dominion of Canada. Toronto: 1932 who note those converted under Rundle; W.S. Wallace, ed. John McLean's Notes, as an example of fur traders recognition of this fact.

152B For an African example, see A.F. Walls, "Black Europeans, White Africans: Some Missionary Motives in West Africa". Religious Motivation. ed. Derek Baker, p.339.

153 West, Substance, p.96. The Oblates also approximated Protestant practice as a rule, by requiring two years of instruction before baptism and then an additional year before being admitted to communion (McCarthy, p.125).

154 West, Substance, p.121.

155 Ibid., p.26.

156 This is an assumption based on his uncritical and whole-hearted acceptance of the Prayer Book and the Thirty-Nine Articles. See R.T. Beckwith, Priesthood and Sacrament, p.54-55 for a discussion of this position.

157 Smithurst to C.M.S., 2 Aug., 1841 (C.M.S., A78 p.558).

158 Ibid.

159 Ibid.

160 Cockran Journal, 6 Feb., 1833 (C.M.S., A.78).

161 Ibid.

162 Ibid.

163 Alder to Evans, 1 Dec., 1842 (G-A.I., M486).

164 Barnley to Evans, 1 July, 1841 (V.U.L., "James Evans Papers," Box 2).

165 Evans Journal, 8 Nov. and 18 Oct., 1841, quoted in Young, Apostle, p.206-207.

166 Rundle, 12 Oct., 1841.

167 MacLeod, Letitia Hargrave, p.203: "Mr. E. (much to Mary's distress) made the sign of the cross on (baby's) brow."

168 Ibid., 12, 13, 14 March, 1843. Hugh Dempsey also comments on this matter (Journals, p.330).

169 Rundle, 29 Aug., 1843.

- 170 Ibid., 17 Sept., 1846.
- 171 J. Carroll. Reasons for Wesleyan Belief and Practice, Relative to Water Baptism. Peterboro: 1862, p.51.
- 172 John R. Parris. John Wesley's Doctrine of the Sacraments. London: 1963, p.60.
- 173 Barnley Journal, Jan., 1843, U.C.A.
- 174 These tensions are discussed elsewhere in this paper.
- 175 Baptismal register in Dempsey, Journals, appendix p.372-403. Rundle 28 Nov., 1846.
- 176 See Jenness, "The Sarcee Indians of Alberta," p.19; Mandelbaum, "The Plains Cree," p.242. Among the Cree, however, only a child could receive power from a change of name.
- 177 Grinnell, Blackfoot Lodge Tales, p.194. See also Ewers, Blackfeet: Raiders, p.101.
- 178 Maclean, Canadian Savage Folk, p.443; Ewers, ibid, p.190. Thorough washing, bathing, and sweat baths were the medium rather than merely a sprinkling of water, but it was the symbolism which was of importance.
- 179 Lefroy, In Search, p.74. This is supported by Saum's research, that many Indians considered Christianity a vehicle to ensure material success and or a spiritual means by which to harness "the forces of nature or the supernatural for their own ends." L. Saum, The Fur Trade, p.241.
- 180 Rundle, 14 Aug., 1845.

IV. The Indian Church

<sup>1</sup> Wilbert Shenk "Henry Venn's Instructions," p.481.

<sup>2</sup> Donald Ross observed this sequence after the fact when he wrote to George Simpson 14 Aug., 1844: "The first appearance of the Missionaries attracted much of their curiosity and attention, without, as it is now evident, making any serious impression on their minds, for generally speaking I fear the Indians are at this moment more firmly wedded to their ancient faith and superstitions than they were five years ago. . ." (H.B. C.A., D.5/12 fo. 171).

<sup>3</sup> Rundle, 14 June, 1840.

<sup>4</sup> L. Saum, The Fur Trade, p.227, referring to a remark made by Thomas Simpson. The old argument regarding civilizing vs. Christianizing is discussed elsewhere. Mgr. A. Tache, Sketch of the North-West of America. Montreal: 1870, p.122.

<sup>5</sup> Rundle, 19 April, 1841. See also 4 April, 1841 at an Assiniboine camp, and 24 Feb., 1841 among the Piegans.

<sup>6</sup> Ella E. Clark. Indian Legends of Canada. Toronto: 1966, p.168. Compare this with the Chippewa legend foretelling the advent of Europeans, "Men of strange appearance . . . Their skins are white like snow, and on their faces long hair grows." (ibid., p.150).

<sup>7</sup> Rundle, 22 Feb., 1841.

<sup>8</sup> Rundle, 25 Feb., 1841.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 24 Oct., 1843; 2 Nov., 1846. Among the other missionaries only John West reported on one occasion receiving this kind of adulation and that occurred when an Indian father, noticing West's attention to his young son, exclaimed, "with tears. . . 'See! the God takes notice of my child'." (Substance, P.38). Such imputing of special power was not uncommon in first contact situations, however. For example, Jean Usher, William Duncan, p.49, quotes an old Tsimshian chief remarking to Duncan that natives ". . . regard you as the same as God to them."

<sup>10</sup> Rundle, 13 March, 1842; 23 June, 1840. See also 12 July, 1841, 3 Oct., 1841, and others.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 25 Feb., 1841; 21 April, 1841. On one occasion a few Blackfeet, hearing the gospel for the first time, "knelt down near me, their hands clasped in each others and presented a very interesting appearance." (ibid., 25 Feb., 1841).

<sup>12</sup> Rundle, 13 July, 1840; 25 Nov., 1844. In Aug., 1845 he again notes "a very cool reception."

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 12 Oct., 1841.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 15 Aug., 1845. This threat seems to be the ultimate rejection short of death. See also West, Substance, p.39 where the whites are to be killed but the interpreter sent home. Mason, 28 May, 1841, had a similar experience, where a public council of James Bay Crees who "again rejected Christianity . . . bid us depart . . ." (M.N., Jan., 1843, U.C.A.) See also D. Jenness, The Indians of Canada, p.183 ". . . many natives dreamed of a day when he [Great Spirit] would banish the usurpers to their home across the sea, and restore the country to its rightful possessors."

<sup>15</sup> Mason to Evans, 28 May, 1841; J.H. Lefroy, Autobiography, p.71. Peter Jacobs also despaired and moved to Lac Seul, and as late as 4 June, 1850 was assured by William Sinclair that "certainly nothing has been left untried on your part as a missionary. I am sorry to see so much labour and valuable time lost in a fruitless attempt to convert these Indians. . . ." (U.C.A., Mic. D.8.1 #16).

<sup>16</sup> Barnley Journal, 14 March, 1841; Evans to Ephriam Evans, 30 June, 1842 (G.-A.I., M486); Rundle to Evans, 14 Feb., 1840 who fairly glows because "Nearly every one in the Camp I believe came out to meet me. . . Found a large tent fitted up for the service in which I addressed them."

<sup>17</sup> Mason to Simpson, 20 June, 1849 (U.C.A., Mic. D.8.1 #16); Mason to Secretaries, 10 Aug., 1841 (U.C.A., Mic. D.8.1 #13); Rundle to Evans, 2 Nov., 1840 (V.U.L., "James Evans' Papers," Box 2), among others.

<sup>18</sup> D. Jenness, The Indians of Canada, pp. 316, 317, 324, 325.

## 2. The "Invisible" Church

<sup>1</sup> Cockran to Secretaries, n.d., quoted in Foster, "Missionaries," p.113. It may well have been Cockran's message which prepared the way for Rundle's success at Norway House several years later.

<sup>2</sup> Evans to Ephriam Evans, 30 June, 1842 (V.U.L. "James Evans' Papers").

<sup>3</sup> These boys included Halkett of the Cayuse, Ellis, and Pitt of the Nez Percés. Their story forms a fascinating chapter of Pacific coast missions. See especially Thomas Jessett: "Anglicanism Among the Indians of Washington Territory," Pacific Northwest Quarterly. XLII (1951), p.224-240; "Black Robe, Black Coat and Black Gown in the Old Oregon Country," typescript mss., St. John's College; Chief Spokane Garry, 1811-1892. Minneapolis: 1960; "The Church of England in the Old Oregon Country," B.C. Historical Quarterly. XVII (1953), p.197-206. Also A. Josephy, The Nez Percés Indians and the Opening of the Northwest. New Haven: 1965, and others. It is interesting to note that when Father De Smet came to work among the Flatheads in 1840, he was surprised "at the similarity between their religious practices and those of his own creed, but this he accepted as a proof of the special power of his religion to impress itself at once upon the minds of the heathen," apparently giving

<sup>3</sup> Cont'd

no thought to prior indigenous contact. See Hubert Bancroft, History of Oregon, 1834-1888. Vol. I. San Francisco: 1886, p.323.

<sup>4</sup> See Alexander Ross's various books; Rundle to Evans, 31 May, 1841 re: Harriott (quoted in Dempsey, Journals, p.76); J. Evans to E. Evans, 8 Feb., 1839 re: Finlayson (in Landon, "Letters of Rev. James Evans," Ontario Historical Society Papers. XXVIII (1932), p.69; P. Jacobs to Alder, 4 May, 1841 (U.C.A., Mic. D.8.1 #13); Corneluis J. Brosnan, Jason Lee. New York: 1932, p.1 on David Thompson.

<sup>5</sup> Rundle, 14 June, 1840.

<sup>6</sup> Halkett, p.398 f., shows this to be true of both Catholic and Protestant missions.

<sup>7</sup> Father Lallemand, the Superior of Jesuit missions in early 17th century New France, observed, "The conversion of savages requires time. The first six or seven years will appear sterile to some persons; and if I were to add ten or twelve years, I might, perhaps, be nearer the truth" (quoted in Halkett, p.379).

<sup>8</sup> Rundle to Society, 24 May, 1843, quoted in Dempsey, Journals, p.128. Yet earlier he had written, "The Blackfeet so terribly painted in history will I believe be the first on the Plains to bow to the Sceptre of Immanuel (Ibid., p.73). See Ewers, Blackfeet: Raiders, p.186f for a biased account of missionary effort among the Blackfeet and which makes no reference whatsoever to Rundle.

<sup>9</sup> See Dempsey, Journals, p.128.

<sup>10</sup> William Duncan's experience at Metlakatla verifies this also. Between 1861 and 1862, he baptized 37 males and 21 females (J. Usher, William Duncan, p.50). Rundle's records in Dempsey show 54 males compared to 49 females, with numerous entries not listing any age and therefore not included in this count. Two of William Mason's reports are also of interest here: In 1847 in Rossville there were 112 Methodist members (83 in full communion, 29 on trial) out of a total adult population of 117. This latter figure included 78 married men and woman, 13 young men, 5 young women, 6 widowers, 13 widows and 2 repudiated wives (U.C.A., Mic. D.8.1 #15). Of necessity, therefore, the number of male church members equaled the number of women, even assuming that all women were baptized. The 1848 report Mason submitted to the Secretaries (ibid) substantiates this. For an example of the typical attitude to women converts see Saum, p.227. Rundle's own reaction when almost two-thirds of his congregation were women is also illuminating, for he questions, "Why this change?" (Rundle, 1 Jan., 1846). It was obviously unusual. It is important to keep a qualifying phrase in mind, however, for among the Blackfeet, although De Smet recorded 651 baptisms, only 26 were adults and only 4 were males (Ewers, Blackfeet: Raiders, p.190).

<sup>11</sup> For example, Rundle notes the conversion of a young man who wishes his wife to join him in baptism but she refuses (Rundle, 20 May, 1845) while Evans records the conversion of a conjuror's wife whose husband is reluctant (Young, Apostle, p.40 ff). One must of course also be aware of numerous instances where pressure was indeed exerted on a partner in either direction. See for example Rundle, 14 July, 1844.

<sup>12</sup> Mason to Secretaries, 20 Dec., 1848 (M.N.), Aug., 1849, p.141). See also Kane, Wanderings, p.142.

<sup>13</sup> See Michael Argyle and Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi, The Social Psychology of Religion. London: 1975, for an elaboration on this theme. They contend "Ordinary conversions" are rare after 30 . . . [but] 'mystical conversions' may occur. That is, when an already religious person experiences an emotional religious experience (p.67). See also Karl Mannheim, Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge London: 1952, p.286ff where he describes the phenomenon of "fresh contact," and the "Sociological Problem of Generations." An excellent bibliographical article covering conversion from various viewpoints including, among others, anthropological, historical, sociological, and psychological, is Lewis R. Rambo, "Current Research on Religious Conversion," Religious Studies Review/ 8.2 (April, 1982) p.146-159, who points out that the historical context of conversion differs. Jean Usher has analyzed William Duncan's early converts and finds, "Twenty-two were under 20 years of age, 27 between 20 and 30, five between 30 and 40, and only four were over 40" (William Duncan, p.50).

