

TITLE

THE EPISCOPATE OF THE RIGHT REVEREND DAVID ANDERSON,  
D.D., FIRST LORD BISHOP OF RUPERT'S LAND 1849-1864.

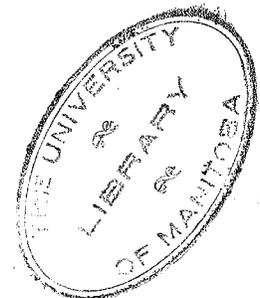
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by

M.P. WILKINSON.

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## INTRODUCTION

The same year which saw brave men die at Seven Oaks in one of the bloodiest incidents of the fur war, marked the birth of the man who was to become the first Lord Bishop of the new Church of England Diocese of Rupert's Land some thirty-five years later.

Dr. David Anderson was born on February 10th, 1814 at Hans Place, London, England. Educated at Edinburgh Academy, Scotland, and Exeter College, Oxford, he was ordained deacon in 1837 in the stronghold of Evangelicalism at Clapham, Surrey, England. A year later the same Bishop, John Bird Sumner of the Diocese of Chester, ordained him as priest in Durham Cathedral. Throughout his various appointments, from 1837 to 1849, a close personal friendship grew up between the brilliant young curate and his first Diocesan. Bishop Sumner became Primate in 1848 and when he was asked to select a Bishop for the new Diocese of Rupert's Land, which was about to be created, it was not surprising that he should think of his young Evangelical friend.

## CHAPTER 1

### BRITISH MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE DURING THE FIRST HALF OF

#### THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

When David Anderson was consecrated in Canterbury Cathedral as the first Lord Bishop of Rupert's Land on the 29th of May 1849, the sermon preached by the Rev. Henry Venn placed the event in its true perspective as one more evidence of the greatest surge of Protestant Missionary activity which the world had yet witnessed. The expansion of Evangelical zeal had been progressing steadily throughout the first half of the nineteenth century. For example during the fifteen years from 1835 to 1850 no less than nineteen overseas bishoprics of the church of England were erected. This figure contrasted strikingly with the three overseas bishoprics created during the first twenty-five years of the century, or the two which existed when the century began. In 1849 the full tide of British Protestant missionary activity was flowing. In 1800 the world still stood upon the threshold not only of a great period of colonial and industrial development, but also of a great period of Protestant missionary activity and expansion.

By contrast during the French regime Roman Catholic missions had been conducted vigorously in New France by the missionary orders such as Franciscans, Jesuits and Recollets. The Jesuits in particular, carried on their work with extraordinary zeal during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Their anxiety for new fields carried them into the foremost rank of explorers on this continent. One of their number, Father Charles-Michel Mesaiger accompanied La Verendrye when he penetrated to the Red River

Valley. Their mediaeval heritage which regarded the Roman Catholic Church as a "supra-national" body had never experienced any difficulty with respect to the appointment of missionary bishops and the necessary delegation of authority which must accompany such appointments. Consequently when New France fell into British hands in 1763 it did so with complete Roman Catholic Ecclesiastical machinery including a bishop at Quebec.

The Church of England at this time was both by law and disposition a national church. The idea of autonomous churches within the episcopal communion of the Church of England had no more place in the religious thought of the British people than had the idea of autonomous nations within a British Commonwealth in their political thought. Yet such were the political ideas which governed thought on religious expansion in the eighteenth century. Missionary zeal was so non-existent that even the colonies of the transplanted Britishers had great difficulty in obtaining the ministrations of their church. It was difficult to obtain clergy for colonial parishes and even where there were clergy, the situation was unsatisfactory because of the lack of episcopal supervision.

By the nineteenth century all parishes outside of the British Isles were generally accepted as being under the care and jurisdiction of the Bishop of London. The origin of this authority is cloaked in obscurity and seems to have rested on precedent rather than decree. Cross attributes the origin of the tradition to "the Stuart policy instigated by Land, seeking to extend the Church of England establishments to every part of the known world where the English Government had

a foothold."<sup>1</sup> While he was Bishop of London, Land became aware of serious deviations on the part of Englishmen living abroad, from the doctrine and use of the Church of England at home. His representations on the subject to the Privy Council resulted in an Order-in-Council dated the 1st of October 1633, which placed the commercial and military communities of Englishmen in France and the Netherlands under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London as their Diocesan. It was a logical arrangement for in London he would be in contact with the headquarters of the government and the various commercial companies who maintained these foreign establishments. Five years later Land, who was now Archbishop of Canterbury, arranged "to send a bishop to New England; but, owing to the outbreak of trouble in Scotland, he was forced to abandon the design."<sup>2</sup>

After the Restoration the precedent of extra diocesan authority for the Bishop of London seems to have been accepted over a much broader area than originally designated in the order of 1633. "But a precedent had been established, and, although incomplete, it was probably the basis of the tradition which came to connect the name of the Bishop of London with the diocesan control of the English colonies in all parts of the world, in America as elsewhere."<sup>3</sup> As the authority exercised by the Bishop of London extended over such a vast area it was not surprising that members of the Church of England living in the Thirteen Colonies

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1. Cross, Arthur Lyons - The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies p 12 - 13
  2. Ibid p 21
  3. Ibid p 15

should consider themselves somewhat neglected by their Diocesan. They cast envious glances towards the north where their Roman Catholic neighbors were able to make real progress by reason of their having a bishop at Quebec.

From the Anglican point of view, "The principal reason for delay was the fear of many colonists that such an establishment would bring undesirable political effects in its train. Even some American churchmen, particularly those in Virginia, were not in favour of the project, while Protestant dissent was hotly opposed to it."<sup>4</sup>

Though by the conquest of New France, the inclusion of the colonial Roman Catholic bishopric of Quebec provided a strong argument in favour of a similar establishment for the Anglicans, in America it was not until after the separation of the Thirteen Colonies that a bishop was finally consecrated for America. The Archbishop of Canterbury and George III were in favour of such an appointment, but amidst changing ministries nothing was achieved. It was not until British recognition of American independence by the treaty of September 3rd, 1783 that all cause for hesitation and delay was finally removed in England. Even then, it was over a year later, November 14th, 1784, before Samuel Seabury was consecrated by non-juring Scottish bishops in Aberdeen, as Bishop of Connecticut. Three years later "Samuel Provoost and William White were consecrated in Lambeth Chapel, February 4, 1787, as Bishops of New York and Pennsylvania respectively.

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4. Millman, Thomas R. - Jacob Mountain, First Lord Bisop of Quebec. p 7-8

Thus the impasse arising from colonial dependency upon the bishopric of London, and from other causes, was overcome."<sup>5</sup> Within the year, the first colonial bishopric was established and on August 12, 1787, the Reverend Charles Inglis was consecrated in Lambeth Chapel as Bishop of Nova Scotia. The unwieldy size of Bishop Inglis' diocese soon became apparent and in response to his pleas, on the 28th of June 1793, the portion of his diocese known as Quebec was erected into a separate See and Jacob Mountain was designated as its first bishop.

Apart from the political danger of the near presence of regularly consecrated Anglican bishops in the United States of America, the main reason for the appointment of the first colonial bishop seems to have been not missionary but expediency. White society had reached such a stage of civilized development in the new world as to warrant the necessity of a bishop. This seems to have continued to be, at least partly, the basis for subsequent appointments. At the insistence of the Societies and some of the colonial bishops such as the second Bishop Mountain of Quebec, more purely Missionary bishops came to be appointed.

The Colonial Bishoprics Fund was the chief instrument in this expansion of the conception of the role of the episcopate. Its origin in 1841 was due mainly to the efforts of Bishop Blomfield of London. "He might well do so, as he had received lately a letter from the far side of British North America complaining of the little attention which his Lordship paid to 'this part of his diocese'."

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5. Ibid p 10

Everything not included in the few existing Colonial dioceses was part of the diocese of London."<sup>6</sup>

Meanwhile missionary enterprise in the Church of England was developing, but largely from sources other than episcopal initiative. The middle years of the 18th century witnessed the phenomenal rise and spread of the Wesleyan revival and it was out of Methodism that the Evangelicals of the Church of England were born. Their philanthropic zeal led them into the struggle for the abolition of slavery. By the time of Wesley's death in 1791, Wilberforce already was well identified with the anti-slavery campaign. From concern for the slave and his freedom, interest moved onward to concern for the spiritual welfare of the slave in his native land." On April 12th, 1799, there was founded in the Castle and Falcon Hotel, Aldersgate Street, the Society for Missions to Africa and the East, afterwards known as the Church Missionary Society."<sup>7</sup> This society was the instrument through which "the Evangelicals taught the Church of England to be missionary."<sup>8</sup>

Although the original field for missionary activity was considered to be Africa the interests of the Evangelicals soon extended to other areas. They coveted the preserves of the East India Company as a field of operations but failed in their initial attempts to overcome the Company's opposition to missionaries. Nothing daunted, they contrived to have Evangelicals appointed to

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6. Carpenter, S.C. - Church and People 1789-1889 p 431

7. Ibid p 35

8. Ibid p 425

the Company's chaplaincies. The chaplains so appointed discharged their official duties faithfully, but they also exploited their position to engage in missionary activity among the natives of the country. When the Company's charter came up for renewal in 1812 the Evangelicals succeeded in having it amended so as to provide facilities for missionaries. By 1814 the Bishopric of Calcutta was founded and the India mission was fairly launched. The Baptists were at work in India also and the name and work of William Carey<sup>9</sup> will be honoured always, by Protestants, as marking the beginning of the modern era of Protestant missions.

From India the work spread until by the half-way mark in the century the missions of the Church Missionary Society circled the globe. "They had revived the missionary spirit in the Church and persuaded some bishops to risk what seemed a daring innovation and ordain priests not to officiate in their diocese, but to preach the Word of God in every part of the globe."<sup>10</sup>

The Church Missionary Society was not alone in British Missionary enterprise during the first half of the 19th Century. Wesleyan missions began as early as 1769, though it was not until 1817 that the Wesleyan Missionary Society was founded. The Baptist Missionary Society had its beginning in 1792 while 1795 saw the foundation of the London Missionary Society. In considering the difficulty experienced by the Scottish settlers at Red River in

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9. William Carey landed in India in 1793.

10. Halevy, Elie - The Age of Peel and Cobden A History of the English People 1841-1852 p 303

obtaining the services of a clergyman, it is interesting to note that a Scottish Missionary Society was actually founded in 1795.

In addition to these specifically missionary societies, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (founded 1701) and the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (founded in 1698) had long been active in colonial areas, although by their charters they were limited to work among white people. Under the stimulus of the new missionary zeal these older societies showed new life, and in company with the Religious Tract Society (1799), and the British and Foreign Bible Society (1804), they did great service in supplying the missionaries with religious literature and translations of the scriptures. It is interesting to note that one of the most expensive difficulties encountered by the Baptists in India was their need of supplying their own special translations of the scriptures.

"It is certain.....that the commencement of the (19th) century witnessed such an outburst of Missionary zeal as was unknown before, quickening into new energy the few Institutions already established, and initiating many more whose growth and expansion have far outstripped the most sanguine anticipations of their founders. In 1799 the whole amount of English contributions for Foreign Missions did not exceed £10,000 so great was then the general apathy on the subject. Now (1873) the annual receipts in the United Kingdom for the same object do not fall short of £900,000."<sup>11</sup>

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11. Church Missionary Society - Church Missionary Atlas 1873 p 7

"The organizing of the missionary work of the Church of England during the whole of the nineteenth century was performed by the two great missionary societies, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts and the Church Missionary Society, and other smaller associations. For this reason no record of overseas episcopal appointments can describe the whole missionary work of the Church. The labours of the C.M.S. in particular are imperfectly represented by a catalogue of sees founded and bishops consecrated."<sup>12</sup>

During its early days the Church Missionary Society not only had difficulty in finding men to send as missionaries but also had even greater difficulty in getting them ordained. The supply and training of candidates soon resolved itself and resulted in the founding of the Church Missionary College at Islington in 1825. The difficulty about ordination was temporarily solved when Bishop Ryder and Bishop Bathurst joined the Society. They agreed to ordain men at the Committee's request, "accepting as a title the Committee's agreement to employ them."<sup>13</sup> The Archbishop of York occasionally ordained under similar arrangements, but strictly speaking neither he nor any other bishop had any legal sanction for doing so. Finally on the 2nd of July 1819 an Act (59G.3.C.60) was passed "to permit the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the Bishop of London, for the time being, to admit Persons into Holy Orders specially for the Colonies." Such an arrangement considerably eased the problem of supplying men for the Society's missions.

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12. Carpenter - Church and People p 427-8

13. Stock, Eugene - History of the Church Missionary Society  
v.1. p 245

The Church Missionary Society began its actual mission work in 1804 with the sending of two missionaries to West Africa. Ten years later the Society began operations in South India and New Zealand. The following year the Society was at work in North India and the Mediterranean, Ceylon, Western India, and North West America, that is the Hudson's Bay Company's territory of Rupert's Land, were successively occupied in 1818, 1820 and 1822. Work began in the West Indies in 1826, and in South Africa in 1837, at which time missionary zeal felt the pinch of financial reality. "The result, especially of the West Indies Mission, was speedy financial embarrassment; and this culminated in a serious crisis in 1841-2-----."<sup>14</sup> The necessary retrenchment to avoid complete ruin involved abandonment of much of the most recent work.

By drastic measures the debt was soon paid and a sound financial policy placed the future work on a firm footing. Many of the stations, which it was at first thought necessary to abandon, did not have to be given up, and by 1844 the work was again extended to new fields. In that year the Society began work in East India, Yoruba, and China. Various attempts had been made previously to establish missions in China but it was not until the treaty which ended the Opium War in 1842, that the doors were opened to Christian missionaries. Japan's doors remained closed even longer and more tightly until Commodore Perry's famous treaty of 1854 pried them open to intercourse between Europe and Japan. It was not until 1869 that the Church Missionary Society began operating in Japan. The restored financial position also enabled the Church Missionary Society to confirm the missionary

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14. Ibid v.1. p 482

work already begun in North West America by aiding in the establishment of the Bishopric of Rupert's Land in 1849.

The new See comprised all of that portion of the North American Continent contained in the original grant of Rupert's Land to the Honorable Hudson's Bay Company. The terms of reference in the Patent as to the size of the new diocese were quoted more or less directly from the original charter of the Hudson's Bay Company. The new diocese was defined as comprising "all the Lands and Territories upon the Countries, Coast and Confines of the Seas, Bays, Lakes, Rivers, Creeks and Sounds in Whatsoever Latitude they shall be that lie within the entrance of the Straits commonly called Hudson's Straits that were not already actually possessed by the subjects of any other Christian prince or state."<sup>15</sup>

The original grant of Rupert's Land had since been limited on its southern extremity by the Convention of 1818 which established the 49th parallel of latitude as the international boundary from the south-west tip of the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains. Even with this limitation, if the definition of the diocese was interpreted strictly it is a vast territory. But in point of fact it was interpreted rather loosely. Indeed we shall find Bishop Anderson apparently thinking of his diocese not only in terms of its geographical definition but also in terms of all those areas into which the fur trade had penetrated. This added to his diocese

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15 Patent Rolls 12 Victoria part 26 number 3

practically the whole of what are now known as the Yukon and the North-West Territories and pushed its boundaries to within the Arctic circle. Such an extension of the diocese was justified on the grounds of legitimate responsibility to the servants of the fur company which maintained one Church of England clergyman at Red River as its Chaplain and which also paid almost half of the salary of the new Bishop, as well as giving allowances to several other clergy who acted as part time chaplains in other parts of the territory.

The Bishop's eyes also turned westward to the shores of the Pacific whither the fur trade had reached during the turbulent years of the fur trade wars. When Bishop Anderson delivered his first Episcopal Charge in his own diocese in 1851 there was already one Church of England clergyman located at Vancouver. In 1857 the Church Missionary Society sent out a new missionary who began work among the Indians in the neighborhood of Fort Simpson on the Pacific Coast. Bishop Anderson's uneasy sense of responsibility was finally relieved when the new Diocese of Columbia was set up in 1859. In his charge of 1860 he said, "The uncertainty regarding the extent of our jurisdiction has been removed, our boundary is now marked and definite and the Rocky Mountains would limit our view in looking towards the Pacific."<sup>16</sup>

Rupert's Land was divided geographically into three fairly distinct areas, each with its own characteristics which governed the lives of the inhabitants. Since the whole area used to be known as North-West America, A.S. Morton has very aptly called this sub-division

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16. Bishop David Anderson - Fourth Triennial Charge  
6 January 1860.

"the three North-Wests."

The most familiar of these areas is the prairie North-West bounded by the International Boundary, the Rocky Mountains, and the forest belt which ran in a north-west direction from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains. This triangle possesses a climate which varies but little from the forest belt to the north of it. But however slight these differences in wind and moisture may be they are the reasons why it is an area where trees do not grow naturally, while the grasses thrive.

As already indicated, the next North-West is a broad forest belt "running north of the Laurentians and from Lake Superior and the Lake of the Woods North-westward along the upper edge of the valley of the Assiniboine to Mackenzie River and the Rockies. Its ground formation is mostly rocky."<sup>17</sup> In climat<sup>s</sup> it is blessed with less persistent winds, and slightly higher and much more evenly distributed precipitation, all of which is conducive to forest.

To the north the forest belt gradually tapers off into stunted trees, leaving bare first the hilltops, then the hillsides and finally the river banks until the true Barren Grounds are reached. This thinning out begins roughly on a line following the watershed of the Churchill and Mackenzie Rivers. It is so far north, and the warm period is so short, that the ground thaws to too little depth to enable trees to grow. For a short period it is covered with flowers, grasses, and herbs, but for a much longer period it is a frozen waste, blanketed with snow and ice.

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17. Morton, A. S. - A History of the Canadian West to 1870-71 p.2

The three North-Wests, have quite distinct climates. The differences in precipitation result in distinct plant life variations, which in turn support different types of animal life upon which depend the possibilities of human existence. The Barren Grounds, for instance, were visited in the summer months by migratory birds and animals such as the geese and caribou, but were practically deserted in winter. Since these animals and birds provided man's means of subsistence he adapted his habits to those of the animals and birds and migrated with them.

In the Forest Belt the moose provided the staple item of food and by somewhat more stationary habits resulted in a more stationary human population. Other animals were also hunted for food and pelts but in these northern regions the means of subsistence were all such as dictated a highly individualistic type of existence. It was only the occasional caribou hunt or the still rarer Indian war that brought together any assembly larger than the family unit. Larger groups simply could not be supported on such a precarious food supply.

The introduction of the white man's guns and metal axes and knives made the Indian's hunting much easier but could not increase the supply of game. Though the actual killing of game became easier the supply remained precarious and the population scattered.

Compared to the uncertain existence of the inhabitants of the Barren Grounds and the Forest Belt, the Plain Indians lived

a life of comparative ease. Here the spacious grass lands supported large herds of buffalo and red deer which provided a plentiful supply of food. By contrast with the solitary family life of their northern neighbors the inhabitants of the plains often formed themselves into large camps, living and hunting together over a considerable portion of the year. Tribal organization with recognized heads or chiefs naturally arose. The chiefs acted as leaders primarily in matters of peace such as the buffalo hunt, although tribal wars were a frequent occurrence of the plains. The coming of the white man with his weapons made little difference to the hunt, for the Indian soon discovered that the noise of the weapons stampeded the buffalo. As a result buffalo were stalked and killed by arrows, long after guns were introduced. But guns did make rather formidable enemies out of the larger bands of the Plain Indians and it was not without reason that the settlers feared the bands of marauding Sioux.

The white man's weapons in the North-West, as in Eastern Canada, resulted in a redistribution of the northern Indian tribes. Those tribes which first contacted the fur traders and from them obtained guns, subjugated and drove out their neighbors sometime during the eighteenth century in order to obtain possession of the rich beaver hunting grounds. The Crees were the original aggressors and were probably imitated later by the Chipewyans driving the hapless Dene<sup>18</sup> tribes before them.

On the extreme northern fringe of the continent from Labrador

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18. Also spelled Tinne', D'tinne etc., a branch of the Athapaskan stock.

to the Behring Straits were found the Eskimos. Their numbers were small, probably about four thousand, but again the same factor of a precarious food supply resulted in them being scattered over a very wide area. Despite this dispersion their habits and language varied but slightly and presented quite a homogeneous picture by comparison with the other aboriginal inhabitants of this continent.

The Indian population of the Diocese was variously estimated at from sixty to eighty thousand. This population was divided into two main families the Algonquins and the Dénés or Athapascans. In general terms the Dénés comprising the Chipewyans, Nahanneys, Slave, Hare, Dog Rib and Loucheux (Squint Eyes) Indians were to be found north of the English or Churchill River, while to the south were mostly the Algonquins to which family belonged the Crees, ~~Saulteaux~~, Ojibeways and Chippeways.

The difficulties of making contact and of ministering to such a diverse and widely spread population were many. The difficulties of climate and sustenance applied equally to the native Indian and to the missionary, with the balance probably in favor of the more experienced Indian. The nomadic existence led by all the tribes in Rupert's Land forced the missionaries either to conform to such a habit or else to attempt the task of civilizing and converting the Indian to a more sedentary form of life. For the most part Protestant missionaries chose the latter course and the tasks of civilizing and evangelizing the Indian went hand in hand. This was a necessary combination for the task of civilizing the Indians was so tedious and discouraging that it required not only all the prudence and energy of which the

director was capable but also all the faith and devotion which kept the missionary at his task. To add to the difficulties no reliable cereal crops had as yet been developed in Rupert's Land, and the necessary farm implements were both expensive and difficult to obtain. Even when the Indians were willing to learn the arts and crafts of civilized life, the age old heritage of an improvident life had to be overcome before they could make real progress through the proper use of those arts and crafts. After almost twenty years experience at the task Rev. William Cockran wrote, "The careless, extravagant habit of the Indian race deprives them of the means of providing for winter, or for sickness, or for the wants of an increasing family, or for old age.....Even when the Indian has embraced Christianity, and adopted the same course of life with the civilized man, as far as his capacity enables him to do so, a greater amount of evil falls upon him, through his negligence, than happens to the White man."<sup>19</sup>

In addition to these difficulties there was the problem of language. Bishop Mountain's summary gives some idea of the great variety of dialects and actually different languages spoken in Rupert's Land. Prior to the work of Evans on the Cree syllabics at Norway House, the Indians of Rupert's Land were without any literature of their own. All other linguistic studies such as Howse's Cree Grammar, seem to have attempted to write the Indian languages

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19. The Church Missionary Intelligencer, A Monthly Journal of Missionary Intelligence - December 1849 p.34.

with the English alphabet. Apart from the Cree, all the other native languages of the diocese in 1849 appear to have still awaited reduction to writing. When this task was accomplished, books had to be translated and printed. The Indians had then to be taught to read and write their own language, and also to value these accomplishments. In his Primary Charge to his diocese in December 1851 Bishop Anderson said of the Indian that "He had to learn the value of a book..... of any book, and then he will come to look as he ought on the book of God."<sup>20</sup>

Apart from the scattered encampments of Indians the white and half-breed population of Rupert's Land was found here and there, in and around the Company's forts. The only community in the whole area which could make any pretense of being a centre of civilization was the straggling Red River Settlement. In 1849 this Settlement was enjoying the greatest period of prosperity in its brief history, but it was still virtually isolated from the rest of the world. It still depended almost entirely for its contacts with the outside world upon the Montreal packet and the Hudson's Bay Company's ships to York Fort.

The origin of this Settlement is too well known to require detailed description here. Lord Selkirk's conception of a colonization scheme in the Red River Valley coincided with a scheme for the reorganization of the Hudson's Bay Company to meet the growing threat of the North West Fur Company. A colony on the Red River became part of the scheme of reorganization. Its purpose from the Company's point of

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20. Bishop David Anderson - Primary Charge December 1851 p.34

view was to provide a source of cheap supplies within the country and also at a future date to provide a supply of labour. The colony was first established in 1812 and launched upon its stormy career. During its first eight years it was almost exterminated by the fierce hostility of the North West Company. The ultimate union of the rival companies in 1821 not only brought peace from that quarter but also a great influx of fur traders, who were now retired as unnecessary to the profitable pursuit of the trade, and their families. Many of these people with their half-breed families had already been gravitating towards the colony as they retired from the fur trade. The Hudson's Bay Company had made it one of the conditions of the Selkirk grant that retiring servants of the Company should be able to take up land and settle in the Colony. The Montreal influence was seen in those traders who retired after service with the North West Company and brought with them their French language and their Roman Catholic faith.

The original Scottish Crofters of the Selkirk scheme were industrious farmers whose principal aim was to achieve comfort and security by farming. The newer influx of population was more accustomed to the wandering life of the fur trader and the hunter. Farming was little suited to their tastes still less to the tastes of the half-breeds. From their Indian ancestry the Métis, or half-breed, inherited their love of the chase, the buffalo hunt. The Settlement merely provided a home base for operations from which to sally forth

to the hunt. Others of them relied principally upon fishing, being too poor to be able to equip themselves to take part in the buffalo hunt. In general the Metis remained a semi-nomadic people until the buffalo finally, in the 70's, disappeared from the plains. Such a group, comprising about half of the population of the Settlement, constituted a turbulent and disquieting influence for many years.

## APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I.

## Appendix A.

Bishop Mountain recorded the approximate distribution of the Indian tribes at this time in his Journal of 1844:-

"Mackenzie's River District -

The Copper Indians:

Inhabiting the country about this river.

The Loucheux or Quarrellers:

The Hare Indians:

The Dog-rib Indians:

The Strong-bow Indians:

Inhabiting Mackenzie's River, and its neighbourhood and speaking different languages.

Athabasca and Isle a la Crosse Districts -

The Chipewyans, and a few of the Cree Tribe:

Inhabiting the Country surrounding this Lake and between it and Isle a la Crosse District.

Peace River District -

The Beaver Indians and a few Santeux from the Rainy Lake:

Inhabiting both sides of this River and speaking a language different from that of the Chipewyans of Athabasca.

Lower Part of the Saskatchewan District -

The Stone Indians, or Assiniboins:

The Crees:

The Santeux or Ogibwas:

These three tribes are constantly at variance with the Black-feet, and the whole eight depend upon the

chase for subsistence. They - i.e. the three Tribes - extend their habitations also to the upper part of the Red River and of Swan River

Upper Part of the Saskatchewan District -

The Black-feet proper:

The Blood Indians:

The Piegans:

The Fall Indians:

The Surcies:

All these five Tribes are generally termed Black-feet, although they speak different languages, and have different customs and manners.

York Factory, Oxford, Norway House, Cumberland and

Lower part of Swan River District -

Mis-~~Kee~~-Goose or Swampy Indians:

These also extend along the sea-coast to James's Bay. They evidently spring from the Crees as their language is only a dialect of the Cree. There is said to be a mixture of the ~~Sault~~ Saulteux in their origin.

Churchill District -

Esquimaux:

Chipewyans, and a few Swamp Indians:

Inhabiting the country to the North of Churchill."

## CHAPTER II

### ESTABLISHMENT, GROWTH AND STATE OF RUPERT'S LAND

#### MISSIONS BEFORE 1849.

Prior to the British conquest of New France, French explorers and fur traders from Montreal had penetrated to the valleys of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers while the Hudson's Bay Company contented itself with the more northerly regions and the shores of the Bay. At this period and for many years afterwards the Hudson's Bay Company received most of its supplies by water via the Bay from England. The British conquest removed their French rivals from competition and also removed, for a time, the necessity of doing anything about such an expensive way of supplying the trade.

This period of unrivalled monopoly was destined to be short-lived. A group of merchants, largely Scottish, in Montreal soon reopened the over-land route and competition began again in earnest. Operating over a more expensive supply route the North-West Fur Company depended for its success upon a more closely knit organization and a more economical source of supplies. Among other things this meant living off the country by means of pemmican supplied from the buffalo hunt of the plains. Fort Gibraltar at the forks of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers became a control point for the supply of this valuable food.

In the course of fostering and organizing the Indian buffalo hunt many unions were formed by the men of Montreal with the Indian women. Such unions "according to the <sup>custom of the</sup> country" were a common occurrence in the fur trade and a considerable collection of half-breed off-

spring of these unions was to be found around most of the trading establishments in the land. The Nor-Westerns were more dependent than their rivals upon the supply of pemmican, and to that end they kept a larger establishment in the Red River area.

Prior to 1820 the majority of the Red River Metis, as they were called, were of Montreal and hence Roman Catholic ancestry. Even with the establishment of the Selkirk Settlement this earlier group of Metis and freemen from Lower Canada made up the majority of the population.<sup>1</sup> Since most of them were Roman Catholic and many of them had been of real help to the ill-starred colonists, some of whom were themselves Roman Catholic, it was natural that Lord Selkirk should heed their wishes and arrange for Bishop Plessis to send a priest to Red River in 1818.

