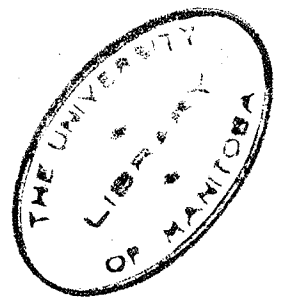


THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

THE PART PLAYED BY THE HUDSON'S BAY
COMPANY IN WESTERN CANADIAN
EDUCATION, 1821-1869

BEING A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE COMMITTEE
ON POST-GRADUATE STUDIES IN FULFILMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF MASTER OF EDUCATION



BY

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APRIL 1955

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IN WESTERN CANADIAN EDUCATION, 1821-69

by S. S. Harvey

M.Ed. Thesis Abstract

Purpose of the Study

One frequently finds in the history of pioneer days in Western Canada, references to assistance given by the Hudson's Bay Company to the settlers and Indians, but there has never been a complete description of the Company's assistance to educational enterprises in the West.

The purpose of this study is to test the hypothesis that the Hudson's Bay Company provided significant support for education in Western Canada during the period 1821-69. (The investigation was centered nearly completely on this half century because before 1821 the Company never exercised the monopoly which its charter had given it, and in 1869 it gave up its monopoly and its government to Rupert's Land.)

Sources of Data

As the Company maintained a consistent silence about its affairs until 1931, recourse to much authoritative data concerning the history of the West was denied to historians who wrote prior to that date. In 1931, however, this traditional silence was discarded and several eminent historians have since been allowed complete use of the Company's archives in London. One of these men was A. S. Morton whose history of the Canadian West was a most valuable reference during this study.

Canadian Archives in the Manitoba Legislative Library contain two volumes rich with evidence for this study. One is the Minutes of Council of the Company's Northern Department edited by Professor Oliver. The other is the Report of the Select Committee of the British House of Commons of 1857 on the Hudson's Bay Company. This report is mainly the minutes of the committee's meetings while it investigated the affairs of the Company in general and its government of Rupert's Land in particular.

When D. L. McLaurin was writing his Master's Thesis on the history of education in British Columbia, he copied letters, etc., pertaining to education which were located by him in the archives of the Parliament Buildings in Victoria. These letters were used from the McLaurin Thesis by the present writer as evidence of the Company's educational contributions on Vancouver Island.

Findings:

The evidence shows that, although the Company was under no legal obligation to do anything for education, its support

of education was continuous and generous. During the half century investigated, while most central governments were only beginning to accept some responsibility in education^{and} to pay part of its costs, in Rupert's Land we find a commercial concern consistently making valuable contributions not from a calculating plan for profits, but chiefly from a sincere desire to improve the lot of its peoples. Missionaries established most of the early schools, and one of the Company's outstanding contributions to education was its financial support given to these missionaries.

The contributions of the Company were divided by this writer into tangible and intangible support. The latter category contains, among others, the following: The Company was always in favour of education and enthusiastically encouraged it for all classes. In fact, the Company's Rules and Regulations required parents to do what they could to provide elementary education in their homes for their children when schools were not available. Several posts conducted evening schools for Indians and whites together. Transportation in Company boats and hospitality at its posts were usually provided free to the missionaries. Furthermore, the Company conducted several valuable kinds of vocational training, it had experimental farms, it aided exploration, it insisted on conservation of wildlife, and it vaccinated the majority of the 40,000 Indians of the thickwood area of Rupert's Land.

The tangible support provided by the Company consists of contributions of books, buildings, lands, and money. At various places, a total of nearly a score of substantial buildings were supplied by the Company as schools or churches. Land grants were made to approximately forty missions. The largest grant, twenty miles square, was given to the St. Boniface Mission. During the half century, the Company's monetary grants-in-aid totalled approximately £45,000 in days when the buying power of the pound was nearly ten times as great as it is now. This was very valuable assistance for so few people.

Evidence shows that this powerful support was a direct expression of the type of men who were Company officers. They took great pride in providing a thoroughly humane, paternal governance for the natives. Never have the Indians been so contented. The proud, fine men of the Company formed a remarkable corps; no other commercial concern has produced their equal. Early western education would have been much retarded without the continuous encouragement and generous financial support of the Company.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Although information concerning the educational and other services rendered by the Hudson's Bay Company to Western Canada is usually discussed in regional and national histories, the Company, itself, did not publish officially any of this information before 1931. In fact, until that date it maintained a rather marked silence about its affairs.¹ This reticence was then abandoned, and the Company, since, has graciously permitted several eminent students of history to have recourse to any or all of its business papers, and to publish their interpretations and opinions without restriction. (One of these historians was A. S. Morton, and the privilege of using the Company's archives was an important factor in making possible the publication, in 1938, of his authoritative history of the West.)² Hence, today there are two types of secondary sources of data concerning the Company: material written by those who did not use the Company's archives, and material written by those who have used them.

Most of these books state that the retention of territory for Canada was one of the Company's outstanding

¹R. E. Pinkerton, The Gentlemen Adventurers, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1931, p. 357.

²A. S. Morton, A History of the Canadian West to 1870-71, Toronto: Nelson & Sons, 1938, Preface, p.ix.

contributions. Since expansion westward in the United States preceded a similar movement in Canada, it is believed by many that parts of what is now Canada would have been American territory had it not been that the Company occupied and governed such areas.

When white settlers moved into the Canadian West, the Indians remained at peace, but when settlers moved into the American West, a series of Indian wars resulted. Maintaining the peaceful behaviour of the Indians was a valuable service of the Company to Canada, and education is impossible without peace. The important service rendered by the Company to Western Canada, which is the subject of this thesis, was in the field of education. In the stories about the traders and early pioneers, references are frequently found to the Company's support of missions and schools in its territories, but the present writer had never seen a comprehensive description of this support and felt that an important contribution to the history of Canadian education could be made by this study.

Stating the Problem and Defining Terms

The problem of this study is to discover what support for education was provided by the Hudson's Bay Company, particularly between 1821 and 1869. Some of the terms in this statement are defined for this paper as follows:

"The Hudson's Bay Company" means "that corporate body

which was created by Royal Charter in 1670, and which was, by the same instrument, given a trade monopoly and the duty to govern a defined territory called Rupert's Land."

"Provided" is used in the sense of "gave", "furnished", and intimates "aided in", "helped with", "assisted with", and "promoted".

"Education" - two definitions from authorities are quoted, and then the definition used in this thesis is given.

1. "Education" means "in a general sense, the development of the whole nature of man, physical, intellectual, through the interaction with every phase of his environment."¹

2. "Education" means "the process of rearing or bringing up or nourishing. Hence, culture or development of powers, formation of character." "Educate" - "to bring up from childhood, so as to form habits, manners, mental and physical aptitudes,---to train generally."²

3. "Education" as the term is used in this thesis means "all forms of instruction, encouragement and leadership in moral behaviour and better living conditions, training in skills and business methods." Briefly, "education" in this thesis means "training in general, by any and all means."

The missionaries, whether they had schools or not, gave leadership in moral behaviour. Hence, all missionary

¹Universal Standard Encyclopedia, New York: Unicorn, 1954.

²Shorter Oxford English Dictionary, 1936.

work is included as "education". Also the term "missionary enterprises" is synonymous with "education" in this thesis.

"Support for education" means "the sum of (a) financial aid; (b) the provision of teachers, buildings and books; (c) transportation of teachers or pupils; (d) the encouragement of teachers; (e) favourable stimulus of and moral support for education; and (f) admirable examples of behaviour of its servants."

The following examples show the broad sense in which the expression "provided support for education" is used. The Company provided support for education when it donated money to missionary or educational enterprises, when it transported missionaries or teachers, or when it showed its people fine examples of Christian behaviour.

Specifically then, the problem with which this thesis is concerned is to test the hypothesis that the Hudson's Bay Company provided important support for education in Western Canada between the years 1821 and 1869.

"Western Canada" means "that part of Western Canada which lies west of the Lake of the Woods."

The study mainly concerns the period from 1821 until 1869 for two reasons: First, before 1821, the Company did not fully exercise its monopoly, nor had it established its government over all of Rupert's Land. Second, in 1869, the

Company lost its monopoly and ceased to be the government of Western Canada.

The Method of Study

The method of historical research was followed to discover whether the Company provided support for education. At the outset, an hypothesis was stated, and then several history books were read to gain general background knowledge and to see if a case could be prepared. Next came the re-reading of sections of these books significant to this study, and the careful perusal of most other available, authoritative material and archives on the subject. Throughout this stage, all pertinent data and their sources were copied as notes. After this selection, the data were arranged in categories, tested for relevancy, and some discarded. Writing up and preparing this paper were the final steps. The parts of the method in more detail are the following:

1. The statement of the hypothesis regarding Company support of education.
2. The reading of the relevant history for a general background.
3. Analysis of conditions affecting education.
4. The fourth step, selecting the data, included:
 - (a) re-reading the histories used before and reading other sources of data (primary, whenever possible);
 - (b) copying from them each fact related

to the conditions decided upon in step 3 and recording the source where each fact was found.

This selection of data was occasionally complicated by deciding if the fact being examined was related to education. For example, when the Company made drastic reductions in the sale of liquor and the use of liquor in the trade, was it teaching temperance?

5. Organizing the data selected was the fifth step.

It was organized in an attempt to show that:

- (i) a peaceful population in Company territories needed education;
- (ii) teachers appeared and education was conducted there;
- (iii) the Company provided support for education.

At the same time, these data were arranged in chronological order.

6. The final stage was the presentation of this evidence in such a manner that a conclusion regarding the hypothesis might be reached.

The Plan of the Study

This study is divided into several stages. The first stage presents a discussion of some conditions in Rupert's Land and within the Company which were conducive to educational enterprises. Such favorable conditions include: peace, the establishment and growth of settlements, the spread of

posts, the characteristics of some Company officers, and the success of the Company as a financial venture. The data selected explain these conditions and their development.

Chapter III points out the need for missionary and educational enterprises. The data name the classes of people, their numbers, their geographical locations, and, for some, give information about their character. The chapter also names most of the educational enterprises which developed in order partially to satisfy the need for education. The data are arranged in chronological order. No attempt is made at this stage to explain who financed these educational enterprises.

Chapter IV is devoted to tracing the nature and the growth of the support for education provided by the Hudson's Bay Company in Rupert's Land. The influence of certain officers of the Company on this support is explained. Reasons why the Company furnished support are given. Overseas public interest in the welfare of the peoples in Company lands is referred to by naming an investigation conducted by the British House of Commons. Again, many of the data, which were furnished largely by the Minutes of Council of the Northern Department, are arranged in chronological order.

As there are many kinds of education, and as several of these are not conducted in schools for children, Chapter V

is devoted to an examination of Company support in such educational fields as: fur trade training, vocational training, agriculture, preventive medicine, brotherhood of man, and conservation. The Rules and Regulations of the Company were a rich source of data for this chapter.

In Chapter VI, the development of missionary enterprises in the Western Department (the Pacific Slope) and Company support thereof are traced to enhance the story of Company support in Rupert's Land described in Chapter IV. The reasons for this division are as follows: The centre or hub from which missionary enterprises in Rupert's Land spread was in Manitoba. Such work on the Pacific Slope did not develop from nor was it directed from this centre. Also, the commencement of missionary work on the Pacific Slope post-dated that of the Manitoba area by approximately twenty-five years. A brief comparison of Company support of education at Red River with that provided on Vancouver Island is added and a conclusion drawn.

Chapter VII is devoted to a summary of Company support. This is related to the hypothesis which has been stated previously.

CHAPTER II

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY, NOTING PARTICULARLY EDUCATIONAL CONDITIONS

Outline

1. The Charter.
2. Opposition finally caused the Company to build inland posts.
3. Smallpox epidemic.
4. Selkirk Settlement.
5. Changes which resulted from the Amalgamation of 1821 -
 - (a) efficient organization under Simpson;
 - (b) unemployment;
 - (c) shift in population;
 - (d) Company at last must rule Rupert's Land;
 - (e) conservation;
 - (f) additional territory - the Western Department;
6. Company papers for 1808-09 contain references to educational aid.
7. Company men provide inspiring examples of non-exploitation of natives - and loyalty to other ideals of the Company.

The few facts given in this chapter regarding the development of the Hudson's Bay Company are restricted mainly to those bearing upon the conditions it fostered in Rupert's Land which did or did not encourage the growth of missionary and educational enterprises. These conditions are also presented in order to show why the Company was able to survive and to continue in such a state of prosperity that it was able to support education. Such support was started by Lord Selkirk.

Before commencing this study, it is instructive to note that the Royal Charter, which created the Company in 1670, contains no reference to education.¹ Briefly summed up, this document gave the Company a trade monopoly in certain territory and required it to govern that territory. Since it did not require the Company to make any provision for missionary or educational undertakings, any support the Company provided^{later} was entirely voluntary, and due to changing social service concepts which included a desire to civilize its people.

For approximately its first century the Company was content to trade at only a half dozen posts which were built at the mouths of rivers flowing into Hudson's Bay. The traders encouraged the Indians to bring their furs hundreds of miles to the Bay each summer. Under this modest plan of operation, the Company's servants saw the natives only briefly each year. A few interpreters were sufficient to carry on the trade. Because of these conditions, the Company seems^{for many years} to have

¹

Appendix A.p.106.

given no consideration to the possibility of educating or Christianizing the aborigines.¹ *Profit was its only concern, then.*

The fact that the early history of the Company was one of almost uninterrupted profits is shown by the record of its capitalization. In 1670 it was about £10,000; by 1690 it was almost trebled in value to £31,000, and in 1720 trebled again to about £95,000. In those days, the pound was worth about ten times what it is today, 1955. This information is given because, had the Company failed, it could never have established conditions conducive to educational enterprises nor supported these enterprises.

Opposition from traders who did not respect the Company's monopoly finally forced the Hudson's Bay Company to establish inland posts. This opposition first came from the French who travelled from Montreal by river and lake far into Rupert's Land. When Canada became a British colony in 1763, these French traders were replaced by English-speaking traders who settled at Montreal after the conquest of Canada, and who enthusiastically entered the fur trade from that point.

At first these Montrealers, "pedlars", as the Company servants derisively called them, operated as independent traders. Competition among these Canadians was intense. The opportunity to exploit the natives attracted many unscrupulous men into the trade. The use of trickery and liquor became

¹R. E. Pinkerton, The Gentlemen Adventurers, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1931, p. 54.

commonplace. The rivalry was bitter and lawless.

Such competition produced conditions which at once would have made missionary work very difficult but all the more necessary.

The anger of the Indians at the unscrupulous traders became so bitter and widespread that indiscriminate killings of traders or an Indian war seemed imminent. This tragedy was averted by another, an epidemic of smallpox, 1780-82,¹ which is estimated to have killed one-third to one-half of the natives. While the epidemic raged no one traded on the plains or in the northern forests. This epidemic had a significant influence upon Company government after 1821. An epidemic had halted trade. Hence, vaccination of the Indians became a feature of Company rule. This social service, an educative process, was, then, introduced as a result of a condition in Rupert's Land.

The epidemic ruined many small traders, and this group contained most of the unscrupulous ones. Hence, the field was left more clear for the stronger, more responsible and honourable traders of Montreal. These began banding themselves into more powerful groups, the greatest of which was the North West Company. In one place Begg says this Company was founded in 1784;² in another, 1782, and in a

¹A. S. Morton, A History of the Canadian West to 1870-71, Toronto: Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd., 1938, pp. 331-335.