<sup>14</sup> Hutchinson, "Introduction," p.XIiii; Rundle, 14, 15 March, 1845. For more information about this interesting man and his conversion see Young, Apostle, p.138-140. It is strange that Paul Kane should quote Maskepetoon as saying that until Wesleyan, Anglican and Catholic agreed on "the true road to heaven," he "would wait" (Wanderings, p.142f). For what he would wait is unclear; presumably for formal church membership and Rundle never did organize a church during his tenure in the Saskatchewan.

<sup>15</sup> Rundle, 21 Oct., 1844; 21 April, 1841, 14 July, 1846. Yet Young, Apostle, p.140 refers to the "Assiniboine Chief Tenagibachak." Piet Eagle, baptized as "Stephen" is referred to by later missionaries for his exemplary character (Hutchinson, "Introduction," pxIv). M. Barbeau, Indian Days on the Western Prairies. Ottawa: 1960, p.95, quotes a Stoney: "He [chatka] believed in Christianity so strongly that when he heard of war or shooting, he would go into a fast, not eating. He was a brave man just the same."

<sup>16</sup> J. Evans to E. Evans n.d. (V.U.L., "James Evans' Papers"); Cockran to Secretaries quoted in Foster, "Missionaries," p.110. See also Maclean, Henry B. Steinhauer: His Work Among the Cree Indians of the Western Plains of Canada: Pamphlet, n.p., n.d., p.27 for the conversion of Chief Thomas Mush-Tah-Gun who was chief guide for three expeditions searching for Sir John Franklin.

### 3. The Organized Church

<sup>1</sup> For a full description of the class meeting, see W. Townsend, H. Workman, and E. Eayrs, eds. A New History of Methodism. Vol. I. London: MCMIX, p.287-89. Suffice it here to say that it was considered "a prudential regulation" which called for a weekly meeting of the converted, "the serious, the curious, the unattached. . . the only condition being 'a desire to flee from the wrath to come and to be saved from their sins' " (ibid., p.288). The "exact spiritual and moral condition of all members" was discovered together with such teaching and prayer as the leader provided.

<sup>2</sup> Dempsey, Journals, p.339 n.16.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p.128.

<sup>4</sup> J. Evans to E. Evans, n.d. (V.U.L., "James Evans' Papers").

<sup>5</sup> Barnley Journal, 23 August, 1842; 27 Sept., 1842 in reference to a "female class meeting" less than a year old.

<sup>6</sup> Trevor Deering, Wesleyan and Tractarian Worship, p.49 f.

<sup>7</sup> Deering, p.50, notes the Love-feasts tended to die out during the nineteenth century. Although there might be a "feast" of "plain cake and water" (ibid) it was not an occasion for eating but rather used often in preparation for the Eucharist. See also John R. Parris, John Wesley's Doctrine of Sacraments, "The Lord's Supper," p.62 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Cockran to Rev. T. Woodroffe, 3 Aug., 1831. Quoted in J. Foster, "Missionaries," p.102. Cockran in the same letter hopes that Chief Peguis and his band of Saulteaux will soon form "a Congregation of pure heathen," surely indicative of the prevailing attitude to the Indian church.

<sup>9</sup> John McLean assessed Protestant, especially Methodist converts as follows: "Their converts must not only reform their lives, but give indubitable proofs that they are reformed; they are taught so as to understand thoroughly the sound principles of Christianity; and they must give an account of their faith, and a reason for the hope that is in them, before they are admitted as members of the Christian community." (W.S. Wallace, ed., John McLean's Notes, p.110).

<sup>10</sup> Rundle, 27 June, 1842; Rundle to Society, 24 May, 1843, in Dempsey, Journals p.128; Rundle to Simpson, 12 May, 1843; ibid, p.127.

<sup>11</sup> Rundle, 27 Oct., 1845.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 21 Oct., 1846; Mason to Society, 16 Dec., 1856, "two expelled, one for fornication, one for lying and bearing false witness (U.D.C.A., Mic. D.8.1 #15).

<sup>13</sup> Mason to Society, 3 Jan. 1852 (U.C.A., Mic. D.8.1 #16). See also Mason's Journal, 10 Feb., 1849 (ibid). Sinclair had just aided Mason in translating "a sermon on the eternal torments of Hell," evidently not sufficient deterrent for his extra-curricular activities. Yet discipline was surprisingly seldom exercised by the missionaries, although it was frequently threatened.

<sup>14</sup> MacLeod, Letitia Hargrave, p.97.

<sup>15</sup> See for example James A. Scherer, Missionary, Go Home. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: 1964; Bengt Sundkler, The World of Mission. Grand Rapids, Michigan: 1965 and the works of individual missionaries such as David Brainerd, Hudson Taylor, Andoniram Judson and others.

<sup>16</sup> Rundle, 20 Jan., 1848.

<sup>17</sup> Cockran to Secretaries, n.d., quoted in Foster, "Missionaries," p.107.

<sup>18</sup> See Rundle, 21 April, 1843.

#### 4. The Indian as Missionary

<sup>1</sup> See Mason's Journal, 14 Nov., 20 Nov., 21 Nov., 31 Dec., 1847, for an appreciative appraisal of the preaching of these men (U.C.A., Mic. D.8.1 #15). Men who remained in eastern Canada after conversion such as John Sunday, Peter Jones and George Copway are beyond the scope of this study.

<sup>2</sup> This accident is told in various forms by Shipley, James Evans' Story; John McLean, James Evans; E. Young, The Apostle; G. Hutchinson, "James Evans' Last Year" and others. What is not generally known is that Hassell was married to a woman of exceedingly doubtful reputation. Clarissa Evans wrote to her father, 14 July, 1841: "Thomas's wife has come but I am afraid she is not just what she ought to be all the men give a very bad account of her actions last winter. Mr. Ross says he cannot have such a woman in the fort . . ." (V.U.L., "James Evans' Papers," Box 2). Poor Hassell was left alone to defend her to Mrs. Evans: "I cannot say how she will continue but at present she is quite another woman . . . and seems to be sorry for her past conduct and behaviour. . ." (V.U.L., "James Evans' Papers," 13 Feb., 1842, Box 2). His last letter, written just before his death in Sept., 1844, is very loving and filled with concern (Loc.cit., 3 Sept., 1844). George Simpson accused Evans of having illicit relations with Mrs. Hassell and therefore murdering her husband (Simpson to Ross, 25 June, 1846, 7 July, 1846, (V.U.L., "James Evans' Papers").

<sup>3</sup> See particularly the works of Thomas Jessett, Alvin M. Josephy, Jr., and Robert J. Loewenberg for the stories of those who returned west of the Rockies.

<sup>4</sup> Whether West brought one or two boys from York Factory is unclear. He states that the chief acceded to his request for "two of his boys" yet speaks of them/him in the singular thereafter. Carrington, The Anglican Church in Canada, p.70 refers to two, James and John Hope, while Pettipas mentions only one. The significance of Budd's name is considerable, for in so naming an Indian lad, West bestowed the highest honour of which he was capable. The English and the Indian Budd corresponded, the latter referring to the former as "father." The Rev. Henry Budd, a distinguished and active clergyman at White Rothing, was West's dear friend and mentor. See E. Lawson, typescript mss. in writer's possession, for a detailed description of the English Budd's career and relationship to West. This section owes much to Katherine Pettipas's "Introduction," The Diary of the Reverend Henry Budd 1870-1875. Vol. IV. Manitoba Record Society Publications, 1974, and to her thesis, "A History of the Work of the Reverend Henry Budd Conducted Under the Auspices of the Church Missionary Society 1840-1875," M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1972. See also T.C.B. Boon, "Henry Budd: The First Native Indian Ordained in the Anglican Church in North America," Manitoba Pageant. 15 Sept., 1957.

<sup>5</sup> George Harbidge (schoolmaster) to Secretaries, 1 July, 1824 (C.M.S., A77). See also Pettipas, "Henry Budd," p.32. The Victorian values are evident in Budd's letters and diaries.

<sup>6</sup> Pettipas, "Henry Budd," p.34-35.

<sup>7</sup> Budd married Betsy Work, daughter of a Hudson's Bay Company Officer in New Caledonia, in 1836 (ibid., p.35).

<sup>8</sup> Pettipas, "Introduction," p.XXII. It is therefore rather remarkable to read in Boon, The Anglican Church From the Bay to the Rockies. Toronto: 1962, p.50 that Budd received a "cordial welcome" and native help to build his station, the intimation being that voluntary labour was provided.

<sup>9</sup> Smithurst to Society, 2 Nov., 1840 (C.M.S., A78).

<sup>10</sup> Although a Henry Budd is referred to in William Mason's letter and Journal between 3 Nov., 1847, and 3 Jan., 1852 (U.C.A., Mic. D.8.1, #15, and #16), it is uncertain whether this is the same Budd. It seems quite possible however, because the Watchnight Service of 1851-52, he addresses the congregation along with Mason and a Wesleyan lay-minister.

<sup>11</sup> Budd to Evans, 8 Feb., 1845 (V.U.L., "James Evans Papers").

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., Budd to Evans, 8 Feb., 1845 (U.C.A., "James Evans' Papers"). Shipley, James Evans, p.83, is incorrect in stating that David Jones brought Budd and Hassell from York Factory to Red River in 1820; in the first place, it was West not Jones who brought the boys in 1820, and it was James Hope not Hassell who came with Bud.

<sup>13</sup> Cited in E. Young, The Apostle, p.215.

<sup>14</sup>Boon, The Anglican Church, p.51.

<sup>15</sup>Cited in Pettipas, "Introduction," p. XXIX, XXX.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. XXX. This puts in question J.H. Lefroy's opinion that Budd was "of much inferior intelligence to Mr. Evans's assistant" who was then Henry B. Steinhauer (J.H. Lefroy, In Search, p.73).

<sup>17</sup>Pettipas, "Introduction," p. XL. See also her "Henry Budd" for more details of his life including the five new stations he opened, details of his family, etc. Family sorrows included the deaths of his eldest son, Henry Jr. (ordained in 1863), another son, a daughter, and his wife all within a relatively short period of time.

<sup>18</sup>Berkhofer, Salvation, p.37 refers to this practice as "beneficiary naming." It insured contributions for Indian education and gave the child "a more pronounceable name." Baptism, however, accomplished this in any case. To a lesser extent Henry Budd also benefited from being the namesake of John West's old friend. See Pettipas, "Henry Budd," p.31.

<sup>19</sup>Maclean, Steinhauer, p.10. See also John Laurie, "Henry Bird Steinhauer, Pioneer and Apostle," The Western Producer Magazine. (30 June, 1955) for a general biographical sketch.

<sup>20</sup>Evans, 17 Feb., 1842 in M.N., 1843.

<sup>21</sup>Mason Journal, January, 1849 (U.C.A., Mic. D.8.1 #16).

<sup>22</sup>Steinhauer to Mason, 10 Dec., 1846 (U.C.A., Mic. D.8.1 #15).

<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

<sup>24</sup>26 Aug., 1850 (U.C.A., Mic., D.8.1 #16).

<sup>25</sup>For an account, see Mabel E. Jordan, "Henry Bird Steinhauer and His Whitefish Lake Mission." Alberta Historical Review. III.4 (Autumn, 1956), p.11-12. Also G. Hutchinson, "Early Wesleyan Missions," Alberta Historical Review. VI.4 (1958). Rev. John McDougall later became Steinhauer's son-in-law.

<sup>26</sup>Maclean, Steinhauer, p.50.

<sup>27</sup>Jacobs. Journal of the Reverend Peter Jacobs. New York: 1858.

<sup>28</sup>Jacobs himself does not mention his education but Maclean, Steinhauer, p.19 refers to his "good education" and Jacobs' fluency in English and his employment as a missionary would substantiate this.

<sup>29</sup>Jacobs, Journal, p.4.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., p.5.