Negotiations for the establishment of this mission had begun several years before. In a letter to Bishop Plessis of Quebec on April 4th, 1816, Lord Selkirk referred to a conversation between Miles McDonnell and the Bishop in 1815 in which the former had requested the services of a priest for the Red River Metis.<sup>2</sup> Lord Selkirk advised the Bishop that in order to achieve any good with these nomadic semi-barbarous people, a resident priest was necessary. He was evidently concerned about the safety of his Scottish settlers and thought that the services of the Church might be effective in

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1. Giraud, Marcel - Le Metis Canadien, Son role dans l'histoire des provinces de l'Ouest. p 704 and ff.
  2. Nute, Grace Lee - Documents Relating to Northwest Missions 1815 - 1827. p 6.

controlling the turbulent Metis. After much urging by John Pritchard, the Metis requested him to draw up a petition to Bishop Plessis requesting "that a priest might be sent among them to give Instructions."<sup>3</sup>

The result was that in 1818 two priests, Father Provencher and Father Dumoulin, together with a few French-Canadian families arrived in the Red River Valley and settled on the site of the present day St. Boniface. The Metis, however, preferred Pembina as being closer to the haunts of the buffalo, and thither the Church followed them. Father Dumoulin extended the work there by establishing a station at Rainy Lake until he was forced to give up Pembina by the decision of the Hudson's Bay Company to withdraw from that area in 1821.

"In 1822 Provencher was consecrated Bishop of Juliopolis in partibus infidelium, and invested as auxiliary to the Bishop of Quebec...."<sup>4</sup> He continued as such until 1844 when the Holy See erected Rupert's Land as the separate See of the North-West and Provencher became its first Bishop. During the years 1822 to 1844 Provencher was assisted at various times by no less than twelve different priests varying in number from two to five present in any one year.

After the formal separation of the North-West from the Diocese of Quebec the Roman Catholics began their greatest practical efforts to Christianize the mass of the Indians in Rupert's Land. Provencher was now thrown more than ever on his own resources and

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3. Ibid p 14.

4. Hargrave, J.J. - Red River. p 128.

appealed for help to the order of the "Oblats de Marie l'Immaculee" which had recently established itself in Canada. In 1845 they responded to Provencher's appeal and entered the field of the North-West. One of the first two Oblates to arrive was Alexander Tache who later succeeded Provencher in 1853 as Bishop of St. Boniface.

Mission stations were begun at St. Anne on the Saskatchewan River in 1843, and at Red Deer Lake and Ile a la Crosse in the English River District in 1845. The Oblates built stations in various parts of the country but their main work with the Indians was done by travelling with them and living with them in their wigwams.

In the matter of ecclesiastical organization the Roman Catholics kept pace with the spread of their missionary activities. From 1844 to 1850 Provencher acted alone as Bishop of the North-West. In the year 1850 Father Tache was appointed as coadjutor with the title of Bishop of Arath. A year later the name and title of the diocese was altered from that of the North-West to that of Saint Boniface. Until the death of Provencher in 1853, Bishop Tache resided chiefly at Ile a la Crosse and exercised supervision over the northern portion of the diocese. Bishop Tache then moved to Saint Boniface and in 1857 Father Grandin became coadjutor and moved from Portage la Loche to Ile a la Crosse. Shortly afterward Bishop Tache appealed for the division of his diocese and in May 1862 Rome agreed to constitute the Athabasca and Mackenzie River districts as an Apostolic Vicariate. Father Farand became its first Bishop and took up his residence at Portage la Loche.

Roman Catholic educational activity received a great impetus by the arrival of a party of Grey Nuns in 1844. They did much good work in raising the conditions of the Metis women and girls in the Settlement. The priests achieved great success among the Indians by accompanying the Metis when they joined the buffalo hunt. The erratic and individualistic/<sup>Father</sup>Belcourt made several attempts to found Indian settlements but despite his not inconsiderable influence he was unsuccessful and finally withdrew to the United States.

The Roman Catholic mission did prove to be a real ameliorating influence in Rupert's Land and particularly among the Metis population of the Red River Valley. Much of the Metis turbulence was curbed under the steadying influence of Bishop Provencher and his successor Bishop Tache; and Sir George Simpson frequently paid tribute to the energy they displayed in their work.

According to Alexander Ross<sup>5</sup> neither the philanthropic Selkirk nor his Scottish settlers were unmindful of the claims of protestantism in the new land, but there seems to be considerable obscurity as to the exact nature of the arrangements made in this regard. It is authenticated from other sources that in 1815 James Sutherland came out with the last party of Scottish settlers as a Presbyterian elder, legally appointed and authorized to perform marriages, baptisms and funerals. It is interesting that in the papers and biography of the young Presbyterian theological student, Mr. Sage, mentioned by Ross as having been engaged by Selkirk to come out to Red River, there is not

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5. Ross, Alexander - The Red River Settlement. p 30.

the slightest mention of any such remarkable undertaking. It would seem that Sage had gone back on his word and hence the lack of reference to the arrangements.

The attention of the Society for Missions to Africa and the East, better known as the Church Missionary Society, was first directed towards Indian missions in North America by a certain John Johnston of Upper Canada. In 1810 he urged the Society to send out a man to be ordained by the Bishop of Quebec to work as a missionary among the Ojibway tribe on Lake Superior. Upon inquiry it was found that Bishop Jacob Mountain declined to take part in such a scheme and the matter was dropped. A further proposal to the Society came in 1819 from a member of the North-West Fur Company "to establish a Mission among the Indians beyond the Rocky Mountains, in what is now British Columbia."<sup>6</sup> But after an undertaking by the Committee of the Society to obtain further information nothing more was heard of the project.

Meanwhile the cause of Protestant missions in North-West America was not without its advocates elsewhere. It was the genius of the Wesleyan and Evangelical revivals that they brought a living religion into the lives of the laity. Though they were led by a devoted and vigorous body of clergy their real strength lay in their following of equally devoted and vigorous laymen. It was not surprising therefore that their influence should be felt in all phases of society.

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6. Stock, E. - History of the C.M.S. v.1 p.246

The London Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company was no exception, and early in the nineteenth century it numbered among its membership several men who were strongly imbued with the humanitarianism of the age. Most prominent among these were Nicholas Garry, who was a member of the British and Foreign Bible Society and became Deputy - Governor of the Company in 1822; Andrew Colvile, Lord Selkirk's brother-in-law and founder of the Royal Mail Steamship Line, who was the moving spirit of the London Committee, and Benjamin Harrison, a member of the Clapham Sect who had been on the Committee from 1809.<sup>7</sup>

A Minute of Council dated 1st February 1815, records the first suggestion in Hudson's Bay Company circles of a Protestant mission in Rupert's Land.<sup>8</sup> This apparently was the attempt by Harrison "to interest a missionary society devoted to work among the American Indians to undertake a mission in Rupert's Land."<sup>9</sup> The following year the Committee made inquiries of Governor Semple as to his opinions on the possibilities of civilizing and converting the native Indians to Christianity. He apparently urged the appointment of a Church of England clergyman as less likely to come into conflict with the large group of Roman Catholics in the Settlement.<sup>10</sup>

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7. Morton, A.S. - Can. West. p 631

8. Giraud - Le Metis. p 705

9. Morton, A.S. - Can. West. p 631

10. Giraud - Le Metis. p 705

Another Minute of Council dated 13th October 1819, reveals that the London Committee finally followed Governor Semple's advice and appointed as its chaplain at Red River the Rev. John West, at the time, curate of White Roding Essex and an active member of the Church Missionary Society.<sup>11</sup> The concern of the Company was for the welfare of its employees and their numerous half-breed offspring to be found around its various posts. But West trod in the footsteps of that earlier generation of chaplains to the East India Company, and saw the missionary possibilities of his new post. "Desirous of benefitting the heathen also, he offered his services to the Church Missionary Society, with a view of establishing schools for the Indians, and that Society provided him with £100 to make a trial."<sup>12</sup>

In 1821, West wrote to the Society proposing that they establish a regular Mission at Red River. Nicholas Garry and Benjamin Harrison attended the meeting of the Committee in support of West's proposal. The result was that the Society appointed West as its missionary in 1822. It was decided to send out a schoolmaster, and an assistant for West, and the sum of £800 was voted to cover expenses.

Upon his arrival at York Factory in 1820, West was struck with the plight of the half-breed children around the post. Probably at the instigation of Henry Pelly, who became a member of the Committee in 1806, the Company had sent out several schoolmasters about that

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11. Stock, E. - History of the C.M.S. v.1 p.246

12. Pascoe, C.F. - Classified Digest of the Records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts 1701 - 1892. p 177

time to seek to ameliorate the condition of these children by means of education. Unfortunately the fur trade was more remunerative than teaching, and the schoolmasters soon became "diverted from their original purpose."<sup>13</sup> West therefore drew up a plan, for a residential school for these children, which he submitted to the Committee. This particular scheme was probably shelved by the Company in view of the establishment of a regular Mission by the Church Missionary Society, in whose methods of operation schools occupied a prominent place. Pelly's interest in education continued to be felt in the Company's policy of supporting schools, which Simpson openly attributes to him.<sup>14</sup>

With respect to his own responsibility to the Church Missionary Society as regards the native Indians, West felt it incumbent upon him to prove his point as to the practicability of a residential school. "I had to establish the principle, that the North-American Indian of these regions would part with his children to be educated in white man's knowledge and religion."<sup>15</sup> He was so far successful in his purpose that ere he left York Factory on his way to Red River in 1820 he had persuaded a Swampy Cree Indian named Withawee capo to

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13. West, John M.A. - The Substance of a Journal during a residence at the Red River Colony, British North America; and frequent excursions among the North-West American Indians, in the years 1820, 1821, 1822, 1823. p 13.

14. Morton, A.S. - Sir George Simpson. p 70.

15. West - Journal. p 14.

entrust him with the care and education of one of his sons. This boy was later baptized by West with the name of John Hope. In later years, while in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company this same John Hope was instrumental in inducing the Church Missionary Society to extend its work to Nepowewin.

A second Indian boy was "obtained" on the same journey during the stop at Norway House. After some two years of instruction this boy became one of the first two full-blooded Indians to be baptized by West in 1822. He was given the name of West's former rector, Henry Budd. On leaving the school Budd entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company until 1837 when he returned to Red River intending to settle at the rapids. <sup>Mr.</sup> Rev./Jones promptly employed him as a school teacher at the Upper Mission. Three years later in response to a call from the Indians at Cumberland he was sent thither by the Church Missionary Society as a missionary catechist and school teacher. He corresponded with his namesake in England and from him received the gift of various religious books.<sup>16</sup> He evidently put these to good use for in 1851 he became the first full-blooded Indian to be ordained by Bishop Anderson.

Two other Indian pupils belonging to West's school contributed to the later development of the Rupert's Land Mission. Charles Pratt labored as a catechist at Fort Pelly, the most westerly point on the plains to be reached by the Anglican missionaries during the period

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16. Memoir of the Rev. Henry Budd, M.A., an autobiography. p 541

under consideration. James Settee also labored as a catechist at Lac la Ronge and other points, and was later ordained by Bishop Anderson.

While the Indian children were West's particular charge and care, he did not, himself, act as their school teacher. A certain Mr. Harbidge, who came out with West, was schoolmaster. Soon after his arrival in the Settlement, West "got a log-house repaired about three miles below the Fort (Douglas) among the Scotch population, where the schoolmaster took up his abode and began teaching from 20 to 25 of the children."<sup>17</sup> With the help of the Scotch population, West set about the building of a large log house, in the summer of 1821, to act as a combined school and church, as well as to provide living quarters for the teacher and students. Winter set in before the building was completed, and Harbidge spent the winter "with the Indian boys at the Post which formerly belonged to the North-West Company."<sup>18</sup> These buildings, located at the forks of the rivers, were evidently used also as the Protestant places of worship during this winter for West observed that the number of scholars and worshippers was reduced at this time, owing to the distance from the Protestant settlements.<sup>19</sup> The building was completed the following summer and the first of a long line of schools and churches on the site of the present St. John's Cathedral began operations. Two houses were later added as residences for the

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17. West - Journal. p 21

18. Ibid. p 71

19. Ibid.

boys and girls.

West himself seems to have acted in a supervisory capacity with regard to the school, although the Indian children remained under his personal care and instruction. Several times he speaks of visiting the school and questioning the pupils on various points to test their progress. Courses of instruction seem to have been necessarily rudimentary, consisting chiefly of the three "R's" combined with a liberal portion of Bible and Church teaching. On Sunday, May 20th 1821, West speaks of a church service at which the children from the school were present for examination. The nature of their instruction may be judged from the questions for the examination, which were drawn from "Chief Truths of the Christian Religion" and "Lewis' Catechism".

Compared with his ambitious plans, West's achievements in education were modest. But they were real, and by the time he returned to England in 1823, the Colony possessed a boy's school, and a school for daughters of Hudson's Bay Company employees, augmented by an establishment destined for native girls.<sup>20</sup>

In the realm of religion and morals West met with a cold reception by the Scottish settlers. His hopes of willing co-operation in building a church were disappointed, as he put it, "through their prejudices against the English Liturgy, and the simple rites of our communion."<sup>21</sup> On the other hand, West's uncompromising insistence upon the same Liturgy was scarcely calculated to woo the sympathies of the Presbyterian members of

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20. Giraud - Le Metis p. 706

21. West - Journal p. 26

his flock. "He steadily adhered to the ritual of his church, and, in it, the Scotch could see no spirituality, nor believe that they could receive any edification from such forms; besides we must remember that the English language was to them a foreign tongue."<sup>22</sup> It might also be added that English was a foreign tongue to the Swiss and Des Meurons Settlers, as well as to many of the Metis, who usually preferred the maternal, rather than the paternal language. Nevertheless West did not allow any lack of co-operation to prevent him from completing his building program.

In 1822 the Company tried to help West by soliciting the aid of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in "furnishing them with a missionary or in a donation for the erection of a church at the settlement on the Red River, but no help could be spared."<sup>23</sup> Finally with the money from the Company and labour from the colonists, a church building was completed and opened on June 10th, 1823, the last Sunday spent by West at Red River, before his departure for England.

West interpreted his instructions regarding his responsibilities to those "in the active employment of the Hudson's Bay Company, as well as to the Company's retired servants and other inhabitants of the settlement,"<sup>24</sup> as extending his duties to all the Company's posts within a summer's travelling distance of Red River. His summer months were spent, therefore, in visiting such places as Brandon House and Qu'appelle. During the summer of 1821 he followed Selkirk's

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22. Gunn, Donald and Tuttle, C.R - History of Manitoba from the Earliest Settlements. P. 213

23. Pascoe - S.P.G. Digest P.177

24. West - Journal P.30

suggestion that the minister could profitably visit Norway House and York Fort at such a time "as a great number of their (H.B.Co.) servants are assembled at these places for a few weeks in summer and have no other opportunity for any public religious instruction."<sup>25</sup> It was on this trip, at Norway House, that he fell in with Nicholas Garry and Simon McGillivray on their journey from Montreal to York Fort in connection with the union of the two fur companies. At York, he prevailed upon Garry to preside at a meeting for the formation of a branch of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

During these summer travels West found evidence of the moral interest of the London Committee in the welfare of its servants at the various posts of the fur trade. "I found the Scriptures at some of the Company's Posts I visited, most of the copies of which had been sent into the country, together with the Book of Common Prayer, by one of the Directors, who ever expressed to me a lively interest for its moral improvement:"<sup>26</sup> ".....This was doubtless the work of Benjamin Harrison whose "special interest lay in the Company's religious policy."<sup>27</sup>

Everywhere he went, West spoke out bluntly against the prevailing evils as he saw them. He insisted to all upon the observance of religious duties and the regularization of White - Indian marriages. "Marriage I would enforce upon all, who are living with, and have children by half-caste, or Indian women"<sup>28</sup>. In similar authoritative tones he con-

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25. Ibid p. 64

26. Ibid p. 72

27. Morton - Simpson p. 68

28. West - Journal p. 51

demned all disorder and inveighed against giving liquor to the natives. But however timely and in accord with the acknowledged sentiments of the London Committee these opinions may have been, it is not surprising that West's excessive zeal in preaching them soon excited the fears of the actual fur traders and provoked the reproof of Simpson.<sup>29</sup>

"It was now hinted to me, that the interest I was taking in the education of the native children, had already excited the fears of some of the chief factors and traders....who were apprehensive that the extension of knowledge among the natives, and the locating them in agricultural pursuits where practicable, would operate as an injury to the fur trade."<sup>30</sup>

This hint was a very real fear on the part of not only the chief factors and traders but also on the part of Governor Simpson. But West's opinions and policies had the support of the London Committee and it is a mark of Simpson's devotion to the Company that however little enthusiasm he had for the religious and educational policies of the Committee, he faithfully carried them out. "His attitude to the clergy in public was respectful; in private he considered them meddling, and he referred to some of their doings with what may be described as little short of scorn."<sup>31</sup>

As the years wore on, the chief factors and traders, including Governor Simpson, actually proved to be of great help to the missionaries in their work. But the fur trade did in fact present a serious obstacle to the effective prosecution of the missionary task. Effective

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29. Giraud - Le Metis p. 708

30. West - Journal p. 92

31. Morton - Simpson p. 70

missionary work demanded regular and consistent contact between the missionary and his flock. But so long as that flock gained its living principally from the fur trade such year round contact was impossible. West and his successors as a result, sought to promote agricultural settlement as a means of giving security to the natives themselves, and a greater degree of permanence to the missionary work. Here again they were hampered by the lack of proper equipment, methods, and types of grain suitable to the country, to say nothing of the grasshopper plagues and the occasional floods. In this early period in the Red River valley, crop failures frequently forced the unfortunate settlers to go to Pembina and join the Metis buffalo hunt as a means of survival. West remarked that "this rambling and uncertain mode of obtaining subsistence in their necessity...has given the settlers a fondness for tripping, to the neglect of improving their dwellings and their farms."<sup>32</sup> By opposing this tendency, the missionary effort thus became the leading influence towards ameliorating the condition of the native Indians and generally civilizing the whole country.

West went back to England in 1823 and did not again return to Red River. At York Fort he had met Rev. D.T. Jones, who was coming out to assist him but who actually succeeded him. The next year Simpson wrote, "I am in great hopes that Mr. West will not return; he would not have a single hearer. Mr. Jones fully comes up to the opinion I had formed of him; his church is well attended and he is most zealous in the discharge of his duties...."<sup>33</sup> Jones confined his efforts to

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32. West - Journal p.23

33. Pritchett, J.P. - The Red River Valley 1811-1849. p.234

the Red River Valley even though, when West failed to return, he was appointed as Company chaplain. He proved to be a much more sympathetic and understanding pastor than his predecessor, and a much better preacher. After some hard feelings in the Settlement resulting from some uncomplimentary remarks about the Scotch published by Jones in the Missionary Register of December 1827, he succeeded in winning their approval by laying aside objectionable parts of the liturgy, and by holding extempore prayer meetings in their homes.

When West reached the Settlement on October 14th 1820, he found that it consisted of a number of huts widely scattered along the margin of the river. "The colonists were a compound of individuals of various countries. They were principally Canadians, and Germans of the Meuron regiment; who were mostly Catholics. There was a large population of Scotch emigrants also, who with some retired servants of the Hudson's Bay Company were mostly Protestants...."<sup>34</sup> The Protestant population received an addition in the group of Swiss emigrants who came out in the summer of 1821, although many of the daughters of this group were lost to Protestantism through marriage to the Meurons. The largest additions to the Protestant community came as a result of the union of the fur companies which was accomplished in 1821. The negotiations for the union were carried out principally by Andrew Colville, who had played a similar role in the Company's arrangements for setting up the Selkirk colony. Provision had been made

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34. West - Journal p. 21

in the Selkirk grant for retired servants of the Company to be able to find land in the colony should they so desire. It was logical therefore, that with the prospect of a large number of superfluous officers and servants resulting from the union, the London Committee decided to orient the children of the two confessions around their respective missionaries in the Red River Settlement.

The quiet and picturesque migration to the Colony which ensued had already begun before West left the country. Since many of the migrants were Metis of Scotch and Orkney, and therefore Protestant parentage, this influx of retired employees changed the religious picture in the colony from one of a decided Roman Catholic majority, to that of a population almost equally divided between Roman Catholics and Protestants. From this time onward the Protestants had a field of action among these retired Hudson's Bay Company Metis.<sup>35</sup>

By 1824, this influx of new colonists had already extended the settlement northward from the locality in which West had built his Red River church to such an extent as to warrant the building of a second church at Image Plain, six miles down the river. This timber structure was opened for worship in January 1825, with a registration of 169 in the Sunday School.<sup>36</sup>

About this time Jones apparently suffered a hemorrhage of the lungs which was attributed to the extremely cold weather.<sup>37</sup> Despite this injury to his health he continued to be an energetic worker.

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35. Giraud - Le Metis p. 705

36. The Nor'Wester v.2. number 6. April 15th 1861

37. Ibid

In October 1825, he was joined by the Rev. Wm. and Mrs. Cockran, and together they continued their work in the two churches for three years.

The following spring (1826) witnessed the first major flood in the history of the Settlement. The raging waters caused heavy damage to the scattered community and resulted in much hardship and suffering due to the destruction of food. During the actual flood Mr. and Mrs. Cockran spent thirty-five days living in a tent. As the waters receded Jones and the Cockrans spent a busy time aiding in the rehabilitation of the stricken settlers. It is recorded that flood stocks became so low that Cockran had to cut a few sheaves of green barley in order to survive until harvest time.

In the autumn of 1828, Jones went home to England for his health, on a year's leave of absence. Meanwhile the steady migration to the colony, which was continuing to extend the Settlement northward, had steadily increased the burden of the two energetic missionaries. During the absence of Jones in England, despite the burden of the two churches, Cockran began preparations for extending the work still further downstream among the new settlers. He obtained a plot of ground at the Grand Rapids and built a log house on the west bank of the river about fifteen miles from the Upper Church, as West's church was beginning to be called. A day or two before Jones returned with his wife and family, from England in October 1829, Mr and Mrs. Cockran moved to the location which was to be the base for the greatest piece of work ever done by this most energetic missionary.



The new colonists, coming as they did from the life of the fur trade, were not the best of materials from which to fashion an agricultural settlement. In this task, undertaken by Cockran, the work of the whole Rupert's Land Mission stands out very clearly. It was an interminable struggle to raise out of barbarism, some semblance of civilization and stability in which the seeds of religion might find a favorable soil in which to germinate and grow. The tasks of the missionary were consequently many and varied. Cockran wrote of his work, "I am obliged to be a minister, clerk, schoolmaster, arbitrator, agricultural director and many other things to this mixed and barbarous people; and it is no sinecure....."<sup>38</sup>

Cockran began his work at the Grand Rapids in a log house which served as school room, church, and parsonage for the first winter. At that time the congregation numbered a scant thirty souls. The next summer logs were rafted down the Assiniboine and, in October 1830, work was begun on a church with an inside measurement of 50 x 20 feet. At this time the parish area contained some sixty families: thirty-six Scots who were mostly Orkney Presbyterians, four English, and twenty half-breed sons of Orkney men.<sup>39</sup>

On 27th February, 1831, Cockran wrote that a Day School had been opened at the rapids with W.R. Smith as schoolmaster.<sup>40</sup> The registration consisted of 17 boys and 6 girls. This period apparently marked the beginning of a new era in the field, for on the 12th March 1831, we find Thomas Simpson writing from Red River to Donald Ross at Norway House that "Mr. Cochrane and Mr. Pritchard have opened schools and education,

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38. Ibid. v.2. number 10 July 1st 1861

39. Gunn and Tuttle - Manitoba p 267

40. The Church Messenger June 1932 p.13

it is to be hoped, will at length make some progress."<sup>41</sup>

By Nov. 1831, Cockran was able to write that twenty families had been added to the parish since he began work on the church, and he was in hopes that many more nomads would settle.<sup>42</sup> Cockran busied himself with teaching husbandry and carpentry to the boys, while his wife taught the arts of housekeeping, including spinning and weaving, to the girls. Small wonder that amidst such a busy life, Mrs. Cockran should leave the impression with Governor Simpson of a person who "shines only when talking of elbow grease and the scouring of pots and pans."<sup>43</sup> But despite the scorn of the Governor and his Lady, the hopes of the Cockrans were in large measure fulfilled. By 1836, they found themselves in the midst of an industrious settlement: the swamplands had been drained; the church school contained sixty pupils, while the congregation boasted six hundred baptized members and seventy communicants.<sup>44</sup>

The timber church, which was begun in October 1830, was completed and dedicated on May 1st 1832. At the same time the rest of the Settlement was also astir with building. Governor Simpson had all the stone masons in the Colony, plus the French architect Leblanc, at work erecting the stone Lower Fort Garry in the neighborhood of the Grand Rapids. Under the date of December 12th, 1831 James McMillan at the Hudson's Bay Company's Farm at Red River wrote to James Hargrave, "The say at present is about churches. The big Bishop (Provencher) is about building a fine large stone church and the Governor, Mr. Jones and Professor

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41.- E, A, B, C, ROSS LETTERS D, Ross from Thomas Simpson March 12th, 1831

42. The Church Messenger June 1932 p. 13

43. Morton - Simpson P.168

44. Nor'Wester v.2. number 10 July 1st 1861

Ross for their sects went out yesterday through the Settlement to raise money to build a stone church for Mr. Jones.....The Settlers showed great liberallity this instance."<sup>45</sup> Thomas Simpson reported that they collected some five hundred pounds for the purpose.<sup>46</sup> Both of these projects however were held up until the completion of the Fort because all available masons were employed in that undertaking. As a result, Jones had to wait another two years before work was begun on his new church. In a letter written December 13th 1833, during the building of the church Thomas Simpson noted that the estimated cost of the completed building was £900.<sup>47</sup> The deficit was covered by grants from the Hudson's Bay Company, and the Church Missionary Society, and the building was erected.<sup>48</sup>

The corner stone bore the record "The corner stone of this Protestant Church was laid by Henry H. Berens, Esq., May 15, 1833, Wm. 1V 4th year."<sup>49</sup> The large proportion of Presbyterians in the congregation made sure that the church did not display either the architecture or the name of the Church of England. When the new church was completed, Thomas Simpson wrote to his friend Donald Ross, "The interior of our new church, which was opened this day week, December 1st 1834 is really handsome and Jones shows to great advantage in his new pulpit."<sup>50</sup>

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45. Glazebrooke, G.P. deT. - The Hargrave Correspondence 1821-1843 p.86

46. P.A.B.C. ROSS LETTERS D. Ross from Thos. Simpson March 12th 1831

47. ~~D. Ross~~ Ross from T. Simpson Dec. 13, 1833.

48. Intelligenser January 1850 p.212

49. Nor'Wester v.2. number 9 June 15th 1861

50. P.A.B.C. ROSS LETTERS D. Ross from Thos. Simpson December 7th 1834.

Meanwhile, despite Donald Gunn's disparaging estimate<sup>51</sup> of Mr. Jones' concern for the welfare of the Indians, both he and Mr. Cockran were striving constantly to break through the wall of indifference which seemed to surround the native Redmen. In July 1826, Cockran wrote, "I have not found any of the Indians of Red River anxious to learn the things which belong to their souls: the whole of their thoughts appear to be occupied about the things of the body."<sup>52</sup> A spirit of inquiry gradually showed itself among them, and by July 1831, Jones wrote, "Many of them say they will come and settle next year. Connected with this feeling on their part... a desire of amending their temporal concerns enters largely.....There have been pure Indians - one man and nine women - baptized during the year, upon a long profession of..... faith....."<sup>53</sup>

Finally, on 2nd February 1832, Cockran wrote to the Church Missionary Society that the chief of the band of Saultaux Indians whom John West had found encamped at Netley Creek had at last agreed to try the plan, for an experimental training farm. In accepting the plan Chief Pegwys gave as his reasons for doing so that the chase had now failed and that the half-breeds were ahead of them in obtaining whatever furs there were still to be had by hunting.<sup>54</sup> He might also have added that they would not join in the buffalo hunt because that necessitated

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51. Gunn and Tuttle - Manitoba p.235

52. Intelligencer June 1851 p. 133

53. Ibid

54. The Church Messenger July 1932 p.13

going into the territory of the Sioux who were their mortal enemies.

In this undertaking Cockran needed all the experience which he had gained from his work among the Metis section of his congregation at the Rapids. He succeeded in inducing seven families to become "troublers of the ground" this first year, and immediately he had to contend with the heathen superstitions of the rest of the band. June turned out to be exceptionally wet that year with heavy rains and thunder storms. The Indians promptly attributed this evil to the presence of the new farmers nearby.<sup>55</sup> When he began a Bible study group for adults in December 1833, many refused to come because of polygamy and magic. The one group knew that Christianity insisted on monogamy, while the other feared that they would lose their powers if they listened to the Bible. The lot of those who did listen and settle was not made any easier by the others who as yet held aloof. The trouble was that they could not resist the temptation to plunder their brethern.<sup>56</sup> But real progress was made, and by dint of untiring labor an agricultural settlement was formed eventually.