²Alexander Begg, History of the North West, Vol. I, Toronto: Hunter, Rose and Co., 1894, p. 95.

third, 1787.¹

The Nor'Westers were enterprising, energetic, and often quite well educated upper class men. A policy of their company was such that those who started in the company as employees could rise rapidly to partnership, wealth, and power if they showed energy and ability. This policy was in sharp contrast to that of the Hudson's Bay Company, which paid poor wages, a weak incentive for conscientious toil. Also, many early members of the older company were poorly educated men from the Orkney Islands.

The Nor'Westers quickly established fur trade posts scattered all the way from Lake Superior to the Rockies, and northward to the Barren Lands. At last, about 1780, the Hudson's Bay Company began to build more inland posts. Almost everywhere in Rupert's Land the older company followed the younger one.

There are several points of interest in the story of the establishment of the first two inland posts of the Hudson's Bay Company. Firstly, it seems to be a common belief that Cumberland House, built in 1774, was the first inland post of the Company.² However, Begg says that Fort Hurley, one hundred and fifty miles up the Albany River, was built in 1742.³ Secondly, Cumberland House was built in 1774 by Samuel Hearne.

¹Ibid., pp. 97, 98, and 238.

²Morton, op.cit., p. 301 and R. Glover, "Cumberland House", The Beaver, Hudson's Bay Company, Winnipeg, Dec. 1951.

³Begg, op.cit., pp. 80, 85.

Hearne is better known in history as an explorer than as a trader. He travelled overland from Fort Churchill almost to the Arctic Ocean at the mouth of the Coppermine River in 1771. His trip was important because his explorations seemed to indicate that a North West passage probably did exist, although no one had discovered it up to that time.

The map of the main waterways of the West was soon dotted with the posts of the two companies. (See Map, p. 15). The first post in what is now Alberta was built in 1778. The North-West post, Fort Chipewyan, was in operation on Lake Athabaska in 1788. Both companies built posts about twenty-five miles east of the present city of Edmonton in 1794.¹ These posts were destroyed by Blackfeet Indians in 1807. But in 1808 the rivals built other posts on the site of the present city of Edmonton. In 1820 the Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Edmonton, a strong and imposing structure, was rebuilt by John Rowand.

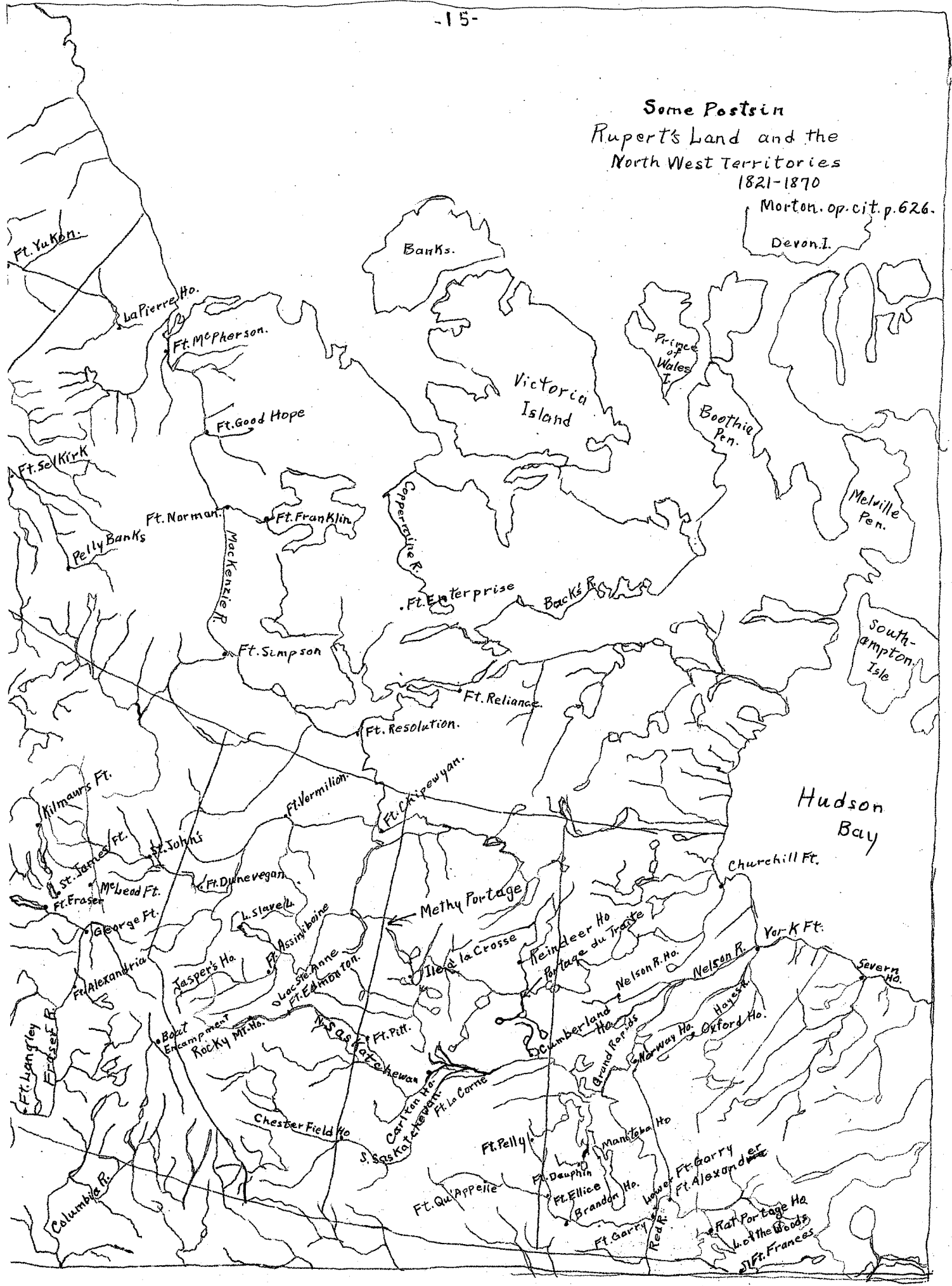
The map on page 15 is included because it shows the imposing extent of the Company's territories and the distances between the posts, and it supplies the names and locations of approximately one-fifth of the posts.

The Swan River Valley is an example of an area which quickly became quite an important fur region. Here also, the Nor'Westers led the way. Their representative, Cuthbert Grant,

¹J. W. Horan, West Nor'West, A History of Alberta, Edmonton: Northgate Books, 1945, p. 13.

Some Posts in Rupert's Land and the North West Territories 1821-1870

Morton. op. cit. p. 626.



built the first Swan River House in 1787. By 1790 Price, of the English company, built a post near Grant's.¹ In a period of approximately six years, there were six posts erected in the valley.

This partial list of the establishment of early posts is important to the main theme of the thesis. Without these posts across the West, the control of the whole of Rupert's Land by the Hudson's Bay Company after 1821 could not have developed. Without this widespread control and influence over the natives, the Company would never have been in a position to welcome and support missionary and educational enterprises. Hence the posts made possible Company control, a condition necessary to the advent of missionaries.

David Thompson was in the Swan River Valley in 1797 and had this to say: "The ground was wet from the many ponds kept full by Beaver Dams;-----these sagacious animals were in full possession, but their destruction was already begun and was in full operation."² This statement about the beaver would have led his readers to expect that within a few years the beaver there would be scarce. That they were not scarce but plentiful for many years is proven by an old Hudson's Bay document, a type of trade summary for the years 1861 and 1862. This document³ was found in the ruins of old Fort Pelly, situa-

¹John N. R. Clark, "The Development of Education in the Swan River Valley", pp. 8-9, unpublished Master's thesis, University of Manitoba, 1949.

²Morton, op.cit., p. 432.

³See Appendix B, p.107 for a copy of this document taken from Clark's Thesis.

ted on the Swan River, near to the present village of Pelly, Saskatchewan. This paper, yellowed with age, was discovered by Mrs. Anna Perry of Pelly, a relative of the writer. It gives a list of the numbers, kinds, and prices paid for the pelts in the Swan River District for 1861 and 1862. In 1861, the Company bought about 1,500 beaver skins, 3000 foxes, 30,000 muskrat, 2000 tanned buffalo robes, and many other furs at a total cost of about £5,200.

This short description of the perpetuation of trade in the Swan River Valley brings to light another policy of the Company which has a direct bearing on educational work. This policy is conservation. Without such conservation, many areas would have been abandoned, and the Company might have failed. It would not then have been present to welcome and support missionaries.

Once the Hudson's Bay Company was aroused from its old policy of trading only at the Bay it extended its operations greatly. Although it did not move as quickly as did the Nor'Westers in opening new trade areas and building posts, it did build many of them. "In 1821, when the companies united, the Hudson's Bay Company had 76 posts, the Nor'Westers 97."¹

Furthermore, the Hudson's Bay Company, for a time at least, about 1795, had won back a goodly portion of the trade

¹Douglas MacKay, The Honourable Company, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1949, p. 130.

because their trade goods were of better quality and lower price than those of their rivals. This is admitted by Sir Alexander MacKenzie, a leading Nor'Wester, in his famous "Voyages" published in 1801.¹

During the early years of the rivalry between the two great companies, friendly relationships occasionally existed between their representatives. Often their two rival posts in a locality stood side by side or only a few hundred yards apart. The white men from some of such pairs of neighbouring rival posts often visited back and forth, thus providing for themselves a little social life with equals. Such visits formed welcome breaks in long periods of wilderness duties.

Despite the evidence of the old Company's stability between 1795 and 1800, there is also evidence of its decline after 1800. The driving energy of the Nor'Westers brought their rival to the verge of financial ruin between 1800 and 1815. For example, Edward Ellice, a Nor'Wester, claimed that only a technicality prevented him and his associates from buying the entire Hudson's Bay Company stock in 1804 at slightly less than par. Pinkerton states that the only possible inference that can be drawn from this is that the directors of the Hudson's Bay Company, gravely alarmed at the way the trade was passing into the hands of its rivals, were willing to give up the struggle for furs before they lost

¹ibid, p. 125.

heavily.¹

About 1805, most of the stockholders of the Hudson's Bay Company were worried about their decreasing profits and about the aggressive and sometimes violent competition from the Nor'Westers. Several plans for combatting this situation were suggested. Finally, in 1810, the plan of reorganization suggested by a Hudson's Bay Company official, Andrew Colville, was adopted.

One of the ways he suggested for reducing the Company's expenses was that more of the food eaten by the Company men in Rupert's Land should be produced there, thus cutting shipping costs from England. This suggestion, when adopted, provided a golden opportunity for Lord Selkirk, Colville's brother-in-law, to apply to the Company for a grant of land at the junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers in Rupert's Land. He wished to establish an agricultural colony there. (Such a colony, if established, would increase the need for missionaries in the West. Hence, the proposed colony is relevant to the thesis.)

In 1811, before he had bought a controlling interest in the Company, the stockholders sold him 116,000 square miles of fertile plains for ten shillings. They thought that his colony would soon supply the fur traders with flour and other commodities. The first of the famous Selkirk Settlers founded

¹Pinkerton, op.cit., pp. 196-7.

the colony of Red River in 1812. Due to a succession of heartbreaking misfortunes, it was not until 1830, however, that the Colony (often called Assiniboia) was able to sell much produce.¹

Another attempt by the North West Company to get control of the Hudson's Bay Company was made in 1812. In that year, Sir Alexander MacKenzie bought some stock in the latter company and wanted his North West associates to buy a controlling interest. Again, for various reasons, the opportunity was missed by the Nor'Westers. But Lord Selkirk did buy this controlling interest. He put fresh money and new methods into the Hudson's Bay Company's struggle, which by then had become a bitter one. The result was that he brought both companies to the verge of ruin.

When in 1812 he started bringing settlers to the Red River to farm, the former semi-friendly competition between the two companies ended. It became stern, unfriendly competition. The Nor'Westers believed they could see, in the Selkirk colony, a move by the English company to ruin them. One of their water highways to the west was threatened. The contest for furs became sharp and menacing. Many incidents then occurred which soon turned suspicion into open hatred and enmity. Both sides, unfortunately, began selling liquor in increasing volume to the Indians.

The Nor'Westers, through their agents in the Old Country, did their best to discourage the Scottish crofters of

¹Morton, op.cit., pp. 531-533.

Stornoway from accepting Selkirk's invitation to emigrate to Red River. Failing in this, they resorted to instigating lawless and violent attacks upon the poor settlers in the new colony. Settlers' houses were burned and standing crops were trampled. Selkirk did what he could, but he was unable to provide effective protection for his isolated colonists.

The violence at Red River culminated in the infamous Seven Oaks Massacre of 1816. Doubtless, by that time, the British government began to put official or unofficial pressure on the Hudson's Bay Company, or on both the companies, to amalgamate and so end the bitter strife which had produced a shamefully lawless condition in Rupert's Land.

This struggle between the companies is relevant in that it produced in the West a lawless condition not conducive to missionary work. Liquor had demoralized the Indians. Such a condition had to be changed to make it possible for missionary enterprise to exist.

Finally, the union of the two companies took place in 1821. Both invested an equal amount of capital. The new Hudson's Bay Company was organized along lines very similar to those of the North West Company, which had just ceased to exist.¹ In this system of reorganization many of the traders themselves were shareholders. About 53 percent of the shares in the new firm were taken by former Nor'Westers and 46 percent

¹Pinkerton, op.cit., p.112.

by men from the old Hudson's Bay Company. This reorganization is relevant to the thesis in that it introduced the strength and efficiency which enabled the Company to offer missionaries substantial help in their work, as will be shown in later chapters.

As is only natural, the directors of the new company were anxious for profits and so wanted to retain the most efficient traders. Again, it was the old Nor'Westers who were appointed to most of the best posts as chief factors and chief traders.¹ These officers had heavy responsibility and real authority.

All of the reasons why George Simpson was chosen as Governor of the new company in Rupert's Land are not known. The man sent by the new Board of Governors to Canada to secure the signatures of the North West partners and to start the new company operating was Nicholas Garry. (He was closely attended, or followed, however, by Simon McGillivray, one of the most influential of the Nor'Westers). Garry wanted to choose, as the Governor of Canada, a certain William Williams, who had been the Governor of the old Hudson's Bay Company at Red River in 1821, but Williams was hated by the Nor'Westers for the part he had played against them in the petty warfare before the union, particularly for an attack he had led against them at Grand Portage. Hence, after hesitating as long as he could, Garry finally learned that Williams was quite happy to

¹ibid., p. 290.

become superintendent of the Southern Department, with Moose Factory as his headquarters. Simpson, who had been intended for the Southern Department, was given the Northern Department, the position of supreme control in Canada. Two important posts of his department were Fort Garry on the Red River and Norway House (Jack River House) at the north end of Lake Winnipeg, and his depot was York Factory on the Bay.

Strangely enough, Simpson had been in Canada only one year before the union in 1821. During that time he had been sent to the Athabaska District in charge of a party of the old company. (He was then only twenty-two years old, according to Pinkerton, but Douglas MacKay says he was thirty-three.) There he was to oppose Black, one of the most forceful men of the North West Company. He bested Black that year. Later, after the union, they became good friends and Simpson, in about fifteen years, was able to promote Black to a very important chief factor's post.

Physically, Simpson was a small man whose chief personal characteristics appear to have been great energy, tact, affability, and dignity. His first job was to reconcile the animosity which existed between the men of the two old companies. He travelled extensively, even in the depths of winter. He gradually gained an almost despotic control over the annual meetings of the chief factors and chief traders, the

Fur Trade Council. He was a prolific letter writer whose letters to his men were a nice mixture of business and warm personal friendliness and news. In later years as his eyesight failed, he had to dictate his letters but their quantity and quality did not decrease.