- 31 Ibid.
- 32 His ordination "in due time" was suggested by Dr. Alder to James Evans as early as 2 Dec., 1840 (V.U.L., "James Evans' papers," Box 2).
- 33 Evans to Secretaries, 7 July, 1842 in W.M.M., 1842, p.884.
- 34 Quoted in Shipley, James Evans, p.6.
- 35 Ibid., p.217. Shipley quoting an unidentified source, says in the 1860's Jacobs was "retired and in disgrace with the church." Wallace, John McLean's Notes, p.363 n., gives the date of his dismissal from the ministry. There is also ample other evidence of Jacobs' indiscreet behaviour. See for example MacLeod, Letitia Hargrave, p.212, and Shipley, James Evans, p.146, among others.
- 36 Rundle, 30 June, 1847; 26 May, 1847.
- 37 Steinhauer to Evans, 6 Aug., 1842 (G.-A.I., M486). Actually this attitude was supported by Alder's directive, "Instructions for Missionaries," which includes, "Be neat and cleanly . . . and dress in a manner suited to your sacred office" (V.U.L., "James Evans' Papers").
- 38 Jacobs to Alder 14 Dec., 1847 (U.C.A., Mic. D.8.1 #15); Jacobs to Society 21 Aug., 1849 and 19 June, 1850 (U.C.A., Mic. D.8.1 #16); Pettipas, "Introduction," p. XIX; Steinhauer to Evans 6 Aug., 1842 (G.-A.I., M486) and "Report" 1875; Budd to Evans 7 June, 1841 (G.-A.I. M486); Budd to Smithurst 8 Aug., 1857 (P.A.C., MG 19E 6 Vol. I). and many more.
- 39 Steinhauer, "White Fish Lake Report," Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, 1875 (U.C.A.).
- 40 Jacobs to Society 19 June, 1850 (U.C.A., Mic., D.8.1 #16). In a letter to Alder Jacobs refers to a particular group as "very wicked . . . greater blackguards than I ever have seen . . . and if they will now go to the Devil they will go with their eyes open" (U.C.A., 4 May, 1841; Mic D.8.1, #13); not much identification to be seen. Jacobs however, often excused his own as well as others "selfishness" or extravagance if it occurred because of family needs.
- 40a Niels W. Braroe, Indian and White. Stanford: 1975, p.30. Braroe is one of several writers with an interesting discussion of role playing, and the entire question of "self image and interaction" occurring between natives and whites.
- 40b Jennifer Brown, "The Track to Heaven," p.55.
- 41 Steinhauer to Mason 5 July, 1851 (U.C.A., Mic. D.8.1 #16); Budd to Smithurst 3 July, 1843 (P.A.C., MG19 E6 Vol.1).
- 42 Cockran to Secretaries, 16 Oct., 1844 (C.M.S., A78). Also in Pettipas, "Henry Budd," p.28.
- 43 Mason to Society 18 Aug., 1849 (U.C.A., Mic. D.8.1 #16). There were initially some personality conflicts between Mason and Steinhauer but they were soon resolved (Shipley, "James Evans," p.134).

44 Jacobs to Alder, June, 1841 (U.C.A., Mic. D.8.1 #13).

45 Jacobs to Society, 10 Dec., 1849 (U.C.A., Mic.D.8.1 #16). Jacobs distributed 200 plugs of tobacco among the antagonistic Indians to influence the vote in his favour, but except for his own tribe still was defeated because "they hate Christianity from the bottom of their hearts. . . ." The term "totem" will be discussed elsewhere in this paper.

46 Steinhauer, Annual Report 1875. See also Pettipas, "Introduction," p.XXX for Henry Budd's very similar attitude, and Pettipas "Henry Budd," p.20 for Bishop Anderson's views. She also explores James Hunter's attitude (p.21 ff). These are found also in Hunter's communication with the C.M.S. on 30 July, 1850 (C.M.S. A79); Annual Report, 31 July, 1853 (C.M.S. A91) and others.

47 H. Budd to W. Knight 11 Aug., 1851 (C.M.S., A79). Also in Pettipas, "Introduction," p.XXX.

48 This is discussed in greater detail elsewhere.

49 R. Berkhofer, Salvation, p.122 argues that from the "shame" of unconverted tribesmen flowed the desire to preach salvation. This is a misinterpretation of the rhetoric of the Protestant "saved," Indian or White, which has always emphasized the depravity of human nature, the joy of salvation, the need to tell others, and recognition of remaining inner inadequacies - some holiness movements teaching sinless perfection excepted.

50 Jacobs to Alder, June, 1841 (U.C.A., Mic. D.8.1 #13).

51 Budd to Smithurst, 8 Aug., 1857 (P.A.C., MG. 19E.6. Vol I). See also Budd to Evans, 7 June, 1841 on the problem of being "separated from Christian Society. . . ." (G.-A.I.) For European missionary attitudes toward "heathen" whites, see J. West Substance, p.44, where he refers to the "human depravity and barbarism," at the Hudson's Bay Company fort; or to "appalling blasphemy" among the voyageurs (p.50).

52 Budd to Smithurst 6 July, 1843 (P.A.C., MG 19 E.6 Vol. I).

53 Jacobs to Evans 4 Dec., 1839 published in Christian Guardian, 1 April, 1840. One suspects dramatic licence in Jacobs' rhetoric, for he rarely bowed the knee to anyone, a trait which earned him a considerable degree of unpopularity.

54 Jacobs to Alder, 14 Dec., 1847 (U.C.A., Mic. D.8.1, #15; Mic. D.8.1#13). Jacobs is of course, quoting David's lament for Jonathan, but since Jacobs' love for women was considerable, his feeling for Evans was probably quite genuine. After the latter's death, Jacobs considered himself "friendless" (Jacobs to Alder, 14 Dec., 1847, *ibid*).

55 Jacobs to Evans, 20 Nov., 1840 (G.-A.I., M486). Emphasis his.

56 Budd to Smithurst, 8 Aug., 1857 (P.A.C., MG 19E.6 Vol.I).

57 Jacobs to Alder 14 Dec., 1847 (U.C.A., Mic.D.8.1, #15).

58 See Evans diary 4 March, 1844 (V.U.L., "James Evans' Papers," Box 2).: "I had a beaver cooked when as was our practice Mr. Mason and Mr. Steinhauer dined with me"

59 4 July, 1837, quoted in Maclean, p.109. "Oppression" here refers to the efforts of the government of Upper Canada to restrict Indian land claims.

60 14 May, 1841 (V.U.L. "James Evans' Papers," Box 2).

61 Quoted in John E. Foster, "Rupert's Land and the Red River Settlement, 1820-70," in The Prairie West to 1905: A Canadian Source Book. ed. Lewis H. Thomas. Toronto: 1975, p.55. Cook enclosed three letters "detailing the poor relationship between the catechists, Settee and Henry Budd, and the missionary Rev. James Hunter."

62 Cockran to the Rev. R. Davies, 5 Aug., 1847, *ibid*, p.56, Cockran's propensity for butchering the English language is well illustrated in this letter as well. Cockran may actually have exercised a double standard between his attitude and that of fellow missionaries, for Pannekoek says he objected to the C.M.S. policies of Henry Venn and "opposed the introduction of native clergymen and saw no reason why they should be treated on an equal basis with the European clergy" ("The Churches," p.161). See also M. Jarrett-Kerr, p.230 on the reaction of the C.M.S. missionaries in Africa to Venn's policy. Henry Townsend, for example, complained, "I have a great doubt of young black clergymen. . . we would rather have them as schoolmasters and catechists."

63 "Annual Report for the Year Ending July 31, 1853, Christ Church Cumberland" (C.M.S., A.91). Also in Pettipas, "Henry Budd," p.23.

64 Mason Journal 9 April, 1848 (U.C.A., Mic. D.8.1#15).

65 Jacobs to Evans Oct., 1839 appearing in The Christian Guardian, April, 1840. He makes the recommendation, "If you bring any missionaries with you, they ought to be men that understand fishing and hunting, for I had to depend on my spear and gun and snares for a good part of my living during the summer. . . ."

66 Mason's Journal 31 Oct., 1847: "Went to see whether Henry Budd had returned from visiting his nets - he left home on Monday and has not yet been seen or heard of since . . . his family were starving, I gave them 10 fish. . . ." (U.C.A., Mic. D.8.1 #15).

67 John West, a gentleman, was a competent marksman as his station in life demanded but there is no indication that he hunted for food except when travelling, even though Gov. Simpson reported that West was "in a wretched state owing to the shortage of Provisions. . ." (Simpson Diary, 26 March, 1822).

- <sup>68</sup> Letter written 21 May, 1936 (V.U.L., "James Evans' Papers," Item #27). Credit has generally been given to Evans or to Mason with only incidental recognition of the monumental work of the translators. However Maclean, James Evans, p.187 gives full credit to Steinhauer and Sinclair. Henry Budd also translated extensively, writing to Smithurst ". . . I expect we will have most of the Old and New Testament into the Cree language before we give up. . ." (8 Aug., 1857, P.A.C., MG 19E 6 Vol.I).
- <sup>69</sup> Venn to Bishop Anderson, quoted in Pettipas; "Introduction," p. XV.
- <sup>70</sup> "Minutes of the Finance Committee of the C.M.S., " 31 Oct., 1855 (R.L.A., M/S). Also in Pettipas, "Introduction," p.XXXIII.
- <sup>71</sup> See Shenk, p.474-476.
- <sup>72</sup> Pettipas, "Introduction," p. XXI. For his salary see Venn to Rev. R. James, 4 April, 1851 (C.M.S., A76).
- <sup>73</sup> F.A. Peake, "The Achievements and Frustrations of James Hunter," p.139. And this in 1844 while Budd was still working for 55 pounds at the same station.
- <sup>74</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>75</sup> H.B.C.A., B.239/K p.235.
- <sup>76</sup> Jacobs to Alder, June, 1841 (U.C.A., Mic., D.8.1 #13).
- <sup>77</sup> Evans' letter, 5 Sept., 1842 (U.C.A., Mic. D.8.1 #14); Simpson to Evans, 30 July, 1839 (V.U.L., "James Evans' Papers," Box 2). Information re: exact wages of European missionaries not available in the W.M.M.S. material at the U.C.A., although single men received 6.15.0 pounds per quarter plus 1.10 pounds for washing and stationary (Woodsworth, p.23).
- <sup>78</sup> Jacobs to Society, 22 Aug., 1849 (U.C.A., Mic., D.8.1 #16).
- <sup>79</sup> An especially poignant example is Budd's unconsolable grief at the death of his son, when he "hypothesized to the Society what outlets his grief would have taken" were he not a Christian and when his adopted faith gives him no solace. (Pettipas, "Introduction." p.XXXVII).
- <sup>80</sup> Jacobs to Society reporting his offer from Anderson 10 Feb., 1850 (U.C.A., Mic. D.8.1 #16).
- <sup>81</sup> Henry Budd, Jr., died shortly after his ordination. See Pettipas, "Introduction," p. XXXVI ff. for an account of the Budd family and the many tragedies which befell them.
- <sup>82</sup> Robert Steinhauer also entered missionary work. The pamphlet Rundle in Alberta 1840-1848. Toronto: 1940, p.9 states: "Rev. Dr. Robert B. Steinhauer . . . together father and son have given a full century to Indian Missionary Work in the West." See also Mabel E. Jordan, "Henry Bird Steinhauer and His Whitefish Lake Mission," pp.11-12 for family information.

## V. The Missionary and Other Whites

<sup>1</sup> See N. Jaye Goossen, "Missionary - Indian Trader: The Triangular Nature of contact in Rupert's Land," Approaches to Native History in Canada, ed. D.A. Muise. Ottawa: 1977, p. 30-43. See also her M.A. thesis, "The Relationship of the Church Missionary Society and the Hudson's Bay Company in Rupert's Land, 1821 to 1860 with a Case Study of Stanley Mission Under the Direction of the Rev. Robert Hunt," University of Manitoba, 1975.

<sup>2</sup> President Andrew Jackson signed the Indian removal bill on 28 May, 1830. For further information see among many others Francis Paul Prucha, American Indian Policy in the Formative Years: The Indian Trade and Intercourse Acts, 1790-1834. Cambridge, Mass. 1962, pp. 224-249. See also Berkhofer, Salvation, p.100-105 for American missionary involvement with government agencies.

<sup>3</sup> West, Substance, p.30. N. Goossen's contention that "Church Missionary Society members at once recognized and wished to deny the place of the secular European in the midst of a heathen race" (p.30), is not substantiated by the missionaries in this study.

<sup>4</sup> West, Substance, p.2. Here West makes mention of his commission to "seek the instruction and endeavour to meliorate the condition of the native Indian."

<sup>5</sup> See John West's "Register of Marriages and Burials," (H.B.C.A., E.4/1b). See also Van Kirk, p.154. Chief Factor Bird was father of the interpreter "Jimmy Jock" Bird known to Rundle, while Thomas was father of Sophia Thomas, future wife of William Mason. These same men were also the focus of earlier marital concern. Lady Selkirk wrote to her husband on 15 Nov., 1818, "According to Graffenried, the offence to Bird and Thomas was, that you disapproved of more than one Indian wife. . . . Bird has three Indian ladies it seems, nothing but a Protestant clergyman can bring decency there." (P.A.M., MG 2, A-1-16, M312, p.886-87). The first marriage at which West officiated was that of Thomas Bunn to Phoebe Sinclair at Rock Depot, 9 Sept., 1820.

<sup>6</sup> Simpson to E. Colvile, Sept., 1821: "Mr. West does all in his power (and his exortations are truly meritorious) to improve the morals of the people, but with little success. . ." (P.A.M., MG2, A1-16, M312).

<sup>7</sup> Also in the Minutes of the London Committee, H.B.C.A., A.1/52, Nov., 1821, and in A.10/2. Garry was sent to Red River to help ensure a smooth period of transition during the amalgamation of the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company. On the anniversary of the founding of the Bible Society Auxiliary, West also reports that Captain John Franklin "and the gentlemen of the expedition" worshipped with them (Substance, p.99).

<sup>8</sup> H.B.C.A., A.6/20.

<sup>9</sup> H.B.C.A., D.3/3.

<sup>10</sup> H.B.C.A., D.4/85, p.47

<sup>11</sup> Bulger to E. Colvile, 4 Aug., 1822 (P.A.C., MG 19 E 5 V2 f191).