While the Cockrans were absorbed in the process of colonizing, the interests of the Joneses ranged into other fields. Socially, Jones seems to have been as great a success as he was as a preacher. Commenting on the Hudson's Bay Company's chaplain in 1831, Thomas Simpson

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55. Ibid

56. Ibid

noted that, "The parson gave grand parties second only to the Governor's, before Mrs. Simpson's illness."<sup>57</sup>

On the more serious side, the school founded by John West and in a sense inherited by Jones, had grown and prospered. Sometime after his return from England in 1829 he reorganized the school as a boarding school for the sons of the Hudson's Bay Company employees. "Mrs. Jones also laid herself out in every way for the temporal and spiritual benefits of all around her; and soon after her arrival established a boarding school for the daughters of the higher classes of the Company's agents who had hitherto been without any opportunity of education."<sup>58</sup>

The first definite date which has yet come to light in connection with the status of the school is 28th March, 1833. On that date Thomas Simpson wrote to Donald Ross, "I was astonished to find Mr. Jones' boarding school so full. There cannot be less than forty children....."<sup>59</sup> In December of the same year he wrote again, "I cannot speak too highly in praise of the seminary, and the recent acquisitions, Mrs. Lowman and Mr. Macallum, seem admirably qualified for their respective charges, which now amount to about twenty of either sex. This establishment will not only circulate much money, in the settlement, that would have gone to other countries, but, what is far more important, will prove highly instrumental in accelerating the progress of morality throughout Rupert's Land."<sup>60</sup> The Northern Council of the Hudson's Bay

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57. P.A.B.C. ROSS LETTERS D.Ross from Thos. Simpson March 12th 1831.

58. Tucker, F.- The Rainbow of the North p.67

59. P.A.B.C. ROSS LETTERS D.Ross from Thos. Simpson March 28th, 1833.

60. P.A.B.C. ROSS LETTERS D. Ross from Thos. Simpson December 13th, 1833

Company evidently concurred in this view. The minutes of the Council, which began at Red River on June 3rd 1835, speak of "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 the youth of both sexes under the management of the Rev. Mr. Jones."<sup>61</sup> Since Mr. Jones had been put to considerable expense in erecting the necessary buildings, and since the present rates were inadequate to reimburse him for his labor, the Council resolved to make him an allowance of £100 per annum to prevent the necessity of raising the rates. The Council also passed a vote of thanks "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..."<sup>62</sup>

At the same time Jones' interest in the work of evangelizing the Indians continued to be real and active. In July 1832 he wrote: "I have for the last eight months preached, through an interpreter, to a congregation of seventy or eighty Indians..... For several years many Cree Indian families, from between Hudson's Bay and Cumberland House, have been drifting to the Settlement, having connections here among the half-castes and others. Last summer brought in about ten families!"<sup>63</sup>

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61. Oliver, E.H. - The Canadian North-West Its Early Development and Legislative Records p.721.

62. Ibid p.722

63. Intelligencer June 1851 p.133

It was evidently in the interests of this group that Jones employed Henry Budd as a school teacher in 1837.

This connection is interesting to note in view of the circumstances surrounding the commencement of the mission at Cumberland House. "The Indian, awakened himself, becomes acutely sensible of the necessities of his relatives and friends. So it was with the Cumberland Indians at Red River: they did not forget the friends they had left behind. They communicated with them in various ways.....until....a desire for Christian instruction was awakened."<sup>64</sup> The man sent in answer to this request in 1840 was none other than Mr. Jones' Indian school teacher, Henry Budd, who thus became the first Indian catechist to be so employed.

The Red River Settlement, in 1836, was shocked by the news of the death of Mrs. Jones. On February 27th Thomas Simpson wrote, "You will lament to hear of the death of that excellent and amiable lady, Mrs. Jones, who was truly the centre light of our little society and whose benevolent offices were, through the medium of the rising generation, felt throughout all the country. If Mr. Jones goes home with his family, McAllum will no doubt continue the boys' school, but what will be done with the girls' is as yet uncertain."<sup>65</sup> The schools in question were evidently regarded as Mr. Jones' private property. In consequence when he actually did return with his five children to England in 1838 the schools were sold to the Hudson's Bay Company who in turn sold them to Mr. Macallum on a sort of installment plan.

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64.- Ibid - December 1850 p. 475

65. P.A.B.C. ROSS LETTERS D.Ross from Thos. Simpson, February 27th 1836.

At Netley Creek the work of civilizing and Christianizing the Indians went steadily on. By 1835, sufficient wheat was grown to warrant the building of a windmill to grind it. "In December 1836...there were in the Settlement 47 Christian Indian families- comprising 260 individuals."<sup>66</sup> The school had become too small for the congregation and so a church seating 300 was built and opened on January 4th 1837.

With the growth of the settlement and the congregation, the work of the missionary also grew. The Indians were fully aware of this and when David Jones departed for England in 1838, he carried with him an appeal from Chief Pegwys for another missionary. "My friends, my heart is sore to see our praying master driven about like a slave to teach all the people here,.....You cannot know how far he has to travel.....I think you are killing our friend.....My friends, what are you about? You should send us another to teach us."<sup>67</sup> Cockran himself also wrote to the Church Missionary Society appealing for another assistant for the Indian work.

These appeals were answered by the cousin whom Florence Nightingale was forbidden to marry, and in 1839, Rev. John Smithurst came out with instructions to take over the Chaplaincy of the Hudson's Bay Company and the care of the two Upper Churches.<sup>68</sup> On his way out he learned that a house had been built for him at the Indian Settlement. As a result he resolved to settle there and to give up the Chaplaincy. He preached at

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66. Intelligencer January 1850 p. 214

67, Tucker, F - Rainbow of the North p. 111

68. Macleod, Margaret - The Lamp Shines in Red River  
The Beaver September 1936 p.42

the Rapids and the Indian Settlement, and Cockran took over the Upper Churches. Smithurst was a quiet, studious man who promptly set to work to master the Indian language. The Settlement contained a mixture of Saukteaux, Swampy, Crees, and half-breeds, but the major language spoken was the Cree. Accordingly, Smithurst set to work on this language and when Bishop Anderson arrived at York Factory in 1849, he found a letter of welcome and a Cree vocabulary awaiting him from the Red River missionary.

On the morning of June 22nd 1840, Smithurst was down at the boat to bid farewell and Godspeed to Henry Budd and his wife as they set out for Cumberland House, some 600 miles distant on the Saskatchewan River. Almost exactly two years later, Smithurst himself arrived at the station to inspect the work and encourage the worker. When Budd first arrived, he had found three families of Crees awaiting him; two months later he had a Sunday attendance of twenty-four children and nine adults.<sup>69</sup> When Smithurst arrived, he found so many candidates for baptism that he had serious misgivings as to the adequacy of their preparation for it, "but a searching examination of each individual convinced him to the contrary.....On that occasion thirty-eight adults, together with forty-nine children and infants were baptized."<sup>70</sup> Probably as a result of his experiences on this visit as well as what he had previously seen in the Colony, he wrote a strong letter to England in 1842 "urging the necessity of a bishop and stating that there were over a thousand people ready for confirmation."<sup>71</sup>

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69. Intelligencer. December 1850 p.476-7

70. Ibid

71. Macleod- The Lamp Shines p.44

This visit by Smithurst to Cumberland was made possible by the arrival of another missionary at Red River in 1841, "when Abraham Cowley, a protege of the Rev. Lord Dynevor's at Fairford, Gloucestershire, was appointed to the Mission. He was not ordained, but he was sent via Canada, and received deacon's orders en route from the Bishop of Montreal Dr. G. J. Mountain."<sup>72</sup> Unfortunately he was unable to proceed directly to the prairies but was forced to return to England and was just in time to catch the annual ship to York Factory. His arrival in the Colony was a welcome addition to the hard working group of missionaries. "Cockran's strength and constitution had been visibly impaired"<sup>73</sup> by his strenuous work at the Rapids and the Indian Settlement. As a result Cowley was placed at the Middle Church as an assistant to Cockran, who now had charge of the Upper Settlement.

Even with this help Cockran felt physically unable to continue the work and in 1842 he tendered his resignation to the Church Missionary Society. Shortly afterwards the news reached Red River of the serious financial crisis which had arisen in the affairs of the Society during the winter of 1841-2. This crisis affected Rupert's Land in the form of a call for the abandonment of the newly established work at Partridge Crop and Cumberland House. This news so infuriated Cockran that he not only withdrew his resignation but also continued at the Upper Church for two years with only the £100 salary which he received in his capacity as chaplain of the Hudson's Bay Company.<sup>74</sup>

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72. Stock- History of the C.M.S. v.1. p.363

73. Mountain, G. J. - The Journal of the Bishop of Montreal during a visit to the Church Missionary Society's North-West America Mission p. 84

74. Garrioch, A.C. - The Correction Line p. 130-31

It was here that the Bishop of Montreal found him when he paid a visit to the Colony in 1844. In addition to acting as assistant to Cockran, Cowley superintended the beginning of a new station in 1842 among the Saulteaux on Manitoba Lake, at a point about 120 miles from Red River. After he was ordained priest he took over full charge of the new station and in 1845, he and his wife took up their residence at the Partridge Crop, as it was then called. His task proved to be very wearisome, for, although he managed to induce some of the Indians to settle and taught quite a number of their children at his school, it was not until the visit of Bishop Anderson in 1851 that he felt any considerable spiritual progress was being made.

The visit of the Bishop of Montreal in 1844, marked a high point in the life of the Red River missions. "From the time of his consecration in 1836, Dr. Mountain cherished the intention of visiting this distant branch of the Church of England, and the proposal was heartily seconded by the Society."<sup>75</sup> The pressure of work and an unforeseen illness in 1842 prevented him from carrying out his wish until 1844. Many were the letters which must have passed to and fro between the Church at home which commissioned the visit, the Society which paid the expenses, the Hudson's Bay Company who made the necessary travelling arrangements, and the Missionaries on the spot. At length all was in readiness, and on the 13th of May 1844, acting "under a commission from the Bishop of London who had a nominal jurisdiction over these extra diocesan regions"<sup>76</sup> he left Quebec for the Red River.

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75. Mountain - Journal p.235

76. Mountain, Armine W. - A Memoir of George Jehoshaphat Mountain  
D.D., D.C.L., late Bishop of Quebec p.244

On Sunday morning, June 23rd, Bishop Mountain reached the Indian Settlement in time to take part in the morning service with Smithurst and his Indians. He remained in the Colony for eighteen days, including three Sundays, and not a moment of that time was wasted. During his visit he increased the clerical strength of the Mission by ordaining John Macallum both deacon and priest, and by ordaining Abraham Cowley as priest. The necessary examination of these two candidates was a fair-sized task in itself, but in addition he also confirmed 846 candidates, preached 13 sermons, gave 5 lectures to confirmation candidates, spoke to Sunday School children, and visited all the principal inhabitants. He also wanted to go on to Cumberland, but he was told that such a trip would be useless at that time as the Indians would be absent from the station. Mr. Cockran did not exaggerate when he wrote that, "we feel ourselves under lasting obligation to the Bishop for visiting us, and for the great effort which he has made, during his short stay, to make himself useful to us!"<sup>77</sup>

Apparently the building boom which erected a stone church for Mr. Jones in 1833-4 was later emulated by the parishoners of the Middle Church. The original building at Image Plain erected by Jones in 1825 had been of timber, but in 1844 Bishop Mountain speaks of the Middle Church as a stone building. "The Middle Church, which is not quite completed, and which has been built by the unaided exertions of the congregation is an edifice of stone, sixty feet long."<sup>78</sup>

Macallum now took charge of the Upper Church in conjunction with

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77. Ibid p.245

78. Mountain - Journal p. 80

his Red River Academy, thus allowing Cockran to take over the Middle and Lower churches while Cowley departed for Partridge Crop or Manitoba Station. During the visit of Bishop Mountain the woeful inadequacy of the Lower Church was painfully evident. The confirmation had to be conducted in two services as the church was too small to contain both the candidates and the congregation at one time. Even then people were standing in the vestibule and listening, from outside, at the windows. Cockran therefore called a meeting of the settlers in December 1844, to see what could be done. It was decided to build a new stone church measuring eighty-one feet by forty feet inside measurements, plus a tower and a spire. "Silver and gold they had none; but stones, lime, shingles, boards, timber, and labour, were cheerfully contributed... In materials and labour above £700<sup>s</sup> were promised."<sup>79</sup> The undertaking proved to be too much for the resources of the parish and the building remained for a time in an unfinished state because of lack of funds. A fresh impulse was given to the work by a grant of £100 from the Hudson's Bay Company and every effort was now made towards the completion of the church in time for the arrival of the first Bishop of Rupert's Land. Unfortunately they did not quite succeed and it was not consecrated until December 19th 1849.<sup>80</sup>

In the summer of 1843, Henry Budd reported that the eighty-five baptized Indians continued to be faithful and that he had a further fifty-eight candidates prepared to receive the sacrament.<sup>81</sup> The Station

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79. Intelligencer January 1850 p. 212

80. Stock - History of the C.M.S. v.3. p.316

81. Mountain - Journal p. 233

obviously required the services of an ordained missionary. In 1844 the Church Missionary Society met the need by sending out Rev. John Hunter. On September 26th, 1844, Mr. and Mrs. Hunter arrived at Cumberland to take up duty as resident missionary. By this time the number of candidates for baptism had risen to ninety-two, of whom thirty-one were adults. "There were thirty-two children in the School, nineteen of whom could read."<sup>82</sup> "As yet, however, no attempt had been made to form a Settlement, and very little had been done in the way of tillage. Mr. Smithurst, when at the station, had marked out some lots, and one Indian had prepared wood, but no house had yet been built, and the Indians continued to dwell in tents."<sup>83</sup>

With the help of Henry Budd, Mr. Hunter promptly set to work to master the Cree language, and also to translate portions of the Bible and Prayer Book. He was so far successful that by the time Bishop Anderson visited the Station in 1850, Hunter was able not only to talk, and read the service in Cree, but also to preach in that language. Several of the Indians were induced to build houses and on November 19th, 1849, Hunter speaks of visiting seven new houses. A church was begun in 1847 and completed in time for Bishop Anderson to open it on June 30th, 1849.

These first years at Cumberland were marred by the death of Mrs. Hunter in the autumn of 1847. Just under a year later he was married to the daughter of his friend, Chief Factor Donald Ross at Norway House. Mr. Smithurst made the trip from Red River to Norway House especially for that purpose, and on July 10th, 1848, performed the marriage between Jean Ross and the Rev. James Hunter. On July 17th, 1848, Donald Ross

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82 Ibid p.234

83 Intelligencer June 1851 p.134

wrote to Sir George Simpson, "Mr. Smithhurst arrived on the night of the 7th and returned to Red River on the 11th. Mr. Hunter was married on the 10th, and is now embarking in his own boat in company with the Athabaskan Brigade, on his return to his station at the Pas!"<sup>84</sup> The new Mrs. Hunter proved to be a real asset to the missionary because of her knowledge of the Cree language. Her help to her husband included not only assistance in learning the language but also assistance in the work of translation.

In the busy life of a missionary not even sickness could interrupt the work of Christianizing the Indians. In the fall of 1846 another of John West's Indian pupils, James Settee, was sent, in response to a call from the Indians to work as a catechist at Lac la Ronge some 250 miles north from the Pas. By July 1847 he had labored to such good purpose that when Mr. Hunter visited the spot he was able to baptize some 107 individuals.<sup>85</sup>

Back in the Red River Settlement a new era of prosperity was ushered in by the arrival of a detachment of soldiers in 1846. One hundred and fifty of them were stationed at the Lower Fort and Smithurst acted as volunteer chaplain for them throughout their two years' sojourn.<sup>86</sup>

The same year which saw the coming of the troops to Red River brought the arrival of the last addition to the little band of workers

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84. P.A.B.C. ROSS LETTERS Sir George Simpson from D. Ross July 17th 1848

85. Intelligencer June 1851 p. 134

86. Macleod- The Lamp Shines p.65

who greeted the new Lord Bishop in 1849, The burial and baptismal registers of St. Andrew's and the Upper Church bear out the statement of A. C. Garrioch that "the arrival of Mr. Robert James enabled Mr. Cockrane to take a year of much needed rest, and this he spent in the city of Toronto."<sup>87</sup> Evidently Mr. James took charge of St. Andrew's parish while Mr. Macallum retained the charge of the Upper Church. "Cockran's health was so bad when he left the colony on June 15th 1846 that he thought that he would never return to this scene of his labours!"<sup>88</sup> By 1847, however, he had so far recovered his health that when the Hudson's Bay Company offered him a chaplaincy in connection with the Incumbency of the Upper Church," he accepted and remained in charge there until 1850."<sup>89</sup> During this Incumbency, Cockran not only superintended the building of the new St. Andrew's Church, (where James was still in charge) but also built a substantial stone house for himself near the Upper Church.

The troops at the Upper Fort were served first by John Macallum and then, upon his giving up preaching in 1847, by Mr. Cockran. John Black, a clerk at Lower Fort Garry, told of the change in a letter to Donald Ross." No doubt you have heard of Rev. Mr. Cockran's return to the Settlement. I confess I was surprised to see him, but he seems pleased with the change he has made. He preaches at the upper church, instead of Mr. Macallum who, by the by, in leaving the pulpit has I think

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87. Garrioch A.C. - First Furrows p.77

88. Tucker, F. - Rainbow of the North p.140

89. Garrioch - First Furrows p.77

given up the best string of his bow. He also officiates as chaplain for the troops at the Upper Fort, much, I believe to the satisfaction of all."<sup>90</sup>

No doubt Macallum was influenced in his decision by failing health and discipline problems in the girl's school which set up a buzzing of unfavorable rumors about the Academy. These rumors continued to plague him from the fall of 1846 until his death in 1849.

In addition to their ministerial and educational duties, certain members of both the Anglican and the Roman Catholic clergy also served on the Council of Assiniboia. It is uncertain whether John West ever actually served on the Council although it is known that he was recommended for membership.<sup>91</sup> Rev. David Jones, his successor, was definitely a Councillor under Governor Pelly.<sup>92</sup> However, the first record of Jones' actual attendance was in company with his fellow worker, the Rev. William Cockran<sup>93</sup> at the reorganization meeting held on the 12th of February 1835, after the Hudson's Bay Company had resumed possession and control of the Selkirk grant. This was Cockran's first meeting. In the minutes he was listed as a Councillor although his appointment as such bore the date March 20th 1839.

Another person who attended the Council for his first time at this meeting was Bishop Provencher.<sup>94</sup> At this meeting he attended by

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90. P.A.B.C. ROSS LETTERS D.Ross from John Black September 3rd 1847

91. Oliver - North-West p.68

92. Ibid p.59

93. Ibid p.60

94. Ibid

invitation, but on the 16th of June 1837, he was sworn in as a member of the Council. Curiously enough his appointment as Councillor bears the date of the 20th of March 1839. From 1845 Provencher also served as a member of the important Committee of Economy.

One other member of the Anglican clergy also served as a Councillor before the arrival of Bishop Anderson. The Rev. John Macallum<sup>95</sup> actually became a member of the Council in 1836, eight years before his ordination. From the 4th of July 1845 until his death he served as coroner of the Settlement.

The field of North-Western missions was not exclusively occupied by the Roman Catholics and the Anglicans. The Wesleyan Methodists also entered the region and made a notable contribution to the work of Indian missions. Possibly owing to the threatened withdrawal of the Church Missionary Society from Rupert's Land, the Hudson's Bay Company in 1840, invited the Wesleyan Methodist Church in England to establish missions in Rupert's Land.

The Methodists promptly responded and by mid-September 1840, Messrs. Barnley, Mason, Rundle and Evans, were established at Moose Factory, Rainy Lake, Edmonton House and Norway House respectively.<sup>96</sup> Evans was designated as superintendent from his previous experience in Upper Canada. While there he had begun work on a system of syllabics which he perfected among the Crees at Norway House. In his capacity as superintendent Evans travelled northward to Oxford House and York

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95. Ibid p.63

96. Riddell, J. H. - Methodism in the Middle West  
The First Period 1840-1854

Factory, and as far west as Fort Chipewyan on Lake Athabasca. From his headquarters at Edmonton House, where he labored for eighteen years, Rundle visited Rocky Mountain House and travelled extensively visiting the Cree, Stoney and Blackfeet Indians. Barnley, at Moose Factory remained only eight years after which time the post was abandoned by the Methodists.

But the most important work done by the Methodists was that accomplished by Evans through his invention of the Cree syllabics. The story of his make-shift printing press is one of the epics of mission life. In 1843 William Mason and the Ojibway Indian catechist H.B. Steinhauer were transferred from their post at Rainy Lake to help with the work of translation at Norway House. Mrs. Ross, the wife of the Hudson's Bay Factor at Norway House, and Mrs. Evans, also helped in this part of the work.

Like Cochran at Red River, Evans established an Indian Settlement some ten miles from Norway House. In honor of the Hudson's Bay Company Factor, who had befriended him, Evans named the Settlement, Rossville. Here he labored with great fervour and like another of his predecessors, John West, he inveighed strongly against irregular marriages, intemperance and working on Sundays. Evans' insistence on Sabbath observance greatly annoyed the business instincts of Sir George Simpson, particularly when it began to interrupt the travel of the Brigades.

In addition, the Wesleyans had to meet the opposition of both the Roman Catholic and Church of England missionaries. As early as August

15th 1842, we find Donald Ross writing from Norway House to Sir George Simpson, "Mr. Evans made a very extensive tour last winter, married and baptized a great many people, but the priests and church missionaries have been stirring themselves actively of late and both seem equally hostile to the Wesleyans. Wherever they go they re-marry and re-baptize those who had previously undergone the ceremony by Mr. Evans. ... There will soon be as hot a religious opposition in the country as we had formerly about the fur trade."<sup>97</sup>

The combined effect of these various factors was to convince Sir George Simpson that by some means Evans must be persuaded to stop his campaign for Sunday observance. Evans refused to be stopped and Simpson brought pressure to bear which resulted in Evans' recall in 1846. Mason succeeded to the charge of Norway House and also to the superintendency in 1846. He continued at this place and in this position until 1854, when he joined the Church of England and was later ordained by Bishop Anderson.

## CHAPTER 111

### THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DIOCESE

From the commencement of operations in Rupert's Land by the Church of England in 1820 the establishment of effective episcopal supervision became a necessity if the work was to continue. Nevertheless twenty-four years were to elapse before the first Church of England Bishop paid a flying visit to the isolated colony, and twenty-nine years were to elapse before the first resident Anglican Bishop was received by the colony.

More remarkable is the apparently notable lack of demand for a Bishop in the colony itself, Canon Heeney suggests that one of the reasons for this state of affairs was the Presbyterian influence. "A Bishop was never thought an essential of Church government nor yet a guarantee of loyalty to the Crown."<sup>1</sup>

Garioch sheds some light on the situation by pointing out that the convinced Presbyterians actually constituted only that small body of Selkirk settlers brought out by Selkirk and settled in the parish of Kildonan. When the first Presbyterian minister arrived in 1851 the parishes of the Upper Church, Middle Church, and St. Andrew's remained fairly solidly Anglican. This was accounted for by the fact that

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1. Heeney, W.B. - Leaders of the Canadian Church,  
third series p 3

most of the Scots in these parishes were retired from the Hudson's Bay Company service. While in the service they had been subject to the Company rule which required that all Protestants at the Company posts should assemble on Sundays for the reading of the Church of England service. "When these employees in the interior learned in this way that the approved church of The Honourable Hudson's Bay Company was the established Church of England, they knew what they had to expect, when, as many of them intended, they retired to become settlers on the Red River . . . ."2

While such a statement must be taken with a grain of salt so far as the Scots employed by the Company are concerned, it was probably true that they considered it to be the wisest plan for their half-breed families to adhere to the Protestant church which happened to have its ministers in the field. It is also true that many of these children were grown men and women with families of their own when they came to Red River. While they probably had no prejudices against episcopacy as a mode of church government, they likewise would know nothing of it, and for that reason did not feel the need for it.

What were probably far more important factors were the lack of any real need for a resident bishop during the first few years, the fact that the mission was conducted under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society, and the lack of

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2. Garrioch - Correction Line p 137

adequate financial support for a bishop. Until Cockran began his work at Netley Creek in 1832 no real attempts had been made to evangelize the Indians on any considerable scale. Except for individual instances, such as that in 1825 when Governor Simpson brought two Indian boys from the Pacific coast to Mr. Jones' school at Red River, the work of the mission did not extend beyond the confines of the Red River valley until 1840. In that year Henry Budd began work as a native catechist at Cumberland House, while two years later Abraham Cowley tentatively began work at a point midway between Partridge Crop and Lake Saint Martin. The Cumberland Station yielded almost immediate results and large numbers of Crees, both adults and children, were genuinely converted. Cowley's Manitoba Station, as it was called, found the Saulteaux Indians much less receptive and no considerable results were achieved until after the arrival of Bishop Anderson.

The fact that this was a mission of the Church Missionary Society must also be given due weight as a reason for the apparent lack of demand for a bishop. "This is ... because there has sometimes been among C. M. S. laymen a certain impatience of episcopal control, and a certain desire to direct the diocesan work ~~and the diocesan work~~ and the diocesan finance of the Overseas Church from Salisbury Square . . . There has been such a zeal in C. M. S. supporters, clerical and lay, that the Society has had a life of its own . . ."3

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3. Carpenter - Church and People p 428

In addition Jones and Cockran had their hands more than filled with building, settling, educating, and generally civilizing this isolated colony. As a result, it is not surprising that the first record of an appeal, for a bishop, to come out of the settlement was that penned by John Smithurst in 1842. In that year he "wrote a strong letter to England urging the necessity of a bishop and stating that there were over a thousand people ready for confirmation."<sup>4</sup>

Meanwhile interest in the Red River Settlement and in its need of episcopal supervision was not lacking in other quarters. At an early period in the history of the Red River Mission the interest of Dr. G. J. Mountain was aroused. Perhaps his interest in the Canadian North West may even date from the proposal made to his father<sup>5</sup> by the Church Missionary Society in 1810 to ordain a man for work among the Ojibways on Lake Superior.<sup>6</sup> In any case it is certain that "From the time of his consecration in 1836, Dr. Mountain cherished the intention of visiting this distant branch of the Church of England, and the proposal was heartily seconded by the Society."<sup>7</sup> This statement is particularly interesting because it indicates that <sup>The</sup> Parent Society, if not the workers in the field, were concerned about the need. The evidence of their concern was

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4. Macleod - The Lamp Shines p 44
  5. Bishop Jacob Mountain, first Bishop of Quebec
  6. Stock - History of the C. M. S. v.1. p 245
  7. Mountain - Journal p 235

further emphasized by the fact that when Bishop G. J. Mountain visited the Red River in 1844, the expenses were paid and the arrangements were made by the Church Missionary Society.

The result of Bishop Mountain's visit was a report to the Church Missionary Society in the form of three lengthy letters. The third of these letters concluded with a strong appeal for the establishment of a bishopric in Rupert's Land. After a general survey of the condition of the territory and its inhabitants he shrewdly noted, "There are large tracts of country in which the diminution of furs is already sensibly, and by the poor Indians severely, felt. The day will arrive when the example of the Red River Settlement must be followed in other portions of the Territory. . . . Those vast regions, . . . cannot be doomed to be for ever tenanted only by wild beasts, and savages as wild: their resources of another kind must be turned to account; and in the mean time, there is little fear that any effects resulting directly or indirectly from the exertions of the Church will prematurely accelerate the desertion of the huntsman's craft. . . . I feel, with an indescribable force, the necessity of establishing a Bishop in those Territories... A move should be made at once..."<sup>8</sup>

These letters, together with an appendix by the Society's secretaries giving an account of the formation of the mission and its progress, were published by the Church Missionary Society in 1845 and proved to be a most effective piece of

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8. Ibid p 167 and ff.

propaganda for the establishment of a bishopric in Rupert's Land.

One of the main difficulties to be overcome before such a step could be undertaken was the problem of finance. Bishop Mountain recognized this fact and requested that any profits arising from the publication of his report should be reserved to help in the endowment of a Bishopric, for Rupert's Land. More than that, in his third letter in which he pleaded for the establishment of a Bishopric, he made a pointed appeal to the Hudson's Bay Company to help in financing the enterprise. "I hope that I may without impropriety suggest that the Company ... should be solicited to take some part, and to assume some share, of the burthen in establishing a Bishopric within its own Territories."<sup>9</sup>

It was common to think of missions and the Church as a method of establishing and maintaining law and order, and the Bishop was not slow to turn this argument to account. In 1839 in the interests of law and order the Company had appointed Mr. Thom, a Canadian lawyer, as Recorder of the Red River Colony at a salary of \$700 a year. The Bishop commented, "What they have done for the Recorder of the Red River would, in my judgment, with certain aids given to him in travelling, suffice of itself for the maintenance of a Bishop whose Diocese should comprise the country East of the Rocky Mountains."<sup>10</sup> With this

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9. Ibid p 164

10. Ibid p 165

as a starting point he suggested that other help might be obtained from the Church Missionary Society, from the recently established (1841) Colonial Bishopric Fund, as well as from private individuals.

The financial policy of the Church Missionary Society would not allow them to undertake such a commitment, but, as substantial contributors to the Colonial Bishopric's Fund, the Society did strongly urge the project upon that body. "The Archbishops and Bishops who constituted the Colonial Bishopric's Committee appointed a subcommittee for the purpose of promoting this object ..."<sup>11</sup> In the meantime Bishop Mountain did what he could to oversee the territory by correspondence. Assistance came from private individuals, however. As an example of a private benefactor, the Bishop cited, "the late Mr. Leith . . . who was a resident Factor in the Territory, (and who) has bequeathed the sum of £10,000, as yet, I believe in litigation, toward the propagation of the Gospel in the scene of his former pursuits and occupations; with the interest arising from which sum, it is intended, if I am correctly informed, to establish a Mission and a School in Cumberland."<sup>12</sup>

If he was correctly informed, it was a most interesting observation in view of the final disposition of the bequest.