As Pinkerton says, "George Simpson was a great executive, probably the greatest, fur-land has ever known."¹ He ruled the affairs of the company almost single-handed. His subordinates were scattered over an immense area stretching from the St. Lawrence to Alaska, from Ungava to San Francisco. He had two very important factors which contributed greatly to his success: firstly, he had from the two former companies the best of the men, all of whom were interested in gaining success; secondly, the Hudson's Bay Company was without serious opposition for the first time in over a century.²

This description of Simpson is pertinent to this thesis in that he helped create and maintain a strong, efficient Company and in that way he helped missionaries as will be shown in Chapter IV.

After the union, the Company became an organization of wonderful energy and efficiency. The devoted loyalty of its men has never been surpassed in any other great company and has excited the admiration of many writers.³

¹ibid., p. 295.

²ibid., p. 295.

³See Appendix C, p. 108.

A number of changes had to be made in the Company's business methods after 1821. Prior to the union, both companies very often had posts near the same site. The personnel of many of these duplicated posts was dismissed and one of the posts closed. (The total number of posts in 1821 was 173 and in 1872 was 144.)¹ Goods and furs no longer had to be transported by canoe to and from Montreal, but could now be conveyed by way of York Factory on the Bay. Fewer of the stalwart French-Canadian voyageurs were then needed as canoe-men.

A second change, the increase in population at Red River, was partly attributable to the first. To dismissed personnel from over a score of fur trade posts, the Company offered free land and some provisions at the Colony, if they wished to retire there to establish homes. Also an attempt was made by the Company to remove all the deserted wives and children of its servants to Red River. The Committee in London voted £300 in 1822 to transport these people, and expressed the hope that those brought to the colony who were Catholic should be placed under the care of the Catholic Mission, while those who were Protestant should be under the supervision of the Anglican chaplain.² The Company also ordered the French Catholic settlement at Pembina to withdraw to Red River in 1821.³

¹MacKay, op.cit., p. 130.

²Morton, op.cit., p. 633.

³ibid., p. 651.

Not only was there a marked increase in population at Red River as a result of the union,¹ but also there was a radical change in the composition of that population. In 1818, the colony contained 222 souls, 151 being Scots.² By 1822, the French portion had increased considerably and the half-breeds had become approximately half of the population.³ In this short period, the community had changed from being predominantly Scottish Presbyterian to one which was over half Catholic French half-breed. This rapid alteration in the population, which presented many new problems to the Governor and Council, also influenced missionary work there.

The great, annual meeting of the traders at Fort William, which was a colorful feature of the days of the Nor'-Westers, was discontinued. In its place, Simpson and some of his Chief Factors and Chief Traders (never more than fifteen in number), met annually in June at Norway House to plan the fur trade business for the coming year.

The reorganization also brought renewed emphasis on the need for agricultural pursuits to be followed near the posts under the control of post managers. The appropriate orders were issued and the necessary steps taken.

Law, order, and industry quickly displaced the violence and drunkenness of the days before the union. Only

¹ibid., p. 663.

²ibid., p. 645.

³ibid., p. 658.

efficient men were retained as officers in the trade, and only excellent ones were recommended for promotion by Simpson's Council. Chief Factors became men of power, dignity, and affluence. Such men and peaceful conditions were very important to education in the West.

Also, several changes appeared in the traders' relations with the Indians when competition for trade ended. Just before the union, the use of liquor to secure the Indians' furs was very common. The demoralizing effects on the natives and on the trade were serious. In 1826, the directions of the Council, sent to all posts, commanded a very marked decrease in the use of liquor. This command was obeyed.

It was quite common, before the union, for an Indian trapper to get a large order of trade goods on credit in the autumn. The understanding was, of course, that in the spring he would return with his furs to the trader who had extended him credit, and discharge his debt. Frequently, however, he did not return but went to another trader and received full market value for his furs. To guard against this loss, both companies used to send men to find the Indian at his hunting grounds before he sold his furs. This practice required extra men. These were unnecessary after the union because each post kept a roll of the names of the hunters living in its vicinity. Only to them was credit extended. Also, after the union there

was no bidding of one trader against another. This practice had kept prices unnaturally high before 1821. This financial control over the natives prepared them to be more amenable to control by missionaries.

The Western Department of the Company, the area along the Pacific Coast, enlarged quickly after the union. The John Jacob Astor Company of New York had disappeared from the Columbia River Valley. Under the able direction of Dr. John McLoughlin, "the great white eagle", and later of James Douglas, the Hudson's Bay Company expanded along the Pacific Coast and inland. Its traders developed a large business in an immense area: part of Alaska, all of what is now British Columbia, Vancouver Island, and what is now the states of Oregon, Washington, half of California, and parts of Montana, Utah, and Nevada.

The problem of recruiting suitable men to enter the service of the Company was solved by an apprentice system. Young lads of better families were chosen in the Scottish Highlands and brought to the Canadian fur trade posts where they became the pupils of the senior officers under whom they served. It was Lord Selkirk who discarded the old policy of hiring illiterate Orkney Islanders, and started hiring educated Highlanders of better families. Dr. George Bryce estimated that in the first fifty years after the union the commissioned officers ranked as follows: French Canadian, 11;

Irish, 22; English, 51; Scottish, 171. This, the personnel of the higher officers of the trade, is important to this thesis. It was largely because of the favour shown by these men toward missionary and educational work, that these worthy causes were so well supported by the Company.

Although the prime concern of the trade was profits, the Company expected the trader to conduct himself in such manner that the proud, fine men of the service could be proud of him.¹ The trader was the embodiment of the only law-enforcing organization in the West. As such, he was in nearly absolute control of the Indians around his post. The

Company men prided themselves on the completely just manner in which they carried out this responsibility. This serious, responsible spirit is clearly shown in Rule 39 of "Rules and Regulations" of the Company.²

Gradually the great area over which the Company ruled decreased. In 1846, for example, its rule in the Oregon country ended when that region became a part of the United States. But, for almost half a century after the Union, the Company governed what is now Canada west of the Great Lakes. Finally, however, the Company sold to the Dominion of Canada most of its land and all of its rights to govern the people

¹R. G. MacBeth, Our Task in Canada, Toronto: Westminster Co., 1912, pp. 29-30.

²Prof. E. H. Oliver, The Canadian North West, published by the authority of the Secretary of State under the direction of the Archivist, Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1915, p. 754 (Rule 39 is reproduced as Appendix C.)

in the West. In the next year, 1870, the Province of Manitoba was formed. (The Company continued to be the chief trader in the West, but without its trade monopoly.) The Company was forced to give up its ownership and government, not because that government was inefficient, (on the contrary, *Lord Elgin said* it was *commendable*),¹ but because of the desire of the settlers to try farming. Although the Company sold its ownership of most of its land, it retained many scattered sections which together totalled about seven million acres.² But government of the West by the Company was at an end.

¹J. S. Galbraith, "The Hudson's Bay Company under Fire" 1847-62", Canadian Historical Review, Dec. 1949, pp. 325-6. (Lord Elgin's reply to the British Colonial Office during a parliamentary inquiry into the Company's role.)

²Ray Gardner, "The Bay", Maclean's, Toronto, Aug. 15, 1949.

CHAPTER III

MISSIONARY ENTERPRISES IN THE WEST

The Need for Missionaries

During the period 1821-69 the population could have been divided into four groups: Company men, white settlers, Métis (French and English-speaking half-breeds), and Indians. Each group seems to have needed missionaries, as this chapter will attempt to show.

Company men appear to have needed missionaries. That the Company was conscious of this need and desired to satisfy it seems to be indicated by the following evidence:

1. Father Bourke was at York Factory in 1812. He came with the Selkirk Settlers and probably officiated for the Company's men as well as for the settlers during his short stay.

2. Mr. Harrison, a member of the Committee, tried to persuade missionaries to go to Rupert's Land in 1815.

3. In 1816, the Committee asked Governor Semple, who was at Fort Garry, what books he needed for religious instruction of his people, and could the Indians be Christianized.

4. The Company's Rules and Regulations of 1836 instructed post managers to conduct divine service every Sun-

day for all under their charge, even such Indians that the manager thought it advisable to include.

(These four facts will be used in Chapter IV in connection with support for education.)

The need for religious training and guidance for Company personnel may have been increased by the conditions under which the trade was conducted. In the first place, some men entered the trade because of a love of adventure and of lawless living, a few to escape the law. (The latter were few in number after 1821.) Since they must often have seen opportunities to exploit the natives, and since they were far from civilized society with its laws and social restraints, traders probably faced many temptations. Also, the service was of considerable size. By 1800, it is estimated that there were over 1500 white traders scattered across the West from the Bay to the Pacific, from the Arctic to the Columbia River.¹

Traders usually took Indian wives. Frequently, these women and their children were deserted when the traders moved to other posts or left the service. Although the women were aware of this situation, some were willing to enter into these temporary marriages. To quote a well-known expression, the traders lived "en façon du nord".² It is possible that the

¹G. F. G. Stanley, The Birth of Western Canada, London: Longman's Green & Co., 1936, p. 51.

²Morton, op.cit., p. 713.

Indian wives and their children fared worse when deserted by white men than when deserted by natives. Whether they did or not, these abandoned families of Company men were the white man's responsibility.

Requests for missionaries, such as the aforementioned, coming from the Company and the settlers, are recorded in history, but requests directly from the Metis or from the Indians have not been located as yet by this writer. However, when, in 1847, Mr. A. K. Isbister¹ of London communicated to the Colonial Secretary some complaints about conditions he thought existed in Rupert's Land, he deplored the lack of educational facilities for the Indians and the natives. This might lead us to believe that probably from members of these two classes or their champions there were, also, repeated expressions of desire for education. (Mr. Isbister was born at Cumberland House. Dr. Bryce says that he, Isbister, had Indian blood in his veins.²)

By 1857, Simpson estimated that there were approximately 140,000 Indians in the West,³ 40,000 east of the Rockies, and 100,000 in what is now British Columbia. Their need for guidance by missionaries probably increased with

¹Galbraith, op.cit., pp. 323-4.

²Dr. George Bryce, The Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company, Toronto: Briggs, 1904, p. 437.

³Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Hudson's Bay Company, London: 1857, p. 58, Minutes 993-5.

the arrival of the traders. Mentally the Indians were much like children when the white men came. As Pinkerton says,

The Indian was a savage. His entire concept of life failed to coincide at any point with the white man's. He was a child and his morals, like a child's, were matters of the moment and of expediency.¹

Hence they were prone to adopt the more reprehensible practices of the traders, particularly where liquor was concerned.

It is commonly understood that liquor has an entirely different effect on an Indian than on a white man but few comprehend the degree of this difference. The jovial exhilaration we know and enjoy is forbidden the Red man. Mayhem becomes the mildest of his desires.²

When liquor was plentiful in an Indian camp, men, women, and children engaged in a drunken orgy. The consequences were often horrible. There are cases on record of children having been forgotten and left out in the depths of winter to be frozen to death or eaten by dogs. When the mode of life of the Indians became changed by his associations with the white man, he had a greater need for a guiding force, such as that of the missionary, to help him adjust to his changed living conditions. Hence in the field of the morals and behaviour of the Indians, the missionaries were confronted with a staggering task.

The third class in need of missionaries was the Metis. After 1821, the Committee decided to encourage these people

¹Pinkerton, op.cit., p. 219.

²ibid., p. 226.

to settle at Red River. Many did so.¹ A census of the colony, taken in 1849, recorded 5,391 souls,² of whom at least two-thirds were Métis. They formed a large part of the population of the colony for over fifty years. "In the District of Assiniboia in 1870, there were in all some 12,000 people, viz., 5,000 French half-breeds, 5,000 English-speaking half-breeds (largely of Orcadian descent), and 2,000 whites."³

A fourth class, the Selkirk Settlers, were anxious to have a minister of their own faith, Presbyterian. (Lord Selkirk promised them one but died before he could fulfil this obligation.) Although the first of these settlers reached Red River in 1812, they did not secure their own Presbyterian minister until 1851. Also, even before leaving Scotland, they expressed a desire for schools at Red River.

The Company was aware of the need for missionaries. It was anxious to promote peace, welfare, and industrious sobriety through^{out} its domain. It realized that these desirable ends would be fostered by the labour of missionaries.

It seemed to be prepared to assist in this work, but not to carry the whole burden. (This statement will be explained in Chapter IV.)

¹Morton, op.cit., p. 632.

²Donald Gunn and C. R. Tuttle, History of Manitoba, Ottawa: Maclean, Roger and Co., 1880, p. 309.

³G. Bryce, The History and Condition of Education in the Province of Manitoba, Winnipeg: Canadian Pamphlets. Bound in the Legislative Library, Chapter 25, p. 2.

Missionary Enterprises in Western Canada

With the reorganization of the Company in 1810, official recognition of the need for missionary work in Rupert's Land appeared. Three influential men on the Committee, who had humanitarian principles, Nicholas Garry, Andrew Colville and Benjamin Harrison, apparently tried to improve social conditions in the West.¹ The story, very briefly, of the attempts by missionaries to satisfy this need seems to run as follows:

In 1812, two newly-arrived, Scottish Presbyterians were married at York Factory by a Roman Catholic priest, Father Bourke. (This marriage was the first recorded in Rupert's Land.)² The writer has no evidence that a priest was stationed permanently at York. However, in 1857, Simpson testified that £50 a year was given to a mission there. Probably the mission at York was established about 1840.

Lord Selkirk, travelling by way of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes, visited his colony at Red River in 1817. While in Montreal on his return from the colony, he invited a distinguished French-Canadian priest, who was later to become Bishop Provencher, to establish a mission at Red River.³ During the survey of his colony, Selkirk had set aside one river lot on which a school should be built, and another for

¹Morton, op.cit., p. 631.

²Fred C. Lucas, Historical Diary of Winnipeg, Winnipeg: Cartwright and Lucas, 1923, p. 198.

³Bryce, op.cit., p. 2.

a church.¹ In reply to a request from his settlers, he secured in 1819 the dispatch of a Protestant clergyman to the English-speaking part of his Red River colony. This man, Reverend John West, an Anglican, was the first Protestant missionary to reach the West. At first he was not looked upon very cordially by the Presbyterians. Reverend Mr. Cochrane, who followed Mr. West, was also an Anglican, but was esteemed by the folk of Kildonan because he modified the Anglican church service in order to have it more to their liking. (Although the Presbyterians made repeated attempts to obtain a minister of their own church, they did not succeed for many years. The Company would not help them in this project,² and none of their ministers in Scotland would undertake the sacrifice. Finally, Reverend John Black, a Presbyterian from eastern Canada, arrived at Red River in 1851.)

On July 16th, 1818, the Roman Catholic missionaries, Father Provencher and Father Dumoulin, arrived at Fort Douglas on Red River. Within three days, they held their first service in a temporary building, and by November of that year they were in a new, one-story^A ^{building} fifty by thirty feet, which was to serve as a church and school.³

The Anglican chaplain of the Company, Reverend Mr.

¹Morton, op.cit., p. 592.

²ibid., p. 803.

³Lucas, op.cit., p. 133.

West, and his schoolmaster, Mr. George Harbidge, who was also a Company employee, arrived at Red River in 1820. A school was at once established among the Scottish settlers in an old log house in Point Douglas. Approximately twenty-five children enrolled.

Upon the abandonment of about a score of Western posts in 1822, the deserted wives and children and unemployed servants and their families were encouraged to allow the Company to transport them to Red River. There the Company provided for them. Mr. West was one of the Committee of three which allotted land and distributed provisions to these needy people.

By 1822, West had new buildings, a small church, and a school. With much satisfaction he wrote in his journal:

....the newly erected church and school, and the thought that there was now, in this wide land a landmark of Christianity, and an asylum for Indian children, filled my heart with praise....¹

Mr. West travelled extensively from post to post in the summer months discharging his duties as Company chaplain. This gave him opportunities to gather orphans to his boarding school at Red River,² a project in which he was deeply interested. This school was fairly successful during his time, and provided a pattern for other schools to follow.