<sup>12</sup> Quoted in Merk, pp. 181-183. West Substance, abounds in reference to all the issues raised by Simpson.

<sup>13</sup> Quoted in E.E. Rich, Hudson's Bay Company 1670-1870. Vol. III Toronto: 1960, pp. 453-454.

<sup>14</sup> West to Rev. Henry Budd, 26 Nov., 1822 (C.M.S., A77, Cl/M.1).

<sup>15</sup> John West, "The British North West American Indians with Free Thoughts on the Red River Settlement," (R.L.A.). This is a hand-written, unpublished journal similar in content to but not synonymous with his Substance. See Vera Fast, "A Research Note on the Journals of John West," J.C.C.H.S. 21 (1979), pp.30-38.

<sup>16</sup> J. Foster, "The Country-Born," p.114.

<sup>17</sup> In his letter to the London Committee, dated 13 Jan., 1824 (H.B.C.A., A.10/2) he comments, ". . . I have never given up my original intention of going back to the Bay with Mrs. West and part of my family."

<sup>18</sup> West to C.M.S., 25 Oct., 1823 (C.M.S., A.98). See West's "Memorial" to the Honourable Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, 10 Dec., 1823 (H.B.C.A., A.1/54) and an extensive report which followed on 23 Dec., 1823 (H.B.C.A., A.10/2). Much of this material is also found in Substance.

<sup>19</sup> William Smith to West, 11 Feb., 1824 (H.B.C.A., A.5/7, p.236). West probably counted especially on the support of Benjamin Harrison and Nicholas Garry, two staunch evangelicals on the Committee, not taking into consideration either their tough business acumen (and they likely believed the Officers' firmly-held opinion that missionary activity inferred with trade), or his (West's) own unpopularity in the settlement. See Simpson to Committee, 5 June, 1824: "West never was popular. . ." (H.B.C.A., D.4/8,p.28).

<sup>20</sup> H.B.C.A., D.4/3, pp. 140-147. The "bustling money making man of the world" image was, of course, pure fabrication. Although there is some reference to West's unwillingness to discuss financial matters with Simpson or even his successor, David Jones (H.B.C.A., D.4/3 pp.140-147), and West did recommend the use of circulating paper currency in Red River rather than only barter, but he was no Wall Street financier. One could conjecture that Simpson's purpose was to implant the negative image of a possible rival to the money making men of the Hudson's Bay Company, which would certainly condemn West in the eyes of the Committee.

<sup>21</sup> See Arthur N. Thompson, "John West: A Study of the conflict Between Civilization and the Fur Trade," J.C.C.H.S., XII.3 (September, 1970), pp. 44-57, for an excellent discussion.

22 Simpson to Colvile, 8 Sept., 1823 in Merk, p.201.

23 Quoted in Thompson, "John West," p.54.

24 J. Foster, "Country-Born," p.115.

25 This is not to say it no longer existed. The case of Herbert Beaver in Ft. Vancouver is a case in point. See W. Kaye Lamb, "The James Report on the 'Beaver Affair'," Oregon Historical Quarterly XLVII. (March, 1846), 16-28; R.C. Clark, "The Reverend Herbert Beaver," Oregon Historical Quarterly. XXXIX, pp 65-73. See Also Simpson's criteria for missionaries in the Columbia: they should be directed to look to the Hudson's Bay Company "for support and assistance in almost every thing as a superior; . . . if he attempts to dictate or act independently of, or in opposition to the views and wishes of that Gentleman it is feared they will not draw together. . . not too much disposed to find fault severely with any little laxity of Morals he may discover at the Coy's Establishment. . ." (Merk, p.108).

26 C.M.S. Proceedings 1823-1824, p.197. See also A. Thompson, "The Expansion," p.85.

27 Dandeson Coates to Jones, 24 Feb., 1826 (C.M.S., A75).

28 Josiah Pratt to Jones, 10 March, 1824 (ibid). The London Committee also assured Simpson: "Mr. West does not return and Mr. Jones will be continued as long as we are mutually satisfied, and he gives satisfaction to the missionary Society" (Colvile to Simpson, 1 March, 1824 [P.A.M. MG2, A1-16, M312 s.p.]).

29 It is also interesting that both Evans and West compare the situation in Rupert's Land with that in the West Indies. See Evans to E. Evans, 3 July, 1843 (V.U.L., "Evans Papers"), and J. West, "The British North West American Indians." (R.L.A., MG7 B1 M33).

30 Donald Ross to Simpson, 10 April, 1841: ". . . the more we know of Mr. Evans, the more we admire the good qualities of the man and the powerful talents of the preacher" (H.B.C.A., D.5/6); Evans to W.M.M.S., 7 July, 1842: "I should be remiss in neglecting to acknowledge, which I do with unfeigned gratitude and pleasure, the kindness I have unvariably received from the officers of the Honourable Hudson's Bay Company . . . and the direct assistance afforded me in every instance. . ." (W.M.M. 1842, p.885). See Also Missionary Notices, Jan., 1843; and Evans to Ephriam Evans, 27 July, 1841 (V.U.L., "Evans' Papers," Add. mat. Box 1). See Rowand to Jas. Hargrave, 29 Dec., 1840 (Glazebrook, The Hargrave Correspondence, p.333) for Rowand's preference.

31 Committee to Simpson, 1 March, 1841 (H.B.C.A., D.5/6 fo 65).

32 Because much has already been written about Evans, these problems will not be detailed here. References will suffice. For the printing press, see the first reference in Evans to Simpson, 1841 (H.B.C.A., D.5/6). M. Macleod, ed., The Letters of Letitia hargrave (Toronto:

1947), p.157; *ibid*, p.85, "Gibout's heart [the cook] is broken by the provisions they run through. He says 'dey eat like tigers'." This resulted in the Evans' family being asked to leave their residence in the fort and remove to Rossville. See Simpson to Evans, 29 June, 1843 (H.B.C.A., D.4/29). Especially interesting is Frits Pannekoek's analysis including "The Rev. James Evans and the Social Antagonisms of the Fur Trade Society, 1840-1846," in Religion and Society in the Prairie West. ed. Richard Allen (Canadian Plains Studies 3, Regina: 1974), p.1-17 and "The Churches and the Social Structure in the Red River Area 1818-1870," Ph.D dissertation, Queen's University, 1973, p.118. See also M. MacLeod, Letters, p.157 where Letitia Hargrave tells her mother, "Mrs. Ross's hatred of the parson's wife has reached a pitch." Simpson to Murdoch McPherson, 3 June, 1845 (H.B.C.A., D.4/32) is especially explicit. See also James Evans, "Scroll of Report on Position and Difficulties of Missionaries in Hudson Bay," (V.U.L., "Evans' Papers") where he mentions charges of "idleness, love of ease, or an apathy in the discharge of their pastoral duties" being levelled at the missionaries. For mission expansion see also Donald Ross to Simpson, 14 Aug., 1844 (H.B.C.A., D.5/12 fo. 171). See especially Evans to Secretaries, 18 July, 1845 (V.U.L., "James Evans' Papers," Add. Mat. Box1) where he viciously attacks polygamy by Company servants, the buying of women etc. Simpson to Colin Campbell, 6 June, 1843 (H.B.C.A., D.4/28); Simpson to Evans, 29 June, 1843 (H.B.C.A., D.4/29); Evans to Ephriam Evans, 3 July, 1843 (V.U.L., "Evans Papers").

<sup>33</sup> See Simpson to Dr. Alder, 16 June, 1845 (H.B.C.A., D.4/33), where he complains of Evans "systematically endeavouring to acquire a secular authority, which is as repugnant to his own duty as it is to our interests." See also Gerald Hutchinson, "James Evans' Last Year," J.C.C.H.S., XIX. (March - June, 1977), p.45.

<sup>34</sup> MacKay to Evans, 23 June, 1845 (V.U.L., "James Evans' Papers"). One missionary actually to publish a virulent attack on the Company was George Barnley, after his return to England, for which William Mason sharply reprovved him. See Mason to Barnley, 23 Aug., 1849 (U.C.A., Mic. D.8.1 #16). See also Elaine A. Mitchell, Fort Timiskaming and the Fur Trade Toronto: 1977, p.184 for a report of Barnley's publication.

<sup>35</sup> See charges and counter charges in Evans to Ross, 13 Oct., 1845 (H.B. C.A., B.154 fo 8-9); Ross to Evans, 14 Dec., 1845 (H.B.C.A., B.154/b fo 9-10) where he insists the Indian making the charge did so in the presence of Mason and Steinhauer; Evans to Simpson, 10 June, 1845 (U.C.A., D.8.1 #14) and Simpson's reply (H.B.C.A., D.4/32). See also Ross to Simpson, 31 May, 1845 (H.B.C.A., D.5/4 fo 49), and again 6 Aug., 1845 (P.A.B.C., MG 1 D20 M311 File 176). Michael Owen, "Wesleyan Methodist Missionaries in Rupert's Land, 1840-1854: Educational Activities Among the Native Population," M.Ed. thesis, University of Alberta, 1979; and James Murdoch, "Syllabics: A Successful Educational Innovation," M. Ed. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1981, both cite Evans' purchase of goods to create competition for the Hudson's Bay Company at Rossville but give no references for their assertions. If the reference is Ross's letter to Simpson, 21 May, 1845 (cited in Brooks,

"Methodism," p.62) then the charge is pure conjecture, for Ross says, ". . . circumstances seem to indicate that part, at least of Mr. Evans' object in visiting Red River. . . is to make preparatory arrangements in regard to the hunts and supplies of the Indians, unless you yield to all his wishes. . ." Earlier in the letter he says, ". . . in all possibility some clandestine trade in which Skins will also be going on in the course of this Summer. . ." (Emphasis mine). Frits Pannekoek, "The Rev. James Evans," p.12, exaggerates the significance of Evans' proposal by apparently taking only Ross's view into account.

<sup>36</sup> Ross to Simpson, 8 Dec., 1846 (H.B.C.A., D.5/18 fo. 466-467). Ross to Simpson 6 Aug., 1845 (P.A.B.C., "D. Ross Papers," add. mss. 635, box 5, File 176). In this letter Ross also deprecates Evans' colleagues at Norway House, who at that time were William Mason and Henry Steinhauer, saying that their character and conduct were depriving them of respect and confidence. Because of Steinhauer's proven and sterling character, the letter must be regarded with reservation. Evans to Ross, 17 Oct., 1845 (U.C.A., Mic. D.8.1 #140).

<sup>37</sup> Simpson to Alder, 16 June, 1845 (H.B.C.A., D.4/33). Simpson believed "if Mr. Evans had wished to obstruct, and defeat the whole enterprise to which he has associated himself, he could not have adopted a more effacious course. . . ." See also Simpson to Alder, 15 June, 1846 (D.4/68 to 54-55d).

<sup>38</sup> See G. Hutchinson, "James Evans' Last Year" for an excellent discussion. Robert Rundle also remarked on Evans' problematical book-keeping: "I believe Mr. E. has had a great deal of trouble with the accounts" (Rundle to Society, 7 Aug., 1846, in Dempsey, *Rundle*, p. 230). Simpson to Alder, 14 Sept., 1846 (V.U.L., "James Evans' Papers").

<sup>39</sup> See Evans to Ephriam Evans, 3 July, 1843 (V.U.L., "James Evans Papers," p.5). In 1846, Fr. Belcourt, the Oblate priest, "sent to London a memorial containing 977 signatures which attacked the Company for its callous and inhumane treatment of the Indians. Even though Belcourt was probably a trouble-maker and the memorial itself contained unfounded allegations it was, at least, a straw in the wind" (F.A. Peake, "The Achievements and Frustrations of James Hunter," *J.C.C.H.S* XIX 3-4 (July-December, 1977), p.152. Evans' accusations, therefore, were not completely without foundation.

<sup>40</sup> See especially George Gladman to Donald Ross, 20 Nov., 1846 (V.U.L., "James Evans' Papers"), a witty and vituperative letter; and Ross to Simpson, 5 April, 1846 (H.B.C.A., D.5/17 fo 76) where Ross refers to Evans' "tormenting tyranny and oppressions" and his use of "threats of temporal and eternal punishments" to make the Indians malleable. This is but a sampling of the attitude of the Hudson's Bay Company Officers. Surprisingly, Ephriam Evans is quoted as saying, "You have been misinformed in supposing that the Hudson's Bay Company were prominent if at all connected with the attempt to blast his reputation" (Shipley, "Preface," n.p.).

<sup>41</sup> Simpson to Alder, 16 June, 1845 (H.B.C.A., D.4/33). Simpson asks that the appointment of a successor to Evans to be postponed because of the uncertain position of the W.M.M.S.; again on 15 June, 1846, Simpson comments to Alder regarding the "injury which [Evans] has inflicted" on the W.M.M.S. and Hudson's Bay Company relationships (H.B.C.A., D.4/68, fo.54-55d). In contrast, see J. Pratt to D. Jones, 10 March, 1824 (C.M.S. A75): "We have no reason to suppose that the separation of Mr. West from the service of the Hudson's Bay Company will alter the view of those who conduct the Company's affairs on the great objects which led to the appointment of Mr. West. . ."