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11. Mountain, A. - Memoir of Bishop G. J. Mountain p 247

12. Mountain - Journal p 166

The abandonment of this first plan would suggest the powerful influence exerted by Bishop Mountain's little book, particularly when it became evident that the restored financial position of the Church Missionary Society ensured continuance of the work at Cumberland.

James Leith, the benefactor referred to by Bishop Mountain, had come to Canada at the instance of Edward Ellice. In 1798 he joined the X Y Fur Company and was one of the six wintering partners of that Company to join the North-West Fur Company in 1804. When the Nor' Westers united with the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821 he became a Chief Factor. He still held this rank in 1830 when he retired to Torquay, Devon, England, where he died on June 19th, 1838.<sup>13</sup>

According to his will dated February 20th, 1835, after disposing of one half of his estate and paying all of his just debts and expenses, the remaining half was bequeathed "unto his brother William Hay Leith and his heirs, the Lord Bishop of London for the time being, the Rev. the Dean of Westminster for the time being and the Governor and Deputy Governor for the time being of the Hudson's Bay Company, Upon Trust, that they should ... convert the whole into money... and invest the same in their names in the public stocks or Funds of Great Britain at Interest and . . . dispose of the . . . annual proceeds arising therefrom in such a manner as . . . should seem

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13. Encyclopedia of Canada v 1V

most desirable and advantageous for the purpose of establishing propagating and extending the Christian Protestant Religion in and amongst the native aboriginal Indians in that part of American formerly called Rupert's Land."<sup>14</sup>

On August 11th, 1838, this will was duly proved in the prerogative Court of the Archbishop of Canterbury by the two executors appointed in the will, William Hay Leith and Patrick Davidson. The next step in the proceedings took place on the 23rd of April 1840 when Leith and Davidson filed a Bill in the Court of Chancery against the Lord Bishop of London, Governor Sir Henry Pelly, Deputy Governor Andrew Colvile, the Attorney General and others, contesting the validity of the will.

By a decree dated 20th of March 1848, William Hay Leith declined to act as one of the executors and the case was referred to the Master of the Rolls, "to approve of and appoint a proper person to be one of the Trustees . . . in the room of . . . William Hay Leith, and that the Trustees of the said Charity should propose a scheme for the due administration of the funds of the said Charity; and it was ordered that the said

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<sup>14</sup>. The Synod Office of the Diocese of Rupert's Land, Winnipeg (hereafter designated S.O.R)  
Copy of the Hudson's Bay Company's grant of an annuity of £300 and a house and land as a residence for the Bishop of Rupert's Land and in increase of his salary forever, dated December 19th, 1849.

Master should state the scheme with his opinions thereon to  
 the Court : : : "15  
 the Court : : : "15

Master Farrer, the Master to whom the cause had been referred, made his report on the 13th of March 1849, but because of recent events affecting the case, it was referred back to him for further review on the 19th of April. In his final report on the 7th of May, which was confirmed the same day, it was found that the Dean of Westminster, the Reverend William Buckland had filed a Deed Poll on the 5th of March declining to act as a Trustee for the bequest. The Venerable William Hale Hale, Archdeacon of London, was willing to act and was suggested as a fit person to act as a Trustee, if such an appointment was considered necessary, so long as Buckland should continue as Dean of Westminster. Henry Hulse Berens was suggested as a fit person to replace William Hay Leith as a Trustee, and was accordingly appointed as such.

"... The said Master also found various facts and circumstances relating to the said Hudson's Bay Territory or Rupert's land showing the value and extent thereof, and its population and particularly the spiritual wants and necessities of such population, and the exertions which had hitherto been made for the supply of such spiritual wants and necessities under the direction and superintendence of the Church Missionary Society aided by the said Hudson's Bay Company, and that it had

been proposed to her Majesty's Government to found a Bishopric for Rupert's Land provided a suitable endowment in perpetuity could be secured for the same and that in order to assist in the foundation of such Bishopric the said Hudson's Bay Company had proposed and were willing to provide a suitable house for a Bishop's residence with a proper and sufficient quantity of Land, and to grant in perpetuity a stipend of £300 per annum in increase of the salary of such Bishop. . . "16

The negotiations and arguments which lay behind this report are considerably illuminated by an amusing letter from a Hudson's Bay Factor on leave in England at the time. Duncan Finlayson had actually been in London at the time the pleadings began, but his letter is dated Hastings, May 29th, 1849.

"I have been, for the last fortnight, so bothered with the affairs of the Bishopric of Rupert's Land that they fairly drove me from London.

So here I am, out of the way --- otherwise they would have me swear that Rupert's Land is the richest, the finest, the most popular country in the world; that it never snowed or drifted there, that its extreme breadth is 30 degrees, and its extreme length, from the north to south, 25 degrees, giving a surface of 750°, and that the population is 150000 souls, of which 50000 are whites and the remainder Indians. Think ye

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16. Ibid

of that! Neither the Governor, Deputy Governor, nor any member of the Committee, could conscientiously swallow this sweeping statement, and therefore wished that I should do so for them. I, however, declined the draught, and determined to get myself out of their way --- so here I am . . . .

It appears that the trustees of the Leith fund, that is, the money left by the late Mr. Leith for the instruction and conversion of the Indians in Rupert's Land, thought that some of it might be applied to the endowment of a Bishop's See, or in other words, to the support of a Bishop.

But the Master of the Rolls thought otherwise, and that such was not the meaning of the testator and, therefore, required some person to make Affidavit that the country was inhabited and civilized to that extent as to require a Bishop, and the human beings could live in it.

The matter has, however, been got over without such an affidavit, at least, from me."<sup>17</sup>

Here we are forced to return to the drab legal language of the Hudson's Bay Company's Indenture of December 1849. The Trustees laid before the Master Farrer a scheme for the administration of the Charity, the details of which clearly showed the influence of Bishop Mountain's suggestions.

"1st That if the consent of Her Majesty's Government should

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17. P.A.B.C. ROSS LETTERS D. Ross from Duncan Finlayson  
May 29th, 1849.

be obtained to the erection of a Bishopric of the Church of England in Rupert's Land, the income of the Funds of the said Charity should be applied towards the Endowment of such Bishopric in addition to the sum of £300 per annum which the said Hudson's Bay Company had offered and agreed to contribute towards the endowment of a Bishop's See, provided the Clergyman selected for the Episcopal Office should undertake the duties of one of the Churches in Rupert's Land with a District to be annexed thereto.

2nd. That the entire Funds of the Charity should remain standing in the name of the Accountant General . . . until the Trustees . . . should apply to the Court to have the said Funds . . . transferred out of Court into their names.

3rd. That a proper Deed should be prepared to declare . . . that the Trustees . . . of the said Fund should . . . pay the Dividends and Income thereof to the order of the Bishop for the time being of Rupert's Land and . . . that during any vacancy of the See, the dividends and income . . . be wholly or in part either accumulated . . . or applied towards providing an Outfit for the next succeeding Bishop . . . or otherwise in conformity with the said Testator's Will. . . "18

Lord

This report was made by Farrer, on the 7th of May 1849, and was confirmed by an order of the same date. Pelly and

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18.- S. O. R. - Copy of H.B.C. grant of annuity, house, and land.

Colville immediately filed a petition with the Master of the Rolls, Lord Langdale, requesting that the scheme be put into effect. "Whereupon all parties concerned were ordered to attend His Lordship on the matter of the said petition . . ." <sup>19</sup>

Apparently the consent of Her Majesty's Government was speedily obtained for on the 11th of May 1849, the long litigation was at last decided in favour of the establishment of a bishopric. Venerable Archdeacon William Hale Hale was appointed as Trustee so long as William Buckland should continue as Dean of Westminster. At some time during the long litigation, the bulk of the money evidently had been invested in three per cent Bank Annals because it was in this form that Lord Langdale now referred to the Fund. After filling up the number of Trustees, His Lordship declared "the Trustees of the said Charity . . . entitled to the £13,343 Bank 3 per cent Annals standing in the name of the Accountant General of this Court in trust . . . ,"<sup>20</sup> subject to the Hudson's Bay Company fulfilling their promise in the undertaking. The Company were therefore ordered to execute a proper Deed to secure the promised house and lands and the annuity of £300.

Now that the financial arrangements were certain, the erection of the new See and the appointment of its first Bishop were speedily accomplished. "Necessary changes being made,

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19. Ibid ,

20. Ibid ,

the procedure, followed in the creation of colonial bishops, was similar to that used for the making of English bishops. By the statute 25 Henry VIII, c.20 the right to nominate bishops lies in the King, and the nomination is made effective by Letters Patent." <sup>21</sup> In effect this meant that the Archbishop of Canterbury advised the Crown, and the Crown nominated Canterbury's choice. Certainly this was the case in this particular instance.

The evangelical Bishop John Bird Sumner had succeeded to the Primacy in 1848. He was a loyal supporter of the Church Missionary Society and when called upon to nominate a bishop for a mission field staffed entirely by Church Missionary Society personnel, he naturally consulted the wishes of that body. The minutes of the Society's Corresponding Committee for Rupert's Land dated the 7th of June, 1854, indicate that a certain Reverend R. Davies was the Society's nominee. ". . . The Corresponding Committee desire to place on record their sorrow at the tidings of the death of the Rev. R. Davies for many years Secretary of the Parent Society and who, but for the failure of health, was to have been the first Bishop of this Country." <sup>22</sup>

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21. Millman - Jacob Mountain p 17

22. S. O. R. - Minutes of the Proceedings of the Corresponding Committee of the Church Missionary Society N. W. America. January 7th, 1854.

The choice now reverted to Archbishop Sumner. His selection of Anderson was the result of a very natural sequence of events related in later years by Bishop Anderson in a letter to his former pupil, James Ross. The Bishop first recounted the story of his own University career at Exeter College, Oxford. Apparently he had been a brilliant student and it had been expected that he would graduate with honors in Mathematics and Classics and proceed to a fellowship and tutorship in his own college. Unfortunately his health broke down and he was unable to sit for his examinations. Instead of a College career this led him to the activity of clerical life in a large town. He was ordained both Deacon and Priest by J. B. Sumner who was then Bishop of Chester. His first appointment was in 1837 to the curacy of St. Andrew's Church, Liverpool, followed two years later by a similar appointment to St. George's Church in the same city. "In 1841 he was married to the eldest daughter of James Marsden, Esquire, of Liverpool. His wife died in 1848 leaving him with three sons."<sup>23</sup>

Apparently Anderson was connected with the parish of Kilburn, Middlesex, at the time of his bereavement. An address to The Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Rupert's Land From the Minister and Inhabitants of Kilburn, Middlesex, bearing the date 1849, begins with an expression of esteem and gratitude,

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23. Mockridge, C. A. - The Bishops of the Church of England in Canada and Newfoundland. p 127

"for your faithful and zealous ministrations among us during a season of painful trial to yourself."<sup>24</sup> For six years from 1841-47 he acted as Vice-Principal of St. Bees College, Cumberland, England. This was a purely theological college founded in 1816 as a protest against the notable lack of attention given to such study in the two Universities.

Bishop Anderson's comments enlighten us somewhat on this period of his existence. "It was from my appointment to Liverpool that I happened to be ordained Deacon by the then Bp. of Chester at a small private Ordination, where he saw much of me ( I was not of age for his public one, two months before) I was in due course ordained Priest by him; while holding office at St. Bees College I was in continual correspondence with him, and he had never forgotten <sup>me</sup> throughout, so that when raised to the See of Canterbury he wrote to offer me my present office."<sup>25</sup>

At the time, when the offer of the bishopric came to him, Anderson occupied the position of Perpetual Curate of All Saints Church, Derby. From another of his letters it would appear that he underwent considerable heart searching before he accepted the call. Shortly after his arrival in Rupert's

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24. Copy of an address to Bishop Anderson from the minister and congregation of Kilburn, Middlesex, now in the possession of Mr. William Grange of Winnipeg.

25. P.A.M. ROSS LETTERS James Ross from Bishop Anderson, February 9th, 1855.

Land he wrote to the Bishop of Montreal concerning that prelate's published journal of his visit to the Red River Settlement in 1844, "It was from its simple and forcible statements that I felt so interested in the condition and prospects of the Indian that I at last determined to accept the call to the bishopric."<sup>26</sup>

In due course, by letters patent dated 21 May 1849 the original Hudson's Bay Company's grant of Rupert's Land was erected into a See and David Anderson was appointed to be consecrated its first Bishop with the title of Lord Bishop of Rupert's Land. So far as can be ascertained he was the first Canadian Bishop to be legally permitted to use the title of Lord Bishop. After the usual legal definition of the powers of the Bishop he was given the right to choose or erect his own Cathedral Church in Rupert's Land. This cathedral as well as the diocese and bishop, were to be subject to the primacy of Canterbury. The final appeal from any judgments rendered by the Bishop or any of his dignitaries or officials was also to be for Canterbury. Though his consecration, as Bishop, was to be for life, provision was made for the possible resignation of the Bishop by means of an instrument delivered into the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury and by him accepted and

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26. Mountain, A. - Memoir of Bishop G. J. Mountain footnote p 244

registered in the Office of the Vicar General.

As soon as the Patent became known, Anderson's old college of Exeter arranged to confer the honorary degree of D.D. upon its distinguished graduate. Less than a week later on the 29th of May 1849, together with the first Bishop of Victoria (Hong Kong), he was consecrated in Canterbury Cathedral, the first such consecration to take place there for three centuries. After Anderson's consecration the Church Missionary Society Secretary, Henry Venn, wrote "The Bishop of London (Blomfield) expressed himself to me in the warmest terms of admiration at his heartiness and practical good sense."<sup>27</sup>

The establishment of a diocese in Rupert's Land had long been a desire of the Church Missionary Society, and now that "their desire was fulfilled, they expressed their 'unfeigned satisfaction' that 'after many years of expectation' a bishop had been appointed."<sup>28</sup> True to their word and pursuant to Lord Langdale's instructions the Hudson's Bay Company entered upon the process of drawing up a Deed to give effect to their promise of an annuity of £300, and a house and land for the new Bishop. On the 7th of December the Master under whose supervision this Deed was being drawn up reported that the task had

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27. Stock - History of the C. M. S. v. 3 p 313

28. Ibid p 314

been satisfactorily accomplished. The Company then gave effect to these arrangements by an Indenture dated the 19th of December 1849.

By this Indenture the Company undertook to pay to the Trustees of the Leith Charity "at the Royal Exchange in the City of London one annuity or clear yearly sum of £300 by equal half-yearly payments on the 5th day of January and the 5th day of July in each and every year the first half of such half-yearly payments to become due and be made on the 5th day of January now next ensuing . . ."29

Regarding the house and land the Company agreed "within the space of three years from the date of these presents (to) provide a suitable House and Land adjacent thereto and convenient to be held therewith in Rupert's Land for the residence and occupation of the said Bishop of the Bishopric of Rupert's Land, . . ." and will at the request of the Trustees . . . and at the Costs and Charges of the said Charity Estate by good and sufficient conveyances, acts and deeds in Law permanently annex the said House and Land to the Bishopric."<sup>30</sup> Such a Conveyance was finally carried out on the 29th of August 1865.

The newly consecrated Bishop and his party left Gravesend

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29. S.O.R. - Copy of H. B. C. grant annuity, house and land.

30. Ibid

on the 9th of June aboard the annual Hudson's Bay Company's ship to York Factory. The Bishop's party consisted of his sister, his three sons, Archibald, David, and Herbert, Mr. and Mrs. Chapman, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Hunt, and Dr. Cowan. This year there were sufficient additional passengers together with the Company's servants that it was decided to place them all aboard the "Prince Rupert" while the "Graham" carried the year's supplies for the trade. From the point of view of the trade this was a most unfortunate decision for while the "Prince Rupert" arrived safely on the 14th of August, the "Graham" was lost with all hands.<sup>31</sup>

In spite of the dispatch with which the selection appointment and departure of Bishop Anderson was finally accomplished Governor Simpson was aware of it in plenty of time to make adequate preparations for the Bishop's reception. These extended not only to making ready one house at Lower Fort Garry as a residence for the Bishop and another for his chaplain but also making his journey from York to Red River as comfortable as possible. It was a season of much food scarcity and Hargrave at York Factory had to beg extra supplies from Ballenden at Red River. Nearer at hand he sent to Robertson at Oxford House for a supply of fresh cranberries.

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31. Macleod, Margaret - The Letitia Hargrave Correspondence  
p 244

From Norway House Governor Simpson wrote to Hargrave,  
 "Pray take care that there are no drunken scenes at York at  
 any time - - - more especially when the Bishop passes. . . and  
 do not let Brigades start on Sundays."<sup>32</sup> Evidently Simpson's  
 memories of West and Evans were still fresh and he did not  
 intend taking any unnecessary chances with the new Lord Bishop.

The voyage was uneventful. With Mr. Hunt acting as his  
 chaplain the Bishop conducted regular services throughout the  
 voyage. These were greatly helped by music from the Bishop's  
 portable harmonium,<sup>33</sup> the first such instrument to reach the  
 Red River. On the 13th of August they anchored in Five-Fathom  
 Hole in a thick fog, and on Thursday the 16th they landed, all  
 safe and in good health. "It was a bright and beautiful day  
 so that our first impressions of York Fort and the river were  
 very favourable. We had then two days of extreme heat: the  
 mosquitoes were abundant, and yet the annoyance is not nearly  
 so great as we expected. This intense heat was succeeded by  
 a thunder-storm which was followed by three days of deluging  
 rain."<sup>34</sup>

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32. Ibid p cxxiii

33. Rupert's Land Diocesan Archives (hereafter designated  
 R.L.D.A) Copy of the diary of Rev. Robert Hunt,  
 July 29th 1849.

34. Intelligencer December 1849 p 176

Before landing, the Bishop received a letter from Sir George Simpson telling him that the news of his appointment has been received from Hudson Bay House; that two boats were at his service for the journey up; and that accommodation was ready at the Lower Fort for him and his chaplain. The interval before the arrival of the boats from Red River was not spent in idleness. The bishop evidently had considerable discussion with Mr. Hargrave about the missionaries already in the country. West and Cockran apparently stood particularly high in that gentleman's esteem. From him the Bishop also learned of the Wesleyans' success in keeping the natives ~~from~~ from liquor and of Evans' work on the Cree syllabics.

On the Saturday the Bishop baptized the thirteen month old daughter of Chief Factor and Mrs. Hargrave. On Sunday full Morning Service was held in the large mess-room of the Fort and the Bishop preached his first sermon in his diocese. On Saturday and Sunday afternoons he visited some Indians from Churchill in their tents, and for the rest of the week he met them daily in the hall. On Friday the 24th, the boats arrived from Red River bearing letters of welcome from Cockran, James, and Smithurst together with the latter's thoughtful gift of a copy of his own Indian vocabulary.

Sunday began with the marriage of an Indian couple.

Morning Service was attended by the sailors of Sir John Richardson's overland expedition. In the afternoon a service of baptism was held for four of the Indians whom he had been instructing during the past week. Monday he married Mr. William Christie and Miss Sinclair; Tuesday he married Mr. Edward Pelly and Miss Clouston who had arrived on the "Prince Rupert"; and on Wednesday the journey to Red River began.

On Wednesday morning the 3rd of October they entered the mouth of the Red River. At two o'clock in the afternoon the Bishop stopped for a brief period at the Indian Settlement. Here he was greeted "not only by Mr. Smithurst but also by Major Caldwell, the Governor of Rupert's Land, who had come down from the Upper Settlement to meet him."<sup>35</sup>

By evening they were all safely at the Lower Fort where they were met by Rev. R. James with the news of the death of the Rev. John Macallum that very morning at the Upper Settlement. The funeral was conducted on Friday by Mr. Cockran, the senior Missionary in the diocese, and attended by all Red River clergy excepting only John Smithurst who did not hear about it in time.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE WORK AT RED RIVER 1849 to 1856

From the time of Governor Christie's restrictive regulations issued in 1844 there had been a growing opposition in the Settlement to the existing Government of Assiniboia. The sentiments and opinions of Judge Adam Thom, who had been appointed as Recorder in 1839, were fairly well known in the Settlement by this time, and the inspiration for the new restrictions was commonly attributed to him. Since the regulations were designed with the object of protecting the Hudson's Bay Company's monopoly trade in furs they aroused the particular opposition of the Metis who claimed that their Indian ancestry gave them an inalienable right to traffic in furs. A series of epidemics in the Settlement in 1845-46 brought an end to much of the opposition. During the years 1846 to 1848 the Settlement was both orderly and prosperous owing to the presence of a detachment of British troops.

Although the troops brought prosperity and order to the Red River they did not stop the voice of opposition from reaching the outside world. The complaints of the Metis found a willing advocate in a young London lawyer, A.K. Isbister. "He was a native of Rupert's Land and had a dash of Indian blood in his veins..... In 1847 Isbister, with five other (English) half-breeds of Red River, forwarded to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, a long and able memorial setting forth the grievances of the petitioners."<sup>1</sup> This memorial together with another from the French Metis eventually led to the exhaustive inquiry by the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1857.

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1. Bryce, George - The Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company. p 437-8.

Meanwhile, in 1848 Major Griffiths and the 6th Royal Regiment were replaced as Governor and garrison respectively, of the Red River, by Major Caldwell and a small group of pensioners. John Ballenden commented, "Of the men, I hardly know what to say. Their being sent out is experimental, and I fear they will not answer the purpose for which they were sent....."<sup>2</sup> Their chief value to the colony seems to have been the money which they put into circulation by reason of their pay.

Ballenden's worst fears regarding the uselessness of this band of old soldiers were soon realized. The Metis quickly estimated their worth as a military force. When William Sayer and three others were arrested in the spring of 1849 for illicit trading in furs, the Metis armed themselves and by their attendance at the trial, forced the release of their friends without punishment. In effect this meant free trade in furs in Red River and the Company gave up all further attempts to enforce its monopoly in the Settlement.

On the more personal side this mock trial and its results further accentuated the opposition to Recorder Thom on the part of the disaffected portion of the population. Major Caldwell's own pompous and vain nature had already begun to generate a dislike for him quite apart from the office which he held. His association with Thom in this trial still further damaged his popularity. In a letter written on the same day immediately after the trial, Caldwell himself said, "Judge Thom and myself, the chief objects of hatred -- I for having issued

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2. P.A.B.C. ROSS LETTERS - D. Ross from John Ballenden,  
December 11th, 1848.

the summonses against the fur traders..... I do not think we have a constable who would summons a half-breed for trading in furs, nor would his life be safe in doing so."<sup>3</sup>

Another type of grievance was held by the Presbyterian section of the population. Alexander Ross gives an impressive chronicle of the long series of attempts, by the Presbyterians, to obtain the services of a minister of their own persuasion. Although, from lack of any alternative, they and their families attended the services of the Church of England, they still kept up their own mid-week cottage prayer meetings. The majority of the Presbyterians belonged to the congregation of the Upper Church, and two of their number, Alexander Ross and Robert McBeath, were acting as church wardens in 1849.<sup>4</sup> From the days of the Rev. David Jones, the services here had been considerably modified out of consideration for the Presbyterians. When Bishop Mountain visited the Red River in 1844 he was shocked to find that the Upper and Lower Churches had neither a communion table nor a place reserved for one.<sup>5</sup> This circumstance was remedied in the new stone church at St. Andrew's, but the Upper Church remained unchanged when Bishop Anderson arrived in 1849. This circumstance, combined with the Presbyterian claims to the Upper Church and its property, caused the Bishop some of his greatest annoyance during his first three years in the Settlement.

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3. P.A.B.C. ROSS LETTERS - D. Ross from Major Caldwell, May 17th, 1849.
  4. P.A.M. ROSS LETTERS - Alexander Ross from Bishop Anderson, November 8th, 1851.
  5. Mountain - Journal. p 81.

With all of these problems Bishop Anderson came into contact very soon after his arrival at Fort Garry. But the matter, which claimed his first attention, was the funeral of the old schoolmaster, the Rev. John Macallum. According to the diary of the Bishop's chaplain,<sup>6</sup> Macallum died at about seven o'clock in the morning of the 3rd of October, the time at which the Bishop and his party were entering the mouth of the Red River. By so narrow a margin did he miss the fulfilment of his desire to live until the Bishop arrived. Despite the unfavorable gossip which had been circulating in recent months as a result of his discipline problems in the girls' school, the chaplain's impression of Macallum was that he "never knew a man more generally beloved."<sup>7</sup>

Macallum's funeral in the Upper Church, where he had served throughout his entire ministry, was the first public function in which the Bishop took part in Red River. The service was read by the senior clergyman in the Settlement, the Rev. William Cockran, and attended by all the notables in the community. It was at the funeral that Rev. Hunt was introduced by Rev. Robert James to Major Caldwell, Governor <sup>of</sup> Assiniboia. After the service they accompanied the Governor to Upper Fort Garry and in the course of their visit Hunt heard the account of the Sayer trial. Doubtless if the Bishop had not already heard about this affair he was not long after his chaplain in doing so.

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6. R. L. D. A. Hunt Diary October 3rd, 1849

7. Ibid October 19th, 1849.

In any event, exactly one week later the Bishop became intimately concerned with the results of the Sayer affair when he took his place as a member of the Council of Assiniboia. On the 12th of October a special meeting of the Council of Assiniboia was called together in the court-house for the purpose of swearing in the two new members, the Lord Bishop, and the Rev. John Smithurst.

The Bishop's first sermon in the Red River Settlement was preached in the wooden church at the Rapids, on the 7th of October. His chaplain's diary shows that Anderson used the same text on this occasion as he did for the first sermon which he preached in his diocese at York Factory on the 19th of August (2 Corinthians 14). The following Sunday a special communion service was held in the same church in thanksgiving for the safe arrival of the Bishop and his party.

Somewhere about this time the contents of Macallum's will became known. On the 19th of October, "Mr. McAllum having instructed his executors to offer the Bp. his school and house etc. his Lordship went to the upper part of the Settlement to see about it."<sup>8</sup> His Lordship evidently perceived the important role in the future of the North-West which could be played by the Red River Academy, and he promptly arranged to purchase it. Here was surely a wonderful opportunity for carrying into effect the Church Missionary Society's desire for the training of a native ministry. The terms of purchase

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8. Ibid, October 19th, 1849.

are at present unknown. There is a note in the Church Missionary Intelligencer for December 1849<sup>9</sup> to the effect that \$500 from the Jubilee Fund had been granted to erect the necessary buildings for an institution to train a native ministry. It is possible that the Bishop applied this money in the purchase of the Academy.

Since his arrival in the Settlement the Bishop had resided in the house provided for his use in the Lower Fort. Educational duties required his regular presence in the Upper Settlement. Accordingly on the 26th of October the Bishop and his family moved to Macallum's house near the Upper Church. Here he lived throughout the fifteen years of his episcopacy in Rupert's Land. By January 1855 this house was known as Bishop's Court, which name it retained until its final demolition ~~about~~ the year 1900.

Meanwhile on the intervening Sunday (October 21st) the first evidences of another problem had begun to come to light. Robert Hunt attended both services at the Indian Settlement on that date and afterwards recorded his own feelings of uneasiness about what he saw. "...My heart was not warmed by the appearance of things in the Services etc..... The Indians did not appear to enjoy the afternoon Service any more than the morning Service, although the former was partly in their own language. Many of the Indians appear to have been injured by the political agitations etc. of the Upper Settlement.... But they appear to be returning to a better mind."<sup>10</sup>

9. Intelligencer, December 1849. p 181.

10. R.L.D.A. - Hunt Diary, October 21st, 1849.

Apparently the uneasy feeling noticed by Hunt was the dying flame of a spirit of disaffection which had arisen that year among certain members of the congregation at the Indian Settlement.<sup>11</sup> The strained relationships continued to improve that year, however, if we can judge from the Bishop's comments on the occasion of his visit to the Indian Settlement at Christmas 1849. Faithful to his promises to assist Smithurst at his services on Christmas Day, the Bishop arrived at the Indian Settlement on December 24th. Mr. and Mrs. Hunt arrived later in the day and together they all spent a pleasant evening in talk and reminiscence. The Bishop's sense of happiness at what he saw continued throughout the next day. At the conclusion of the evening service he could not restrain his expression of pleasure and after all was finished, he told them how much he had enjoyed the services of the day.<sup>12</sup>

The move to the Academy seemed to mark the beginning of Bishop Anderson's work. In his own house and school he seemed to feel free to think and act independently. Here he had as his neighbor, the veteran missionary William Cockran, who still held the charge of the Upper Church, and the Hudson's Bay Company chaplaincy. Here, too, was a home for his sister and his three small sons. The proximity to the school was a personal consideration of advantage since according to their ages (three, five, and seven) all three of them would soon be enrolled as pupils.

Shortly after the move to the Academy the Bishop was apprised of the Presbyterian claims to the Upper Church which they had helped

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11. P.A.B.C. ROSS LETTERS - D. Ross from John Smithhurst, June 4th, 1851.