From these humble beginnings, the Catholic and Protestant establishments in the West grew. Both expanded as

¹ibid., p. 87.

²Morton, op.cit., p. 634.

fast as limited resources and manpower permitted. Churches, each usually with a little school beside it, were built farther and farther from the junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, which was called "The Forks".

In 1830, the Catholic Mission at Red River comprised three stations: St. Boniface, Pembina, and St. Francois Xavier, each with its modest school.¹

By 1833, Mr. West's original establishment had been increased to four churches under two Anglican missionary chaplains of the Company, Reverend Mr. Jones and Reverend Mr. Cochrane. The four churches were: St. John's near Fort Garry; Middlechurch; St. Andrew's near the Lower Fort; and St. Peter's, the closest to Lake Winnipeg. At St. Peter's, Mr. Cochrane encouraged the Indians to form an agricultural settlement. At the same time, Mr. Pritchard, a qualified schoolmaster, was hard at work in his school.

In 1833 a higher school was built and conducted as a co-educational boarding school under the superintendency of the Anglican chaplain. The Council of the Company was very pleased, commenting that it was "highly respectable and admirably conducted."² It developed into St. John's College, Winnipeg.³

By 1870 there were fourteen schools along Red River under the Church of England.⁴

¹A. G. Morice, History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada, Vol. I, Toronto: Musson Book Co., 1910, p. 132.

²E. H. Oliver, The Canadian North West, Vol. II, Canadian Archives No. 9, Ottawa, 1915, p. 721.

³Bryce, op.cit., p. 2. (Man. Schools)

⁴ibid.

The Roman Catholics did not have equivalent funds to spend in developing missions, hence the increase in their missions was not quite as fast as that of the Protestants. However they made up this lack, in part at least, by the industrious perseverance of the priests.

By 1836, the Catholics had eight priests to aid Bishop Provencher at Red River. Their first mission to the Indians was started by Father Belcourt in 1833 at St. Paul's, about thirty miles up the Assiniboine.¹ There, a tract of land five miles long was given Father Belcourt for his church and Indian settlement. He worked very hard to persuade his flock to adopt an agricultural way of life. In the same year, Father Poire was given the mission to the Metis at White Horse plains, approximately sixteen miles from the Forks. Another Catholic Mission to the Indians was established at Fort Alexander near the mouth of the Winnipeg River. This mission was later abandoned.

By 1827, the Catholics had four schools in operation along Red River and a solid basis had been laid for their successful development.² During 1838, Bishop Provencher and the Company brought two women from Canada to teach weaving in the Catholic school at St. Boniface. The church gave

¹Alexander Begg, The History of the North West, Vol I. Toronto: Hunter, Rose and Co., 1894, p. 281; Alexander Ross, Red River Settlement, London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1856, p. 285; and Morice, op.cit., p. 139.

²W. B. Ready, "Early Red River Schools", The Beaver, Winnipeg: Hudson's Bay Company, Dec. 1947, p. 35.

them board and lodging.¹

In 1840, four Wesleyan missionaries, Evans, Rundle, Jacobs, and Mason were in the West. Evans and Jacobs established a church and a school at Little Playgreen Lake about two miles from Norway House. Rundle was stationed at Fort Edmonton and Mason at Lac la Pluie (Rainy Lake).

A. S. Morton says: "...by 1840 a half-breed settlement had grown up at Lake St. Ann, and Catholic and Anglican missions had been opened."² However, J. W. Horan states that in 1838, Father Norbert Blanchet and Father Modeste Demers visited Fort Edmonton and departed on their way presumably westward. Horan also records that:

In 1842, another Roman Catholic missionary crossed the prairies from Red River to Fort Edmonton. He was Father Jean B. Thibeault, and he entered the Fort on June 19. To him we owe the establishment of the first mission at Lac St. Anne, about forty miles west of the present capital of Alberta. He was joined in 1844 by Reverend Father Bourrassa.³

Alexander Begg said that St. Anne was started in 1843.⁴ Thus, there is some minor disagreement as to the date when St. Anne was established. The important fact is that by 1843 at the latest missionaries, of the three denominations, Anglican, Catholic, and Wesleyan were at work as far west as St. Anne, where some Metis had developed an agricultural settlement.

¹Morice, op.cit., p. 154.

²Morton, op.cit., p. 702.

³J. W. Horan, West Nor'West, A History of Alberta
Edmonton: Northgate Books, 1945, p. 42.

⁴Begg, op.cit., p. 285.



By 1838, both the Anglicans and the Catholics had one or two missionaries each in the valley of the Columbia. MacBeth says that the Anglican, Reverend Herbert Beaver, reached Fort Vancouver in 1836,¹ but Father Morice intimates that Beaver arrived there in 1838.²

Chapter VI of this paper has been devoted to missionary enterprises in the Company's territories west of the Rockies. One reason for this division in the story of the spread of missions is that the missions of the Western Department were not under the control of the older missionary establishments at Red River, neither were they projected from York Factory by the Hudson's Bay Company.

In 1848, upon the closing of Mr. Pritchard's school, the Scottish Presbyterians opened a school of their own. When Rev. John Black arrived at Red River, he found that he, their clergyman, was not going to be allowed by his flock to dictate either the choice of a teacher or of the curriculum. These Kildonan settlers had already established a board of "trustees" which was in charge of their school affairs.³ These officials, elected at a public meeting of the settlers, had charge of the hiring and dismissing of teachers, a pattern for school management that has since been adopted widely throughout the West.

¹R. G. MacBeth, The Romance of Western Canada, Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1920, p. 280.

²A. G. Morice, The History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia, Toronto: Briggs, 1904, pp. 170 & 222.

³G. M. Newfield, The Development of Manitoba Schools Prior to 1870, Master's Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1937, p. 62.

Sometimes an Anglican missionary and a Catholic missionary had establishments in the same district or made periodical trips along the same route. One might expect that two educated white men, isolated in an uncivilized country and subjected to the same hardships, would have been very friendly and co-operative to each other in spite of their belonging to rival faiths. Unfortunately, cordial co-operation and mutual respect were frequently lacking.¹

Some Catholic missionaries were quite displeased with Anglican preachers. The Catholics claimed that the Anglicans sometimes bribed the Indians with gifts of tea or tobacco in order to get the natives to join Anglican congregations. Thus, a rather lamentable rivalry and jealousy between the Catholic and Protestant missionaries became a feature of their work, particularly in the MacKenzie district.²

In this chapter, a short description has been given of what seems to have been a grave need for missionary enterprises through the whole population of the West. Also, an attempt has been made to trace the manner in which this need was partially satisfied by the slow increase in the region of the number of missions and schools. The first school appeared late in 1818, the next in 1820. By 1870 there seem to have been upwards of thirty schools in operation: the Presbyterians had one at Red River; the Anglicans,

¹Ross, op.cit., pp. 315, 328-9.

²ibid., pp. 290-4.

fourteen at Red River alone; the Catholics at least eleven; and the Wesleyans four. Hence, in this period a worthwhile beginning had been made in missionary work, and a groundwork had been laid for an educational system.

In the next chapter, the Company's contributions in support of this good work will be examined.

CHAPTER IV

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY SUPPORT OF MISSIONARY AND EDUCATIONAL ENTERPRISES

For years before any continuous missionary work was started in Rupert's Land in 1818, the Company had shown "a lively concern" about the education and moral training of the children of its men. Company records show that three school teachers were brought out to York Factory in 1808. While teaching, each would have received his usual wages of £30 per annum plus his usual provisions of board and lodging. However, these teachers, Peter Sinclair, George Geddes, and James Clouston soon gave up teaching and entered the fur trade because they preferred the latter and were allowed to do so.¹

Other men were brought to Rupert's Land by the Company as teachers but all quickly abandoned the tedious tasks of a tutor for the more adventurous life of a trader.²

A Roman Catholic priest, Father Bourke, was at work at York Factory in 1812.³ It is probable that the Company supported him or partially supported him while he was serving Company men and their families. In the course of his

¹Ready, op.cit., p. 34.

²ibid., p. 34.

³Lucas, op.cit., p. 198.

duties he would do some teaching, for example, the catechism.

As was mentioned in Chapter III, by that time there were several men on the Company's directorate in London who wished to see missionaries at work in Rupert's Land. In 1815, Mr. Benjamin Harrison, one of these men, tried to persuade a missionary society, devoted to work among the American Indians, to start work in Rupert's Land.¹ Although he was unsuccessful, the Company's moral support for missionary work is indicated.

In the following year, £30 was allotted annually by the Company for the purchase of books for the instruction and amusement of Company men. Also, the Company asked Governor Semple at Red River what books he needed for religious instruction.² This question seems to indicate that the Company expected officers in charge of posts to conduct religious training among their servants wherever possible.

That the Committee in London was also thinking of the Indians is shown by another question asked Semple at the same time. They sought his opinion about the possibility of civilizing and converting to Christianity the children of the Indians.

Both the settlers at Red River and Lord Selkirk himself were anxious that the religious and educational

¹Morton, op.cit., p. 631.

²ibid.

needs of the people at Red River be satisfied without delay by suitable establishments. Lord Selkirk's interest in the intellectual needs of the settlers was shown in his letters to Miles Macdonell, his agent in the colony. In one of them he wrote:

The settlers who are now going out (1813) have expressed much anxiety about the means of education for their children. There is so much of a laudable spirit in their desire that it must be attended to, and it is in every view time that a school should be established.¹

When Selkirk visited his colony in 1817, he took various steps designed to promote the welfare of the settlement. One of these was the setting aside of a river lot for a church and another for a school.² The Roman Catholic mission, started at Red River in 1819, was no doubt built on land donated by the colony. According to Morton,

The Catholic missionaries had received every assistance for their enterprise. Lady Selkirk provided many of the ornaments for the altars of their chapels. Lord Selkirk gave them a free passage in the canoes. Alexander Macdonell, his lordship's agent, himself a Catholic, quartered them in the upper story of a house within Fort Douglas. There, mass was first celebrated in Red River Settlement. Lord Selkirk had promised a grant of land twenty miles square on the east side of the river, as an endowment for their mission. Within this, and among the German De-Meuron soldiers, the missionaries settled, calling the spot St. Boniface, after the great missionary of the Germans.³

¹Ready, op.cit., p. 34.

²Morton, op.cit., p. 592.

³ibid., p. 645.

Although it may be argued that these land grants in aid of schools and religious training were made by Selkirk, not the Hudson's Bay Company, a closer study of the facts involved show that these donations actually were part of the Company's support of education and good citizenship. In the first place, Lord Selkirk made only a token payment of ten shillings in 1811 for 116,000 square miles of fertile land.¹ Secondly, the Colony of Red River reverted to Company ownership in 1835,² when the Company recompensed the Selkirk estate by approximately £84,000 for expenditures incurred by Selkirk and his heirs on behalf of the settlers.³ Hence, it was the Company which provided these grants of land.

The Committee of the Company decided in 1819 to place a clergyman in the Colony.⁴

There is evidence of annual cash contributions made from 1820 until 1869 by the Company to aid education and missionary work in Rupert's Land. The first piece of such evidence is the following: in 1819, Rev. John West was sent to Rupert's Land by the Anglican Church British and Foreign Bible Society, but he was retained by the Company as its chaplain at a yearly stipend of £100. The Company chaplain was, thereafter, usually stationed at Red River. The Com-

¹ibid., p. 535.

²Bryce, op.cit., p.2.

³Gunn and Tuttle, op.cit., footnote, p. 279.

⁴Morton, op.cit., pp. 631-2.

pany expected him to devote a good deal of his time to organizing and supervising schools.

In Mr. West's short stay of four years, at least five buildings were erected: his rectory, church, school, a house for boys brought by him from a distance, a house for girls whose homes might have been a considerable distance from Red River. The land and most of the money for these buildings was supplied by the Company while the settlers, mainly Presbyterians, gave their labour.¹

During his stay in Rupert's Land, Mr. West made two return trips from Red River to York Factory. While at York on the first of these trips he organized an auxiliary of the Bible Society and solicited contributions. Mr. Nicholas Garry, who became Deputy-Governor of the Company in 1822, presided over the meeting. Considering the few Company officers that could have been there, the response was heartening. The sum of £130 was realized, £50 of which was donated by Garry on behalf of the Company.² When West returned to York the next year, 1822, a further £60 was donated by the gentlemen of the Company.

This is evidence that both the Company and its officers acting as individuals were quite willing to give financial and moral support for missionary work in Rupert's Land.

¹ibid., p. 635.

²Begg, op.cit., pp. 276-7, and Morton, op.cit., p. 631.

Mr. West was succeeded in 1823 by Reverend David Jones, and in 1825 Reverend William Cochrane arrived as Jones' assistant. Both clergymen received their stipends from the Company. This marks another increase in the Company's annual contribution to education.

Father Provencher's mission at Red River did not receive cash assistance from the Company quite as early as did the Anglicans. Although the Catholic mission was first built in 1818, it was not until 1825 that an annual grant of £50 was made to it by the Company.¹ This yearly gift of money was always accompanied by a gift of "Luxuries (tea, sugar, wine and other table goods.)"

At the beginning of his term of office as the Company's Canadian Governor, Simpson had little sympathy for the work of the missionaries, particularly that part of it which involved schooling for the natives. His original idea on this topic seems to have been that an Indian with any schooling would be an indolent Indian. However, it was not long before he became more sympathetic. The grant of £50 to Father Provencher's mission in 1825 is indicative of a change of heart on Simpson's part. So also was the letter from Simpson to Provencher commending the work of the mission.²

On the amalgamation of the North West Company and

¹ibid., p. 635.

²Morice, op.cit., pp. 130-131.

the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821, several fur trade posts were closed and their employees discharged¹ (as was mentioned in Chapter II.) The Company was worried about the dependents of these men.² Accordingly, it was decided that rather than have a few of such dependents at several scattered posts, all these unfortunates would be transported to Red River and provided for there. Therefore, in 1822, the Company set aside £300 to aid the establishment of such families at Red River. Each family was to be given twenty or thirty acres of land, some implements, seeds, and ammunition for the first year. It was expected that the children of these families would attend either Father Provencher's school or Mr. West's school, where, among other things, they would learn to care for a garden. The settling of these people at Red River was placed in the hands of Chief Factor John Clarke, Governor Bulger of the Colony, and Mr. West, chaplain to the Company.³ The writer was unable to ascertain what this provision for missionary work cost the Company.

The Company made a grant of an extra £100 to the Catholic mission at Red River in 1830 to aid in repairing the building. This proved to be the usual practice of the Company whenever the missionaries decided that new and larger

¹Morton, op.cit., p. 630.

²ibid., p. 631.

³ibid., pp. 632-633.

buildings were necessary at some station that the Company thought was wisely located.

The Catholic mission at Red River was the seat of the Catholic Bishop and as such was the headquarters from which expeditions went out to start missions to the Indians. The first mission to the Indians, according to Alexander Ross, was started about thirty miles up the Assiniboine, at St. Paul's. To this mission Sir George Simpson granted a valuable piece of land. Ross says, in this connection:

The first Catholic mission was founded about thirty miles up the Assiniboine, at a place named St. Paul's, under the auspices of his Lordship, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Juliopolis, now North-West. At the head of this infant mission was placed Rev. Mr. Belcourt, a Roman Catholic priest from Canada.

For the benefit of this mission, Sir George Simpson, acting with his usual liberality, on behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company made a grant of a very valuable tract of land on the Assiniboine River, fully five miles in length.¹

It is important to notice that the spirit of the Company when making its many grants and donations to educational and missionary work was not only that of giving to charity. Company officials were genuinely in sympathy with this work and were happy to assist.² Furthermore, they gave in the spirit of just returns for valuable services rendered. The Company knew that the responsibility for peace, order, and good government was theirs in return

¹Ross, op.cit., pp. 285-6.