<sup>42</sup> Simpson to Alder, 15 June, 1846 (H.B.C.A., D. 4/68 fo 54-55d), ". . . this lamentable affair has seriously damaged the cause of religion in general, and the interests of your mission in particular. . . ." While Letitia Hargrave reported "the moral character of Evans, Mason and Jacobs are all as base as can be, but the Company have got tired of denouncing clergymen, as we always get the worst of it. They tell the great fibs with perfect coolness and are always believed" (MacLeod, Letitia Hargrave, p. 212).

<sup>43</sup> He wrote to the Society on 3 Feb., 1847, that Hudson's Bay Company personnel, "like the climate of their country, their dispositions are cold and insensible, and like its soil overshadowed by the sullenness of a forest gloom" (U.C.A., Mic. D.8.1 #15).

<sup>44</sup> Quoted in W.M.M. and dated 24 June, 1840.

<sup>45</sup> Rundle was also very fond of Mary McBeth Ross, to whom together with her husband, J.P. Berry and F.C. Roe refer as "linguists, grammarians and philologists" ("Extracts from the Journals and Letters of Rev. Robert Terrill Rundle," typescript, G.-A.I., A/R 941, n.d.). This is in marked contrast to Letitia Hargrave's comment that neither Mrs. Ross nor her daughter knew "the names of the commonest stars" (MacLeod, Letitia Hargrave, p.151). See Rundle, 13 Aug., 1840, for his regret at leaving Ross whom he considered his "guide, counsellor and friend."

<sup>46</sup> P.A.B.C., "D. Ross Papers," Add. mss. 635, Box 5, File 176.

<sup>47</sup> See Rundle, "Memo written in England" (Dempsey, Rundle, p. 316).

<sup>48</sup> Gaston Carriere, "The Oblates and the Northwest: 1845-1861," Canadian Catholic Historical Association Study Sessions. 37 (1970), p.39. Carriere also contends that Rowand renewed his request in 1841 (*ibid.*, p.40) but Rowand assured Simpson that he was in no way responsible for the arrival of Abbe Thibault at that time.

<sup>49</sup> H.B.C.A., D.5/6. John Rowand, a partner in the North-West Company, became a Chief Factor in the Hudson's Bay Company in 1826. He was known as "one of the great men of the fur trade," and "the complete fur trader." George Simpson called him "one of the most pushing, bustling men in the Service. . . ." (Douglas Mackay, The Honourable Company: A History of the Hudson's Bay Company. Indianapolis: 1936), p.194, 247, 247.

50 Quoted in Nan Shipley, The James Evans' Story. Toronto: 1966, p.110. George Simpson also investigated "some points that did not previously seem to be well understood between [Rundle] and Mr. Rowand" (Hutchinson, "Introduction," p. XXXi).

51 There are many references in Rundle's Journal. See for example 16 June, 1841; Dempsey, Rundle, p.133 and passim.

52 The daughters, Sophy, Peggy and Adelaide were tutored in writing and reading English. Another daughter, Nancy, was married to Chief Trader John E. Harriott. Mrs. Rowand, of mixed blood, was likely illiterate and therefore unable to teach her children.

53 H.B.C.A., D.5/12. Another son, James Simpson, was also in residence, and the brothers frequently attended Rundle's services.

54 Rundle to Evans, 31 may, 1841 (Dempsey, Rundle, p.76).

55 The single altercation of consequence was that which resulted from Harriott and the artist Paul Kane's drinking, and neither Harriott nor Rundle appeared to bear any grudge. To say, therefore, as does Frits Pannekoek, that Rundle was "engaged in a continuing battle with Fort Edmonton's Chief Factor over the Cree translation of the Seventh Commandment" ("The Rev. James Evans," p.1) is to exaggerate the situation grossly. And, to note in passing, that when these differences in translation occurred (1842), the Chief Factor at Edmonton was John Rowand, who did not enter into this controversy in any way. Later in his essay, Pannekoek corrects himself (ibid., p.6).

56 McDougall had a keen interest in Christianizing the Indians, and greatly encouraged Rundle to visit his post, also interpreting for him so that the service was intelligible in English, French, and Cree. In May, 1842, after a two month stay, Rundle recorded 76 baptisms and numerous marriages.

57 Pannekoek, "The Rev. James Evans," p.6.

58 Quoted in Dempsey, Rundle, p.318.

59 Indeed references are few and far between. His earlier attitude and one of the few remarks he makes is typified in the Journal entry for 16 June, 1840: "Baptised today 5 children belonging to A. Fisher Esq. Company's Officer from New Caledonia. He also wished me to baptise his pretended wife, which I refused to do as he candidly acknowledged he was not married to her. I could not in conscience admit a person into Christ's Church living in a course of open rebellion against his laws. I reasoned with him to the best of my ability on the impropriety of his conduct and advised him to marry her but he would not." The subject of missionary and fur-trade matrimony has been more than adequately dealt with by Sylvia Van Kirk 'Many Tender Ties': Women in Fur Trade Society, 1670-1870. Winnipeg: 1980, and by Jennifer S.H. Brown, Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country. Vancouver: 1980.

60 The priests, Fathers Blanchet and Demers passed through Fort Edmonton in 1838 on their way to the Columbia. Rowand, although he proved ultimately faithful to Louise seems to have considered other options. In 1840 after cohabiting with her since approximately 1807, and just before Rundle's arrival, he wrote to James Hargrave: ". . . If I am too old to find a wife when I go down [to Vancouver] it is likely I may settle in Columbia but if I get a wife below [in Red River] or in England or elsewhere, . . . it shall be as she may think proper. . ." (quoted in G.P. de T. Glazebrook, The Hargrave correspondence, 1821-43. Toronto: 1938, p. 316). His reference to her as the mother of his children is found in Jennifer Brown, p.145. Brown uses the alternate spelling, Lisette Humphravile. See also Van Kirk, p.158.

60A Jennifer S.H. Brown, Stragers in Blood, p.146.

61 He does react with surprise at her presence at the marriage dinner of her son, John Jr., to Margaret Harriott (Rundle, 6 Jan., 1848). Rowand rigidly adhered to separation of the sexes during meal time at Fort Edmonton, as was the custom in many of the trading posts. At Fort Vancouver, women and children were not only separated but ate after the men. The problems previously referred to between Rowand and Rundle may have stemmed from divergent views on marriage and the treatment of women.

62 For Mason's attitude see D. Ross to Simpson, 7 Dec., 1846 (P.A.B.C., "D. Ross materials," Add. mss., 635, Box 5, File 176) and also Mason to Alder, 20 Aug., 1844, where he writes, "If I have done wrong on travelling in this country on the Sabbath which I have more or less since my arrival I am sorry. I will do so no more. . ." (U.C.A., Mic.D. 8.1 #14). But he did. For Barnley's policy see his "Diary of a Winter Journey" (G.-A.I., M60, p.17).

63 Quoted in Dempsey, Rundle, p. 149f.

64 For example. Rowand to James Hargrave, 20 June, 1843: "The worse [sic] thing for trade is those ministers and Priests - the natives will never work half so well now - they like praying and singing. . ." (Glazebrook, The Hargrave Correspondence, p.441).

65 Rundle to Evans, 15 July, 1844 in Dempsey, Rundle, p.158.

66 D. Ross to Simpson, 15 Aug., 1842 (P.A.B.C., "Ross Papers," Add. Mss. 635, Box 5 file 176).

67 Ibid.

68 Evans to Ephriam Evans, 3 July, 1843 (V.U.L., "Evans Papers," p.5 and 6).

69 Cockran to Secretaries, n.d. (quoted in Foster, "Missionaries" p.106). "All the discerning among them [H.B.C.] perceive that sooner or later the evangelizing of the heathen will militate against their trade and prevent them gathering filthy lucre by handfulls as they do at present. . Benevolent schemes have always been received with coolness, delayed as long as possible, and when set on foot treated with such

indifference, scorn and malevolence as to ensure failure. . . You can form no idea of the power of an Indian trader over the Indians." Surprisingly, Cockran defended Simpson while blaming the Officers (ibid., p.106, and especially p.119). The Company was also aware of the "extreme poverty of the country in the means of living" (Ross to Simpson, 10 April, 1841, H.B.C.A., D.5/6) but took no responsibility for it.

<sup>70</sup> West, Substance, p.16. Substantiated by Cockran in a letter to the Secretaries, 25 July, 1833 (quoted in Foster, "Missionaries," p.111).

<sup>71</sup> Barnley "Journal," 8 March, 1841 (P.A.C., MG 24 J40). Barnley assures the Indians of his "total disconnection with trade"; Evans "To the Chiefs and Warriors of the Chipewyan and Cree Nations" (V.U.L., "James Evans' Papers," Add. Mat. Box 1): "The Spirit chief comes not to trade with you. Brings no goods. Wants no furs." Rundle to Simpson in Dempsey, Journals, p.86.

<sup>72</sup> The rider is attached to Evans because initially he and his family lived at the post in Norway House and when they moved to the Indian settlement, it was not voluntarily. See Simpson to Evans, 20 June, 1844 (H.B.C.A., D.4/31). Yet Evans believed strongly in visiting the Indians in their encampments and probably would have preferred the circuit to the establishment, had it not been for his family (see section on "Missionary Wives"). The problem was not essentially one of disliking the physical environs of the fort. Rundle pronounced Edmonton the "finest fort I have seen in the country" (Rundle, 17 Oct., 1840). Yet some posts were very dreary and depressing. See the very negative description given in K.C. Tessendorf, "George Simpson Canoe Executive," The Beaver (Summer, 1970), p.40: "I hate the sight of these forts. Strange, large tumbledown places, like lumber rooms on a vast scale. All the white men living in them, look as if they had been buried for a century or two, and dug up again, and had scarcely yet got their eyes open. . . ."

<sup>73</sup> D. Ross to Simpson, 15 Aug., 1842 (V.U.L. Unsigned Report): ". . . their residence within the forts I consider as most exceedingly dangerous . . . ." for reasons of both safety and privacy. See also Rowand's grumbling (H.B.C.A., D.5/6). Some also did not appreciate the "family alter" instituted by the Wesleyans as part of their chaplaincy duties. Rundle describes this as "sometimes read(ing) and other times expound(ing) the chapter and conclud(ing) with prayer" (Rundle, 18 March, 1841).

<sup>74</sup> See A. Colvile to Gov. Simpson, 11 March, 1824, quoted in Merk, p.205.

<sup>75</sup> Rowand to D. Ross, 21 Dec., 1844 (P.A.B.C., "Ross Papers," MG1/D20/M 311 file 196). Yet as Hutchinson points out, Rundle never spent fewer than 130 days per year in Edmonton, besides visiting other forts. Therefore Simpson's complaint is not based on facts: ". . . Mr. Rundle who I think would do much more good in remaining at one or the other of the Establishments or dividing his time amongst them, than in wandering about the country in search of Indians at their Camps" (Quoted in Hutchinson, "Introduction," p. XXVIII).