12. Intelligencer, June 1850. p 325.

to build. Their claims rested principally on verbal promises made by Lord Selkirk to furnish a Presbyterian minister, and in 1817, to set apart two lots for a school and a church. These presumably were the lots occupied by the Upper Church and school. Unfortunately Lord Selkirk failed to send the promised clergyman 'ere he died and the hapless settlers petitioned in vain for many years before they finally met with success. An application to the Company in 1844 on the matter brought the reply that, "when the colony had been re-transferred to them by Lord Selkirk's executors in 1836, no mention had been made of any such stipulation as that alleged."<sup>13</sup> Application was then made to the Free Church of Scotland directly and by them referred to the Presbyterian Church of Canada. By June 1849 negotiations had advanced to such a point that a clergyman was expected to arrive that summer. On the grounds of this expectation an application was made to Governor Simpson for a transfer of the Upper Church to the Presbyterians. Sir George however avoided the issue with the plea that such a matter was beyond his authority and must be referred to the London Committee.<sup>14</sup>

Now the persistant Sheriff of Assiniboia began direct negotiations with Bishop Anderson by sending him all the correspondence connected with the Upper Church. In connection with these claims it is interesting to note that the Church Missionary Intelligencer for January 1850 states that this church was built in 1834 "by the liberal contributions of the Settlers, aided by grants from the Hudson's Bay

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13. Hargrave - Red River. p 123.

14. P.A.M. ROSS LETTERS - A.Ross from G.Simpson, July 7th, 1849.

Company and the Church Missionary Society."<sup>15</sup> On the 1st of November the Bishop sent Ross a most affable and sympathetic reply, thanking him for the information and assuring him of careful consideration of the matter.

Except for this one letter acknowledging his introduction to the problem of possession of the Upper Church the Bishop was apparently not bothered about it any further for the rest of the year. His energies and attentions were amply taken up with establishing himself at the Academy, and familiarizing himself with, and arranging various ecclesiastical matters, in the Settlement. Mr. Lumsden, Macallum's assistant, continued to instruct the boys department under the superintendence of the Bishop, while the girls department was temporarily dispersed. Among his pupils the Bishop found Roderick and Donald Ross, the two sons of the Chief Factor at Norway House, together with the eldest son of the Governor of Assiniboia.

For the time being the Bishop maintained the status quo so far as the distribution of his clergy was concerned. William Cockran remained in charge of the Upper and Middle Churches, while Robert James cared for the large and populous parish of St. Andrew's. It proved to be impossible for Hunt to proceed to Lac la Ronge until the following summer, so he remained at the Lower Fort and assisted James by looking after the lower section of his parish. Smithurst continued at the Indian Settlement though afflicted much by recurring attacks of rheumatism.

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15. Intelligencer, January 1850. p 212.

After due consideration the Bishop had fixed the 19th of December as the date for the consecration of the new St. Andrew's Church. Great efforts were now put forth to have the building completed by the appointed day. On the 9th of November the Bishop wrote to Donald Ross, "We are looking forward with interest to the consecration of the new church at the Rapids. They are working very busily at it to get it completed and it will be a most creditable building. It will be about the 19th of December, and I hope to ordain Mr. Chapman in it on the 23rd. He will have charge of the Middle Church."<sup>16</sup>

John Chapman had been a lay reader at All Saints' Church, Derby, England, the incumbency held by Anderson at the time of his appointment to the episcopacy.<sup>17</sup> He had volunteered to accompany the new bishop to his remote diocese and now after further studies, he was to be ordained. On Wednesday, the 19th of December, St. Andrew's was duly consecrated in the presence of a large congregation and all of the Red River clergy. On the following Sunday Hunt "undertook the duty at the Upper Church, in order that Mr. Cockran, who had been present during Mr. Chapman's examination, might present him for Ordination."<sup>18</sup>

Following this, his first ordination, the Bishop rode on to spend a happy Christmas at the Indian Settlement with John Smithurst.

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16. P.A.B.C. ROSS LETTERS - D.Ross from Bishop Anderson, November 9th, 1849.

17. Bishop Anderson - The Seal of Apostleship, an ordination sermon.

18. Intelligencer, June 1850. P 324.

On Boxing Day he returned to his home at the Academy, where, on the last day of the year, he was surprised and pleased to welcome the Rev. Abraham Cowley from Manitoba Station. The Bishop immediately decided to hold a meeting of the clergy of his diocese since all could now be present excepting Hunter at Cumberland House. Fortunately a fairly full account of this first diocesan meeting of the clergy is given in the Church Missionary Intelligencer for June 1850. It was held on the 10th of January 1850. In January 1851 John Smithurst refers to having attended an annual clerical meeting with the Bishop<sup>19</sup> which would indicate that a decision was reached to hold such meetings annually.

On Epiphany Sunday, January 6th, the Bishop Anderson preached a sermon in support of the Church Missionary Society at St. Andrew's Church. The collection in response was only £3, but it must be remembered that they had just finished subscribing some £70 the day before to fence in the burial ground, as well as pledging money to build a new school in spring. In the afternoon he preached at the Middle Church and received 9£ 2s in money plus forty bushels of wheat.<sup>20</sup>

With this background in mind, the meeting of the clergy first organized a Church Missionary Association for Rupert's Land. The meeting was held in St. Andrew's with Major Caldwell, an old friend of the Society, acting as chairman. Following the chairman's remarks the Bishop explained something of the work and organization of the Society. On account of the bad weather the attendance was small, but

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19. P.A.B.C. ROSS LETTERS - D. Ross from John Smithurst, January 19th, 1851.

20. Intelligencer, June 1850. p 326.

after several speakers had been heard a General Branch Association for Rupert's Land was formed. Major Caldwell was Patron with Bishop Anderson as President and Mr. Black as Treasurer. The rest of the Committee was made up of the clergy of the diocese plus nine laymen.

The Bishop continued his appeal for support for the Society on the following Sunday at the Upper Church and the Garrison Chapel. These collections, together with a contribution of ~~250~~ from Major Caldwell, made a total of approximately ~~2100~~ all of which was spent for educational and missionary purposes in the Settlement and in the Diocese at large.

After the organization of the Association the clergy conference concerned itself with the prospects of missionary extension in the Diocese. In his first letter to the Parent Society, written just after landing at York Factory, the Bishop had said, "to the Indians especially I feel that I am sent."<sup>21</sup> This feeling, combined with his interest in education, seems to have been the principal object of his work as Bishop of Rupert's Land. Four points were suggested as likely places for new stations. These were Churchill, York, Moose Factory, and Fort Pelly, with the strongest opinion in favor of the latter.

Arrangements were evidently made at this conference for the holding of confirmation services, during the month of May, at the four Red River Churches. Large groups were presented for the rite at each of the churches, and at the Indian Settlement the Bishop surprised

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21. Intelligencer, December 1849. p 177

and delighted them all by pronouncing the Confirmations Service in Cree.<sup>22</sup> The last of the Red River Confirmations was held on the 26th at the Upper Church and some two or three weeks later the Bishop set out for a similar service at Cumberland.

Meanwhile Bishop Anderson's time was fully taken up in various ways. As already indicated he applied himself to learning Cree, the most widely spoken of the Indian languages of Rupert's Land. The practical demands of the classroom claimed much of his time since there were only Mr. Lumsden and himself to do the teaching at the Academy. Much discussion also took place with regard to the future of the girls' school. Since the scandals arising from Macallum's disciplinary problems in recent years, the "gentlemen of the country" had become much concerned about the school and many suggestions were given to the Bishop as to its future conduct and location.<sup>23</sup> All seem to have agreed as to the necessity of its continuance and the advisability of separating the girls department from that for the boys, while keeping the whole under the superintendence of the Bishop.

Towards the end of January 1850 Anderson attended his second meeting of the Council of Assiniboia.<sup>24</sup> The minutes of the meetings at this time did not record the names of movers and seconders of motions and for that reason the parts played by the individual members are obscure. However, because of the presence of His Lordship, local

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22. P.A.B.C. ROSS LETTERS - D. Ross from Rev. John Hunter, June 27th, 1850.

23. P.A.B.C. ROSS LETTERS - D. Ross from John Ballenden, December 17th, 1849.

24. Oliver - North-West. p 356.

practice was brought into harmony with current British custom and the Governor ceased issuing marriage licences and turned the job over to the Bishop. It seems likely that the Governor, as a staunch supporter of the Church, was responsible jointly with the Bishop for this motion.

By this date Bishop Anderson had had sufficient time to appreciate fully the infrequent nature of the mails. He not only felt the homesickness of an Englishman in a strange land, but also the necessity of frequent and full communication with the English Societies from which his Diocese drew the majority of its financial support. By this time also he was aware of the trading trips to the United States made by the various local merchants and fur traders, and of the fact that some of them received letters by this route. In view of these considerations and of a series of similar motions later attributed directly to the Bishop, it seems altogether likely that the motion dealing with the mails, at this meeting, owed its origin to Bishop Anderson. The motion proposed that owing to the growing closeness of the Imperial connection as shown by the erection of the Diocese of Rupert's Land it was desirable that postal communications be improved. The method suggested was by regularizing the mails "via St. Peter's or the nearest post town"<sup>25</sup> in the United States. This motion was subsequently cancelled upon the promise of Sir George Simpson to provide six mails a year for the sum of £200, but the Bishop's proposed route eventually proved

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25. Ibid.

to be the one by which the most rapid and frequent system of communication was first opened up.

On the 21st of February, just a month after the Council meeting, the flame of disaffection for Governor Caldwell and Recorder Thom received fresh fuel. Ever since the Sayer case Caldwell had acted himself as president of the General Quarterly Court of Assiniboia. Among other cases, he was called upon to adjudicate, was one on the above date in which a workman by the name of Matheson brought suit against the Recorder to obtain £25 in payment for building a verandah on Mr. Thom's house. The brief record of the case contained in the minutes of the court shows that the case was nonsuited when it was shown that no written account had ever been rendered for the work.

Sheriff Ross, who appears to have been a leader in this dispute, gave a very different account of the case to his brother. "Mr. Thom pleaded his own case. After stamping, ramping and lecturing some two hours, insulting the magistrate and turning the jury out of the box, he put on his hat and walked out of the court, sans ceremonie, leaving the besotted president inside."<sup>26</sup> Despite the exaggeration it is evident that the case was used by the disaffected party to further discredit both Governor Caldwell and Recorder Thom.

The climax to the opposition, just after the Bishop returned from Cumberland, came as a result of a case of "Defamatory Conspiracy" raised by Captain Foss, second in command of the Pensioners, against Mr. and Mrs. Pelly and Mr. and Mrs. Davidson. Foss had been one of the principals

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26. P.A.B.C. ROSS LETTERS - D. Ross from Sheriff A. Ross, August 7th, 1850.

in a flirtation with the wife of John Ballenden, and the Pellys and the Davidsons had been the ring-leaders in a vicious whispering campaign against the Captain, and Mrs. Ballenden. On the 16th of July the Captain brought suit in order to clear both himself and Mrs. Ballenden. "Summonses were demanded. All the magistrates refused to act under Major Caldwell and, after various shuffles, the Major himself had to act."<sup>27</sup>

Summonses were issued to a great many individuals from every walk of life including the clergy. The case was seen to be fraught with so many intricacies and difficulties that the Governor made arrangements for the colony's legal expert, Adam Thom, to resume his seat as judge for this occasion. Pelly objected to this on the grounds that Thom had previously acted as attorney for the plaintiff, but his objection was overruled. The universally compromising nature of the case was shown when at one point in the proceedings Judge Thom charged Mr. Rev./Cockran's wife and Mrs. Black with perjury.

Foss won his case and was awarded £300 damages. "Major Caldwell, however,.....was so much dissatisfied with the conduct of the case that, believing a gross miscarriage of justice had been perpetrated, he addressed a statement of his views to the Board of the Company in London."<sup>28</sup> As a result Thom was demoted to clerk of court with no change of salary, from which post he finally resigned in 1854.

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27. Ibid.

28. Hargrave - Red River. p 90.

"On the tail of this impolitic, not to say disgraceful, affair, in which the clergy have been but too deeply concerned, such was the impulse of public feeling that a petition was immediately got up to set aside Major Caldwell and place the government of the colony in the hands of Governor Colville."<sup>29</sup>

The Governor of Rupert's Land sent his reply to this petition to Sheriff Ross on the 19th of August.<sup>30</sup> He pointed out that the current impasse in the government of the colony was the result of a refusal to co-operate on the part of those very councillors who now complained about their predicament. After noting that only the clergy had continued to support Major Caldwell, he was forced by the exigencies of the situation, "to assume that portion of Major Caldwell's duties comprising the Presidency of the Court and Council, until the decision of the Governor and Committee be known."<sup>31</sup> The decision of the Governor and Committee was known by the 1st of May 1851 and according to the Company rule that no person directly connected with the Company should be involved in the government of Assiniboia, Colville was ordered to withdraw from both Court and Council.

Governor Colville presided at two meetings of the Council of Assiniboia held on the 5th of September and the 16th of October. At the second of these meetings the colony was divided into three judicial districts and petty magistrates were appointed for each. This answered the objections of many as to the difficulty of obtaining justice in

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29. P.A.B.C. ROSS LETTERS - D. Ross from Sheriff A. Ross, August 7th, 1850

30. P.A.B.C. ROSS LETTERS - Sheriff A. Ross from Governor Colville, August 19th, 1850.

31. Ibid.

the colony, but it did not succeed in stopping the dissension which prevailed.

In December Bishop Anderson made an effort to try and heal the breach. It was customary in the schools of the colony to hold the examinations of the pupils in public at the Christmas season. The conclusion of the examinations was celebrated by a party at the home of the schoolmaster. As proprietor of the Academy, Bishop Anderson, sought to use the opportunity of the Christmas examination to invite the presence of leaders on both sides of the political dispute. Unfortunately, for various legitimate reasons, all those who had been invited from one faction found it impossible to be present. Judge Thom promptly examined his own pupils and invited the opposite faction.<sup>32</sup> Thus the Bishop's good intentions came to nought and his effort at peace-making became yet another incident in the constant process of irritation and counter-irritation that developed between the rival factions.

Apart from this effort the Bishop seemed to assume a very passive role throughout the dispute. He might well do so, for he was scarcely in a position to be able to help his friend with the political situation when he himself was involved in a dispute with Alexander Ross over the possession of Upper Church property. As noted previously, direct negotiations between the Bishop and Alexander Ross, as spokesman for the Presbyterians, had begun amicably enough shortly after

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32. P.A.B.C. ROSS LETTERS - D. Ross from John Smithurst,  
January 19th, 1851.

1850,  
Anderson's arrival in October 1849. Towards the end of June/the  
Presbyterians became apprehensive and once more appealed to Sir  
George Simpson. Their letters reached him early in July and in  
reply he urged them to place the matter before Eden Colville, the  
new Governor of Rupert's Land, who was expected to arrive at Fort  
Garry in a few weeks.<sup>33</sup>

After a series of interviews Colville worked out a four-point  
compromise which was agreed to by Bishop Anderson and which was sub-  
mitted to the Presbyterians on the 28th of October.<sup>34</sup> This compromise  
proposed the evaluation of the existing church as old materials and  
the proportionate payment of each seceder from the congregation; the  
reservation of the right to be buried in the existing churchyard; the  
grant of a site at Frog Plain for the building of a Presbyterian Church;  
and the grant of £150 towards the building of the Church. Though  
these terms were apparently agreed upon before being thus formally  
committed to writing, the Presbyterians replied on the 19th of  
November 1850 by requesting Colville to place the whole correspondence  
on the matter before the Governor and Committee in London.<sup>35</sup>

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33. Ross - Red River. p 354.

34. P.A.M. ROSS LETTERS -Bishop Anderson from Governor Colville,  
November 22nd, 1851.

35. P.A.M. ROSS LETTERS -A. Ross from Governor Colville,  
November 22nd, 1850.

Unknown to the negotiators at Red River, Sir George Simpson had heard of the terms of the compromise and wrote to London stating that the Presbyterian claims had been settled by such an arrangement. On the 6th of December, exactly two weeks after Colville had agreed to refer the matter to London, a letter was being written from the London Committee confirming the arrangement and desiring that the land and premises be conveyed to Bishop Anderson.<sup>36</sup> This letter reached Colville the following April and on the 15th of May 1851 the arrangement was agreed to between the disputants.

The vicious personal nature of these disputes which disrupted the social life of this peculiarly isolated community at this time, deeply disturbed the charitable and kindly nature of Bishop Anderson. In mid December he wrote to Donald Ross at Norway House, "We have had a period of trial and difficulty in the Settlement since I returned. All is now quiet and tranquil. I trust I have acted a straight forward and Christian part throughout; whatever may be said of my conduct at the time, I am sure that such will be the judgment of my course in the end. I have but one desire -- to labour in my Master's service among those to whom he has sent me, and especially the poor Indians."<sup>37</sup>

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36. P.A.M. ROSS LETTERS - A. Ross from Governor Colville, April 16th, 1851.

37. P.A.B.C. ROSS LETTERS - D. Ross from Bishop Anderson, December 11th, 1850.

This particular interest in "the poor Indians" was already finding scope for expression within the walls of the Academy. On his return from Cumberland, the Bishop brought with him three Indians; Henry Budd senior, his eldest son of the same name, and the eldest son of James Settee, the Indian catechist at Lac la Ronge.<sup>38</sup> The two boys were enrolled as pupils in the Academy and by December the Bishop wrote that Henry Budd, junior, was "one of the most promising boys in the school."<sup>39</sup>

Henry Budd senior had labored as a catechist since 1840 at the Cumberland Station. He had been educated, successively by West, Cockran, and Jones, as a boy and had later read various theological works sent to him by his namesake in England. When Rev. <sup>Mr.</sup> Hunter arrived in 1844, Budd continued to work at the station with him. He was particularly helpful to Hunter in learning Cree, and worked closely with him in his translation of the Bible and Prayer Book. Now he was given a further course of study by the Bishop preparatory to ordaining him as the first Indian clergyman of the Church of England in Rupert's Land.

There were other events which also served to encourage the Bishop in his thorny task. The summer of 1850 had seen the arrival of a new teacher for the Academy in the person of Mr. G. Pridham. This relieved Bishop Anderson of much of his former burden of teaching in the Academy and freed him for such duties as the training of Henry Budd. Probably with the suggestion and help of the Bishop, Pridham undertook

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38. Intelligencer, December 1850. p 480.

39. P.A.B.C. ROSS LETTERS - D. Ross from Bishop Anderson, December 11th, 1850.

to open a young ladies' school the following summer. With this object in view he purchased Mr. Cockran's new house to serve as a school, and sent home for his fiancée to come out and act as school mistress.<sup>40</sup>

What happened to this arrangement is unknown to the present writer, but the following summer a Mrs. Mills commenced classes in Cockran's former house which thereafter was known as St. Cross Ladies' School.

The Hudson's Bay Company's ship to York Factory also brought letters from the Parent Committee of the Church Missionary Society. On the 28th of May 1850 that body had resolved "That the Missionaries of the stations in North West America be formed into a Committee to act as a Corresponding Committee to consult upon and advise the Parent Committee in the affairs of the Mission."<sup>41</sup> Bishop Anderson was requested to act as President, with Major Caldwell and Rev. W. Cockran as members, and Rev. R. James as Secretary. Accordingly, on the 30th of October a meeting was held at the Red River Academy and the Corresponding Committee was set up as requested. It was concerned chiefly with financial matters and with the extension of the missionary activities of the C.M.S. in Rupert's Land. The minutes of its meetings constitute a valuable record of these phases of the activities of the C.M.S. in the Diocese.

Help was also forthcoming from other quarters. "In 1850 the Society (for the Propagation of the Gospel) responded to a request of

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40. Ibid.

41. S.O.R. Corresponding Committee, October 30th, 1850.

the Bishop to enter the field.<sup>42</sup> By November <sup>43</sup> 1850 the Rev. W.H. Taylor, a young deacon from Newfoundland, had arrived in the colony to take charge of a small settlement on the Assiniboine River.

With the addition of Taylor, the Bishop's class of ordinands now numbered three. Early in December the candidates were examined and on the 22nd of December they were presented to the Bishop for ordination in St. Andrew's Church. John Chapman who was ordained priest at this time had been laboring at the Middle Church for the past year, and now assumed full charge of the parish. W.H. Taylor was also ordained priest at this time preparatory to taking charge of what soon became the parish of St. James'.

By far the most interesting candidate was the Indian Henry Budd, who was ordained deacon. He was well known in the Settlement having been brought there as a boy by John West in 1820. His aged mother was present at the ordination, and afterwards at a service in the same church at which her son preached his first sermon as a deacon. In February 1851 Budd accompanied Bishop Anderson as far as Partridge Crop on Lake Manitoba and then continued on to rejoin Hunter at Cumberland.

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42. Pascoe - S.P.G. Digest. p 178.

43. S.O.R. The first entry in the baptismal register for the Upper Church bearing the signature of W.H. Taylor appears under the date November 17th, 1850.

Despite these marks of progress, all did not continue to be harmonious even in the Indian work of the Diocese. Some time about the end of April 1851, shortly after Governor Colville had received authority from London to proceed with his proposals for the settlement of the Presbyterian question, the old unrest among the congregation at the Indian Settlement came to a climax. The same group who had become disaffected two years ago, now wrote to Bishop Anderson with complaints against their minister, Rev. John Smithurst.<sup>44</sup> His Lordship promptly went down to the scene and met the complainants in the school. At the conclusion of a bitter two hour meeting the ailing and disheartened Smithurst told his Bishop that he would resign, for the spirit of the people was such as to give him no pleasure in ministering among them.

Smithurst himself believed that the trouble-makers were urged on by William Cockran, "who, for reasons best known to himself, wishes me away..... At all events there has been no cordiality between him and myself for a long time."<sup>45</sup> As a result of Cockran's sale of his house at the Upper Settlement rumor had got around that he was returning to the Indian Settlement. Smithurst considered this as confirmation of his suspicions and sadly decided to end his twelve years of ministry at the Indian Settlement. On the 4th of June he communicated his decision to his friend Donald Ross. "Things are, I assure you, in a wretched state at Red River, and I am glad enough to get away, but at

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44. PLACB.C. ROSS LETTERS - D. Ross from Rev. John Smithurst,  
June 4th, 1851.

45. Ibid.

the same time feel deeply injured and painfully affected by the treatment I have received."<sup>46</sup>

Smithurst evidently left Red River soon afterwards for by the time the Corresponding Committee met again on the 9th of July, the station was being supplied by Cockran. The Bishop himself took charge of the Upper Church.

Elsewhere in the colony W.H. Taylor was making progress amongst his mixed congregation on the Assiniboine. During the summer, on a spot within sight of an Indian burial ground, work was begun on a church and rectory. Funds were provided by the S.P.G. who also paid Taylor's salary.

The Presbyterian community also made real progress at this time. Immediately after receiving word that the Governor and Committee had approved of Colvile's propositions, the Presbyterians held a meeting at which a board of managers was appointed to build a manse at Frog Plain.<sup>47</sup> Word was soon received from Canada that a Presbyterian clergyman would definitely arrive at Red River that summer. This news so spurred on the board of managers that the spacious manse was completed by the time that the Rev. John Black arrived on the 19th of September.<sup>48</sup>

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46. Ibid.

47. Ross - Red River. p 357.

48. Bryce, George - John Black, Apostle of Red River. p 52.

Despite their concern with preparations for the long awaited arrival of their own minister, the Presbyterians were not too pre-occupied to keep in close touch with the actions and intentions of Bishop Anderson. Once the agreement was reached with the Presbyterians on the 15th of May, the Bishop evidently considered that the conveyance of the Upper Church and Lands to the Anglicans by the Hudson's Bay Company was merely a matter of time. Such a conclusion was probably justified under the circumstances, particularly in view of the prompt beginning of building operations at Frog Plain by the Presbyterians. By the beginning of September the Presbyterians were confidently looking forward to services of their own in a few weeks.

At this time the Bishop made his first move towards regularizing the services of the Upper Church according to the Order of the Church of England. This he did by proposing in accordance with the first clause of the agreement of the 15th of May, "that the Church should be valued by arbitration or otherwise, as old materials, and a proportionate amount paid to each seceder from the congregation."<sup>49</sup> He did so on the grounds that the secession of the Presbyterians was now obviously only a matter of time. Since secession, this fall, was now certain, he desired to implement the agreement, as soon as possible, in order to use what little of the building season remained "to make such alterations as to admit of the Service being conducted in due order."<sup>50</sup> In response

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49. P.A.M. ROSS LETTERS - A. Ross from Bishop Anderson, September 5th, 1851.

50. Ibid.

to his proposals the Bishop was met with the accusation that he was disturbing "the good harmony of the Congregation of the Upper Church,"<sup>51</sup> because no one had as yet seceded.

With such a background it was <sup>not</sup> surprising neither that the Bishop should refuse<sup>52</sup> a request by the Presbyterians to use the Upper Church for the winter, nor that some three hundred of them should leave the congregation of the Upper Church when the Rev. John Black began his services in the manse on the 28th of September. In any case the process of evaluating the church dragged on with much unseemly haggling so that the Bishop was prevented from making the desired alterations that year. The date of the final settlement of this point remains uncertain but agreement as to the value of the condemned building had not yet been reached by the 21st of November.<sup>53</sup>

In the midst of these negotiations the Bishop complicated the issue by talking about consecrating the church and yard as soon as he was "in possession of the pews and the conveyance of the Governor and Committee."<sup>54</sup> In his concern to bring all of the churches in his diocese up to the standard of uniformity required by the Church of England Bishop Anderson, wilfully or otherwise, disregarded the consequences of consecration. The Presbyterians realized that it would mean the abrogation of the second article of the agreement of May 15th

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51. Ibid.

52. P.A.M. ROSS LETTERS - A. Ross from Bishop Anderson, September 20th, 1851.

53. P.A.M. ROSS LETTERS - Gov. E. Colville from Bishop Anderson, November 21st, 1851.

54. Ibid.

which reserved to them the right of burial in the Upper Churchyard. They promptly appealed to Governor Colville who once more entered the affair as mediator.<sup>55</sup> His correspondence with the Bishop on the subject began on the 21st of November and continued to the end of the month at which time the issue was referred to the Governor and Committee. On the 12th of January 1852 the Committee gave its final decree that neither the church nor the yard were to be consecrated. Instead, they were to be left open to all.<sup>56</sup>

This was a bitter blow to the Bishop for many reasons. He had already begun to regard the Upper Church as his own, and planned to make it his cathedral until he could build a more suitable one on the same site.<sup>57</sup> On leaving England he had been led by the Governor and Committee to believe that the Upper Church would be ready to consecrate on his arrival.<sup>58</sup> His whole English background made him object strongly to the idea of a public cemetery at the very doors of his proposed cathedral and he therefore rejected the idea of consecrating the church without the yard. In addition to all this he was still under obligation to pay those members who seceded from his congregation to adhere to the new Presbyterian congregation while in return he received nothing more than the use of a church building

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55. P.A.M. ROSS LETTERS - A. Ross from Gov. E. Colville,  
November 21st, 1851.
56. Ross - Red River. p 359.
57. P.A.M. ROSS LETTERS - Gov. E. Colville from Bishop Anderson,  
November 26th, 1851.
58. Ibid.

which had already been condemned for several years.

Two meetings of the Corresponding Committee were held during the course of the year. The minutes of the first, on the 9th of July, recorded the fact of the intended absence of Robert James during the coming winter.<sup>59</sup> Minutes of later meetings revealed that he was forced to return to England because of ill health and never recovered sufficiently to return to Red River.<sup>60</sup> Hunter came in from his station at The Pas, Cumberland, and took charge of St. Andrew's parish for eight months from October 1851 to June 1852.<sup>61</sup> The loss from the diocese of James and Smithurst was more than offset by the ordinations of 1849 and 1850 and by the arrival in the fall of 1851 of the Rev. Charles Hillyer.

The year 1851 closed with the delivery of the Bishop's Primary Charge, in St. Andrew's Church, to the clergy of his diocese. This Charge was originally intended for delivery early in 1850 but had been delayed in order to give the Bishop an opportunity to learn more about his diocese. Now that he had visited all of the churches, and stations, with the exception of Moose Factory, occupied by the Church of England in his diocese, Bishop Anderson felt himself justified in delivering his first charge. In it he showed a good comprehension of the nature of his diocese and the difficulties of the work in it, especially

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59. S.O.R. - Corresponding Committee, July 9th, 1851.

60. S.O.R. - Corresponding Committee, December 10th, 1851,  
June 9th, 1853.

61. S.O.R. - Corresponding Committee, June 7th, 1853.

among the Indians. Although anything like the organization of a synod was as yet impossible, two diocesan meetings of the clergy had already been held and he hoped to have another the next summer as a sort of translation committee.<sup>62</sup> He still expressed opposition to the use of Indian syllabics, regarding it rather as an additional obstacle than as a help to the Indians. Several new stations had been occupied and the number of clergy in the diocese had doubled since the arrival of the Bishop.

The Charge also referred enthusiastically to the Bishop's work at the Red River Academy. "It has laid upon me more of labour, but that labour has been its own reward. To it in anticipation of the future, I have given the name of St. John's Collegiate School."<sup>63</sup>

The Bishop envisaged the ultimate rebuilding of the school and the establishment of a theological college in connection with it. These were to be grouped around his own cathedral of the same name. For the school and proposed college he had also selected the beautiful motto, "In thy light we shall see light."

Financially the diocese was still mainly supported by the Church Missionary Society plus the proceeds from the Leith bequest and the Hudson's Bay Company's annuity, which together paid the Bishop's salary. His Lordship had brought out with him special grants of £300 and £500 respectively from the S.P.C.K. and the Jubilee Fund

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62. Bishop Anderson - Primary Charge. p 34.