²Oliver, op.cit., pp. 697, 703.

for their fur trade monopoly. They also saw very clearly that the churches were the Company's strongest allies in promoting peace, order, and industriousness. Hence the Company was happy, the Minutes of Council indicate, to make quite substantial grants of cash and to provide many other essentials to those religious establishments which were doing good work.¹

Mr. Ross is enthusiastic in his praise of the Company for its support of missionaries. He says that the Company did all it could to help missionaries of all creeds. The Company supported these men by money grants, by offering them free passage so that they could come and go as they pleased in Rupert's Land, and by welcoming them at their posts. "If the Indians have not benefited by the introduction of Christianity into Rupert's Land, the fault cannot be justly said to rest with the Hudson's Bay Company."²

Two interesting observations are to be found in Ross's discussion of the missionaries. He says that frequently a Protestant and a Catholic mission located in the same vicinity, and that too often the missionaries did not speak kindly of one another. Each was jealous of the other's influence over the Indians and tried to attract his followers. The result was that the Indians often lost confidence and drifted back to their own beliefs. Then both missions were abandoned. Ross claimed that thousands of pounds in money

¹Ross, op.cit., p. 293.

²ibid.

and many man-years of labour apparently were lost due to this antagonism among missionaries.¹

Secondly, Ross states at least twice that the Company's support of missionaries was detrimental to the business of the fur trade.² The writer did not find any explanation of this generalization by Ross. Two possible explanations are the following: first, perhaps the missionaries occasionally told the Indians that they (the Indians) should receive higher prices for their furs; second, the missionaries sometimes tried to persuade the Indians to forsake the chase and the hunt in favour of agriculture. Either course of persuasion might have had detrimental effects on the fur trade.

In 1833 the Company undertook to provide an annual grant of £25 to Mr. Pritchard who ran a day school at Red River.³ The Company made this annual grant because of two facts: Company officials realized that Mr. Pritchard would be unable to collect tuition fees from several of his pupils because they were very poor. Also, these officials wished to see Mr. Pritchard continue to run his school as it provided a very useful service for part of the colony.

By 1835, the Company decided that because of expanding school facilities provided by the missionaries, it should increase its grants. In that year, as set out in the Minutes

¹ibid.

²ibid.

³Oliver.op.cit.p.697.

of Council,¹ both the Catholic and Anglican boarding schools began to receive £100 per annum each. Mr. Pritchard was still receiving £25 annually. An additional £100 was given the Catholic mission for another church. Dr. Bunn was voted £100 per annum for medical services, not only to the Company's servants but also to "the pauper settlers". Similarly, £100 per annum was expended to supply a police officer for the Red River Colony. Hence, in the year 1835 alone, the Company gave at least £525, mainly to missionaries, to aid in promoting civilizing influences at Red River. This

¹Oliver, op.cit., pp. 721-2. "Minutes of Council, 1835 -

74. That the annual allowance to the Catholic Mission of the Red River Settlement be increased to £100, and the usual supplies of Tea, Sugar, Wine, etc. for the use of the Mission be continued.

75. That a further grant of £100 be made to the Catholic Mission of the Red River Settlement, in aid of the church now being erected at that place.

" The very great benefits that are likely to arise connected with the objects of morality, religion and education not only in Red River but through the Country at large, from the highly respectable and admirably conducted Boarding School lately established for the instruction of the youth of both sexes under the management of the Rev'd Mr. Jones, excites feelings of the most lively interest in its favor and of great solicitude for its prosperity and success,....

77. That an allowance be made to the Rev'd Mr. Jones of £100 per annum in aid of this highly promising establishment subject to the approbation of the Governor and Committee, and it is further resolved

" That a vote of thanks be presented to Mr. and Mrs. Jones for the readiness with which they entered into the views and wishes of the Gentlemen in the Country, when requested to undertake the formation of such an establishment, for the deep and lively interest they take in the improvement, and for the unremitting attention they pay to the health and comfort of the young folk entrusted to their care."

was substantial support indeed, especially when we remember that the Settlement at Red River at that time had a population considerably less than 5,000 souls, the great majority of them half-breeds. (With reference to the population, Gunn and Tuttle say:

A census was taken in 1849, when the colony was found to contain 5,391 souls.

Report of the Select Committee gave the population for 1849 as 5,291.)¹

This annual appropriation remained unchanged until it was increased.

The officers of the Company, being educated men interested in educating their children without having to send them to England, were keenly interested in the boarding school which Mr. Jones, with some financial assistance, had built in 1833 and which he had run so well. However, in 1837 Mr. Jones resigned his management of the establishment. A Mr. McCallum then expressed his willingness to accept the management of it provided the Company would buy the buildings and lease them to him.

Hence, the Minutes of Council of the Northern Department for 1837 show that the Company authorized the spending of £500 to buy the school, if Mr. McCallum paid 10 per cent of the purchase price per annum for five years as

¹Gunn and Tuttle, op.cit., pp. 309 and 384.

rent and kept the buildings in good repair.¹ The Company therefore paid out £500 on this school. It was to be repaid by Mr. McCallum. The writer, however, found no evidence of repayment. If Mr. McCallum was unable to repay the £500, this sum would be further financial support of education from the Company.

This boarding school at Red River was one of at least three schools which were started several years before 1869 and which were supported either entirely or almost entirely by Company funds. The other two schools were at Victoria and Nanaimo and will be discussed in Chapter VI. Funds for the support of these schools were supplied by the Company, not through a sense of responsibility only, but through a genuine and generous desire to aid the people in the Company's territories.

¹Oliver, op.cit., p. 769 -

"The Rev'd. Mr. Jones, having by the letter of the 17th of June 1837 given notice of his intention to discontinue the management of the Red River Boarding School and Mr. McCallum having expressed a willingness to undertake that charge provided that the Company became the purchaser of the buildings and will grant him a lease of the same for a term of five years at a rent of 10% per annum on the purchase money and being highly desirable that the institution should not be broken up, it is Resolved

"82. that Chief Factor Christie be authorized to purchase the said buildings on account of the Fur Trade from the Rev'd. Mr. Jones at a sum not exceeding £500 provided Mr. McCallum enters into an agreement to lease the same from the Company for a term of five years at the rent proposed; and to keep and deliver them in thorough repair at the expiration of his Lease."

However, even after the Company gave up its ownership of most of its territory in 1869, at least one instance occurred in which the Company, of its own free will, again paid funds towards starting a school. This incident took place at Caledonia, near Grand Forks in the Red River Valley in 1874. (At this village the Hudson's Bay Company started the first flour mill in the territory later called the State of North Dakota.) The people around Caledonia wanted a school for their children but there were no public funds to support one. Upon his hearing of this need, Mr. Walter J. S. Traill, for years in charge of Hudson's Bay Company business in that area, donated from Company funds a sum equal to that subscribed by the parents concerned. The result was that enough money was raised at once to hire a teacher for six months.¹

Also, the following item is another example of Company support after 1869: the Company donated the site for the first public school in Winnipeg.²

The Company showed some interest in the training of people in agriculture and other vocational pursuits as well as in academic subjects. This interest was shown on several occasions. Mr. West's first boarding school for native children attempted to interest the latter in learning how to grow a garden. In 1838, Bishop Provencher opened a school

¹Capt. F. A. Bill, Early Steamboating on the Red River, North Dakota Historical Quarterly, Vol. IX, No.2, Jan. 1942, p.82.

²Holly S. Seaman, Manitoba Landmarks and Red Letter Days, Winnipeg.

of weaving in St. Boniface. Simpson agreed to use Company funds to pay the salaries of two competent women instructors for three years if the mission would give them board and lodging. This school was progressing successfully until it was destroyed by fire in 1839, a circumstance which greatly disappointed Bishop Provencher.¹

It is not surprising, therefore, to find in the Minutes of Council for 1839 the extra grant by the Company of £50 to the Catholic Mission in aid of the School of Industry which had just burned down.²

A further heavy increase in the Company's support of missionary work commenced in 1840 with the coming of the four Wesleyan missionaries to Rupert's Land. These men were given a great deal of help: free board and lodging at the Company's posts; a Commissioned Gentleman's allowance for each; free transportation; interpreters in the territories in which there were posts; a church forty by thirty feet, and a school thirty by twenty-four feet; and a residence for the school master. (These buildings were at the Indian settlement on Little Playgreen Lake about two miles from Norway House.)³ The writer has no data by which to ascertain the monetary value of this support given to the Wesleyans, but it was of considerable importance.

¹W. J. Healy, Women of Red River, Winnipeg: Bulman Bros., 1923, p. 116.

²Oliver, op.cit., p. 787.

³ibid., pp. 829-30.

The spread of the posts through the Cordilleran Region, which the fur traders called the Columbia District and New Caledonia, led to a westward expansion of missionary work and additional Company support of missions. Mr. Rundle, a Wesleyan, was stationed at Fort Edmonton. Father Blanchette, a Catholic, was sent to the Columbia District. In 1842 the Company started its annual donation of £100 to the mission under the superintendence of the latter.¹

In the Minutes of Council, 1843, there are the usual resolutions giving £100 to each of the following at Red River: the Catholic Mission; Dr. Bunn; Mr. McCallum; and the police establishment. An allowance was also given to the Catholic Mission under the superintendence of Father Blanchette in the Columbia District. Again a Commissioned Gentleman's allowance was forwarded from York Factory to each of the four Wesleyan missionaries.

As well as the contribution made by the Company to certain Red River schools, there is a little evidence that the Council of Assiniboia, composed of Company appointees, also gave support to these schools. Probably by 1848, it was making small school grants. Since the settlers in this area were not taxed, the grants for public works and schools, which amounted to approximately £600 to £700 per year, were made possible because of import duty of 4 percent paid on

¹ibid., p. 847.

goods coming into the colony. As the Hudson's Bay Company was nearly the sole importer, these funds for the treasury of the colony came mainly from the Company.¹ However, the duty amounted really to an indirect tax on the settlers because onto the price of the goods they bought from the Company store were added the costs of freight and duty.

Mr. Newfield intimates that after 1849 the Council of Assiniboia did make some small grants to Red River schools: "Prior to 1849 the governor and council of Assiniboia had not made any appropriations in aid of public schools."² That such grants from the Council of Assiniboia to schools at Red River were very small, is stated by Mr. Newfield, "The Council of Assiniboia, with the exception of fifteen pounds granted to Mr. Black (the Presbyterian clergyman) in 1851, likewise did not support the schools of Red River."³

In Mr. Healy's book, "Women of Red River", Miss Janet Gunn, who had been a pupil at Miss Davis's school for girls at St. Andrews and who, in the late sixties, became a teacher of a large school at Little Britain, says that parents of pupils paid five dollars per pupil per year in such a school. She also mentions that the Company divided among the teachers the proceeds of certain revenues such as those derived from

¹Report of Select Committee, op.cit., Minutes 1788-1793, p. 93.

²Newfield, op.cit., p. 54.

³ibid., p. 62.

marriage licenses. The writer suspects that this lady, whose married name was Mrs. Muckle, may have been mistaken in saying "the Company". Perhaps it was the Council of Assiniboia and not the Company which made the grants to the teachers.¹ Since it was the governing body, probably it would issue licenses.

Shortly after the arrival of Mr. Black, work began on the building of the first Presbyterian church and manse at Red River. (The opening of the church was delayed until 1854 by the great flood of 1852.) These buildings cost about £1000, most of the labour and money having been donated by the people of Kildonan. The point of special interest for this paper is that the Company contributed £150 in cash toward the building and the three hundred acres of glebe land upon which it was built.² This is a considerable contribution toward missionary and educational work.

Mr. James Leith, a chief factor in the Hudson's Bay Company, bequeathed, in 1838, £12,000 to be used for Indian missions in Rupert's Land. Due to litigation over the bequest, the money was not available until 1849. The decision of the court was that the Hudson's Bay Company should donate £300 annually to endow a bishopric in Rupert's Land and that the annual interest from the bequest of £12,000 should be used

¹Healy, op.cit., p. 161.

²ibid., pp. 68-70.

for this purpose also. This court order was obeyed, producing an annual endowment of £700 from these two sources. The Diocese of Rupert's Land was created in 1849, the Reverend David Anderson, the first Bishop, arriving at Red River in 1849.¹

Further important evidence of Company support of missionary and educational enterprises was made public when a Select Committee of the British House of Commons met in London in 1857 to investigate the affairs of the Hudson's Bay Company in general and its government of Rupert's Land in particular. There seem to have been two reasons for this investigation. Firstly, there had been two or three complaints from some of the settlers at Red River forwarded to the Colonial Secretary objecting to certain things the Company did. Secondly, the Company's license to govern and to enjoy a trade monopoly in Rupert's Land was due shortly for renewal or cancellation by the House of Commons.

The Select Committee called in several witnesses, some of whom were: Sir George Simpson, who gave much evidence favourable to the Company; A. K. Isbister and Reverend Mr. Corbett, who complained that the Company was occasionally guilty of obstructing settlement and education; and Sir Edward Ellice, Member of Parliament. Each witness had to answer a series of questions asked by Committee members, much as a witness does who is examined in a court room.

¹Begg, op.cit., p. 294.

One matter that the Committee asked about several times was education: education of the Indians around the fur trade posts; of the Indians on the plains; of the half-breeds at Red River. Simpson's testimony contained the following statements:

1. The Company was desirous that all classes, Indians, half-breeds, and whites should be educated.

2. The Company did not insist that every missionary who was given a grant by the Company must keep a school, but most missionaries did so. (He explained that in this matter each missionary followed his own wishes or the orders of the missionary society to which he belonged.)¹

3. Several of the posts conducted evening schools to which Indians, half-breeds, and whites could go.²

4. The Indians, as a general rule, were averse to giving up their children to be taken away to school.³ (The boarding school for Indian children started about 1820 at Red River by Reverend West did some notable work. Most of the children in it were probably orphans, some having been brought long distances. Three or four Indian boys were brought to West's school from the Oregon country.)

5. The Company did not feel itself obliged to provide education for the Indian tribes,⁴ but it was anxious to see

¹Report of Select Committee, op.cit., p. 69, Minute 1253, and p. 91, minute 1731.

²ibid., pp.102-3, Minutes 2012-2015.

³ibid., p. 102, Minute 2005.

⁴ibid., p. 105, Minute 2056.

them educated,¹ and so the Company contributed to the support of missionaries who usually organized schools.²

6. Sir George Simpson also listed the grants of the Company made per year as follows: £300 to the Anglican Bishop of Rupert's Land, £100 in aid of Anglican schools at Red River, £150 to the chaplain at Red River, £50 at each of York Factory, Moose and East Main, £200 in aid of schools at Fort Victoria, £100 to the Roman Catholic Mission at Red River, £100 to the Catholic Mission in Oregon, £100 to King's Posts, to the Wesleyan missionary at Norway House £50, at Oxford House £50, Rainy Lake £50, Saskatchewan £20, and the Presbyterian chaplain at Red River £50.³

Before summing up the support provided by the Company, the attitude of the Company toward education, as portrayed in the foregoing points 1 to 5, is worthy of careful study. The testimony evinces an active interest in, and a benevolent attitude toward education. Since it was given before the Select Committee while the Company was hoping for a renewal of its license, this testimony should be reliable. Also the donations of the Company through thirty-seven years attest to the sincerity of Simpson's representations of the Company's attitude. These donations resulted from this attitude.

¹ ibid., p. 102, Minute 2005.

² ibid., p. 91, Minute 1730.

³ ibid., p. 90, Minutes 1719-1723.