- <sup>76</sup> Rundle to Simpson, 16 Sept., 1841 (H.B.C.A., D.5/6).
- <sup>77</sup> Cockran to Secretaries, 3 Aug., 1838 (C.M.S., A.78). He feels more could be accomplished while the clergy would not be so overworked.
- <sup>78</sup> Rundle to Society, 7 Aug., 1846 (Dempsey, Journals, p.229); Rundle to Simpson, 12 May, 1843 (ibid., p.127). Simpson feared the extra costs involved in supporting missionaries outside of the Establishment, as well as possible loss of control (ibid., p.330). See also Evans to Simpson, "Friday morning", 1841 (H.B.C.A., D.5/6) where he asks explicitly, "Is it required that, in every case, the Missionary should reside in the Fort with which his mission is connected?" In essence the answer was "yes."
- <sup>79</sup> J.P. Berry and F.G. Roe, eds., "Extracts from the Journals and Letters of Rev. Robert Terrill Rundle" (G.-A.I., typescript A/R 3941), p.84.
- <sup>80</sup> J.P. Berry and F.G. Roe. Their argument is that while Simpson and Rundle did not begin their relationship auspiciously, distance and the Evans' controversy removed Rundle from Simpson's mind.
- <sup>81</sup> Cockran to T. Woodroffe, 3 Aug., 1831 (Foster, "Missionaries," p.105); to Secretaries, 25 July, 1833 (ibid., p. 119); etc.
- <sup>82</sup> See Barnley Journal, 7 Nov., 1845; Dec., 1842 and passim (P.A.C., MG 24, J40). Their wives were blamed by the Hudson's Bay Company for the problems of both men.
- <sup>83</sup> Quoted in F.A. Peake, "The Achievements and Frustrations of James Hunter," p.152.
- <sup>84</sup> William Brooks, "Methodism," p.77.
- <sup>85</sup> G. Hutchinson, "Robert Terrill Rundle," Canadian Methodist Historical Society Papers (June, 1978), p.9. Nor were men such as William Cockran, while weaker brothers such as William Mason initially faced tremendous hostility.
- <sup>86</sup> John Long, "Reverend George Barnley: The Villagers and Problems of Authority" (draft copy available to author) notes that by the mid-19th century, in the James Bay area one-third of the Officers and two-thirds of the servants were of mixed race.
- <sup>87</sup> Cockran to Secretaries, 25 July, 1833, quoted in Foster, "Missionaries," p.114.
- <sup>88</sup> This has been shown elsewhere in this thesis.
- <sup>89</sup> For example, to analyze briefly only first contact missionaries and to ignore the traders, Rundle was flexible, uncritical, in Rowand's words, "a good" man. Barnley tended toward pomposity and an intransigence which alienated Thomas Corcoran as well as Robert Miles (See Barnley Journal, U.C.A., A.20 entry for 8 June, 1840, and 16 Jan., 1841, for some of his attitudes). Mason was immature and weak, and his relationship with the Company, never good until after Evans' dismissal, can best be summed up in the words of Simpson to Ross 7 July, 1846 (H.B.C.A., D.4/68

fo 125): "Now that Evans is off, we must not allow his successor. . . to play the Bishop at Norway House, where you alone must be prophet, priest and king - Mason merely acting under your advice. By having him in your hands, he may be useful to the trade and may, unquestionably, better carry out the views of the Society than by acting on his own judgement and discretion, in which I have little confidence. . . ." At Lac la Pluie, Mason complained that Chief Factor Allan McDonell did "all he could consistent with a Gentleman's appearance to hinder success" (Mason to Society, 9 June, 1841, U.C.A., Mic.D.8.1 #13), while his relationship with Ross at Norway House was equally strained. J.E. Foster argues that Mason's marriage with Sophia Thomas made him more acceptable to the Officers on the ground of kinship ties, which may be why he out-last-ed the other Wesleyans. As for the personalities of West and Evans, although both enjoyed very positive and pleasing aspects, they were also unbending, stubborn men in their very dissimilar natures.

## 2. Clerical Womankind

<sup>1</sup> Letitia Hargrave uses this expression, "the womankind, lay and clerical." See MacLeod, Letitia Hargrave, p.113.

<sup>2</sup> Simpson to W.G. Smith, January, 1848 (H.B.C.A., D.4/115, fo. 116-117). By referring to "imported wives" he was of course exempting Sophia Mason and Jean Ross Hunter who were country-born.

<sup>3</sup> Notable exceptions were Sophia Mason, Jean Hunter, and Mrs. Abraham Cowley to whom Letitia Hargrave refers as "happy and contented" and "wonderful out at Manitoba" (MacLeod, Letitia Hargrave, p.173, 141).

<sup>4</sup> Sometimes they verged on starvation, as when Henry Budd did not return from his fishing and the family, discovered by Mason, was in dire straits. See Mason's Journal, 3 Nov., 1847 (U.C.A., Mic. D.8.1 #15).

<sup>5</sup> Arthur N. Thompson, "The Wife of the Missionary," J.C.C.H.S. XV.2 (June 1, 1973), p.41. Even the country-born wife of Henry Budd was often ill (Mason's Journal, 3 Nov., 1847; [U.C.A., Mic. D.8.1#15]). Although Mary Evans bore no children during her years in Rupert's Land, she also was frequently bed-ridden. Evans wrote to his brother, "Mary. . . cannot bear the country. . . her constitution is broken down I fear" (n.d., 1842. V.U.L., "James Evans' Papers," Add. Mat. Box 1).

<sup>6</sup> Even Evans, accused of sexual immorality, was staunchly supported by his wife throughout the ordeal, while his letters to her are warm and affectionate. The exception here is Peter Jacobs, who, while expressing concern for his spouse and family, was consistently promiscuous. See for example, Shipley, p.146;

<sup>7</sup> MacLeod, Letitia Hargrave, p.164.

<sup>8</sup> Several studies have been done in this area. See especially Frits Pannekoek, "The Rev. James Evans, and the Social Antagonisms of

The Fur Trade Society, 1840-1846," and John E. Foster, "Rupert's Land and the Red River Settlement, 1820-70," in The Prairie West to 1905: A Canadian Source Book. ed. Lewis H. Thomas. Toronto: 1975, and by the same author, "The Country-Born in the Red River Settlement: 1820-50," especially p. 191-194.

<sup>9</sup> The exceptions of course, are always Sophia Thomas Mason, and Jean Ross Hunter.

<sup>10</sup> MacLeod, Letitia Hargrave, p.85.

<sup>11</sup> Pannekoek, "Social Antagonisms," p.7. See also Pannekoek "The Churches and the Social Structure in the Red River Area, 1818-70," Ph.D., Queen's University, 1973. "There was little for the elite to do in the long dreary winters except gossip. . . engage in vicious character assassinations, and guard their own social positions" (ibid., p.131). Even the wife-less Rundle complained about "the very great stories from very little cause" (Dempsey, Journals, p.150). An excellent article on the function and effect of gossip is found in Max Gluckman, "Gossip and Scandal," Current Anthropology. 4 (1963), p. 307-16. He insists gossip and scandal are among the most important societal and cultural phenomenon, and that "the more exclusive the group, the greater will be the amount of gossip in it" (p.309). Gossip is "one of the chief weapons which those who consider themselves higher in status use to put down those whom they consider lower. . . ." (ibid.), a situation mirrored in fur-trade society. "A vicious war of gossip ran throughout the settlement as everyone struggled to maintain his status. The whites desired to remain above the Country-born, the Country-born equal to the whites, the commissioned officers and their families above the clerical establishment, and the clerical establishment equal to the commissioned gentlemen and their families" (Pannekoek, "The Churches," p.279).

<sup>12</sup> Harriet Atkinson West, daughter of Rev. Christopher Atkinson of Trinity College, Cambridge and Catherine, the only daughter of Sir Peter Leicester, Bart., is consistently represented as a very devout and able woman although often in poor health. Twelve children were born to the Wests, six of whom died in infancy or early childhood. See West's "Obituary Notice," The Gentleman's Magazine, 1839, and J. West, Memoir Of Mrs. John West: Who Died at Chettle, Dorset, March 23, 1839. 2nd ed. London: 1842. See also the biographical material in the R.L.A., "John West Holdings," which include in West's own hand, the dates of birth (and death) for his twelve children, with the exception of Catharina who was born just after his departure; and the Dorset Year Book, 1971-72 which contains other interesting information.

<sup>13</sup> In his mss. journal, "The British North West American Indians," he refers to her "superior talent," while Substance, p.61, uses the more prosaic, "useful."

<sup>14</sup> Mason to Evans, 23 March, 1841 (G.-A.I., M486). Sophia, the youngest daughter of Gov. Thomas Thomas was mission-educated. The

<sup>15</sup> Alder to Evans, 1 Dec., 1842. He continues, "For any Protestant Missionary to leave a Post. . . is most reprehensible and in a Wesleyan Missionary above all others it cannot be too severely censured. How could Mr. Mason while away his time at Red River. . ." (G.-A.I., M486).

<sup>16</sup> F. Pannekoek, "The Churches and Social Structure," p.130-131.

<sup>17</sup> Evans to E. Evans, 3 July, 1843, "Mason is to be married next month D.V. to a half caste young lady of excellent education . . . with a bonus of 1000 pounds Eh! She is a good pious girl, and speaks Indian too" (V.U.L., "James Evans' Material," box 2). For Simpson's comments see H.B.C.A., D.4/70 fos. 215, 219-21. Letitia to Mrs. Dugald Mactavish, 16 Sept., 1843 (MacLeod, Letitia Hargrave, p.177).

<sup>18</sup> Quoted in Sylvia Van Kirk, Many Tender Ties, p.152. See also Nathaniel Burwash, "The Gift to a Nation of a Written Language," Royal Society of Canada, Transactions. (1911), section 2, p.15-18, which gives her due credit for her translations, one of the only articles to do so.

<sup>19</sup> Barnley to Society, 25 March, 1845 (U.C.A., Mic. D.8.1 #14). The Barnleys had hoped to make a trip to East Main together "as early as possible" after their arrival in Moose, but permission was denied because Simpson felt the Company "could not accommodate ladies on such journeys. . . ." (Simpson to Robert Miles, 16 May, 1845. H.B.C.A., D.4/32, p.165).

<sup>20</sup> Robert Miles to D. Ross, 10 Dec., 1845 (P.A.B.C., "Ross Papers," Add. miss. 635, Box 4, File 129): Barnley "has brought out a very agreeable wife. . . ." Barnley to Alder, Feb., 1846 (U.C.A., mic. D.8.1 #15). "My dear wife exerts herself for the benefit of the residents of maturer age, by frequent visiting, reading and praying with the sick. . . [a child] quite spontaneously. . . suddenly exclaimed, 'Mother, you don't know how much I love Mrs. Barnley.' The Barnley's complaints were numerous but centred around unsatisfactory food and accommodation. Robert Miles, Chief Factor, was furious at her demands and the treatment of his mixedblood wife, Betsy (Simpson's former partner). See H.B.C.A., A.11/46, fos. 46-69. Also Van Kirk, "Many Tender Ties," p.216.

<sup>21</sup> H.B.C.A., D.5/19 fo. 159d; also in Van Kirk, *ibid*.

<sup>22</sup> Miles to Simpson, 30 May, 1846 (H.B.C.A., D.5/17 fo 301). Emphasis his.

<sup>23</sup> Barnley's further letters indicate that all was not well in England either and the couple moved several times because of Mrs. Barnley (Barnley to Secretaries, 7 Dec., 1847, quoted in Brooks, "Methodism," p.79). Still, Pannekoek's remark that "The trifle which eventually 'drove' the two back to England centred on Chief Factor Miles's refusal to permit Mrs. Barnley the use of the officers' mess for her tea parties" ("The Rev. James Evans," p.16) is grossly unfair. For the other side of this incident see Barnley to Society, Aug., 1846 (U.C.A., Mic. D.8 .1 #15). See also Barnley Journal, 7 Nov., 1845 (P.A.C., MG 24 J40) for other causes of disagreement.

- 24 21 Dec., 1843 in Glazebrook, p.460. Emphasis his.
- 25 Macleod, Letitia Hargrave, p.151. Although Mary Evans is generally referred to as educated and intelligent, a letter to her husband dated 7 April, 1839 is full of errors e.g. ". . . I expect your health is pretty amidling I think if you had bean very sick you would have tould me in some of your long schroles" (V.U.L., "James Evans' Papers," Add. Mat., Box 1).
- 26 Macleod, Letitia Hargrave, p.157. Needless to say, the engagement of Clarissa Evans to John MacLean, whose name had formerly been linked with that of Jane Ross exacerbated the tension-ridden atmosphere considerably. Shortly before this, Mrs. Hargrave wrote to her mother that "Mr. Evans and Mr. Ross are not getting on so smoothly . . . and the wives appear at open war" (ibid., p.142).
- 27 J.H. Lefroy, In Search of the Magnetic North, p.51.
- 28 Ibid., p.107: "Mrs. Evans also wrote me a letter that I could hardly stand from a Methodist. . . I feel satisfied that she is dangerous." Ibid., p.182 where she is accused not only of spreading gossip but fabricating stories about Mrs. Finlayson which were "entirely of her own invention." Ibid., p.113: ". . . she had the cool impudence to plunder Mr. Clouston's garden and carried off all the pease the poor boy was chuckling over" leaving nothing "but miserable lumps of potatoes. . . ."
- 29 Van Kirk, p.215; H.B.C.A., D.4/65, fo. 51; D.4/70 fo 221.
- 30 Simpson to Alder, 13 Aug., 1846 (U.C.A., Mic. D.8.1 #15).
- 31 Alder to Simpson, 1 Dec., 1846 (H.B.C.A., D.5/18).
- 32 Evans to Mary Evans, 10 Feb., 1839 quoted in McLean, James Evans, p.132. The affectionate tone of his letters is well portrayed in the following exerpts: Evans to Mary, 26 Dec., 1840: "My first letter is due to you as the one most dear on earth" (V.U.L., "James Evans' Papers." Box 2); Evans to Eugenia (Clarissa, his daughter), 1 Dec., 1841: "I have often wished I had mama and you, mama or you, or that you both had me. . . ." (ibid.); Evans to Mary, 17 Feb., 1841, "I kiss you in my heart. . . ." (ibid.). There are many more equally affectionate.
- 33 Mary to James, 6 Dec., 1838: "I read (your letter) and wept and wept and read it again. O . . . this is the severest [trial] that I ever had to pass through to be separated from him that I love better than all earthly good" (V.U.L., "James Evans' Papers").
- 34 H.B.C.A., B.135/c/2 fo. 65. Also in A. Thompson, "The Wife of the Missionary," p.35. The Cockran's arrived in Red River in 1825.
- 35 Known as the Pelly-Foss scandal. MacLeod, Letitia Hargrave, p.188, p.256; Hargrave also gives the essence of the case. See also Van Kirk, p.224-226.
- 36 Quoted in Thompson "The Wife of the Missionary," p.37.