63. Ibid. p 42.

of the C.M.S. Help had also been received from the British and Foreign Bible Society, and the S.P.G. had undertaken the support of the parish of St. James' on the Assiniboine.

On the question of self-support the Bishop seemed to be inclined to believe that the inhabitants of his diocese were doing all that could reasonably be expected. Collections amounting to £102 and £35 had been received by the local branch of the C.M.S. during 1850 and 1851. But the great drawback in the country was lack of money. "A little we have this year endeavoured to do in return; far more would be done had the people ability, had they the power to convert in a British market their corn into money; what they could give, that I bear witness, they have given cheerfully and liberally."<sup>64</sup>

As a further project towards independent diocesan finance Bishop Anderson had started what he called a Diocesan Church Society. The object was to raise a fund which would be able to help various parts of the work of the diocese at such a time as the support of the missionary societies should be withdrawn. "It exists as yet only in name; my chief wish is to make it a centre for legacies, should any from a distance wish to benefit the country permanently, or should any who acquired wealth in it, desire, after the example of him whose munificent bequest founded the bishopric, to leave behind some token of their anxiety for the welfare of those, through whose labour they have amassed their riches."<sup>65</sup>

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64. Ibid. p 44.

65. Ibid. p 45.

The great event of 1852 was the flood which devastated the Settlement during the month of May. A perusal of Bishop Anderson's account<sup>66</sup> quickly reveals the truth of Gunn's statement that "The Colonial Governor, the Bishop of Rupert's Land, and also the Rev. John Black were untiring in their efforts to aid and comfort and cheer the heartless, homeless people....."<sup>67</sup> His Lordship's chief concern was for his boys' and girls' schools. There was not only the matter of removing all of their inmates to safety, but also the more serious question of their continuance during the coming winter in view of the scarcity of supplies which must result from the destruction caused by the flood. The Bishop succeeded in making the necessary arrangements and a minimum of interruption was caused in the conduct of the schools.

At the height of the flood, the Bishop and his family were forced to take refuge with the Rev. W.H. Taylor in the unfinished rectory at St. James. Mr. and Mrs. Taylor had lived with the Bishop at the Academy ever since their arrival in 1850, and only took possession of their unfinished parsonage-house on May 7th when it became evident that the Academy buildings might have to be entirely vacated because of the flood. The services of Sunday May 16th witnessed the curious spectacle of Taylor and the Bishop conducting services in the hallway and being both visible and audible to the

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66. Bishop Anderson - Notes on the Flood 1852.

67. Gunn and Tuttle - Manitoba. p 308.

congregation by reason of the unplastered state of the partitions in the house.<sup>68</sup>

For a time it seemed that the demands of affairs at Red River would prevent the Bishop's anticipated trip to Moose and Albany during the summer. But it took more than a flood to stop Bishop Anderson. The waters had not yet fully receded when, on the 26th of May, he "Brought up Mr. Thomas Cockran that he might undergo his examination."<sup>69</sup> Thomas Cockran was the son of William Cockran, having been born at Red River in 1826, the year of the first great flood. He was a graduate of Durham University and seems to have arrived in the Settlement fairly recently with the intention of succeeding Pridham as head of the Collegiate School. On Trinity Sunday, the 6th of June, he was ordained deacon in St. Andrew's Church.

The following morning a meeting of the Corresponding Committee was held to hear Mr. Cowley's report of his recent missionary tour. On the 8th Pridham left on his way back to England<sup>70</sup> and the Bishop arranged to reopen the Upper Church on the 20th. Mails received on the 9th and 12th brought cheering news of additional workers for the diocese. Confident that under Thomas Cockran all would be well with the Collegiate School, the Bishop once more looked forward to his visit to James' Bay. He set out from Red River on the 28th of June and did not return until the 15th of October.

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68. Bishop Anderson - Notes on the Flood. p 42-43.

69. Ibid. p 67.

70. Ibid. p.96.

During his absence several changes had taken place in the Settlement. His good friend Donald Ross, who was now living in retirement at St. Andrew's had fallen ill, and the Bishop immediately went to visit him.<sup>71</sup> At St. Andrew's he also learned of the departure of Governor and Mrs. Colville and of the arrival of W.W. Kirkby as the new schoolmaster at the St. Andrew's industrial school.<sup>72</sup> On his departure for Moose Factory his Lordship had left his Collegiate boys under the care of Thomas Cockran at the St. Andrew's rectory. Now he found that they had returned to the Academy about two weeks before his own return to Red River.<sup>73</sup> This made him more than ever anxious to reach home and his own family that night, so he decided to ride the remaining distance by horse. Fortunately for him he met one of his senior pupils just as darkness was closing in. The flood had made such changes in the roads that this boy had to act as guide to enable the Bishop to reach his destination that night in safety.<sup>74</sup>

During the remainder of the year the Bishop seems to have been occupied with parochial and educational duties at the Upper Church and at the Academy, and with administering the affairs of his diocese from there. At some time during this period he also ordained Robert McDonald, one of his half-breed pupils, to the diaconate.<sup>75</sup> At the

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71. Bishop Anderson - The Net in the Bay. p 291.

72. Ibid.

73. Ibid. p 290.

74. Ibid. p 292.

75. S.O.R. - Corresponding Committee, June 9th, 1853.  
 Stock - History of the C.M.S. v.3 p.320.  
 Bishop Anderson - Notes on the Flood. p 73.

time of the flood he had been teaching school in the vicinity of St. James.<sup>76</sup> Bishop Anderson's first intention was to take advantage of the offer of the S.P.G. to provide a clergyman to be stationed at York Factory, but although the S.P.G. approved of his choice, he decided afterwards that the post required someone with more experience than McDonald.<sup>77</sup>

Towards the end of December arrangements were completed with the Rev. John Chapman, his wardens and his congregation, to consecrate the Middle Church with the name of St. Paul's. On the morning of January 5th, the day set for the consecration, the Bishop received a hasty letter from two of the members of the congregation of the Middle Church, objecting to the consecration. By their names, John Sutherland and John Fraser, and by their manner of styling themselves as "two proprietors of the Middle Church"<sup>78</sup> they were evidently Presbyterians who had already actually left the church. Despite the Bishop's answer that the consecration was being carried out with the approval of the majority of the congregation, these two claimed to have only just heard about it and hence their last minute objection. The whole correspondence, which included a scurrilous personal attack on the Bishop, appeared to be inspired by someone else as a means of

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76. Bishop Anderson - Notes on the Flood. p 80.

77. Pascoe - S.P.G. Digest. p 178.

78. P.A.M. ROSS LETTERS - Copy of Correspondence between Bishop Anderson and two proprietors of the Middle Church, January 5th, 1853 to January 14th, 1853.

annoying the Bishop. In this they certainly succeeded for at the close of the correspondence Bishop Anderson spoke of "this system of continual annoyance" and claimed that he could not "much longer bear up under the kind of persecution, from which I now suffer."<sup>79</sup> The incident terminated by the resignation of their pews on the part of the complainants.

In July, Bishop Anderson paid his second visit to Cumberland. While there he had a talk about the Presbyterian objections to the consecration of the Upper Church, with Mr. Hunter, who had been in charge of St. Andrew's during the dispute.<sup>80</sup> Apparently this was the first time that he really understood "that there was no objection on the part of the Presbyterian body to the Consecration of the Churchyard, if only the right were reserved to them to bury in it after their own manner."<sup>81</sup> After his return to the Settlement he broached the subject again to the Presbyterians on the 13th of October.<sup>82</sup> The long series of misunderstandings came to a happy conclusion on the 28th of October 1853 when the Upper Church was consecrated as St. John's<sup>83</sup>, and the churchyard was consecrated with the

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79. Ibid., January 11th, 1853.

80. P.A.M. ROSS LETTERS - A. Ross from Bishop Anderson,  
October 13th, 1853.

81. Ibid.

82. Ibid.

83. S.O.R. - Entry in the margin of the baptismal register for  
St. John's Church.

reservation on the part of the Bishop and his successors, of, "a right for all of the Presbyterian Communion to bury in it after their own manner...."<sup>84</sup>

While affairs were working out thus happily at the Upper Church with regard to the Presbyterians and the consecration, trouble developed in an unlooked for quarter of the Bishop's own flock. One Sunday about the end of October Bishop Anderson took the morning service at St. John's and then went down to St. Andrew's. By the time of the afternoon service, Thomas Cockran, who was left in charge, was drunk, and the disgraceful manner in which he conducted the service naturally created quite a scandal.<sup>85</sup> The Bishop promptly suspended him, with reinstatement dependent upon good behaviour.

By mid-December the Bishop's relationship with his late adversary had so far improved that Alexander Ross paid him a personal visit on a matter of private business on Saturday, December 17th.<sup>86</sup> Since his arrival in the Settlement the Rev. John Black had wooed and won the hand of the old Sheriff's daughter, and hence the Bishop's Saturday visitor. It was arranged that the Sheriff's old friend, the Rev. William Cockran, should perform the ceremony, and in due course the Rev. John Black was married to Miss Ross on the 21st of January.

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84. P.A.M. ROSS LETTERS - A. Ross from Bishop Anderson, October 13th, 1853.

85. P.A.M. ROSS LETTERS - James Ross from Adam McBeath, November 9th, 1853.

86. P.A.M. ROSS LETTERS - James Ross from Bishop Anderson, December 20th, 1853.

On the same date the Bishop began to conduct his ordination examinations.<sup>87</sup> Evidently the erring Thomas Cockran had kept his promise of good behaviour for he was one of those writing the examinations. The other candidate was James Settee, the second native catechist to be employed, in Rupert's Land, by the Church of England. On Christmas Day, 1853, Bishop Anderson conducted his first ordination in St. John's Church. James Settee became the second Indian in the diocese to be made a deacon, while Thomas Cockran was raised to the priesthood. Settee went to the Indian Settlement for the rest of the winter to help the Rev. Chas. Hillyer, while Thomas Cockran continued his work as Master of St. John's Collegiate School.

This Christmas season was certainly a happy one for the Cockrans, both father and son. In his ordination sermon for the son, the Bishop gave notice of the honor he was soon to bestow upon the father. "The fathers and founders of our Church are mostly taken from us; one only entitled to the name still remains, and whom that very preeminence would mark out as the one best fitted by years and usefulness for the office to which he is to be raised this week."<sup>88</sup> The ordination took place on Sunday. On Tuesday the Bishop held his second triennial Visitation and delivered his second Charge. In it he

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87. Ibid.

88. Bishop Anderson - Bishop Anderson's Sermons, Children Instead of Fathers, a Christmas Ordination Sermon, December 25th, 1853.

announced the appointment of the Rev. William Cockran as Archdeacon of Assiniboia<sup>89</sup> and of James Hunter as Archdeacon of Cumberland. Such appointments were justified by the continued increase in the number of clergy in the diocese. The current total of fifteen included the Rev. G.O. Corbett who was now in charge of a station at Headingley. He had been sent by the Colonial and Continental Church Society in 1851 to Montreal to gain some training<sup>in</sup> medicine, and reached Red River some time in 1852.<sup>90</sup>

The Bishop's Second Charge had several other interesting features. It began with a survey, of the doctrinal and legal developments in the Church in England, which clearly showed his own evangelical position. This section was followed by one dealing with diocesan affairs. In the interests of more effective administration he envisaged a tri-partite subdivision of his diocese: a southern division centered at Red River; a northern division centered at Cumberland; and an eastern division centered at Moose Factory. The latter division was not yet sufficiently developed to warrant any action at that time. The creation of the other two divisions was signaled by the appointment of William Cockran as Archdeacon of Assiniboia and of James Hunter as Archdeacon of Cumberland.

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89. Bishop Anderson - Second Triennial Charge, December 27th, 1853.

90. Corbett, Griffith Owen - Notes on Rupert's America - Introduction.

The day after the Visitation a meeting of the Corresponding Committee was held at the Bishop's residence. It was there decided that Mr. Cowley should come in from his long and arduous work at Fairford and assume the permanent charge of the Indian Settlement at Red River.<sup>91</sup> Since the Council of Assiniboia, acting under instructions from London, had ceased making grants for education, the schools at Little Britain and Sugar Point were placed on the lists of the Church Missionary Society for support.

A minute recording a similar arrangement for the school at Portage la Prairie indicated that a further change had occurred in the parishes of Red River. When William Cockran moved to the Indian Settlement in 1851 he soon discovered that the old wooden church built by him in 1836 had become too small for the congregation. He decided to rebuild in stone and began collecting for the purpose. On May 23rd, 1853 the foundation of the new church was laid, but soon, "The sum already collected was well nigh expended, and the hand and hearts of those engaged in the undertaking were beginning to grow faint...."<sup>92</sup> At this point word was received that the Church Missionary Society had granted £200 towards the project. With this encouragement the building was nearly completed within the year and the veteran Cockran moved on to found yet another church amongst a little group of former

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91. S.O.R. Corresponding Committee, December 28th, 1853.

92. S.O.R. Corresponding Committee, June 9th, 1853.

members of his Red River congregations who had settled at Portage la Prairie.<sup>93</sup>

Little is known of the Bishop's activities during 1854. At the end of January he received a letter from James Ross, one of his former pupils in the Academy, who had recently won a scholarship at Toronto University. From the Bishop's reply written on Saturday, February 4th, we learn that he was feeling much more encouraged, particularly about the Indian work.<sup>94</sup> A library of over 200 books had just been opened at Jacobs' School and in a fortnight he was to take part in a series of lectures to be given there. His own subject was to be "Books,; ; ; tracing the various substitutes for them in past ages--the gradual improvement in them, and then their mighty effect on the present generation"<sup>95</sup>

Apart from this, his activity seemed to center in his parish church and the Collegiate School at St. John's. In this year the S.P.G. commenced paying the salary of Thomas Cockran as rector of St. John's and Master of the Collegiate School.<sup>96</sup> Among the pupils the Bishop considered John Norquay and David Tait as the two leading boys. The eldest of his own sons, "Archy" (aged 11 yrs.) was evidently following in his father's footsteps by being proficient in mathematics.

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93. Garrioch - First Furrows. p 79.

94. P.A.M. ROSS LETTERS - James Ross from Bishop Anderson, February 4th, 1854.

95. Ibid.

96. Pascoe - S.P.G. Digest. p 178.

His Lordship faithfully attended the two meetings of the Council of Assiniboia held on June 22nd, and August 3rd, but seems to have taken little part in them. At the August meeting however he did propose a motion which regularized the vexed question of the appointment of constables for the Settlement.<sup>97</sup>

Two meetings of the Corresponding Committee were held on June 9th and July 26th respectively. At the first meeting Abraham Cowley took over the duties of Secretary. During the interval between meetings the ranks of the Anglicans were strengthened by the adherence of the veteran Wesleyan missionary, the Rev. William Mason. He was present at the meeting of July 26th at which the Bishop announced that he had been appointed to York Factory. At this meeting also, the work of completing the church at the Indian Settlement was handed over to its permanent incumbent, the Rev. A. Cowley. Archdeacon Cockran was apparently still occupied in building a parsonage in St. Andrew's parish<sup>98</sup> as well as working in his own parish at Portage la Prairie.

On July 29th the Bishop received a visit from the Rev. John Ryerson of the Canadian Methodist Church.<sup>99</sup> He was visiting the Wesleyan mission stations in Rupert's Land with a view to their being taken over by the Canadian branch of the Church. He was kindly received

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97. Oliver - North-West. p 403.

98. S.O.R. Corresponding Committee, January 2nd, 1855.

99. Ryerson, Rev. John - Hudson's Bay; or a Missionary Tour in the Territory of the Hon. Hudson's Bay Company. p 63.

by the Bishop and invited to dinner. On Sunday morning he "heard Bishop Anderson preach a very good sermon, although it was more than forty minutes too long..... His lordship was certainly not a very good preacher, but he is a good man, and, I should think, very well qualified, especially by the general blamelessness of his character, to promote the interests of virtue and education in the bounds of his diocese."<sup>100</sup>

The minutes of the meeting of the Corresponding Committee held on January 2nd, 1855 recorded several other developments which took place during the remainder of the year. The meeting was held as usual in the Bishop's residence which was known known as "Bishop's Court". Governor Caldwell, the faithful friend of the C.M.S. had received his promotion to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. W.W. Kirkby, the industrial school teacher had been ordained deacon, probably around the end of December. The St. Andrew's parsonage was now finished and the final accounts paid. The Rev. Charles Hillyer, having taken unto himself a wife, was recommended for a consequent raise in salary. A Mr. Henry George had also arrived from England to undertake theological training with a view towards ordination for work in the diocese. He had already received some medical training which would prove a valuable asset.

Strong disagreement was shown on the matter of an Orphan Asylum.

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100. Ibid. p 64.

The subject first appeared in the minutes of the meeting of December 28th, 1853. Now the building in St. Andrew's parish, had just been "completed and handed over to the superintendence of the Rev. Wm. Kirkby, free from debt."<sup>101</sup> The disagreement came over the question of appealing to the Society for £50 a year to support the institution. Apparently the Parent Committee had already refused to undertake such a charge. Cowley knew this and also objected on the grounds that St. Andrew's was by now, well able to pay its own way as a self-supporting parish.

Later in January the Bishop's youngest son Herbert had a severe case of whooping cough but he had successfully recovered by February 9th.<sup>102</sup> On the 28th of February the Bishop attended the Council of Assiniboia at which William Ross was appointed postmaster, and monthly mails via Pembina were instituted.<sup>103</sup> The Bishop himself moved the appointment of William Inkster as Public Surveyor and supported Cockran in his motion to extend the east road.<sup>104</sup>

On May 15th another meeting of the Corresponding Committee was held as it was the last opportunity of doing so before the departure of several of its members. The Bishop himself was planning to make a second visit to Moose and Albany. This year also marked the end of the enlistment period of the Pensioners and as a result the Colonel and

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101. S.O.R. Corresponding Committee, January 2nd, 1855.

102. P.A.M. ROSS LETTERS - James Ross from Bishop Anderson, February 9th, 1855.

103. Oliver - North-West. p 409.

104. Ibid. p 404-5.

such of his men as wished to do so, were returning to England that summer.<sup>105</sup> William Mason had now recovered his health sufficiently to warrant his return to York.

On his journey to Moose Factory the Bishop took with him Thomas Vincent, an Indian student at the Academy. He was a native of the James Bay district and remained at Moose as a school teacher.<sup>106</sup> On his return trip the Bishop brought with him an Esquimaux boy whom Rev. Watkins had brought from Fort George. It was the intention to educate and train this boy for the ministry but unfortunately he quickly sickened and died at Red River.<sup>107</sup>

The Bishop was back in the Settlement again by October and was feeling apprehensive about the winter because the departure of Colonel Caldwell and a number of the Pensioners.<sup>108</sup> His chief misgiving about the withdrawal of the Pensioners seemed to be over the resulting drop in the amount of money which would be circulating in the colony. However he did not allow this to interfere with his long cherished project of building up a library for the College. By the beginning of November the collection numbered 800 volumes. "About 250 are the gifts of friends--250 from the Xtin. Knowl. Soct.<sup>109</sup> and the remainder are my own gift."<sup>110</sup>

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105. Hargrave - Red River. p 94.

106. Bishop Anderson - Net in the Bay. p 300.

107. Ibid. p 301.

108. P.A.M. ROSS LETTERS - James Ross from Bishop Anderson,  
October 4th, 1855.

109. Christian Knowledge Society.

110. P.A.M. ROSS LETTERS - James Ross from Bishop Anderson, November 7th, 1855.

The establishment of a library was part of a larger scheme of reorganization for the College which the Bishop carried out in 1855. "A collegiate board was nominated, consisting of some of the leading people in the country..... The institution was called St. John's College, and the motto.....was selected by the Bishop, 'In thy light shall we see light'." <sup>111</sup>

By the end of October Archdeacon Hunter had arrived at Red River to take over the permanent charge of St. Andrew's parish. <sup>112</sup> Henry George, it was decided, would take Hunter's place at Cumberland, but as yet he was not ordained. That event took place on New Year's Day, 1856. At the ordination service, which took place in St. John's Church, Henry George was made a deacon while the Rev. James Settee and the Rev. W.W. Kirkby became priests.

During the years which had passed since the Sayer trial of 1849, the growing trade with the United States had brought into the Settlement an ever increasing flood of bad whiskey.

Prompted by the danger of this importation and by the minor depression which resulted in the Settlement from the withdrawal of Col. Caldwell and the Pensioners, the Bishop issued a proclamation which called a public meeting at the Upper School-house on January 18th to devise ways and means of improving the social and moral

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111. Hargrave - Red River. p 114.

112. S.O.R. Corresponding Committee, October 31st, 1855.

condition of the Settlement. Postmaster William Ross, a tee-totaller, has given us a scathing account of this meeting which he has represented as having mainly advocated the home manufacture of whiskey.<sup>113</sup> In fairness to the Bishop however, it must be said that this was but one of five practical suggestions made to the meeting by His Lordship. The establishment of a local distillery seemed to be the logical way both to ensure the quality of whiskey being consumed in the country, and to control the amount of it which was consumed. But other items besides whiskey were absorbing the income of the colonists by reason of their high cost of importation. Accordingly the Bishop advocated the home manufacture of soap; the raising of more sheep to permit the establishment of a cloth factory; the establishment of a local savings bank, and the establishment of a local tannery. Unfortunately little seems to have come of the meeting except an open division between the "wets" and the "drys".

At the end of February the Bishop attended a meeting of the Council at which F.G. Johnson read his commission as Governor of Assiniboia.<sup>114</sup> At the same meeting the Bishop moved the acceptance of William Ross' report on the Post Office, plus the continuance of the monthly mail to Pembina and the establishment of a receiving officer for mail at the Rapids. He also supported the motion for the reduction in postage rates between Pembina and the Settlement.

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113. P.A.M. ROSS LETTERS - James Ross from William Ross, February 9th, 1856.

114. Oliver - North-West. p 411, February 27th, 1856.

Exactly three months later at another meeting of the Council on May 27th the Bishop sadly moved a vote of sympathy to the widow of William Ross, and proposed William Dreyer to replace Ross as post-master and Kenneth Logan to replace Ross as petty judge.<sup>115</sup>

The Bishop's thoughts and actions were all governed now by his intended visit to England. Since his first arrival at Red River he had planned to take a holiday at the end of seven years. "It was now necessary to leave for a season, to place my boys at school in England, to raise funds for the farther extension of the work, and to seek spiritual refreshment and invigoration by intercourse with friends....."<sup>116</sup>

Accordingly on the 29th of May he held his third Visitation and delivered his Charge in St. John's Church. This Charge was remarkable for its announcement of the formation of a diocesan library for the use of the clergy who could ill-afford, as missionaries, to buy books, even if they had been able to obtain them in their isolated stations. Bishop Anderson also announced the reorganization of the Collegiate School and his plans for the future. They were noble plans but somewhat premature for the present resources of the country. The Bishop concluded his Charge by appointing the senior Archdeacon, the Venerable William Cockran, as his commissary during his absence.

During the month of May the Bishop held his "Confirmations as

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115. Ibid. p 420.

116. Bishop Anderson - Net in the Bay. p 304.

usual, the four in the Settlement--a fifth in St. James' beforehand on the first Sunday after Easter March 30th."<sup>117</sup> On the 30th of May a final meeting of the Corresponding Committee was held at Bishop's Court for the transaction of necessary business. At this meeting arrangements were made to engage an assistant for St. Andrew's school in order to free Kirkby for the duties of superintendent of all of the Society's schools.

All was now arranged, and there remained only the business of the journey to England. In 1849 the Bishop and his party had come out by way of Hudson's Bay as a matter of necessity. In the intervening years communications by way of the United States had considerably increased. However because of the large size of the Bishop's party it was decided that they should return to England by way of Hudson's Bay.<sup>118</sup> Early in August they left Red River for York Factory and on the 30th of October they reached England.<sup>119</sup>

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117. P.A.M. ROSS LETTERS - James Ross from Bishop Anderson, February 21st, 1856.

118. Bishop Anderson - Net in the Bay. p 305.

119. Ibid.

## CHAPTER V

### THE WORK AT RED RIVER 1856 to 1864

During his absence in England Bishop Anderson worked untiringly in the interests of his far-flung diocese. In the spring of 1857 at his old parish church of All Saints', Derby, he ordained T. H. Fleming as a deacon to go to Moose Factory, as an assistant to the Rev. John Horden.<sup>1</sup> On Sunday May 3rd, His Lordship preached in St. Paul's Cathedral London. He used the occasion to appeal for funds for the Rupert's Land Diocesan and Mission Fund, which he had started years ago at Red River.<sup>2</sup> The objects of this fund he set forth as the building of a cathedral at a cost of approximately £4500, the extension of missions, and the promotion of education. Before leaving England to return to Rupert's Land he had received in excess of the amount required for his cathedral.

Bishop Anderson's visit to England coincided with the meetings of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, appointed to inquire into the state of Rupert's Land. There were many reasons for the appointment of this committee which need not be enumerated here. As Bishop of the country, however, Bishop Anderson was a logical person to whom to appeal for information. In due course, he appeared before the Committee and gave a most interesting picture of his diocese. He reported that his diocese was now staffed with nineteen clergy besides himself. Of this number, fifteen were supported by

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1. Bishop Anderson - Net in Bay. p 311.

2. Bishop Anderson - Sermons Britain's answer to the Nations, a missionary sermon preached in St. Paul's Cathedral London Sunday, May 3rd, 1857.

the Church Missionary Society, two by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, one by the Colonial and Continental Church Society, and one as chaplain by the Hudson's Bay Company.<sup>3</sup>

In the matter of finances the C.M.S. was now spending close to \$6000 annually on the Rupert's Land Mission. Judging by a statement from the Society, signed by the Rev. Henry Venn as secretary, the Bishop was reprimanded by the C.M.S. for not achieving a greater degree of self-support in his diocese. The Society "trust that the expenditure has reached its limit and that the native churches will gradually become self-supporting; and that the Company and the settlers will be ready to undertake the work of general education, and to take a large share in the evangelizing of the remaining heathen Indians."<sup>4</sup>

In general the Bishop gave a favorable picture of the government of the Hudson's Bay Company but he did have several constructive criticisms to offer.<sup>5</sup> He considered that the duties charged on imports by the Company were too high and constituted a hindrance to progress in the settlement at Red River. At the same time he made a plea for some measures to be taken to curb the amount of spirituous liquors consumed in the colony. He made a plea for improved communications

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3. Report of the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company 1857. P 231.

4. Ibid p 233.

5. Ibid p 237-8.

for the Settlement, either by way of Hudson's Bay or by way of Canada and the Great Lakes. It was his belief that the country was fit for settlement at other places, besides the Red River, and he urged that the country was ready for a controlled immigration. The Bishop's experience of the constant, and often viciously personal quarrels and disputes which went on in that isolated and closely knit community had long since taught him the need for wider interests and fresh blood amongst the inhabitants of the Red River Settlement.

As the time for the return to Red River approached, His Lordship discovered that an extra two months could be spent in England if he returned to Canada by way of the regular steamships to Quebec. He immediately chose this course, and together with his sister, he returned to Red River by way of Quebec, Montreal, Toronto, Milwaukee and St. Paul. In response to an invitation to do so, he timed his journey so that he would arrive in St. Paul in time to preach the opening sermon at the Annual Convention of the Diocese of Minnesota.<sup>6</sup> According to an item in the Nor'Wester this was evidently the first such convention in the new American Diocese of Minnesota which at that time had no bishop of its own.<sup>7</sup>

Shortly after the Bishop returned to Bishop's Court, in October, he summoned a meeting of the Corresponding Committee. During his absence two meetings had been held. A new school teacher, Mr. Mayhew, had arrived from England, and was appointed to the Rapids' School so as to free Kirkby for his duties as superintendent of schools and assistant minister of St. Andrew's parish. On the 25th of August, just a few days after the departure of Bishop Anderson, Mrs. Hillyer died.

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6. Bishop Anderson - Net in Bay p 311

7. Nor'Wester - v.1. number 15, July 28th, 1859.

"She had long been consumptive, and death ensued on the rupture of a blood-vessel."<sup>8</sup> By the end of November Rev. <sup>Mr.</sup>Hillyer's own health had become so bad that he was given permission to visit England. He left Red River during the winter and reached England on the 6th of February.<sup>9</sup> The Bishop brought the news, to the meeting of October 21st 1857, that Hillyer had resigned from the mission and would not again return to Red River.<sup>10</sup> This meeting was also attended by the Rev. A.E. Watkins who had made the long journey down from Fort George on the eastern shores of James' Bay. Because of the lateness of the season he was appointed, for the winter, to the charge of Mapleton, a point which had begun as a school in the St. Andrew's district and was now developing into an independent congregation.

During the absence of the Bishop from his Diocese several changes had also taken place in the civil and social life of the Colony. When his Lordship left Rupert's Land in 1856, the country was completely without any garrison of troops. The arrival of a detachment of American troops at Pembina, in the autumn of 1856, quickly brought about a reaction on the British side of the boundary. By October 1857 a Company of the Royal Canadian Rifles arrived at Red River, having sailed from Canada by way of Hudson Strait to York Factory.<sup>11</sup>

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8. Intelligencer - December 1856 - Recent Intelligence.