The most tangible and important evidence of this attitude is the list of annual grants named in the foregoing point 6. They total £1320. The first of these grants started in 1820. By 1835, they had increased to £525 per annum. By 1857, the total cash outlay in grants to that date seems to have been approximately £26,000, and by 1869, £42,000 for the half century. This was substantial support.

Also, the valuable land grants made by the Company included: a block twenty miles square to the Catholic Mission at Red River, a tract of farm land five miles long at St. Paul's, a glebe of three hundred acres to the Presbyterian church at Red River, and a similar glebe at Victoria. These land grants required no cash expenditure on the part of the Company. Nevertheless they constituted important assistance to the missionaries who received them.

Furthermore, cash grants towards the erection of schools and missions were made by the Company on several occasions. The actual buildings were supplied for: the Wesleyans at Norway House, the Bishop's Palace at Red River, perhaps the boarding school at that point, and the boarding school at Victoria.

Less important provisions were: luxuries presented annually to the Catholic Mission at Red River, transportation of missionaries in Company boats, and hospitality extended to missionaries at Company posts.

Hence it seems that although not legally obliged to do anything for education, the Company through the half century continuously and generously supported it. Thus, it helped to lay secure foundations for further development of education in the West. Without this help, it is possible that formal education would not have appeared at all, or would have been much curtailed and delayed. (Remember: 1. Mr. Harrison could not persuade missionaries to go to Rupert's Land when he tried to do so in 1815; 2. The Presbyterians were unable to persuade a minister of their own sect to leave Scotland. Protestant missionaries came when Company grants started.) Apparently, then, it is difficult to overstress the importance of the contribution made by the Company to education in the West.

CHAPTER V

OTHER EDUCATIONAL CONTRIBUTIONS

Outline

1. Training for Company officers.
2. Company encouraged home education at posts.
3. Company-paid teachers.
4. Experiment in teaching agriculture.
5. Vocational training offered to young servants.
6. Taught Indians confidence in the Company.
7. Health education.
8. By many examples it taught "Help the needy!"
9. Contributions to scientific knowledge.
10. Teaching of conservation.
11. Conclusions.

Its twelve hundred or so employees in America were nearly all trained by the Company. The apprenticeship system, which was used, was a course of training designed to produce efficient fur traders.

Sir Edward Ellice, in his testimony before the Select Committee in 1857, explained that he had been for some time responsible for the selection of apprentices. He said he selected boys of good family, chiefly from the North of Scot-

land, who had been educated in Scottish schools. He stated that considerable care was taken in their choosing and also in their training, once they reached Rupert's Land.

This training was long. The boys signed up for five years and received twenty pounds the first year, twenty-five the second, thirty the third, and then there followed two raises of ten pounds each. If the boy seemed to be progressing well, he could sign up again at seventy-five pounds per year, at the end of which time he received a hundred pounds. He could then take charge of a post. A chief trader's position was accessible to him and was won on merit as was also the ultimate goal, a chief factorship.

Thus in addition to its monetary support of missionary enterprises, the Company provided a type of trade education through its apprentice system. Not only was this apprenticeship a thorough training in many skills necessary for the efficient prosecution of the trade, but it was an indoctrination in the ideals of service and loyalty. The Company's regulations became sacred to these men. They were carefully trained to realize and fulfil their responsibility to the natives. This they considered to be a sympathetic, humane and paternal stewardship of the Indians.¹ The result was that the senior men in the trade in Rupert's Land became a remarkable corps of men, highly respected by those who knew

¹Pinkerton, op.cit., pp. 317-18.

them and an inspiration to those who have studied the record of their government of the Indians.¹

Traders, almost without exception, as far as my observation went, treated the Indians with signal kindness and humanity. I never mingled with a body of men whose general qualities seemed to me more entitled to respect.²

These were the words spoken by Lieutenant-Colonel J. H. Lefroy, who had spent two years travelling in fur land, when he testified before the Select Committee of the British Parliament in 1857. It is unlikely that all these men would have become such respectable citizens without their association with the Company. Hence, to the servants of the Company a great service was rendered through this moral training, a type of education. Naturally, the influence of these fine men on those with whom they came in contact was beneficial, - an indirect education.

Another social service that the Company rendered to the people connected with its posts was in the field of moral behaviour and the repression of vice. Standing Rules and Regulations XII of the Company, issued in 1836, have definite instructions in this field. These instructions required that at every post "each Sunday, divine service" was to be "read with becoming solemnity." Everyone connected with the post, "men, women and children were required to attend together with any Indians that it would be wise to invite."³

¹ ibid., p. 317.

² ibid., p. 345, and A. G. Morice, History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia, Toronto: Briggs, 1904, p.116.

³ Oliver, op.cit., pp. 755-6.

Furthermore, throughout the week it was the duty of those in charge of a post to arrange that the women and children were supplied with such tasks and duties of a useful nature as would prevent idleness and promote worthwhile habits. It is probable that there were some posts where these regulations were neglected. However, history seems to indicate that post managers who were conscientious about their duties (and they were the great majority) or who were concerned about their continuing success in the Company, were meticulous about obeying orders. Hence, it is very probable that a real effort was made at most posts to provide the moral training and to encourage the sober, industrious habits desired.¹ At any rate, Sir John Richardson, in telling the Select Committee in 1857 of his impressions of Company rule gathered while travelling in Rupert's Land in 1848, said, "I saw no riot and nothing unpleasant throughout the whole journey."²

That supervision of some elementary education should be the responsibility of the post manager was stated in the Rules and Regulations. He was instructed to encourage all his servants who were raising families at the post, to insist on the English or French language being used habitually in their homes. Also, the fathers should "be encouraged to devote part of his leisure hours to teach the children their

¹Morton, op.cit., p. 641.

²ibid., p. 822.

A.B.C. and Catechism together with such further elementary instruction as time and circumstance may permit."¹ Richardson says that in 1848 half-castes with whom he came in contact could read and write.²

Additional proof of the Company's support of education is to be found in the fact that sometimes the Company selected and paid men to conduct schools in or near Company posts. Men so selected were persons whom the Company found were not needed at that particular time in the trade or who were unsuccessful traders. The following three pieces of evidence seem to substantiate this assertion regarding Company teachers.

First, at Hudson's Bay House, Winnipeg, in May 1953, the writer was discussing with a young Company executive the possibility of searching in the Hudson's Bay House library for evidence of educational support by the Company. One of the remarks which this gentleman made was approximately as follows, "It is fairly commonly known that the Company sometimes used men as teachers if they had some education, and if they seemed for some reason to be unfit to continue in the active fur-trade."

The second piece of evidence comes from the period immediately after the union of the Nor'Westers and the Company. Governor Simpson made a study of the efficiency of various fur trade posts and departments. One of the men who

¹Oliver, op.cit., p. 756.

²Morton, op.cit., p. 822.

incurred his disapproval was Alexander Ross. Simpson seems to have offered Ross a choice between becoming a teacher at Red River or retirement. (Teaching would have reduced his salary from £120 a year to £100.¹)

The third item of pertinent evidence is to be found in the early history of Vancouver's Island Colony. A Mr. Charles Bailey, a company servant who was not urgently needed in the trade, was placed in charge of a common day school at Victoria early in 1852.² He was paid his usual Company salary of £40 per year. In 1853 he was transferred to Nanaimo where he continued to conduct a day school in the Company-provided teacherage-school house until 1857.³ At that time he was succeeded by Mr. Cornelius Bryant under the same financial arrangement.

Another important field in which the Company tried to educate by example and persuasion was in the field of agriculture. Both the Company's experimental farms and its post farms had their educational values. The story of these ventures follows.

Morton says that the first experimental farm, which was started in 1830, three miles from Fort Garry on the Assiniboine, was an effort by the Company to start a new line of

¹Morton, *op.cit.*, pp. 634 and 716.

²D. L. McLaurin, "The History of Education in the Crown Colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia", unpublished Master's thesis for the University of Manitoba, pp. 14 and 15.

³*ibid.*, p. 30.

commerce rather than one to improve the lot of settlers. By this venture it was hoped that the raising of sheep for export of tallow would be undertaken. Hemp and flax were also grown. Although the Company built fine, expensive buildings on this farm, and equipped it with good implements and animals, they made a grave error. Instead of placing the farm under the management of an efficient farmer, they placed James McMillan, a chief factor, in control. He was not a farmer but a fur trader and not a very successful one at that. Most of his servants were half-breeds, not experienced farm laborers. It is not surprising to learn that in about five years the farm was considered a failure, the Company having lost about £3,500 on it.¹

Although the settlers did not seem to be interested in raising sheep, hemp or flax, some good no doubt resulted from the farm. For one thing, the breed of horses in the settlement was improved.²

Another experimental farm, the third, according to Gunn and Tuttle,³ was begun in 1837. It was under the management of Captain George Cary and was also on the Assiniboine but closer to the fork of that river and the Red. There another fine, new set of buildings was erected. Cary was in control of this farm for ten years.

¹Morton, op.cit., pp. 642-43.

²Donald Gunn and C. R. Tuttle, History of Manitoba, Ottawa: MacLean, Roger and Co., 1880, p. 279.

³ibid., p. 280.

Lord Selkirk, when he visited his colony in 1817, had started a model farm called Hayfield.¹ Since the Company eventually recompensed the Selkirk estate for its expenditures, it may be said that the Company financed this experiment also.

From the time of the coming of Sir George Simpson to the control of Company affairs in Rupert's Land in 1821 or before, the production of food at the trade posts was a common practice. Post managers were expected to plant garden crops: potatoes, cabbage, turnips, etc., and to sow fields adjoining the posts to grain. Such gardens were to be found as far north as the Athabaska country. Although the production of wheat was a very precarious enterprise due to the late maturing varieties at their disposal, frequently excellent crops of this cereal were grown. Oats and barley were more successful. In their annual returns, post managers were required to itemize the following: bushels of grain and weight of root crops grown that season; number of acres under cultivation; number of bushels that would be sown the following spring; and the number and kinds of fowl and domesticated animals at their establishments.²

Starvation was a menace which occasionally threatened not only the Company servants but also the Indians and half-breeds. For this reason, and for the sake of economy, the Company promoted agriculture at its posts. It encouraged

¹Morton, op.cit., p. 644.

²ibid., pp. 638-9.

natives to farm.¹ It is strange that the Indians did not learn the lesson of providing food for themselves against the possibility of a poor hunt. Few of them were interested enough to try farming. When times were hardest, they always depended on the post to keep them alive, and were seldom disappointed.

Some Métis, following the example set by the Hudson's Bay Company men, gradually turned to agriculture to supplement the returns of the hunt. Settlements of Métis farmers appeared first at Red River and White Horse Plains sixteen miles up the Assiniboine from the Forks, and later at Qu'Appelle and Ste. Ann's near Fort Edmonton.

Certainly the Company amply demonstrated throughout Rupert's Land, New Caledonia and Oregon, that man could provide a living for himself and his family by agriculture. That this lesson on providing food was not learned by the Indians was not the fault of the Company.

Not the least of the Company's contributions to the natives was the feeling of confidence and respect in its officers without which little or no educating, through example,

¹Report of the Select Committee, op.cit., p. 102 -
Minutes 1997-99

- 1997 "You were asked, 'Do you encourage the Indians to resort to agriculture under any circumstances?' and your answer was, 'Always; we have encouraged them by every means in our power.' Will you kindly state some of the means which have been used? By giving them agricultural implements, free of charge, and seed of various kinds, seed wheat and seed potatoes.
- 1998 "Without charge for the land?" "Without charge for the land."
- 1999 "That has been done in the different Indian settlements?" "Yes, in several parts of the country."

could have been accomplished. This feeling was engendered through the long association of the tribes with the Company. The Indians could always rely on fair treatment and paternal governance. Many writers express great admiration for the attitude of the Company toward the welfare of the Indians.

The superior skill and ingenuity of the European caused the Indian to look upon him with awe.¹ When starvation threatened, he knew that the Company would do its best to alleviate his suffering. To quote from Begg;

But sometimes disease and death would come among them, and at others, through their own improvidence, starvation would stalk through their midst. It was then that the kindly offices of the Hudson's Bay Company's servants would be felt - hungry mouths would be filled as far as the resources of the post would allow, medicines and clothes would be furnished, and grateful Indians would feel bound to their white brothers by the greatest of all ties, gratitude. It was this fatherly care of the Indians that gave the Hudson's Bay Company their great influence over the savage tribes of the North-West, and with the union of the fur companies the use of intoxicants, although not abolished in trading with the Indians, was greatly curtailed, and general drunkenness amongst the tribes became a thing of the past.²

One of the Indian's most admirable characteristics was his gratitude for help given. Evidently, once the Company had shown kindness to an Indian in time of trouble, this aid was not forgotten. He remained a loyal supporter for the rest of his life.³

¹Begg, op.cit., p. 214.

²ibid., p. 219.

³ibid., p. 220.

Although the attitude of the Company toward the half-breeds was not quite such a protective one, nevertheless it did try to help them to help themselves. One method by which they did this was through a trade-training project. The Company had certain artisans such as blacksmiths, carpenters, and boat builders, in its permanent employ. The Councils of 1830 and of the two succeeding years ordered the employment of half-breed lads as apprentices in these trades.¹ Apparently few half-breeds availed themselves of this opportunity in Rupert's Land. In New Caledonia, however, half-breeds became a more conspicuous part of the personnel of the posts.²

The Company also provided its subjects a limited program of health education by the following provisions: it paid Dr. Hamlyn and Dr. Bunn each £50 per annum to practice medicine at Red River, attending the needs of the Company servants and of the settlers and squatters. This took place about 1832. By 1835, Dr. Bunn seems to have been carrying the work alone. In that year the Company's payment to him was raised to £100 per annum.³ This yearly payment to Dr. Bunn appears in the Minutes of Council of the Northern Department until 1843.⁴

¹Morton, op.cit., p. 639.

²ibid., p. 640.

³ibid., p. 636.

⁴Oliver, op.cit., pp. 787, 811, 826, 847, 863.

The need for health education, particularly that part of it which concerns vaccination against smallpox, is particularly apparent when one reads of the terrible epidemic of 1816-18 which resulted in many deaths. After the amalgamation of the companies in 1821, vaccine inoculation was used in treating all the natives around the posts in the thick wood part of Rupert's Land. As a result of health education provided by the Company, mortality from smallpox decreased steadily.¹

By thousands of acts of kindness, the Company taught, "Be compassionate to sufferers." (This was a new attitude for some of the semi-savage tribes.)

Frequently, the reader of the story of the Hudson's Bay Company, as told by several authors, finds references to the generosity and the humanitarian acts of the Company and its officers to those in trouble near its posts. Fort Garry was no exception. Alexander Ross, in his "Red River Settlement", spoke glowingly of this generosity despite the fact that, years earlier, he had been dismissed from service in the Company.

He explained that, in the terrible winter of 1826, when many were starving, the Company sent party after party bearing food and clothing to the aid of the sufferers.² Also in the flood of the following spring, the Company's servants, using Company boats, did their utmost to help the colonists.³

¹Report of Select Committee, op.cit., p. 58.

²Ross, op.cit., p. 99.

³ibid.

Another instance of generosity occurred at a meeting of the Council of Assiniboia in February of 1835. At the end of the meeting at which he presided, Governor Simpson intimated that the Company would make a grant of £300 in aid of public works in Red River.¹

In the same paragraph Ross added, "The liberality of the Company to the colonists has already been shown in many instances; in the affairs of the Buffalo Wool Company; in the tallow trade concern; in the winter road; sheep speculation; experimental farms; and a thousand other instances."²

The Indians were well aware of this policy of the Company to help those in need, and so they rarely availed themselves of the land and seeds which the Company offered to them. They knew that if the hunt was bad they would not starve as long as they were within reach of a Hudson's Bay Company post. The Rules and Regulations of 1836 ordered those in charge of posts to supply the Indians with necessities whether they could pay for them or not.³

During the year 1868, when the colonists were faced with starvation because their crops had been destroyed by grasshoppers, the Company raised £5000 of the £10,200 subscribed for relief.⁴

All these humanitarian acts may have had the effect of teaching kindness through example.