37 Ibid.

38 Van Kirk, p. 199, suggests that her background prepared her for the hardships she encountered.

39 She had a brother and a cousin in the ministry (Thompson, "The Wife of the Missionary." p.38).

40 Ibid., p.39. Thomas Simpson wrote to Donald Ross, "Parson Jones has grown fat. The parson gave grand parties, second only to the Governor's" (ibid).

41 Ibid., p.39, Cockran to Jowett, 4 Aug., 1836.

42 Ibid., p.40.

43 Ibid. See also T.C.B. Boon, The Anglican Church p.27, and Sarah Tucker, Rainbow in the North, p.67.

44 Letitia Hargrave considered the first Mrs. Hunter "the best that have come yet - the lady certainly is greatly above anything that I have seen yet, and very knowing too" (MacLeod, Letitia Hargrave, p.185). Mrs. Hunter bore three children in as many years, only one of whom survived, yet her husband blamed cause of death on the climate: "The intense cold . . . was too severe for the delicate state of her lungs." Hunter's second wife, Jane (or Jean) Ross whom he married seven months later, repeated the birthing pattern, also bearing three children in three years and also seeing only one of them live. See F.A. Peake, "The Achievements and Frustrations of James Hunter," J.C.C.H.S XIX 3-4 (July, December, 1977), p.138-163.

45 Barnley to Evans, first page with date missing (V.U.L. "James Evans' Papers").

46 3 Aug., 1838 (C.M.S., A78).

47 Simpson to D. Ross, 15 Dec., 1851, quoted in MacLeod, Letitia Hargrave, p. 11V.

### 3. Holy Men of Different Orders: Missionary and Missionary

<sup>1</sup> 18 Dec., 1830, in Glazebrook, p.62.

<sup>2</sup> Evans to E. Evans, 12 May, 1840 in John Carroll, Case and His Contemporaries or The Canadian Itinerants Memorial: Constituting a Biographical History of Methodism in Canada. Toronto: 1867, p.276. He repeats the complaint to his brother on 17 May, 1840: "Mr. Alder is a very vague writer, for I know nothing of the manner in which I am requested to take charge of their missions. . ." (V.U.L., "James Evans' Papers" Box 2).

<sup>3</sup> Evans to E. Evans, 1842 (V.U.L., Add. Mat. box 1). Emphasis his.

<sup>4</sup> See also Mason to Evans, 9 June, 1841: "I feel very much being alone and having no Christian communion or fellowship . . . and should welcome if only twice a year your experienced advice." (U.C.A., Mic. D.8.1 #13). See also Mason to Secretaries, 11 Aug., 1841.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. He continues, "One youngster whose salary is about 27 pounds has run tick this year to the trifling amount of 72 pounds, and what to do with him pity knows. But one thing I know, I must pay it in about a week or two."

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Evans to Mason, 8 July, 1842 (G.-A.I., M486).

<sup>8</sup> MacLeod, Letitia Hargrave, p.188.

<sup>9</sup> Ross to Simpson, 15 Aug., 1844 (H.B.C.A., D.5/12 fo 174). Emphasis his. Mason wrote to the Society, 23 Sept., 1846, "I am sorry to say that I have evidence which convinces my mind that Mr. Evans both wishes and desires to injure me, and facts prove that he has already attempted to do so" (U.C.A., Mic. D.8.1 #15).

<sup>10</sup> See Nan Shipley, The James Evans' Story, p.203, and various works by John McLean. Yet Governor Simpson specifically exonerated Mason by telling the Rev. M. Rickey that he acted in concert with Evans not against him. (Simpson to Rev. M. Rickey, 26 Dec., 1845, H.B.C.A., D.4/33 p.251). G. Hutchinson, "James Evans' Last Year" also proves Mason's innocence. See also D. Ross to William Mason, 21 April, 1847 (P.A.B.C., "Donald Ross Collection," MGI D20 M311 Files (175-227)).

<sup>11</sup> Judith E. Pinnington, "The Achilles Heel of Anglican Mission: The Selwyn Legacy in New Zealand," Missiology. VI.I (Jan., 1978), p.97. Her reference is to the Maori rather than the Indian missions, but remains applicable.

<sup>12</sup> Cockran to Secretaries, 25 July, 1833 in Foster, "Missionaries," p.118. He is referring to the fear that "the Company wish to be the sole managers of the spiritual concerns of the country."

<sup>13</sup> Thompson, "The Wife of the Missionary," p.39. See also Jones's defence. To say that Cockran "disliked his fellow clergymen as much as he disliked the Company" is, however, a bit strong (Pannekoek, "The Church," p.97). Pannekoek also chronicles the tension between Smithurst, Cowley and Cockran (ibid., p.931).

<sup>14</sup> Many of the disagreements involved Cockran. For example, Cockran's disapproval of James Hunter's treatment of the Indian clergy and Hunter's refusal to comply with certain of Bishop Anderson's requests (Peake, "The Achievements," p.151); the catechist Roberts, according to Letitia Hargrave, called Cockran "a very bad man" (MacLeod, Letitia Hargrave, p.188); Cockran disagreed with John Smithurst as to the

purpose of missions (Pannekoek, "Protestant Agricultural Zions for the Western Indian," J.C.C.H.S., XIV.3 (Sept. 1972), p.59; and so on.

15 Macleod, Letitia Hargrave, p.188.

16 Unsigned, incomplete report to Simpson but apparently Ross's rough copy, dated 15 Aug., 1842 (V.U.L., numbered "p.3").

17 MacLeod, Letitia Hargrave, p.120. The letter is dated 8 Sept., 1842.

18 Evans to Rev. Joseph Stinson, 20 Aug., 1839 in Landon, "Letters of Rev. James Evans," Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records. 28 (1932), p.56. Evans was at this time not far from Sault Ste. Marie.

19 Bishop Knox, "The Tractarian Movement," p.100.

20 2 Aug., 1841 (C.M.S., A78, p.559). See also p.587.

21 See John H. Lefroy's description of Hunter: "But H\_\_\_\_\_, a fossilized old Chaplain at Red River, got wind of this (Evans' baptisms), and came and re-baptized the whole of them, to the number of eighty, telling them that what \_\_\_\_\_ had done was no effect" (Lefroy, Autobiography, p.78). See Evans to D. Ross, 16 April, 1846 (P.A.B.C., "Donald Ross collection," Add. Mat. 65, Box 2 file 41). Evans has received a letter from John Moar who tells him that Hunter claims that the Moars are not legally married: "Mr. Hunter told my dear Helena not to be dull about it, for Mr. Hunter would marry us properly." Budd sought to defend Smithurst to Evans, saying "There has not, to my certain knowledge, any Individual been baptized by Mr. Smithurst who has previously been baptized by you" (G.A.I., M486; also V.U.L., "James Evans' Papers," Add. Mat., Box 1).

22 Dated 31 March, 1843 (P.A.C., MG 19 E6 VI).

23 Letter dated 30 Sept., 1841 (V.U.L., "James Evans' Papers").

24 "Extract of a Letter from the Rev. William Mason, dated Rossville, August 11th, 1848," M.N. (1850), p.41. Smithurst also paid for a supply of Bibles for the school at Rossville, as remuneration for Mason's efforts in printing. See Mason to Society, 18 Aug., 1849 (U.C.A., Mic.D.8.1 #16).

25 Pinnington, p.99.

26 In Max Warren, The Calling of God: Four Essays in Missionary Work. London: 1944, p.19.

27 Quoted in Grace Nute, ed., Documents Relating to Northwest Missions 1815-1827. Saint Paul: 1942, p.261. Joseph Octave Plessis was Bishop of Quebec.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 295. Father Severe Joseph Nicolas Dumoulin, an Oblate priest.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 287. Father Thomas Ferruce Destroismaisons, also an Oblate.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p. 329.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p. 34ln.

<sup>32</sup> West Substance, p.70. The special dispensation to perform Catholic-Protestant marriages had been requested, but not yet received by the Bishop (Nute, p.295. See also Van Kirk, p.157 and 274 n.37,38). Dumoulin's version of the same incident is described in a letter to Plessis: "Those marriages . . . were performed in a manner to disgust those who witnessed them and to leave small room for respect for the minister and his functions" (Nute, p.342). West further complained, "I have known the priests refuse to marry the parties. . . at the time that they were co-habiting together, as though it were better for them to live in fornication, than that they should violate the rigid statutes of the Papal see" (West, Substance, p.75).

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., p.122. These included "lightly regarding" the Sabbath, dancing and card playing on Sunday evenings, and even the very mode of worship. One incident, bordering on the ludicrous is the following, recorded by West (ibid., p.74-75): "I had given a French Testament to one of the Canadians, whom I married to a Swiss Protestant, which excited the farther active prejudice of the Catholic priest. He called on him, and requested that he might have it, but the Canadian objected, saying, that as his wife was a Protestant, she wished to read it. He then asked to borrow it, promising to return the Testament in a few days, and took it home with him. I had written on the inside of the cover - The man's name. From the British and Foreign Bible Society. "Sondez les Ecritures." St. Jean, v.39. A short time after it was returned, the Canadian shewed me the remarks which the priest had written, and gave me the Testament, at my request, in exchange for a Bible. Over the above text, the Catholic priest wrote, "Lisez avec soin les Ecritures, mais ne les explicuez point d'apres vos lumieres," and immediately following my name, which I had put at the bottom of the cover: "Si quelquun necoute pas l'Eglise regardez le comme un Paien, et un Publicain." Matth. xviii. 17; adding the following observations: "Dans ce livre, on ne dit pas un mot de la penitence qui afflige le corps. Cependant il est de foi qu'elle est absolument necessaire au salut apres le peche, c'est a l'Eglise de J.C. qu'il appartient de determiner le sens des Ecritures." West then exchanged the Testament for a bible and kept Dumoulin's message!

<sup>34</sup> 23 March, 1841 (G.-A.I., M486). Even the tolerant Rundle felt there was little to choose from between heathenism and Rome, while Evans anticipated that the priest (Father Belcourt) "will compel those poor Canadians who have attended preaching all winter although understanding no English, to walk with peas in their shoes or some mischief as a penance. . . . The Catholic priests are the same as in the time of the bloody Mary" (ibid., 2 May, 1839).

<sup>35</sup> 2 Sept., 1841 (U.C.A., D.8.1 #3). Notice that the Catholics apparently are not considered Christians by Mason.

<sup>36</sup> See Helen T. Alexander, "Rundle of Edmonton," The Beaver (December, 1950), p.15 for one of De Smet's anecdotes which involved Rundle. See also Pierre Jean De Smet, Western Missions and Missionaries: A Series of Letters. 1859. Introduction by William L. Davis. Shannon, Ireland: 1972, for an interesting account of his work. He does not herein refer to Rundle.

<sup>37</sup> Rundle, 4 Oct., 1845.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 8 Oct., 1845; 7 Oct.; 11 Oct. ("Had a controversy with Mr. De Smet about Pope, Celibacy. He quoted S. Paul and lost the argument. First time ever argued with a Priest.").

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 19 Oct., 1845; 29 Oct., 1845: "Such was the manner in wh[sic] I bade farewell to the first and only Jesuit I ever had intercourse with."

<sup>40</sup> Joseph Bourassa and Jean Thibault. Rundle invariably mangled their names, in one instance speaking of Mr. Bourdesaws and Mr. Thybault.

<sup>41</sup> Rundle, 2 July, 1846. An unknown author has given the following account of Rundle's visit to Lesser Slave Lake, from which he was returning when he stopped to visit the priests: "This last stay would have been prolonged but for the arrival of the Catholic priest M. Bourassa, which scared him away as day chases night" (G.-A.I., "Margaret Loggie Papers" D971.23, L832 f.54) - all a matter of opinion!

<sup>42</sup> Lefroy, In Search, p.27. Yet in his autobiography he asks, "How can these neglected people draw nice distinctions [between denominations]?" "Lady Lefroy, ed., Autobiography of General Sir John Henry Lefroy. London: 1895, p.94.

<sup>43</sup> Ross to Simpson, 15 Aug., 1842, unsigned and incomplete (V.U.L., "James Evans' Papers," p.3).

<sup>44</sup> Paul Kane, Wanderings of an Artist, p.142. See also Alexander Ross, The Red River Settlement, p.298-299 for a similar viewpoint.

<sup>45</sup> Lefroy, In Search, p.74.

<sup>46</sup> Barnley Journal, 16 January, 1841 (P.A.C., MG 24 J40).

#### 4. Missionary and Settler

<sup>1</sup> A discussion of the differences between settlement of the Canadian and American West, and the various frontier hypotheses is beyond the scope of this chapter. See, however, William Brooks, "Methodism," Chapter 1 for an analysis of the various frontier theories in the Rupert's Land context.