9. Ibid - March 1857.

10. S.O.R. - Corresponding Committee October 21st, 1857.

11. Morton - Canadian West p 828.

Such a move served to strengthen the bonds, of both interest and ambition, between Canada and the Red River Colony.

An event of even greater ultimate importance to the Colony was the visit of Captain John Palliser, and his botanist Dr. Hector, in July, 1857. In connection with the inquiry of the Select Committee of the British House of Commons, Captain Palliser was ordered, on March 31st 1857, "to proceed by the Great Lakes and Fort William to Fort Garry and the prairie region, and to report on the country."<sup>12</sup> The explorations and observations of this party extended over a period of several years and their final report was not completed until 1863. Their report was the most accurate picture of the physical characteristics and possibilities of the country to be produced during that period.

At the same time the Canadian Government sent out the politically inspired Dawson-Hind Expedition. The object of this party was to ascertain the accessibility of the country, from Canada, in the interests of immigration and a hoped-for annexation of the territory by Canada. As a result, one of its primary concerns was transportation and communication. In the interests of Canada's aspirations, Hind gave a much more optimistic picture of the amount of arable land in the country. He, himself, reached Red River in June 1858, and during his visit he went to see Bishop Anderson.

The results of these explorations and reports, were to awaken, in the outside world, a great deal of interest in Rupert's

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12. Ibid - p 833.

Land, and to lessen, materially, the period in which the territory could continue to enjoy the isolation in which it had slumbered up until this time. The effect of the former was to bring to Red River the vanguard of adventurers and speculators which preceded the real tides of immigration throughout the west. The effect, of the increasing connection with the outside world, was to cause a growing unrest amongst the inhabitants of the whole territory, and particularly at Red River. Thus the improvements in communications, so much desired by Bishop Anderson in order to broaden the mental horizons of the Settlement, now began to cause him some of his greatest worries because of their bad effects upon the inhabitants of the land.

The trade with the United States, which had steadily increased from 1849 to 1856, now began to grow with even greater rapidity from 1856 to 1860. In the middle of the decade about fifty Red River carts used to make the annual summer trip to St. Paul. By 1860 some 700 or 800 carts made the journey.<sup>13</sup> As a result, the bad American whiskey, which had worried the Bishop in January 1856, flowed even more freely in the colony in January 1860.

Bishop Anderson seems to have been particularly concerned about the young ~~men~~<sup>men</sup> of the Settlement during the first three years after his return to Bishop's Court. Through the St. John's Collegiate School and the various C.M.S. schools throughout the Settlement, he had had contact with many of the young men who made the annual trip

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13. Intelligencer - May 1860. p 113.

to St. Paul's, and the obvious demoralization, which he saw coming over them, worried him greatly. At the first meeting of the Council of Assiniboia June 23rd 1858, following his return to the Settlement, the Bishop supported a motion by John Inkster which sought to curb the importation of American Whisky by imposing a duty of 6 shillings per gallon, but the Council merely postponed the motion to the next meeting.<sup>14</sup> At the next meeting nothing was heard of the postponed motion.

By the time that Professor Hind reached the Settlement in 1858 the Bishop had organized a series of adult education lectures in the various schools with the object of providing some other diversion, for the young men of the district, than visiting the numerous biquor shops. The chief difficulty was the lack of adequate equipment for illustrative purposes. This was particularly the case with some lectures in astronomy given during the winter by Professor Hind.<sup>15</sup>

During the winter of 1858-59 the Bishop and his clergy also used their pulpits to urge their flocks to temperance and morality. Archdeacon Hunter had left his parish of St. Andrew's to make the long journey to Mackenzie River. In his absence, W.W. Kirkby pleaded earnestly with his congregation to refrain from importing liquor from the United States.<sup>16</sup>

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14. Oliver - North-West p 429.

15. Bishop Anderson - Charges and Sermons Fourth Triennial Charge p 51.

16. Intelligencer - May 1860. p 113

In March 1859 Bishop Anderson presented to the Council of Assiniboia one of four petitions urging the regulation of the American liquor traffic.<sup>17</sup> As a result of these petitions the Bishop found himself appointed to a committee to draft "a system of Laws to regulate the importation of spirituous liquors into the Settlement."<sup>18</sup> This committee made its report on May 26th and its provisions were put into effect in July. Heavy fines were imposed for the importation of adulterated liquor and for selling it to the Indians. Retailers <sup>were</sup> required to pay a licence fee and to abide by regular hours of business.

After attending the meetings of the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1857 and reading the report of their recommendations, Bishop Anderson became very much concerned about the political future of Rupert's Land. When the Crown Colony of British Columbia was created in 1858, the news stirred hopes amongst the inhabitants of Rupert's Land, that a similar step might be taken there. The following year Bishop Anderson and his clergy sent a petition to the Imperial Parliament requesting that Rupert's Land, or at least that part of it which included the Colony of Assiniboia, be created a Crown Colony.<sup>19</sup>

By the time that the Bishop delivered his Fourth Triennial Charge on January 6th 1860 no action had as yet been forthcoming.

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17. Oliver - North-West p 438.

18. Ibid - p 440

19. Corbett - Notes on Rupert's America p 27.

He expressed his anxiety on the subject in the opening passages of his Charge and stated his hope that during the present year they might "become a direct colony of the Crown .... For this, as a body, we have ourselves petitioned the two Houses of Parliament, from the persuasion that the highest interests of the country may in this way be best promoted."<sup>20</sup>

In 1858 a Canadian company had been organized with the object of connecting Canada and the Red River settlement by an all-British route via the Great Lakes.<sup>21</sup> The canal at Sault St. Marie had been completed in 1855<sup>22</sup> and the new company placed a steamer on the Great Lakes to ply between Collingwood and Fort William. The Canadian Government subsidized the Company to provide a bi-monthly mail service in summer and a monthly service in winter. Probably by way of a local response to this venture, Bishop Anderson gave notice to the December 1858 meeting of the Council of Assiniboia that he proposed to introduce at the next meeting a motion to help the Canadian mail service, and another "to assist in opening up communication with Canada by the Lake of the Woods."<sup>23</sup> That season the winter mail had to be discontinued and the summer mail proved to be unable to compete with the service from St. Paul. As a result the Bishop's two motions were never carried out. "After repeated efforts, the difficulty is found to be great to bridge over the intervening distance on each

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20. Bishop Anderson - Charges and Sermons Fourth Triennial Charge p 2-3.
21. Morton - Canadian West p 836.
22. Intelligencer - May 1861 p 102.
23. Oliver - North - West p 435.

side - to throw out branches which may connect us with our neighbors in Canada and Columbia, and make us to be, in something more than name, the highway of the west."<sup>24</sup>

In the realm of more strictly church affairs, in May 1858, it was decided to build a new parsonage at the Indian Settlement.<sup>25</sup> Authorization had still not been received from the Hudson's Bay Company for Archdeacon Hunter to make his proposed missionary journey to Mackenzie River but it was decided that he should start out anyway and hope for the best.<sup>26</sup> En route he met Sir George Simpson and the necessary authorization was quickly obtained. By the time that the Bishop gave his Charge in 1860 Hunter was back at St. Andrew's and Kirkby had taken up his permanent station at Fort Simpson, Mackenzie River,<sup>27</sup>

During the summer of 1859 his Lordship paid a visit to Mr. Hunt's station in the English River district. While he was there a party of Chipewyans waited upon him to request that he send missionaries among them.<sup>28</sup> The gentlemen of the Mackenzie River district were also hoping to meet his Lordship at the Portage la Loche that summer, but the Bishop decided to postpone his visit until a more opportune time.<sup>29</sup>

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24. Bishop Anderson - Charges and Sermons Fourth Triennial Charge p 4.

25. S.O.R. - Corresponding Committee, Mat 26th, 1858.

26. Ibid - p

27. Bishop Anderson - Charges and Sermons Fourth Triennial Charge p 4.

28. Ibid - p 42.

29. Ibid

With regard to the disposition of the funds collected by Bishop Anderson during his visit to England, very little of the money had as yet been used. Grants of £100 each had been made towards the building of the churches at Mapleton, Portage la Prairie, and Fairford. Two more annual grants of £50 each had been made towards the salaries of two of the clergy.<sup>30</sup>

One of the main objects for which the fund was collected, however, yet remained to be begun; that of the building of a cathedral. The Bishop offered three main reasons for his apparent neglect. The first and most weighty reason was the removal of a considerable portion of the population of the St. John's district to the Assiniboine Valley. For a time it made him wonder whether or not there would be a sufficient number of people left to warrant the building of a church at all.<sup>31</sup> The second reason was simply his own lack of time to properly superintend such an undertaking. Lastly there was the matter of carrying out the rather difficult plans which he had brought back with him from England. By this time, however, he had decided to go ahead and build, and he gave warning of the amount of his time and attention which he anticipated the task would demand.

During the period covered by this Charge the Bishop reported holding nine confirmations with a total of 331 confirmed.<sup>32</sup>

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30. Ibid - p 49.

31. Bishop Anderson - Charges and Sermons Fourth Triennial Charge p 47.

32. Ibid - p 44.

These figures excluded services yet to be held at Portage la Prairie and at Moose Factory. The total of four ordinations included the one which he had conducted while in England. At these services he had ordained three deacons and two priests.<sup>33</sup>

T.H.Fleming had been ordained deacon in England in 1857, and priest at Moose Factory on July 11th 1860. On the same occasion at Moose Factory, the native ~~catechist~~ <sup>catechist</sup>, Thomas Vincent, was ordained deacon.<sup>34</sup> The third deacon was the Indian, Henry Cochrane, who was ordained deacon some time in 1858,<sup>35</sup> and priest at St. Andrew's on December 27th 1859.<sup>36</sup>

At the beginning of his Charge the Bishop also referred to a number of social improvements which had occurred in recent years; the arrival of the steamship the Anson Northup, at the forks on May 19th 1859; the journey of Captain Palliser and Professor Hind; and the establishment of a steam mill in the Settlement. "The river communication has been opened up; the road over the prairies has been traversed; and the appliances of modern science have rendered more easy the production of the necessaries of life."<sup>37</sup>

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33. Ibid - p 45.

34. Bishop Anderson - Sermons The Truth and the Conscience, an Ordination sermon July 21st 1861.

35. Stock - History of the C.M.S. v.3. p 320.

36. Nor' Wester - v.1. number 1, December 28th 1859.

37. Bishop Anderson - Charges and Sermons Fourth Triennial Charge p 2.

In addition to these there was the establishment of the first newspaper in the settlement. The first issue of the Nor'Wester appeared on December 28th 1859 and carried the announcement of the Bishop's fourth Visitation to be held on January 6th 1860,<sup>38</sup> The second issue printed the whole of the Bishop's Charge in a special supplement.<sup>39</sup>

During 1859 Bishop Anderson took a much more active part in the business of the Council of Assiniboia. Quite apart from his work on the committee to draft the liquor laws, he originated several important motions on other subjects. The most important of these was his motion that the Council meetings be held "once at least every three months."<sup>40</sup> On his favorite subject of the mails the Bishop moved that an extra messenger be sent to speed up the Pembina mails.<sup>41</sup> In anticipation of the establishment of the Nor'Wester the Bishop further moved "that all News Papers direct from the Publishers of Red River, be free of all postage, and also all exchange News Papers."<sup>42</sup>

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38. Nor'Wester - v.1. number 1, December 28th, 1859.

39. Nor'Wester - v.1. number, 2, January 14th, 1860.

40. Oliver - North-West p 435.

41. Ibid - p 446.

42. Ibid.

Since his visit to England, Bishop Anderson had evidently started holding monthly meetings of the Red River clergy.<sup>43</sup> These monthly meetings were under the chairmanship of the Bishop and were held at the homes of the various clergy.<sup>44</sup> Co-operation of the Protestant clergy on an interdenominational basis was evidently a regular practice in the Settlement. The Nor'Wester reported, as a perfectly normal occurrence, the fact that the Rev. John Black joined with the Anglicans in the observance of a world wide week of prayer meetings and revival services, which the Bishop had announced would take place during the week following his Visitation.<sup>45</sup>

During this week while his clergy were already assembled, the Bishop held a meeting of the Corresponding Committee. The Rev. John Chapman was apparently on leave in England during this winter for the Bishop read a letter from him bearing the date November 3rd 1859.<sup>46</sup> Once again a ship had been lost in the ice of Hudson's Bay. This time it was the "Kitty", bearing the C.M.S. mail, publications, and supplies for the year, and great difficulty was anticipated as a result of this loss.<sup>47</sup>

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43. Nor'Wester - v.1. number 2, January 14th, 1860.  
 44. Nor'Wester - v.2. number 2, February 15th, 1861.  
 45. Nor'Wester - v.1. number 2, January 14th, 1860.  
 46. S.O.R. - Corresponding Committee January 10th, 1860.  
 47. Ibid

Early in the year a party of visiting Sioux made an incursion to Fort Garry and caused some apprehension in the Settlement. In the Council Bishop Anderson seconded the motion of Dr. Bunn to provide £30 for the disposal of Governor Mactavish to meet the expense of the presents expected by the Indians on such visits.<sup>48</sup> The presence of the Canadian troops proved to be of great service in keeping the Sioux under control,<sup>49</sup> and the visit passed off without incident.

Two days after the Council meeting his Lordship left St. John's for Portage la Prairie, in order to conduct the intended confirmation mentioned in his Charge. On Sunday, March 4th, Archdeacon Cockran presented thirty-three candidates to his Diocesan for the rite of confirmation.<sup>50</sup> During this visit it was also announced that another church was to be built between Portage la Prairie and Headingley. For various reasons St. John's Collegiate School has ceased operations, and the Rev. Thomas Cockran, ~~as the~~ Master of the school, had retired to his parents' home at Portage la Prairie. The Assiniboine Valley between Headingley and Portage la Prairie had recently been settled by families who had migrated from St. Andrew's, St. Paul's, and St. John's parishes. Here, then, was an opportunity for work, and despite failing health Thomas Cockran took up the task for two years.<sup>51</sup> In 1862 his health forced him to

48. Oliver - North-West. p 455.

49. Morton - Canadian West. p 829.

50. Nor'Wester - v.l. number 6, March 14th, 1860.

51. Garrioch - First Furrows. p 124.

resign and to confine his efforts to teaching and assisting his father at St. Mary's, Portage la Prairie. This he did gratuitously<sup>52</sup> until the end of 1863, when he went to Toronto, where he died in 1867.<sup>53</sup>

During 1860 Bishop Anderson had two main objectives which he wished to accomplish. One was to visit the Rev. John Horden at Moose Factory, and the other was to commence the building of his new cathedral. Since his journey to Moose would involve his absence during the greater part of the building season, the Bishop was anxious to begin operations early, before his departure. Accordingly on April 2nd a meeting was held in St. John's School to consider plans for building the new church.<sup>54</sup> Owing to the reduced number of residents in the parish, as a result of recent migrations to the Assiniboine, it was decided to reduce the plans which the Bishop had brought back from England, and to build a smaller church than originally intended. Satisfactory arrangements were completed, and during the absence of the Bishop the new building was begun.<sup>55</sup>

Two other important matters had to be looked after before his Lordship could depart for Moose. The first of these was a meeting of the Corresponding Committee on May 16th to make arrangements and decisions in certain diocesan missionary questions. In the interval since the last previous meeting another candidate for

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52. Bishop Anderson - Charges and Sermons Fifth Triennial Charge p 39.

53. Garrioch - First Furrows. p 126.

54. Nor'Wester - v.1. number 9, April 28th, 1860.

55. Nor'Wester - v.3. number 11, June 11th, 1862.

ordination had arrived from the C.M.S. in England. Meeting on the eve of his ordination, the Committee took the opportunity of welcoming T.T. Smith "as a fellow labourer among them."<sup>56</sup> On May 17th 1860, Smith was ordained as deacon<sup>57</sup> in the last ordination to take place in the old St. John's Church. The Committee decided that he should remain in the Settlement during the coming winter, preparatory to going to English River to relieve Rev. Hunt.<sup>58</sup>

On May 28th, Bishop Anderson set out on his third and final visit to Moose and Albany.<sup>59</sup> By contrast with his first two journeys by the Winnipeg River route, his Lordship travelled this time by way of the United States, and the Great Lakes to Michipicoton, where he was met by canoes from Albany. On June 13th he was present at the third annual convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Minnesota which now met for the first time with its own bishop, Bishop Whipple.<sup>60</sup> By August the Bishop was back in Canada where he enjoyed a visit with his two youngest boys who had come to Canada for their holidays. As an official representative of Rupert's Land, his Lordship carried with him several addresses of welcome to present to the Prince Consort who visited Canada during August.

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56. S.O.R. - Corresponding Committee May 16th, 1860.

57. Intelligencer - October 1860 - Recent Intelligence

58. S.O.R. - Corresponding Committee, May 16th, 1860.

59. Nor'Wester- v.l. number 11, May 28th, 1860.

60. Nor'Wester - v.l. number 15, July 28th, 1860.

On the 26th of the month the Bishop assisted at the royal service in the Montreal cathedral.<sup>61</sup>

On October 3rd Bishop Anderson arrived back in Red River. During his absence another week of prayer had been observed in July.<sup>62</sup> Early in August the Rev. John Black had been injured in a mishap when his horse took fright and ran away with him.<sup>63</sup> He was still/convalescing when the Bishop returned. Among the Bishop's own clergy, the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. W.H. Taylor had left for England on August 22nd. Taylor had acted as Registrar of the Diocese since 1854 and by his labours had collected and preserved the various vital statistics' registers of the settlement.<sup>64</sup>

Shortly after his return to the Settlement another meeting of the Corresponding Committee was held at which the Bishop reported that both Moose and Albany were now permanently occupied.<sup>65</sup> This was made possible by the ordination at Moose, of the Indian catechist, Thomas Vincent. At the same time that Vincent was ordained deacon the Rev. T.H. Fleming was ordained priest, but owing to the precarious state of his health he had to return almost immediately to England where he died shortly afterwards.

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61. Nor'Wester - v.l. number 19, September 28th, 1860.

62. Nor'Wester - v.l. number 14, July 14th, 1860.

63. Nor'Wester - v.l. number 16, August 14th, 1860.

64. S.O.R. - Baptismal, burial and marriage registers.

65. S.O.R. - Corresponding Committee, October 30th, 1860.

Apart from this meeting and a sale of unsuitable missionary goods at St. John's conducted by the Bishop's sister,<sup>66</sup> there was apparently little of interest in ecclesiastical affairs for the remainder of the year. The year ended disastrously for the Roman Catholics, however, with the destruction of St. Boniface Cathedral and the Bishop's Palace, by fire, on December 14th.<sup>67</sup>

The new year began with a series of temperance meetings conducted by the Rev. John Black, Archdeacon Hunter, and James Ross, who had now returned from Toronto University. These meetings were conducted in the various parishes during January and February.<sup>68</sup> The Corresponding Committee met at Bishop's Court on February 8th and passed the estimates for the next fiscal year.<sup>69</sup>

Four meetings of the Council of Assiniboia<sup>were held</sup> during the first half of the year. At the first of these meetings petitions were read criticizing and suggesting improvements in the existing code of liquor laws and the collection and distribution of mails.<sup>70</sup> Most of their suggestions were tabled for future reference, but steps were taken to licence the sale of wine and beer and to impose an import duty of five shillings on all imports of spirituous liquors, whether

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66. Nor'Wester - v.1. number 21, October 29th, 1860.

67. Nor'Wester - v.1. number 24, December 17th, 1860.

68. Nor'Wester - v.2. number 1, February 1st, 1861.  
v.2. number 2, February 15th, 1861.

69. S.O.R. - Corresponding Committee, February 8th, 1861.

70. Oliver - North-West p 461 ff.

wines or spirits, unless directly imported from Great Britain. In addition all distillers were henceforth forbidden to obtain retail licences.

At the second meeting on March 14th a four per cent customs duty was imposed, with exceptions, on all imported goods, and four district collectors provided for its enforcement. A further motion was made by the Bishop of St. Boniface to appoint a special constable for the enforcement of the liquor laws. Strangely enough, it was opposed by Bishop Anderson and Dr. Bunn.<sup>71</sup> It is difficult to assign any logical reason for their opposition unless it be racial and religious rivalry, for the motion was proposed by the Bishop of St. Boniface and the man appointed to fill the position was from the French speaking section of the population.

The sudden death of Dr. Bunn on May 31st,<sup>72</sup> necessitated the calling of an emergency meeting to fill the many vacancies in official positions which the Doctor had held. The meeting was held on Saturday, June 8th, and it must have given Bishop Anderson real satisfaction to move the appointment of his former pupil, James Ross, to be Governor of the Gaol and Sheriff of Assiniboia.<sup>73</sup> Ross had already been appointed postmaster early in 1859 when he succeeded James Stewart in that office.

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71. Ibid - p 471.

72. Nor'Wester - v.2. number 8, June 1st, 1861

73. Oliver - North-West. p 478-9.

The April 15th issue of the Nor'Wester carried a letter from the Rev. G. O. Corbett of Headingley objecting to the newspaper and the Council of Assiniboia applying the title, "Lord" to the Bishop of St. Boniface.<sup>74</sup> The objection was briefly and kindly dealt with by a letter from Bishop Anderson which appeared in the next issue. But Corbett was unwilling to let the matter drop. In subsequent issues he made use of his original objection to make accusations that the Hudson's Bay Company and the Governors of Assiniboia were fostering a Roman Catholic ascendancy in the government of the Settlement. Anderson had taken him to England in 1856 and placed him in the charge of the Rev. Mr. P. J. Schmitt. Meanwhile the social life of Red River continued in a fairly calm and orderly fashion. Some excitement was caused by a minor flood which occurred in May. The Nor'Wester described the Bishop and his clergy as paying their visits and going to their various services in canoes.<sup>75</sup> Serious though it was, this flood did not cause nearly as much destruction as the great flood of 1852. By the 4th of June, building operations had so far progressed on the new St. John's Cathedral that the demolition of the old church was begun.<sup>76</sup> This must have been quite a relief to many in the Settlement for the old St. John's had been propped up, inside and out, with wooden supports and had actually been condemned before the Bishop first arrived in 1849.

74. Nor'Wester - v.2. number 6, April 15th, 1861.

75. Nor'Wester - v.2. number 8, June 1st, 1861.

76. Nor'Wester - v.2. number 9, June 15th, 1861.

In mid-summer his Lordship held an interesting Ordination in St. Andrew's Church. There were three candidates for ordination; an Englishman, an English half-breed, and a Cree Indian. The Englishman was the Rev. T.T. Smith who was ordained priest and sent to relieve Hunt at English River. The half-breed was Thomas Cook a former pupil at St. John's and the son of Thomas Cook who had taught at the Indian Settlement. He was ordained deacon and sent to Cumberland Station. But the Indian was by far the most interesting candidate for he was none other than Henry Budd, junior. The Bishop had taken him to England in 1856 and placed him in the Missionary Children's Home at Islington for further education.<sup>77</sup> He was a bright student but none too strong physically. He had returned from England in 1859<sup>78</sup> and had since been pursuing theological studies under the Bishop. He was now ordained deacon and remained at St. John's to assist the Bishop.

Another small glimpse of the activities of Miss Anderson appeared in the August 15th issue of the Nor'Wester.<sup>79</sup> During his drive to stimulate interest in intellectual pursuits Bishop Anderson had started a reading club in 1859. His sister was evidently a member of the club for by 1861 she had become its president. In September she made a visit with her brother to

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77. Intelligencer - December 1856 - Recent Intelligencer.

78. S.O.R. - Corresponding Committee, October 26th, 1859.

79. Nor'Wester - v.2. number 13, August 15th, 1861.

the Cockran's at Portage la Prairie.<sup>80</sup> In 1852 hers was the hand which prepared the script of the Notes on the Flood for publication.<sup>81</sup> Always she was the Bishop's willing and capable helper and presided at Bishop's Court as a gracious hostess to the countless callers who crossed its threshold.

On Sunday September 4th the Bishop went to Fort Garry to preach a farewell sermon for the Royal Canadian Rifles.<sup>82</sup> During the following week they departed for York Factory on their way back to Canada, and the Red River Settlement was totally without troops of any kind until after the Bishop had finally returned to England. On the 14th of September Rev. Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Taylor returned from their visit to England and resumed charge of the parish of St. James. The Rev. Robert Macdonald, who had taken charge of the parish during their absence, now returned to his own station at Islington.<sup>83</sup>

On Advent Sunday afternoon December 1st 1861/<sup>Bishop Anderson</sup> performed the pleasant duty/<sup>of</sup> officially opening the attractive little stone church of St. Clement's, Mapleton.<sup>84</sup> The church was now in the charge of the Rev. Henry Cochrane and had been built by contributions from England and from the Settlement

80. Nor'Wester - v.2. number 16, October 1st, 1861.

81. Bishop Anderson - Notes on the Flood, preface.

82. Hargrave - Red River p 187.

83. Nor'Wester - v.2. number 16, October 1st, 1861.

84. Nor'Wester - v.2. number 21, December 14th, 1861.

at large. The next year John West's bell was brought from the now demolished St. John's Church and put up at St. Clement's on November 15th.<sup>85</sup>

In recent years the C.M.S. had been pressing upon Bishop Anderson ever more strongly the necessity of self-support. The good Bishop knew that most of the business in his Diocese was done by barter and that consequently his people had very little ready cash to offer. When he had consecrated the new church of St. Andrew's in 1849 he had offered to buy two bells for it if the parishioners would buy a third. The offer was gladly accepted but the accounts showed that it took a year and a half, and 116 subscriptions, the largest of which was 12 shillings, before the debt of £28 14s 4d was finally discharged.<sup>86</sup> In 1861 the pressure from the C.M.S. was increased by a notice that they were withdrawing their support from St. Paul's Church. In its place the Bishop had succeeded in soliciting the help of the Colonial and Continental Church Society which offered help to parishes on condition of a proportional effort on the part of the recipients. Their plan was designed to withdraw help gradually and so ease the step towards self-support. Accordingly a meeting was called by the Bishop in St. Paul's schoolhouse on December 16th to set up a

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85. Macleod - Bells of Red River. p 12.

86. Ibid - p 28.

local branch of the Colonial and Continental Church and enable St. Paul's parish to fulfil their part of the bargain.<sup>87</sup>

The beginning of the new year was marked during the second week of January by another series of united Protestant prayer-meetings. These were held in response to a recommendation of the European Evangelical Alliance, and the first meeting was conducted at St. John's by Bishop Anderson.<sup>88</sup> Following these meetings the Bishop continued his efforts towards self-support by preaching in support of the C.M.S. at St. Andrew's and St. Clement's on January 26th.<sup>89</sup> As a result of his efforts some £50 was raised and the hope was expressed that St. Andrew's might soon "contribute a sufficient sum to pay one Native Pastor."<sup>90</sup>

During March and April the Council of Assiniboia held three meetings at which it carried through a consolidation of the laws of the Settlement. The Civil War, which was now raging in the United States had, as yet, not made itself felt in the Settlement. Friends in England were apprehensive about their friends at Red River however, and the January meeting of

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87. Nor'Wester - v.2. number 22, December 24th, 1861.

88. Nor'Wester - v.3. number 1, January 22nd, 1862.

89. S.O.R. Corresponding Committee, January 28th, 1862.

90. Ibid.

the Corresponding Committee reassured the Parent Committee as to their safety.<sup>91</sup>

On May 29th, 1862, another Red River Metis, J.A. Mackay was ordained deacon by Bishop Anderson in St. Andrew's Church. Not many days before, Governor G. Dallas, the new Governor of Rupert's Land had arrived in the Settlement.<sup>92</sup> Arrangements were quickly made by the Bishop and on the morning of June 4th, Dallas performed his first official act in Rupert's Land by laying the corner stone of St. John's Cathedral.<sup>93</sup> "The main building being already completed, the south corner of the tower was honored with the bottled memorial deposits."<sup>94</sup> Though the main building was completed it was neither furnished nor painted as yet. By the 4th of November the three bells were hung in the tower,<sup>95</sup> and on the 25th of December 1862, the Cathedral was at length opened for worship.

During the course of this year the Bishop's efforts towards self-support received some serious setbacks. The first of these was Governor Dallas' order, "in his capacity as head of the trading operations," forbidding Hudson's Bay Company servants to

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91. Ibid.

92. Oliver - North-West p 504.

93. Nor'Wester, v.3. number 11, June 11th, 1862.

94. Ibid.

95. Nor'Wester v.s. number November 4th, 1862.

purchase country produce for cash.<sup>96</sup> This reversion to the barter system intentionally curtailed the amount of money in circulation in Rupert's Land as a means of striking a blow at the operations of private traders in the territory. It certainly did this, but in the process it inflicted real hardship on many small farmers, and most severely crippled the Bishop's efforts at increasing the giving of his people.

During August 1862 the Sioux massacres occurred in Minnesota and for a time communications between Red River and the United States were cut off.<sup>97</sup> By the end of October the mail service was partially restored and together with the news of what had happened rumors reached the Settlement that the Sioux were going to visit the Red River next summer. In view of the defenceless condition of the Settlement, Governor Dallas called a special meeting of the Council of Assiniboia on October 30th to consider what steps could be taken to meet the emergency.<sup>98</sup> On the motion of Bishop Anderson it was decided that the only way to meet the emergency was by the presence of British troops and that the settlers at large ought immediately to unite in a strong and urgent appeal to the Home Government for the estab-

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96. Hargrave - Red River p 251.