¹ibid., p. 179, and Begg, op.cit., p. 237.

²Ross, p. 179.

³Oliver, op.cit., p. 754.

⁴Morton, op.cit., p. 866.

Another field of education to which the Hudson's Bay Company contributed was scientific knowledge. The man who made the most notable contribution was David Thompson, who was trained as a surveyor by the Company. It is said that some of his maps of the Athabaska country are still used today by mining companies. The following quotation will show what a wealth of information he gathered and preserved in writing for future generations; -

Not only did he survey its rivers and observe the physical features of the land in detail; he noted the trees and the manner of their growth; he studied its animals and its fish, and he has left us vivid pictures of their habits, and of the ways of the savages in catching them. Above all he loved to sketch the peoples he met, their physiognomy, their character and habits.¹

An example of the Company's contribution to scientific knowledge was in its support of exploration. The Hudson's Bay Company was responsible for the expeditions of Dease and Simpson² which delineated the Arctic coast left untouched by the previous Franklin and Beachey expeditions. Many other examples, such as the expeditions of Kelsey, Hendry, and Hearne could be used to show additional support from the Hudson's Bay Company.

In addition to its support in the fields previously mentioned, the Company made a valuable contribution in the realm of conservation of wild life. In Chapter III conservation was mentioned as a means whereby the Company remained in

¹ibid., p. 495.

²ibid., pp. 682-3.

business and hence in a position to support missionary work. The discussion of conservation is continued here to show that it was a field in which the Company did valuable teaching. The Minutes of Council for 1833, Resolution 92, instructed post managers to discourage "the hunting of cub beaver and of beaver out of season...."¹ The lessons on conservation were so well taught that certain hunting districts were handed down from Indian father to son. "The boundaries were clearly understood, and each Indian kept a fairly accurate census of his fur bearers, and thus did not extinguish them."² Fur-bearing animals have never again been on the increase as they were during the autocratic rule of the Hudson's Bay Company.³

Chapter IV told of Company support of education conducted by missionaries. This chapter has dealt with support of education which the Company conducted. Although this latter support is less tangible than the financing of schools, it is none the less important. The civilizing influences discussed here produced peace and contentment among the natives without which background, missions among them might have been hazardous undertakings. Thus, the work done by the Company in teaching vocations, health, science, and in winning the confidence of the Indians was significant support for education.

¹Pinkerton, op.cit., p. 310

²ibid., p. 333.

³ibid., p. 322.

CHAPTER VI

COMPANY SUPPORT ON THE PACIFIC SLOPE

The reasons for discussing the development of missionary and educational enterprises on the Pacific Slope in this, a separate chapter, are threefold:

1. the missionary enterprises there were neither originated at nor directed from Red River as were most of those discussed in previous sections;
2. the period of the development of this work on the Pacific Slope post-dated such work at Red River by about twenty-five years;
3. the period of Company control along the Pacific was comparatively brief.

Perhaps the most important contribution by the Company was the retention of territory for Britain. Had it not been for the initiative of the Company, much of what is now British Columbia would probably have become part of the United States. If this had happened, the Company might have withdrawn from the region and thus could not have contributed to education there.

The loss of Oregon in 1846 was a disappointment to Britain. Fortunately, however, through the foresight of the British government and the good offices of the Company such a loss of territory was not repeated. A happy solution to

the government's problem of holding the land was found in the granting of Vancouver Island to the Company in 1849.

This grant allowed the Company to sell land on the Island at £1 per acre. Ninety percent of the money from such sales was placed in a trust fund to be used for improvements and administration of the island colony. Thus there was a fund which could be used to support education when the Governor and Council deemed such use advisable. This government was predominantly Company men.

However, in the interior of the mainland there was no such fund available and here it was the missionaries who first provided educational enterprises.

The Work of the Early Missionaries

The life of the fur trader was often hard and primitive. As many staple foods had to be shipped from England around the Horn, traders frequently had to live on a very restricted diet of dried salmon and water.¹ Travel was difficult because of the mountainous terrain. The possibility of hostility among the Indians added to the trials of life.

Despite all the hardships, missionaries appeared at the traders' posts. Reverend Herbert Beaver and his wife were the first Protestant missionaries in the Company's Western Department.² Beaver arrived at Fort Vancouver on

¹A. G. Morice, History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia, Toronto: Briggs, 1904, pp. 227, 171, 174.

²ibid., p. 170.

the Columbia River in 1838, where he was stationed as Company chaplain. Also in 1838, Fathers Blanchette and Demers¹ travelled through the Rockies to the Columbia District. They came to minister to the French Canadians in the Willamette and Fort Vancouver areas. In 1841, these priests were joined by Father DeSmet.

Dr. John McLaughlin, chief factor of the Columbia District, was converted to Catholicism.² This kindly, powerful man was a tower of strength and help to the priests as well as a willing source of aid to the sick and needy.

Peter Skene Ogden was one of the leading Company officers in the Pacific region from 1821 until 1845. He was chief factor in charge of the New Caledonia District from 1834-44, residing at the district headquarters, Fort St. James, on Stuart Lake. Mrs. Ogden, his native wife, was a Catholic, and she too was a great help to the priests.³

About three years after their arrival, the missionaries commenced spreading their spheres of influence, mainly northward. Everywhere the missionaries went (and they often travelled with the fur traders) they were welcome guests at the fur trading posts. There were several obvious reasons for this welcome. In the first place, many in the Company's employ would feel the lack of religious ministrations before the priests arrived. Secondly, the traders knew that the

¹ibid., p. 222.

²ibid., p. 225.

³ibid., p. 222.

Indians would be less dangerous and more steady in their labours if they were converted to Christianity. Thirdly, many of the officers of the Company were educated men. Generally, they must have been delighted to have as their guests these other educated men, the clergy. Often a gentleman of the Company was stationed at some isolated post for months without the company of any white man other than one or two junior assistants.

Although Father Blanchette left the West for ever in 1844, Father Nobili arrived on the Columbia River in 1845 to help with the work of his church. Father Demers first entered New Caledonia District with Chief Factor Ogden's party in 1842, the first minister to enter that area.¹ Father Nobili went north from Fort Vancouver into the same region in 1845.

The work of the missionary was two-fold. He ministered to the people at the fur trade post, at which he sometimes made his temporary home. He also entered courageously upon the staggering task of missions to the Indians. In this, the larger branch of his work, he often travelled out twenty miles or more from a fur post. At some convenient place he usually tried to erect a building to serve as a chapel and his own dwelling. There he lived isolated from civilization. Sometimes two or three of the clergy lived together in such a mission, but often the missionary was without companions,

¹ ibid., p. 225.

except the natives whom he was trying to instruct in the ways of civilization and Christianity.

Missionaries christened and baptized, married and buried wherever they went. The Catholic missionaries, in particular, learned the language of the tribes with whom they lived. (The Wesleyan, Mr. James Evans, at Little Playgreen Lake near Norway House, did this too.) Then they taught the Indians simple hymns and prayers in their own tongues. Father Demers and Father Blanchette made a pictorial Bible showing some scenes from the scriptures,¹ thus enabling the natives to learn more quickly. Many Indians treasured these Bibles or their baptismal certificates as valuable family possessions.

Father Morice observes that, whereas the Anglican clergy received the larger share of the Hudson's Bay Company's monetary support of missionaries, his clergy was not without such aid from this source.² Reference has already been made in this thesis to the £100 per annum donated by the Company to Father Blanchette's Mission. These donations seem to have started in 1842.³ The writer expects that the Anglicans received the greater share of the Company's monetary support of missions because the Anglican faith was the one adhered to by most of the officers and gentlemen of the service and the members of the Company's Committee in London.⁴

¹ibid., p. 229.

²ibid., p. 220.

³Oliver, op.cit., p. 847.

⁴Morice, op.cit., p.220.

In Father Morice's discussion of the Company as related to missionary enterprises in New Caledonia, he regretted two conditions. The first undesirable feature of the trade, as observed in New Caledonia, was the brutality of a few of the officers towards servants and laborers. A regular system of punishments, some involving lashings carried out in a specified manner, were used by the Company to discourage disobedience. These two or three officers, unfortunately, occasionally lost all sense of dignity and used their fists or feet on offenders.¹ Simpson quickly put a stop to these breaches of Company orders. The offenders were warned and, if they then did not conform, were removed from their posts.

The second, and far more serious, regrettable feature of the trade in New Caledonia was the sale of liquor to the Indians. Morice pointed out, however, that in this use of liquor the Company was the unwilling successor of the North West traders who sold it freely.² Also, he stated that in New Caledonia as in all its districts, the Company tried to reduce their sale of liquor after the amalgamation of the companies in 1821. Shortly after this date, due to orders from Simpson and the Council, the use of liquor in the trade was greatly reduced in all Company lands.³

However, Morice agreed with most other historians who

¹ibid., pp. 276-279.

²ibid., pp. 113-115.

³Morton, op.cit., p. 727.

wrote about the Company's regime in saying that its rule of the Indians was notably characterized by its honesty, fairness, and benevolence. He says:

The redeeming features of the Company's people in the north (New Caledonia) were their undoubted honesty in dealing with the natives, the superior quality of their goods, their humane conduct toward the poor and needy, and the assistance they gave the first missionaries and their immediate successors in the way of passages in their boats and a most generous hospitality at their forts.¹

These writers all agree that the honesty of the Company and its fairness in its treatment of the Indians won the respect of the natives.

Company Support of Education on
Vancouver Island

The date of the commencement of Company support of missionary work and education on Vancouver Island was about twelve years later than the date when such support began on the mainland of the Pacific region. The Company's first chaplain to be resident on the Island was the Rev. Robert Staines. He and Mrs. Staines arrived in Victoria in 1850, one year after the Island had been declared a Crown colony.

In the same year the Staines opened the first Protestant school there, the greater part of the expense being carried by the Company. This was a boarding school chiefly for the children of Company men. The Company guaranteed Staines £340 a year for keeping this school and £200 a year

¹ Morice, op.cit., p. 116.

for acting as the Company's chaplain.¹

Governor Douglas showed a keen interest in providing education for the children of the Island throughout his term of office. Mr. MacLaurin, in his thesis, sets out an excerpt from a letter from Governor Douglas to Archibald Barclay, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, 16 May 1850 to 6 Nov., 1853 (Archives of British Columbia):-

I will also take the liberty of calling the attention of the Governor and Committee to the subject of education by recommending the establishment of one or two elementary schools in the Colony to give a proper moral and religious training to the children of the settlers who are at present growing up in ignorance and the utter neglect of all their duties to God and to Society. That remark applies with peculiar force to the children of Protestant parents; the Roman Catholic families in this country having had until lately a very able and zealous teacher in the Rev'd. Mr. Lamffrit, a French priest..... One school at Victoria and one at Esquimalt will provide for the present.²

Governor Douglas did not intend the Company to provide all the funds necessary for education. He expected to provide most of the funds from the Colony Trust Fund which was in Company hands. This fund was built up from the proceeds of the sale of lands to the settlers at £1 per acre. He thought the fund should provide the buildings necessary for common elementary schools.³

In 1852, Douglas approved Company support for a

¹D. L. MacLaurin, The History of the Education in the Crown Colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia and in the Province of British Columbia, unpublished Master's thesis for the University of Manitoba, p. 12.

²ibid., p. 13.

³ibid.

young ladies' school.¹ In the case of this proposal, the writer was unable to find evidence of such school having been started at that time, and assumed the plan was postponed.

The first common, elementary, public school, built by the Colony chiefly for the sons of Company labourers, was started at Victoria in March 1852 with Mr. Charles Bailey as master. Mr. Bailey was a servant of the Company. The Company continued to pay him his usual salary, £40 per annum and provisions, just as if he were engaged in any other Company enterprise. Also he was allowed to keep what fees he could collect from the parents of his pupils. Parents were supposed to pay the teacher at the rate of one pound per pupil per year and to supply the pupil's books and stationery.²

It is very probable, the writer believes, that the building used by Mr. Bailey as residence and school was provided free of charge for about one year by the Company. At any rate, Douglas's letter to Governor Barclay in London relates that, in 1853, he (Douglas) appropriated £500 for the building of a Victoria schoolhouse from the £2000 which the Company had directed Douglas to use when paying for colonial improvements.³

In 1853, Douglas transferred Bailey to Nanaimo to

¹ibid., p. 15.

²ibid.

³ibid., p. 16.

open a school there. A Mr. Burr succeeded Bailey as master of the Victoria School. Later, 1856, Bailey was succeeded by Mr. Cornelius Bryant as teacher at Nanaimo. Bailey and then Bryant received £40 per annum and provisions and house directly from the Company.¹

When Mr. and Mrs. Charles Clarke opened the fourth Protestant school on the Island, Craigflower, near Esquimalt, in 1855, they do not seem to have received any help directly from the Company, although it was in favour of the school.

The Rev. Robert Staines was drowned at sea while returning to England in 1853. In April, 1855, Rev. Edward Cridge, Staine's successor as resident chaplain of the Company, arrived at Victoria. Colville, the Governor of the Company in England, recommended the following remuneration for Cridge:

- (a) £100 per year from the Fur Trade Branch for acting as chaplain;
- (b) £300 per year from the Colonial Trust Fund;
- (c) a parsonage and glebe of 100 acres, 30 acres to be ready to plant;
- (d) lodging and provisions for Mr. Cridge and family in the Company's quarters until the parsonage and glebe should be ready for use.²

The Company expected Mr. Cridge to take charge of the Boarding School, and to bring with him from England a man and his wife capable of teaching and managing this school. The Company supplied the school building and was willing to supply

¹ ibid., p. 17.

² ibid., p. 23.

£100 a year and a house for the schoolmaster. The schoolmaster was to charge his pupils £20 each per annum for board, lodging, and tuition.

However, no schoolmaster accompanied Mr. Cridge. But Mrs. Cridge did open a private school. To Mrs. Cridge also goes the honour of starting the first Sunday School in the Colony.

On the 27th of February, 1856, Mr. Cridge became, in effect if not in name, the first inspector of public schools in the west of what is now Canada. He was appointed by the Governor and Council of the Colony.¹

By 1861, according to Mr. Cridge's report on colonial schools to the Colonial Secretary,² there were still only four Protestant schools operating on the Island. Of these four, the Company supplied the buildings and most of the teachers' salaries for two of them, Nanaimo and the Boarding School. These, then, were Company schools. (The Company ceased paying the Nanaimo teacher's salary as of the end of October, 1859 when the Company's ownership of the Island was terminated.)³ In the other two schools, the Craigflower and Victoria public schools, the Colonial Council paid for the buildings and rather good salaries for the teachers. It is important, however, to notice that the Company, through Governor Douglas, seems to have largely controlled the Council,⁴ and hence ex-

¹ibid., p. 25.

²ibid., p. 38.

³ibid., p. 37.

⁴Morton, op.cit., p. 764.

penditure on these Colonial schools.

Two facts appear from this summary and Cridge's reports. First, the Company carried the greater share of educational costs during the first decade of the Colony's existence, the period in which the Company had the Island. (Pupil fees in the three public schools in 1861 were only approximately 15 per cent of the salaries paid the teachers in those schools.) Secondly, enough schools were provided for the small population of whites during that period, (it does not seem to have exceeded five hundred souls¹), although Cridge mentioned that overcrowding had appeared in the Victoria School.