<sup>2</sup> J. Evans, "1836 Mission Tour of Lake Huron" (P.A.M., BV 2813 E8A3) Emphasis his.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> See Robert Berkhofer, Salvation and the Savage, chp. 5; Henry W. Bowden, American Indians and Christian Missions, p.159 and passim. The exceptions were Methodist missionaries on the Pacific coast who welcomed "Christian" settlers while deploring the "rabble" that found its way across the mountains. See especially H.K. Hines, Missionary History of the Pacific Northwest. Portland: 1899; and the copious works of Clifford Merrill Drury, including among others, The Diaries and Letters of Henry H. Spalding and Asa Brown Smith relating to the Nez Perce Mission, 1838-1842. Glendale: 1958; More About the Whitmans. Tacoma: 1979; Marcus and Narcissa Whitman and the Opening of Old Oregon. 2V., Glendale:1973.

<sup>5</sup> West, Substance, p.53. For an excellent discussion of the "corruption theme" in fur-trade history, see Saum, p.104-105.

<sup>6</sup> West, Substance, "The British North-West American Indians," and passim.

<sup>7</sup> "Extract of a letter from A. Bulger" (P.A.C., "Bulger Papers," II, M.150, p.195); Bulger to Colville, 8 Sept., 1822 (ibid., p.311); Bulger to Colville, 25 July, 1822 (ibid., p.167). Also in E.H. Oliver, The Canadian North-West, V.I., p.224-225.

<sup>8</sup> Simpson to Committee, 31 July, 1822 (H.B.C.A., D.4/85). He speaks of the country-born as in a "lamentable state of depravity without restraint. . . so formidable as to become dangerous to the Peace of the Settlement and safety of the Trading Posts. . . ."

<sup>9</sup> Ross, p.64.

<sup>10</sup> For background material, the Selkirk Papers in the P.A.M. are the most comprehensive and valuable source. See also, among others, Alexander Begg, History of the North-West. V.I. Toronto: 1894; J.J. Gun, Echoes of the Red. Toronto: 1930; John Halketh, Statement Respecting the Earl of Selkirk's Settlement Upon the Red River in North America, Its Destruction in 1815 and 1816 and the Massacre of Governor Semple and His Party. London: 1817; Joseph J. Hargrave, Red River. Montreal: 1871; W.L. Morton, Manitoba: A History. Toronto: 1970; Alexander Ross, The Red River Settlement: Its Rise, Progress and Present State. London: 1856, and many others. Nicholas Garry in 1822 reports Scottish settlers, 221; De Meuron, 65; Canadians, 133, making a total of 419, "of whom 154 are Females." There were also approximately 500 "free men" at Pembina (Garry, p.193. Also in W. Morton, Manitoba, p.61). Ross, p.78, reckoned the number to be 1500 souls.

<sup>11</sup> Ross, p.57 describes the Swiss as "quiet, orderly, and moral people; remarkable withal for the number of handsome young people both lads and lasses among them," but unfit and ignorant of farming operations. In contrast, the De Meuron were, "with few exceptions, . . . a rough and lawless set of blackguards," (ibid., p.41).

<sup>12</sup> "Presumably" because a careful study of West's appointment indicates that he was assigned as Hudson's Bay Company Chaplain with the knowledge and support of Lord Selkirk but not necessarily intended to be the minister for whom the settlers were waiting. (See for example, Selkirk to Bishop Plessis, 30 Dec., 1819, in Nute, Documents, p.260 where he mentions only those who are in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. West's own version is ambiguous: ". . . my instructions were to afford religious instruction and consolation to the servants in the active employment of the Hudson's Bay Company, as well as to the Company's retired servants, and other inhabitants of the settlement. . . ." (Substance, p.30). Whether he interpreted the latter to be settlers or Indians is unclear but probably suggest the settlers.

<sup>13</sup> See John Foster, "Program for the Red River Mission: The Anglican Clergy 1820-1826," Histoire Sociale IV. (Nov., 1969), for an analysis of West's interests in contrast with those of David Jones.

<sup>14</sup> Alexander Ross, The Red River Settlement: its Rise, Progress and Present State. London: 1856; reprint ed. Edmonton: 1972, p.31.

<sup>15</sup> For the story of their almost-pastor, Donald Gage, son of the Rev. Alexander Gage incumbent of the parish of Kildonan where most of the settlers originated, see Maurice P. Wilkinson, "The Episcopate of the Right Reverend David Anderson, D.D., First Lord Bishop of Rupert's Land 1849-1894," M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1950, p.27. Wilkinson comments on the fact that Gage, who had been engaged but stayed behind to perfect his Gaelic, makes no reference to this in his papers and autobiography. "It would seem that Gage had gone back on his word and hence the lack of reference to the arrangement." See also Selkirk's speech to the colonists in 1816 when he gave them lots for church, manse, and school, named the area "Kildonan," and promised them a minister of their own faith (Harry Shave, "Centenary of a Diocese," The Beaver (Sept., 1949), p.4-5; also Ross, p.43-44.

<sup>16</sup> Ross, p.53. To the settlers, Gaelic was "essential" and the Anglican rite an "abomination". So the prejudice against West was formidable indeed. For a good discussion of West's experiences see Arthur N. Thompson, "The Expansion of the Church of England in Rupert's Land From 1820-1839 Under the Hudson's Bay Company and the Church Missionary Society." Joseph J. Hargrave, Red River. Montreal: 1871, p.103 is sadly in error when he states "the colonists appear to have accepted (West's) ministry with gratitude."

<sup>17</sup> See A. Thompson, "John West: A Study of the Conflict Between Civilization and the Fur Trade," J.C.C.H.S. XII.3 (Sept., 1970), p.50.

<sup>18</sup> West, Substance, p.73.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p.27.

<sup>20</sup> The following statistics are evidence of the folly of West's rigidity:

<u>Date</u>	<u>No. of communicants</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
June, 1823	6	West's departure

<u>Date</u>	<u>No. of Communicants</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
Whitsun, 1827	73	Cockran with Jones for 18 months
Summer, 1828	88	-
Summer, 1829	122	Cockran 1 year alone - Jones on furlough.

Taken from Thompson, "Expansion," p.204.

<sup>21</sup> See Alexander Ross, p.54, for a description of Ross's efforts to get the school-house built; H.B.C.A., D.3/3 for Simpson's assertion that it was only by his efforts that the settlers finally were coerced into building the school; and West to C.M.S. that he was the one to "cheerfully" give his "hand and his heart to perfect the work" (Substance, p.27).

<sup>22</sup> Ross, p.81, also in Thompson, "John West," p.50. Actually, Ross's comment concerns Jones as well as West. Governor Simpson, however, also expressed this view in terms of West's return to Red River, saying that he never had been popular, "and will be less so hereafter than formerly if he comes out, indeed I do not suppose he would have a hearer" (Simpson to Governor and Committee, 5 June, 1824, H.B.C.A., D.4/8 fo. 15d). Also in Thompson, *ibid.*, p.52; while Ross, p.74, claims West "had not a dozen hearers. . ."

<sup>23</sup> Pannekoek, "The Churches and the Social Structure," p.162.

<sup>24</sup> West, Substance, p.22.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p.157.

<sup>26</sup> Ross, p.74 says bluntly that Jones never once visited the Indians, which is of course untrue, but he displayed so little interest in them that even Cockran was upset. Neither Jones nor Cockran ever learned the vernacular as West at least sought to do (Thompson, "John West," p.55).

<sup>27</sup> Ross, p.128.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p.130.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p.131. Also John Foster, "Program for the Red River Mission: The Anglican Clergy 1820-1826," Histoire Sociale. IV (Nov., 1969), p.55-56, 74-75.

<sup>30</sup> Frits Pannekoek, "The Churches," p.53 and *passim*. West, by virtue of being an Oxford graduate and a British gentleman, would naturally have found a place in the society of the colony's elite, yet his antagonistic relations with many of the Officers made this of little value to him.

<sup>31</sup> Ross, p.131.

VI CONCLUSION

- 1 Bruce Trigger, The Children of Aataentsic I, p.26.
- 2 C. Jaenen, "Missionary Approaches," p. 61.
- 3 Careless, p.21.
- 4 S. Piggin, "Assessing Nineteenth-Century Missionary Motivation," Religious Motivation and Biographical and Sociological Problems for the Church Historian. ed. Derek Baker. Oxford: 1978, p. 327-337. Potter, p.141, 161; A.F. Wallis, "The Best Thinking of the Best Heathen." Religion and Humanism ed. Keith Robbins. Oxford: 1981, p.341-353.
- 5 B. Toelken, "Seeing with a Native Eye: How Many Sheep Will it Hold," Seeing With a Native Eye. ed. Walter Capps, New York: 1976, p.9.
- 6 Pannekoek, "Protestant Agricultural Zions for the Western Indian," p.55. See also Ian A.L. Getty, "The Failure of the Native Church Policy of the C.M.S. in the North-West," p.20.
- 7 See Elizabeth Graham, "Strategies and Souls," Ph.D. dissertation University of Toronto, 1973, p.4.
- 8 Freeman, p.126. Emphasis mine.
- 9 Henry Chadwick, "Conversion in Constantine the Great", Religious Motivation. ed. Derek Baker, Oxford: 1978, p.1-14. Chadwick comments, "Nothing justifies us in supposing that for a decade or more after the Milvian Bridge Constantine thought of Christian faith as necessarily involving total rejection of all the higher forms of pagan religious philosophy or even practice. . . . We know for a fact that he held the Sibylline oracles in high regard" (p.11).
- 10 Ibid., p. 13.
- 11 Howard Harrod, Mission Among the Blackfeet. Norman, Oklahoma: 1971, p.38.
- 12 Efraim Anderson, "The Missionary and Culture History," Missiology. 3 (Jan., 1975), p. 111-112, quoting Claude Roy.
- 13 Arthur J. Ray, "Fur Trade History as an Aspect of Native History," p.8. Ray applies this to the fur trade but it is equally applicable to missions. See also Elizabeth Graham, Medicine Man to Missionary: Missionaries as Agents of Change Among the Indians of Southern Ontario, 1784-1867. Toronto: 1975. Bernard Sheehan insists, "Civilized man [presumably including the missionary] confronted the Indian as a conqueror, outraged creditor, or prospective buyer with full control of the market" Seeds of Extinction. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: (1973), p.150.
- 14 Ray, p.10.

15 Recorded in Barnley's letters and Journals but well described by Norman J. Williamson, "Abishabis the Cree," Studies in Religion. 9.2 (1980), p.217-245. See also John Webster Grant, "Missionaries and Messiahs in the Northwest," Studies in Religion. 9.2 (1980), p.125-136; Cornelius Jaenen, "Missionary Approaches to Native Peoples," Approaches to Native History in Canada. ed. D.A. Muise. Ottawa: 1977, p.7; Weston LaBarre, "Materials for a Study of Crisis Cults: A Bibliographical Essay," Current Anthropology. 12.1 (1971), p.18f.

16 John F. Bannon, "The Mission as a Frontier Institution: Sixty Years of Interest and Research," p.318.

17 It could be wished that even one of the missionaries in this study had been wise enough, even in hindsight, to say, "I missed the significance of all sorts of things . . . which took place before my eyes but went unremarked because I had no idea that anything significant was happening" (Niels Braroe, Indian and White: Self-Image and Interaction in a Canadian Plains Community. Stanford: 1975), p.16.

18 That this is a universal and not merely a North-American missionary failure is well illustrated by James Croil, The Missionary Problem: Containing a History of Protestant Missions. Toronto: 1883, p.206 and passim.

19 Max Warren, The Missionary Movement From Britain in Modern Times. London: 1965, p.34

20 Michael Mooney, ed., George Catlin Letters and Notes on the North American Indians. (1841), reprint ed. New York: 1975, p.45.

21 Lefroy, In Search of the Magnetic North, p.154.

## APPENDIX I

Church Mission House Library, est. 1823

Scott's Bible . . . 5 volumes	The gift of Rev. John West
Dick's Essay on the Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures - 1 Vol.	The gift of Rev. John West
Venn's Duty of Man - 1 Vol.	The gift of Rev. John West
Fuller's Gospel its own witness - 1 vol.	The gift of Rev. John West
Scott's Pilgrim's Progress	Donated by B. Harrison, Esq.
_____ Essays - 1 Vol.	Donated by Rev. John West
Cooper's Doctrinal Sermons - 2 Vol.	Donated by Rev. John West
Walker's Christian Sermons - 1 Vol.	Donated by Rev. John West
Wilberforce's View - 1 Vol.	Donated by Rev. John West
Robinson's Scripture Characters - 1 Vol.	Donated by Rev. John West
Burder's Sermons - 1 Vol.	Donated by Rev. John West
Gisborne's Survey of the Christian Religion - 1 Vol.	Donated by Rev. John West
British and Foreign Bible Society's Reports - 6 Vol.	
A Considerable number of Religious Tracts for Distribution	

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