Upon comparing the Company's contributions toward education on Vancouver Island *with* its contributions in the Red River Settlement, it may at first appear that the Company's share of the educational costs in the former place was much greater than in the latter. At Red River the Company contributed as follows:

1. It supplied, at first, a building for a "superior type" of boarding school which later became St. John's College. (It may have been repaid for this building.)
2. To assist this school, it donated £100 per year

¹ibid., p. 767.

and asked its chaplain to supervise the school.

3. It gave £100 and certain foodstuffs annually to the Roman Catholic Mission at Red River.
4. For a time it paid Mr. Pritchard £25 a year because the income from his pupils' fees was very small.
5. It supplied two weavers for the School of Industry operated by the Catholic Mission at Red River.
6. On several occasions, it made additional special grants of £50 or £100 towards the building or rebuilding of some church.
7. It seems to have donated £50 annually for a time to the Presbyterian Church.

W. B. Ready, in "The Beaver", praised the Company's desire for, and support of education in Rupert's Land, "They (Manitoba Schools) came to be by reason of the missionary endeavour of the Christian Churches backed up and constantly supported by the Hudson's Bay Company."¹

On the other hand, Donald Gunn spoke as though he was quite dissatisfied with the Company's participation in educational costs;

We know that the Bishop of Juliopolis received a salary from the Company and so did, as we have

¹W. B. Ready, "Early Red River Schools", The Beaver, Winnipeg: Hudson's Bay Company, 1947 (December), p. 34.

said, the two Missionaries of the Church of England. The high school at St. John's was patronized by the wintering partners whose children were the only ones admitted, and on it the Fur Trade bestowed an annual grant of £100; but the unfortunate twelve schools, where the plebian multitude received all the education that fell to their lot, were unendowed.¹

One probable reason why Ready was so satisfied and Gunn so dissatisfied with the Company's participation in educational costs at Red River is that the former was studying the start, and the latter a period near to the end of the Company's half century in control of the government of the Red River Settlement. During this half century, the Company's contributions toward educational costs seems to have remained nearly constant. At the start of this period, when the population was about 500, those contributions would be a large part of these costs, just as they were at Victoria, but by 1869, when the population was approximately 12,000,² the same contributions would be a much smaller fraction of the total educational costs. Hence the writer feels that whether a person considers the Company's contributions to have been either generous or parsimonious at Red River depends upon that person's point of view and ideas on the responsibility of the Company's government in educa-

¹Donald Gunn and C. R. Tuttle, History of Manitoba, Ottawa: MacLean, Roger and Co., 1880, p. 281.

²George Bryce, The History and Condition of Education in the Province of Manitoba, Canadian Pamphlets 1871-1913, cap. 25, p. 2.

tion, and upon the part of the half century he examines.

The Company did not feel it was responsible for education of all in its territories. Government-provided, free education was found in few, if any, countries by about 1835. Hence, the Company felt no responsibility, and in this was no different from most governments in that period. Governor James Douglas indicated by his letter to the Governor of the Company in 1851 that the same policy regarding education should be followed at Victoria as the Company followed at Red River;

One school at Victoria and one at Esquimalt will provide for the present wants of the settlements, and a fixed salary of £50 a year (by 1861 it was £150 a year) to be paid by the Colony with an annual payment by the parents of a certain sum....¹

This showed that he expected the Colony, not the Company, to provide the larger part of the costs. The funds used in paying the Colony's part were those which accrued through the sale of land to the settlers at £1 per acre. Hence, his suggestion, in effect, means he thinks that the settlers should pay for their own schools.

The writer therefore believes that there was no important difference in Company participation in defraying educational costs at Victoria from that at Red River. That there appears to have been a difference is entirely due to the fact that the Company controlled the Government at Victoria

¹MacLaurin, op.cit., p. 13.

for ten years only, while at Red River it was in control for approximately fifty years during which time the population there increased to approximately 12,000.

The Company is responsible for another important contribution to educational development on the Pacific Slope. This is centralized control. Because of his concern for education for the people at Victoria, it was Governor Douglas who asked for and secured permission from the Company's Governor in London to establish Victoria School and Craigflower School. The Island's government built them, hired the teachers, and paid them rather good salaries. It commissioned the first inspector of schools in the West, Reverend Cridge. He inspected the schools and submitted his reports to the Council. (There is no such trend noticeable in Manitoba in the 1850's. The Council of Assiniboia seems to have done little or nothing for education. At Red River, the various missions seemed to have built schools when and where they thought it advisable. The trend here seems to have been toward decentralization.) Centralization in educational control, initiated at the Coast by the Company, has remained a dominant factor there almost continuously ever since.

However, the most important observation with respect to the hypothesis of this paper, is that during her decade in control of the colony on the Island, the Company provided

approximately half the capital expended on education and handled and controlled almost all the remainder.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

This paper has attempted to test the hypothesis that the Hudson's Bay Company provided support for education in Western Canada in the period 1821-69.¹ To do this it was necessary to explain some of the conditions established and maintained by the Company which were conducive to the development of educational institutions.² These conditions were then related to the great need for education³ among all the peoples in the area under Company control. In answer to this need came the establishment and slow spread of missionary enterprises and the generous support for education provided by the Company.

Before summarizing specifically the support for education provided by the Company, it is worthwhile to consider briefly three allied matters. First, the Company's total contribution of money for education in Rupert's Land increased from 1821 until 1869 as more and more missions were established.⁴ However, it is interesting to notice that, except for the Anglican Bishop's stipend, such aid for Red River did not in-

¹This thesis Chapter I.

²ibid., Chapter II.

³ibid., Chapter III.

⁴ibid., Chapter IV.

crease greatly after 1835,¹ although that colony's population seems to have at least trebled between 1835 and 1869.² This lack of increase in its donations proportionate to the increase in population may have caused some dissatisfaction at Red River.

Second, an opinion occasionally heard is that the fraction of total educational cost donated by the Company at Victoria was much greater than the fraction of total educational cost it contributed at Red River. An attempt has been made to show that, in reality, during the Company's first decade of control in both colonies, there was no significant difference.³

Third, the most important trend is perhaps to be found in the control of education. In Manitoba, the Company contributed to the missionaries, and these latter established schools. The churches seem to have decided when and where schools should be built.⁴ That is, the churches were largely in control of the schools. (The Council of Assiniboia seems to have played an insignificant part in education.⁵) Hence, there was a tendency toward three separate educational systems: Catholic, Anglican, and Wesleyan. At Victoria, however, the Company through its representative, George Douglas,

¹ibid., Chapter IV, pp. 55 and p. 35.

²ibid., Chapter IV.

³ibid., p. 94.

⁴Report of Select Committee, op.cit., p. 69, Minutes 1250 and 1253, and p. 91, Minute 1731.

⁵This thesis, p. 61.

made education a government venture. The government planned and built the schools, hired and paid the teachers, and retained an inspector to report to the government about education.¹ Hence, Company support of education in Manitoba tended to foster an educational system characterized by decentralization of control, while on Vancouver Island its support established marked centralization. Perhaps these traits are still to be discerned in education in Manitoba and British Columbia.

However, the main problem of this paper was to discover whether the Company supported education in the West. Authoritative sources of evidence show that it did. It provided educational support in many forms which may be roughly grouped into two main types: intangible forms of support, and tangible forms.

Among the many forms of intangible support provided by the Company these may be listed:

1. Company officers were ever in favour of education. Missionaries were provided with hospitality at Company posts and were given free transportation in Company boats.
2. The Company encouraged parents to educate the children in their homes¹ and conducted evening schools at several of its posts.
3. The Company taught the Indians to live at peace and

¹ ibid., Chapter V.

to practice conservation of wildlife.

4. The Company instituted health measures which resulted in a marked decrease in deaths from smallpox.¹

The intangible forms of support combined to make a most valuable and important background for a school system. Without this encouragement and support provided by the Company, it is certain that the missionaries' efforts would have been greatly handicapped, perhaps to the extent of making a school system impossible.

The tangible forms of support provided by the Company include donations of books, land, buildings, and money. By 1857, there were over forty mission stations in Company territory to each of which a grant of land, large or small, had been presented. The larger of these grants were given to the missions of the Catholics, the Anglicans, and the Presbyterians at Red River, St. Paul's on the Assiniboine, and the Anglicans at Victoria. Also, several buildings were donated by the Company during the half century: Mr. West's buildings² and the Anglican Bishop's Palace at Red River; Mr. Evans' two substantial buildings at Norway House,³ and Mr. Bailey's teacherage-school at Nanaimo.⁴ Furthermore, the Council of the Northern Department of the Hudson's Bay Company on several

¹ibid.

²ibid., Chapter IV.

³ibid.

⁴ibid., Chapter VI.

occasions made cash grants to assist in the erection of mission buildings. These lands and buildings form a valuable contribution to education in the West.

The Company's monetary support for education was indeed substantial. By 1857 its annual grants to missionaries totalled £1320.¹ In a period when the monetary value of the pound was approximately ten times its present value, the Company provided, during the half century, donations which reached a grand total of nearly £45,000.² This was most valuable and significant support.

Although not legally bound to do anything for education, it might be supposed that, for purely business reasons, the Company might have done something. However, this paper has been able to show that the many and continuous forms of support provided by the Company go far beyond what sound business might dictate. In fact, the thousands of acts of generosity of the Company in education and other social services attest to the genuine concern it felt for the welfare of its peoples. The Government investigations of 1849 and 1857 both elicited abundant evidence of the thoroughly humane and paternal nature of Company rule.

It is not too much to say that the Company's provisions for education over a century ago had favourable ef-

¹ibid., Chapter IV.

²ibid., Chapter IV.

fects for generations after 1870. A complete appreciation of the history of education in the West cannot be attained without a careful study of the important and generous part played by the Hudson's Bay Company.

A P P E N D I X



APPENDIX A

This is a part of the text of the Charter to the Hudson's Bay Company. It was copied from Beckles Wilson's The Great Company, (Copp, Clark Ltd., Toronto, 1899. Appendix pp. 520-522.)

.... do give, grant and confirm, unto the Governor and Company, and their successors, the sole trade and commerce of these seas, straits, bays, rivers, lakes, creeks and sounds, in whatsoever latitude they shall be, that be within the entrance of the straits, commonly called Hudson's Straits, together with all the lands and territories upon the countries, coasts, and confines of the seas, bays, lakes, rivers, creeks and sounds aforesaid, that are not actually possessed by or granted to any of our subjects, or possessed by the subjects of any other Christian Prince or State, and all mines royal and that the said land be from henceforth reckoned and reputed as one of our plantations or colonies in America, called Rupert's Land. and constitute the said Governor and Company the true and absolute lords and proprietors of the same territory,, but, also the whole and entire trade and traffic to and from all havens, bays, creeks, rivers, lakes and seas, into which they shall find entrance or passage by water or land out of the territories, limits and places aforesaid; and to and with all the natives and people inhabiting or which shall inhabit within the territories, limits and places aforesaid.

APPENDIX B

(Copy of Document Relating to Fur Trade in Swan River District)¹

Comparative Statement and Valuation of Swan River District
Returns. Outs 1861 and 1862

	Value	No.	Out 1861			Out 1862			
			£	s	p	No.	£	s	p
Badgers prime	1/7	302	23	18	2	318	25	3	6
common	9 ^c $\frac{1}{2}$	65	2	11	6	15	-	11	11
Bears black prime	3 2/6	88	143	-	-	105	170	12	6
common	16/3	17	13	16	3	16	13	-	-
brown prime	32/6	60	97	10	-	70	113	15	-
common	16/3	6	4	17	6	6	4	17	6
grey prime	32/6	11	14	17	6	74	120	5	-
common	16/3	2	1	12	6	1	-	16	3
Beavers large prime	7/	832	291	4	-	789	276	3	-
common	3/6	3	-	10	6	56	9	16	-
small prime	7/	647	226	9	-	888	310	16	-
common	3/6	38	6	13	-	128	22	8	-
Castorum	25/	41	57	5	-	126	157	10	-
Ermines prime	3 ^c	145	1	16	3	-	-	-	-
Fishers prime	18/	704	633	12	-	478	430	4	-
common	9/	17	7	13	-	2	-	18	-
Foxes silver prime	220/	5	55	-	-	2	22	-	-
cross prime	42/	91	191	2	-	26	54	12	-
common	21/	1	1	1	-	1	1	1	-
red prime	6/	1211	363	6	-	392	117	12	-
common	3/	5	-	15	-	2	-	6	-
white	7/	-	-	-	-	2	-	14	-
Hares Arctic	3 ^c	6	-	1	6	36	-	9	-
Foxes Kite prime	6/	1639	491	14	-	641	192	6	-
Lynxes prime	9/6	318	151	1	-	156	74	2	-
common	4/9	6	1	8	6	-	-	-	-
Martens prime	15/	1261	945	15	-	882	661	10	-
common	7/6	13	4	17	6	5	1	17	6
Minks prime	5/	890	222	10	-	2246	561	10	-
common	2/6	102	12	15	-	159	19	17	6
Musquash prime	6 ^c	28480	712	-	-	21926	523	3	-
common	3 ^c	600	7	10	-	5780	64	15	-
Otters prime	17/	433	368	1	-	518	440	6	-
common	8/6	25	10	12	6	-	-	-	-
Skunks prime	4/	298	59	12	-	220	44	-	-
Swans prime	2/6	32	4	-	-	8	1	-	-
Weenuskes	6 ^c	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Wolves prime	5/6	734	201	17	-	739	203	4	6
Wolverines prime	8/	78	31	4	-	47	18	16	-
common	4/	1	-	4	-	1	-	4	-
Tongues Buffalo	2/8	390	45	10	-	-	-	-	-

common	3 ^c	600	7	10	-	5780	64	15	-
Otters prime	17/	433	368	1	-	518	440	6	-
common	8/6	25	10	12	6	-	-	-	-
Skunks prime	4/	298	59	12	-	220	44	-	-
Swans prime	2/6	32	4	-	-	8	1	-	-
Weenuskes	6 ^c	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Wolves prime	5/6	734	201	17	-	739	203	4	6
Wolverines prime	8/	78	31	4	-	47	18	16	-
common	4/	1	-	4	-	1	-	4	-
Tongues Buffalo	2/8	390	45	10	-	-	-	-	-
Robes prime	10/	1786	893	-	-	990	495	-	-
Mooseskins large	6/	-	-	-	-	26	6	6	-
small	3/	-	-	-	-	3	-	12	-
Red Deerskins large	5/	-	-	-	-	5	1	5	-
small	41/	-	-	-	-	1	-	4	-
Buffalo skins	3/	-	-	-	-	18	2	14	-

APPENDIX C.

Yet there is no trace of similarity between the Hudson's Bay Company in 1775 and that of 1825. The Hudson's Bay Company achieved greatness, power and monopoly. It was a marvelously efficient machine. It was actuated by a spirit of devotion and loyalty unknown in any other commercial organization in the world's history. But it was not the Company that laughed at Hendry's story of the Indians on horseback.

The Hudson's Bay Company of 1825 excites our admiration. It was a thing of energy, of romance, of adventure, of fierce allegiance, of accomplishment, of amazing precision, of enterprise, but it was by no means the Company of Adventurers of England Trading into Hudson's Bay. It was still British, but Scotch rather than of England. It was in all essential respects, the North-West Company of Montreal.

Not in personnel, in organization, in energy, in method or in aim, did the old Hudson's Bay Company of Hearne's day contribute to the fusion of 1821. The charter and the name have been handed down from Charles II. The force and ambition, the type of employee, the manner of conducting the fur trade, the policy, the internal government, all the methods and qualities which brought greatness, these were contributed or instigated by the "Nor'Westers."¹

¹Pinkerton, op.cit., p. 112.

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