97. Ibid - p 248.

98. Oliver - North-West p 511.

lishment of a Garrison."<sup>99</sup> Judge Black was delegated to draw up a petition and the necessary steps were to be taken to obtain signatures. When signed the petition was to be forwarded to the Home Government by Governor Dallas.

This petition was drawn up and soon became known as the Council Petition. Public meetings were arranged in various parts of the Settlement to explain the objects of the petition and to secure signatures.<sup>100</sup> At this stage of the proceedings opposition developed in the Settlement. As usual after Council meetings, a copy of the Council Petition, and of the resolutions, passed at the last meeting, was sent to the Nor'Wester by the secretary, Mr. Smith. Instead of printing the petition and the report of the Council meeting, editor James Ross drafted a counter-petition which he published in place of the Council Petition. The so-called People's Petition asked for troops, but also attacked the government of the Company in Rupert's Land. It was rushed through the Settlement just ahead of the Council Petition and so obtained a considerable number of signatures. It was actively supported by the Rev. G.O. Corbett of Headingley and the Rev. John Chapman of St. Paul's.<sup>101</sup> With the

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99. Ibid - p 513.

100. Hargrave - Red River p 253.

101. Ibid - p 256.

exception of these two, and the Rev. John Black, who always maintained an attitude of strict neutrality on political questions, all of the clergy, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, supported the Council Petition. Black himself signed the Council Petition but refused to influence his parishioners in either direction.<sup>102</sup>

The senior partner in the Nor'Wester, William Coldwell, had come originally with his first partner, from Canada. From its first issue in December 1859, the paper had consistently favored a pro-Canadian policy in the political affairs of the Settlement. When Coldwell's partner, William Buckingham returned to Canada in 1860, his place on the newspaper was taken by James Ross. The latter had just recently returned after completing his university education in Toronto, the hotbed of the "Canada First" group who advocated Canadian Annexation of Rupert's Land. As might be expected, young James had absorbed much of their political viewpoint including their principal method of pressing their claims, namely, challenging the validity of the charter by which the Hudson's Bay Company ruled in Rupert's Land. James Ross' sympathies therefore harmonized very well with those of Coldwell and the only change in the policy of the Nor'Wester was the renewed vigor with which it was pursued.

The leadership of the People's Petition must have caused Bishop Anderson a good deal of embarrassment and chagrin as well as honest disappointment. Corbett had long been in

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102. Ibid - p 255

opposition to the Hudson's Bay Company and had given evidence unfavorable to their interests before the Select Committee of 1857.<sup>103</sup> His support of local institutions was not encouraged when, on September 15th 1859, his complaint of trespass was non-suited at the Quarterly Court and he had to pay the thirty shillings' costs.<sup>104</sup>

John Chapman was a greater disappointment to the Bishop, for his Lordship had been responsible personally for bringing him out to Rupert's Land. Ever since Corbett's arrival in the country however, Chapman had been his close friend and it was not surprising that when opportunity offered, they should be found working together as "fellow-agitators against the Company's government."<sup>105</sup>

James Ross, the ring-leader of the agitation, had also a close personal relationship with the Bishop. It began when his Lordship found James as one of the senior pupils at the Academy in 1849. The Bishop had taken much interest and pride in James' ability as a student and later followed his academic career at Toronto University with close interest and helpful advice. It was the Bishop's motion in the Council of Assiniboia which made the choice between James Ross and Henry McKenney for the appointment as Governor of the Gaol and Sheriff of Assiniboia.<sup>106</sup> When Ross subsequently joined the staff of the Nor'

103. Corbett - Notes on Rupert's America - preface.

104. P.A.M. - Minutes of the Quarterly Court of Assiniboia p 136.

105. Hargrave - Red River p 256.

106. Oliver - North-West p 478. June 8th, 1861.

Wester, no objection was raised by the Council. Now however, his actions while he was still holding public office could no longer be overlooked. A special meeting of the Council was called on November 25th, and a motion by Governor Mactavish removing Ross from all public offices was carried unanimously.<sup>107</sup> To this Bishop Anderson added another motion, that because of the unfair and irresponsible treatment given by the Nor'Wester to the reports of Council meetings, no further reports should be sent to that newspaper.<sup>108</sup>

In the midst of all this excitement events took an unexpected turn which caused the Bishop still further pain and embarrassment. When Corbett originally arrived at Red River in 1852 he had already spent some time in Montreal, during the previous winter, obtaining some medical training. In 1855 he had visited England, and on the recommendation of Bishop Anderson he had been admitted to the medical school at King's College.<sup>109</sup> On his return to the Settlement he acted as a medical missionary at the direction, and with the approval, of his Bishop.<sup>110</sup> In the midst of the rumpus over the rival petitions, rumors began flying about the Settlement that Corbett had had improper

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107. Ibid - p 514.

108. Ibid - p 515.

109. Corbett - Notes on Rupert's America p 88.

110. Ibid.

relations with Maria Thomas, his servant.<sup>111</sup> The Bishop immediately sent for Corbett, as soon as he heard about it, but the latter refused to come. Bishop Anderson then sent his junior Archdeacon to inquire about the affair. Hunter in turn got Taylor of St. James to go to see Corbett and urge him to flee. In his evidence at the trial Taylor said, "I am aware that an offer was made to Mr. Corbett to fly, but he hesitated - he ought to have obeyed - the recommendation was unconditional - I would rather say it was a direction....."<sup>112</sup>

Early in December, as a result of a charge laid by the girl's father, Corbett was arrested at his home "by authority of a warrant granted by Mr. Thomas Sinclair, J.P., on a charge of having made repeated attempts to procure abortion....on the person of Maria Thomas, a girl in his service, whom he had seduced."<sup>113</sup> Corbett immediately began writing letters to the Nor'Wester, Governor Dallas, and various friends, protesting his innocence and objecting to the injustice of his imprisonment. On December 6th a group of his friends made an attempt to liberate Corbett by force, but were restrained by the timely arrival of Governor Dallas. In his letters to the Nor'Wester Corbett claimed that the whole affair was instigated by the

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111. P.A.M. - Minutes of the Quarterly Court p 266.

112. P.A.M. - Minutes of the Quarterly Court p 288.

113. Hargrave - Red River p 266.

Company for political reasons because of his known opposition to their government.

For a time it was debated whether or not to hold a special court to try the case immediately. However upon the medical advice that the girl would probably be well enough in a few weeks to attend the court it was decided to free Corbett on bail. On December 16th, Corbett was freed on two securities of £100 each and his own assurance of a further £200.<sup>114</sup>

In due course Corbett was brought to trial on February 19th 1863, when a "Grand Jury returned a true Bill of Indictment against Rev. Griffith Owen Corbett."<sup>115</sup> The trial dragged on throughout the whole of February, and on March 1st Corbett was found guilty, as charged, and sentenced to six months' imprisonment without labour or confiscation of property. According to the evidence the girl, on her own admission, appeared to be little better than a slut and it is difficult to see that the conflicting evidence really sustained the charge of immorality on Corbett's part. On the other hand the guilt of his indiscretion in attempting an abortion on the girl was all too evident.

Corbett's defence was conducted at the trial by his political ally, James Ross. Despite the claims, which appeared in the columns of the Nor'Wester, that the charges were instigated by the Company for political reasons, no evidence was pro-

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114. Ibid - p 264.

115. P.A.M. Minutes of the Quarterly Court p 241.

duced in support of these claims at the trial. The evidence however did show collusion on the part of the girl's family. In view of this fact, and the frequency of illegitimate births in the Settlement, at this time, it seems not unlikely that Thomas was prompted by others in instituting proceedings against Corbett.

Meanwhile on December 28th, a party of Sioux made their appearance at Fort Garry and were lodged temporarily in the court room.<sup>116</sup> Fortunately none of them had been implicated in the Minnesota massacre and their visit passed in peace. "During their stay they visited Bishop Anderson, who received them with all proper consideration and showed them his new cathedral of St. John...."<sup>117</sup> On the last day of the year after receiving a present of pemmican, the band quietly left the Settlement and the inhabitants breathed easier again. But the country generally was thoroughly alarmed about possible future visits to the undefended Settlement. By the beginning of March a large band of Sioux had collected in the vicinity of St. Joseph. Rumor had it that the Crees were also threatening to attack the Settlement in the spring. As a result, on the 11th of March a petition bearing the date March 2nd was read to the Council ur-

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116. Hargrave - Red River p 266,

117. Ibid.

ging the formation, and arming, of a voluntary cavalry corps, to defend the Settlement until the expected arrival of British troops.<sup>118</sup> The Council decided that since the expense of such an undertaking would be greater than "even the Petitioners might be either able or willing to bear", and that since British troops were expected to arrive in the spring in response to their recent application for them, the best thing to do was to forward the present petition immediately to England.<sup>119</sup>

For the moment the Sioux scare was over, and the Corbett case resumed the centre of attention. From his gaol cell Corbett continued to write letters to the Nor'Wester, the Bishop, and his friends, all of which proved unavailing. On April 9th, a petition was presented to the Council praying for the remission of the unfulfilled portion of Corbett's sentence.<sup>120</sup> The Council however, claimed no jurisdiction in the matter, and referred the petition to Governor Dallas, who refused the request. After the failure of this effort the sponsors of the petition decided to attempt the liberation of their friend by force. Following the Petty Court session on April 20th a group of men led by James Stewart, the schoolmaster from St. James', overawed the jailor and freed Corbett. In his turn, Stewart was arrested and jailed on

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118. Oliver - North-West p 516.

119. Ibid - p 517.

120. Ibid - p 522.

April 21st and forcibly freed the next day by an armed band led by William Hallett and John Bourke.<sup>121</sup> In an effort to stop this flagrant breach of law and order "The Governor of Rupert's Land and Assiniboia and the Bishop of Rupert's Land, who, although, a man of peace, showed no symptoms of shirking the fray, along with three of the more influential magistrates, formed a temporary council."<sup>122</sup> But it was<sup>of</sup>no avail; the English half-breeds under Hallett threatened violence and rather than risk bloodshed, by restraining them forcefully, it was decided to allow the group to break into the jail and to free Stewart.<sup>123</sup>

During the summer Bishop Anderson began making preparations for his departure for England the next year. When he returned to Red River in 1857 it had been his intention to remain for a further period of seven years and then to "take some rest and repose."<sup>124</sup> As on the previous occasion, of his absence in England, so now he was anxious to leave all the clergy in his diocese fully ordained. Consequently during the summer of 1863 he held an Ordination at which four candidates were made priests. It was a notable Ordination for two of the candidates, Thomas

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121. Hargrave - Red River p 285-8.

122. Ibid - p 286.

123. Oliver - North-West p 522.

124. Bishop Anderson - Charges and Sermons Fifth Triennial Charge

Vincent and Henry Budd junior were full-blooded Indians, and the other two, Thomas Cook and J.A. Mackay were half-breeds. The latter had been made a deacon on May 29th 1862.

In the autumn of 1863 the expected visit of the Sioux took place, and about five hundred of them encamped at Sturgeon Creek.<sup>125</sup> In the absence of any troops in the Settlement, Governor Dallas did what he could by direct negotiations with them. "He found them for the most part in a state of utmost destitution"<sup>126</sup> and after receiving the authorization of the Council of Assiniboia, finally succeeded in getting them to move away by supplying them with provisions and the means of transportation.

On January 6th 1864, Bishop Anderson held his fifth and final Visitation. The Bishop delivered his Charge in the new Cathedral of St. John's. Apparently it was not yet entirely completed for in reference to it he said that he thanked God that it was so far completed as to admit of worship in it.<sup>127</sup> Apart from his visit to Moose and another short visit to Fairford, the building of the Cathedral had occupied the majority of his time during the past three years. The Diocesan library had been steadily increased however, and now numbered some 1400 volumes including most of the standard works on theology.<sup>128</sup>

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125. Oliver - North-West p 530.

126. Ibid.

127. Bishop Anderson - Charges and Sermons Fifth Triennial Charge p 30

128. Ibid - p 34.

Because of the great variation in size and population of the parishes and stations of the Diocese, which precluded any common system of representation, he did not feel that they were yet ready for synodical action.<sup>129</sup> He felt that such a time could not be far distant however, and referred to the recent purchase of the Hudson's Bay Company by the International Finance Company in June 1863 as one more indication that a period of rapid growth in population was not far distant for Rupert's Land.

The number of clergy in the Diocese now stood at twenty-three, all of whom were in priests orders, with two more expected to arrive soon.<sup>130</sup> Nine confirmations had been held at which 307 candidates had been confirmed. At the close of his Charge the Bishop referred to his coming departure for England. "In a very few months I shall have completed fifteen ~~years~~ <sup>years</sup> in the Episcopate, at which time I had always intended to take some rest and repose. In leaving you again, it is we must all feel, with greater uncertainty as to the future as years roll on. As on the former occasion I left the senior, so now I leave the junior Archdeacon in charge."<sup>131</sup>

"Although it was by no means certain that his lordship would not return to the country, the belief that such was the case was general and strong."<sup>132</sup> The result was that as the

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129. Ibid - p 36

130. Ibid - p 40

131. Ibid

132. Hargrave - Red River p 330.

time of his departure drew near the Bishop and his sister were deluged with a long series of addresses from every section of the community. These public addresses and the replies to them filled the columns of the Nor' Wester for several issues and bore witness to the high esteem with which his Lordship was regarded by the whole population of the Settlement.

Hundreds of people gathered at the ferry on May 31st to witness the departure of the Bishop and his sister. In recognition of the progress of civilization which had taken place during the fifteen years of his episcopate, the Bishop, who had originally arrived at Red River by the most direct route which then lay by way of Hudson's Bay, now returned to England by way of St. Paul.

When the Bishop's Charge was printed in England in August it bore a few additional remarks as a preface. "The apprehension of which I had some foreboding in the delivery of this Charge, has now become a reality. Circumstances preclude my return to the country which has occupied my thoughts and energies for fifteen years."<sup>133</sup> A brief notice appearing in the Colonial Church Chronicle dated October 1st 1864 announced his appointment as Incumbent of Clifton, Bristol, England.<sup>134</sup>

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133. Bishop Anderson - Charges and Sermons Fifth Triennial Charge, preface.

134. The Colonial Church Chronicle, October 1st, 1864, p 398.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE WORK OF EXTENSION AND EDUCATION

#### A - EXTENSION

When Bishop Anderson arrived in his Diocese in October 1849 the number of clergy under his jurisdiction totalled five, of whom three were engaged in purely Indian work. The Rev. John Smithurst was in charge of the Indian Settlement at Netley Creek begun by William Cockran in 1832. The Rev. Abraham Cowley was still at work among the Saulteaux at the Partridge Crop where he had begun a mission station in 1844. This particular station was still a most discouraging one, for the Saulteaux apparently turned an indifferent ear to Christianity. At Cumberland station, begun by the native Henry Budd, in 1840, the story was far different. There the Crees readily embraced the new faith and a considerable number were baptized by the Rev. John Smithurst when he visited the station in 1842, and by the Rev. John Hunter when he arrived as resident missionary in 1844.

Although the S. P. G. had been invited by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1822 to take part in the work in Rupert's Land, they had been unable to do so at that time. The Annual Report of the S.P.G. for 1848 finally recorded the decision of that society to send out a clergyman to Rupert's Land<sup>1</sup>, but it was not until 1850 that the first S. P. G. clergyman

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1. Report of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts for the year 1848 p xxxix

arrived at Red River. When the Bishop arrived in 1849 his Diocese was entirely staffed by clergy and catechists supported by the C. M. S. This Society had a strong, highly centralized organization which directed the work of its world wide missions from a central committee in London. The efficiency of their organization enabled them to carry on their various missions with vigor, but in cases such as Rupert's Land it did not tend to cohesion in the work as a whole. Each station was independently responsible to a far away committee, and it was difficult to feel that any real plan was being followed in the development of the work. The appointment of Bishop Anderson was therefore welcomed by both the C. M. S. and the clergy of the Diocese as providing the necessary co-ordinating and directing force for the work.

In response to appeals from the Rev. James Hunter, the Rev. and Mrs. Robert Hunt came out, with the Bishop in 1849, with the intention of becoming the resident missionaries at Lac la Ronge. The Roman Catholics had a station at Ile a' la Crosse from which place they were able to dominate easily the Indians of the English River district. Hunter was much disturbed to see the Indians falling under the sway of Rome, and in 1846 he sent out the native Indian catechist, James Settee, to start a station at Lac la Ronge.<sup>2</sup> By the time of the arrival of the Hunts in 1849, Settee had not yet succeeded in preparing accomodation for them and as a result they spent the winter at the Red River Settlement.

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2. Intelligencer - June 1851 p 134

Bishop Anderson had long been familiar with the operations and methods of the C. M. S. In those methods, the many small contributions of working class people, through the local branch associations of the Society, played a very large part. The broad basis provided by this local organization proved to be a great strength to several of the missionary societies, and the idea was being urged upon the missions themselves as a means of still further extending the work. Bishop Anderson was aware of the wishes of the Parent Committee of the C. M. S. in this matter and soon took steps to carry those wishes into effect. On Epiphany Sunday, January 6th, 1850, he preached sermons in aid of the C. M. S. at St. Andrew's Church and at the Middle Church, and on the following Sunday at the Upper Church and at the Garrison Chapel.

The results of the collections at these services provided a useful illustration of the difficulties which faced the Bishop in any efforts at self-support throughout his entire episcopacy in Rupert's Land. The collections at each of the churches where the Bishop preached amounted to £3, £9 2s., £15 5s., and £2 2s respectively. In addition forty bushels of wheat were given at the Middle Church, and sixty-four bushels of wheat and twelve yards of homespun cloth were given at the Upper Church.<sup>3</sup> His Lordship accounted for the small contribution of St. Andrew's by the fact that they had just recently finished their new church and subscribed £70 for the building of a stone fence around the churchyard. But this last figure represented chiefly contributions in kind and not in cash.

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3. Intelligencer - June 1850 p 326

The greatest wealth of Rupert's Land still lay in its furs, the trade in which was the monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company. Besides this the Red River district was principally an agricultural area and not a fur producing area. The peculiarly isolated state of the Red River Settlement, and indeed of the whole of Rupert's Land, meant that the costs of transportation were so high that they prevented the profitable exportation of any products of the country excepting furs. However wealthy the farmers may have been in crops and livestock the only market in which they could convert this wealth into cash was that which supplied the Hudson's Bay Company's servants with their supplies of foodstuffs. Even at its best this was a very limited market, and because of the abundant supplies the prices were low. The Company paid for its supplies with its own currency which was redeemable at par in London, England.

Apart from this source, the main sources of cash in the country were from the missionaries and from the troops which happened to be stationed there from time to time. Thus it came about that the Red River Settlement enjoyed one of its greatest periods of prosperity from 1846 to 1848 during the period in which a regiment of the Sixth Royals were stationed there. By contrast the blow was doubly severe in 1862 when, at a time when there were no troops in the Settlement, Governor Dallas sought to protect the Company's monopoly in furs by reverting to a barter system for the purchase of farm produce.<sup>4</sup>

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4. Morton - Canadian West p 857

The only other source of money in the country was from the savings and small pensions of retired Company employees who could live quite comfortably on their incomes in a land where the basic requirements of life could be obtained for little more than the effort of producing them.

From the point of view of missionary enterprise all of this meant that missions could never become self-supporting so long as such conditions prevailed. The Red River Colony was the only considerable settlement in the whole of his Diocese when Bishop Anderson arrived in 1849, and to the end of his episcopate in 1864 it remained the most prosperous community as well. But despite its relative prosperity, the Settlement was literally unable to entirely support even its own clergy, let alone contribute towards the Indian mission work of the Diocese. That the Presbyterian congregation at Red River were able to support themselves was the result of the fact that they were a compact community made up almost wholly of industrious Scotch farmers and retired Company employees. Their per capita income was thus at a reasonable level while the expenses of their minister were at a minimum.

Throughout his episcopate Bishop Anderson continued his efforts towards self-support. During the week which followed his first sermons in support of the C. M. S., the Bishop called a meeting at St. Andrew's Church at which he organized a General Branch Association of the C. M. S., for Rupert's Land.<sup>5</sup> At the invitation of the Bishop, Governor Caldwell

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5. Intelligencer - June 1850 p 326

acted as chairman of this meeting and made a subscription of £50 to the work of the C. M. S. He had been a member of the C. M. S. Committee of Correspondence in England, from 1834 to 1836,<sup>6</sup> and throughout his term of office in Rupert's Land he remained a loyal supporter of the Society's work there. When the local Corresponding Committee of the C. M. S. for Rupert's Land was formed he served upon it faithfully and did not miss a single meeting throughout his residence in the Settlement.

On the last day of the old year the Rev. Abraham Cowley arrived in the Settlement from his station at Partridge Crop. The Bishop immediately decided to take advantage of having all but one of his clergy collected in one place, and following the formation of the C. M. S. Association he held a clergy conference. The main question on which he sought information was the most likely areas for further expansion of the Indian missions. They suggested York Factory, Churchill, Moose Factory, and Fort Pelly as offering the most favorable opportunities at present.<sup>7</sup> The strongest opinion favored the latter place as the Indians from there had recently sent a deputation to Mr. James asking for a missionary.<sup>8</sup>

In a letter dated January 22nd 1850, the Bishop communicated the results of these meetings to the Parent Committee of the C. M. S. and appealed for help.<sup>9</sup>

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6. Intelligencer - April 1862 p 87  
 7. Intelligencer - June 1850 p 326-7  
 8. Ibid  
 9. Ibid p 324

The Parent Committee responded by offering to send out another missionary, and by directing the clergy of the Diocese to form themselves into a corresponding Committee, under the presidency of the Bishop, with Major Caldwell as a lay member and the Rev. Robert James as secretary.<sup>10</sup> This resolution was passed on May 28th 1850. On October 30th, at a meeting held at the Academy, Red River, the wishes of the Committee were carried into effect.<sup>11</sup>

After forming themselves into a Corresponding Committee, they welcomed the news that another missionary was to be sent out to the Diocese. They then deliberated as to where the new worker ought to be located and finally recorded their decision, "That the Committee recommend Moose as the most suitable location for the Missionary coming out, having been given up by the H. Hudson's Bay Coy. with its Church for that purpose, and possessing the advantages of its connexion with East Main, Rupert's House and Albany whither a sloop annually proceeds."<sup>12</sup>

The work of Moose Factory was begun in 1840 by the English Methodists at the invitation of the Hudson's Bay Company.<sup>13</sup> In that year Moose Factory was occupied, as a mission station, by the Rev. George Barnley who remained there for eight years, until the station was abandoned by the Methodists.<sup>14</sup> At his first Visitation in December 1851, Bishop Anderson announced that Moose Factory and Swan River "were offered to me by the

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10. S. O. R. - Minutes of the Corresponding Committee  
Copy of the Resolution of the Parent Committee,  
May 28th, 1850.
11. S. O. R. - Minutes of the Corresponding Committee, October 30th,  
1850.
12. Ibid
13. Riddell - Methodism in the Middle West, p 33
14. Ibid p 34

Honorable Company"<sup>15</sup> as locations for new Church of England stations, but having no one to send to Swan River he was obliged to forego that place.

On the 26th of August 1851, a young C. M. S. schoolteacher and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. John Horden, arrived at Moose Factory to begin the Anglican work in the area until an ordained missionary could be supplied.<sup>16</sup> They were kindly received by Robert Miles, the Hudson's Bay Factor at Moose, and Horden quickly won the respect and affection of the Swampy Crees who frequented the district. The young schoolteacher soon found that the Roman Catholics were in the habit of sending priests into the district every summer from Canada. In the face of such opposition he was painfully aware of the great disadvantage under which he labored as an unordained Catechist, and appealed to Robert Miles to write to the Bishop suggesting that he ordain Horden on his visit the next summer.<sup>17</sup> Although Miles felt that it was not proper for him to interfere, and therefore did not write to the Bishop, Horden's desire was in fact fulfilled.

Bishop Anderson set out on his first visit to Moose and Albany on June 28th 1852, shortly after the waters of the great flood had subsided. He went with the intention of leaving the station in charge of the ordained missionary, who was due to come out that summer, and of taking Horden back to Red River to prepare for ordination. When he saw how well-read Horden was in theology, and how proficient he was in the Cree

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15. Bishop Anderson - Charges and Sermons - Primary Charge p 40

16. Intelligencer - November 1851 p 264

17. P.A.B.C. ROSS LETTERS D. Ross from R. Miles, January 6th, 1852

language, the Bishop decided to ordain him both deacon and priest and to leave him in charge of the station.<sup>18</sup>

The Rev. E. A. Watkins, who arrived on August 15th, was then sent on to form a new station at Fort George on the eastern shores of James Bay.<sup>19</sup> It was hoped that from this station contact might be made with the Esquimaux, but they did not come so far south in any numbers. Fort George was located within the barren lands and the procurement of food was so uncertain that when the Hudson's Bay Company abandoned the Fort in 1857, Watkins was compelled to leave with them.<sup>20</sup> Another attempt to reach the Esquimaux in this direction was made by the Rev. T. A. Fleming in the winter of 1859. At Little Whale River he met about 350 Esquimaux, some of whom he taught to read the syllabic characters and supplied with printed portions of scripture. But Fleming's success was achieved at the price of his health. When Bishop Anderson again visited Moose in the summer of 1860 he found Fleming in a very weakened condition on account of a haemorrhage which he had suffered in the spring.<sup>21</sup> Fleming was compelled to return to England on September 9th and two years later he died.

Moose Factory, at the mouth of the Moose River, was situated on the edge of the Hudson's Bay coastal plain which extended north of the forest belt from Moose Factory to a little north of York Factory. The more

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18. Bishop Anderson - Net in Bay p 119

19. Ibid p 163

20. Stock - History of the C. M. S. v.3 p 321

21. Bishop Anderson - Net in Bay p 319

kindly conditions of this area made it the home of a considerable number of Swampy Crees amongst whom Horden labored successfully until his death in 1892. Horden was a tireless worker and an excellent student of the Cree language. In 1853 a printing-press and a fount of syllabic type was sent out to him by the C. M. S. to assist in his work of translation.<sup>22</sup> He also travelled extensively over a wide area and conducted his work at the inland posts of Osnaburgh and Lac Seul, as well as at Moose and Albany on the coast. In response to Horden's appeal for help, Bishop Anderson brought with him, in 1855, one of his Indian students at St. John's, Thomas Vincent, who was a Cree from the James' Bay district.<sup>23</sup> He acted as catechist and schoolteacher until the Bishop's third visit in 1860 when he was ordained deacon.<sup>24</sup>

Bishop Anderson maintained his interest in Rupert's Land and the work at Moose Factory long after he left the Diocese. On December 15th 1872 he had the privilege of taking part in the consecration in Westminster Abbey, of John Horden as the first Bishop of Moosonee. "To myself the consecration of December 1872 more than realizes and fulfils every day-dream of 1852."<sup>25</sup>

At a point intermediate between Red River and Moose Factory another station was begun by the Rev. Robert James in June 1851.<sup>26</sup> The site

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22. Intelligencer - March 1853 - footnote p 71

23. Bishop Anderson - Net in Bay p 300

24. Ibid p 319

25. Ibid p 328

26. Intelligencer - March 1852 p 62

selected was one formerly occupied by a Roman Catholic mission attempted some years previously by Father Belcourt. It was located on the Winnipeg River, about 100 miles from Fort Alexander, at a place called White Dog. At the request of a benefactor in England, who furnished the money used to establish this station, the name was changed to Islington. An Indian catechist, Peter Kennedy, was left in charge of the station for several years but its stony ground made it unproductive from both an agricultural and a spiritual point of view. The half-breed Rev. Robert McDonald was appointed to the station in 1853 and remained there until 1860 when, because of the ill health, he was moved to St. James' parish for a year during the absence of Mr. and Mrs. Tayler in England.<sup>27</sup> McDonald actually resigned his station at Islington and the Corresponding Committee nominated the Rev. J. P. Gardiner to the temporary charge of the district, with the recommendation that he move the site of the station to the more favorable country around Fort Alexander.<sup>28</sup> However after a year at St. James', McDonald apparently recovered his health sufficiently to return to his station. The headquarters of the station was finally moved to Fort Alexander in 1864 when the Rev. Robert Phair was appointed to the charge of the station.<sup>29</sup>

The development of the Cumberland district had already begun before the Bishop arrived in Rupert's Land in 1849. Hunter was an apt student of the Cree language and with the help of his second wife, Jean Ross, who had been brought up in the country, and of Henry Budd, he carried out

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27. Nor' Wester v 2. number 16, October 1st, 1861

28. S. O. R. ~~Minutes~~ of the Corresponding Committee, October 30th, 1860.

29. S. O. R. ~~Minutes~~ of the Corresponding Committee, May 2nd, 1864.

extensive translations of the scriptures and the Prayer Book. Lac La Ronge had already grown to sufficient importance as an out-station under James Setee that the Rev. Robert Hunt was sent out with the Bishop to become the resident missionary there.

Mr. and Mrs. Hunt arrived at their remote station on July 30th 1850<sup>30</sup> and began a difficult period of work in that rocky country. After two discouraging years at Lac la Ronge Hunt moved the location of the station to a site on the English River which he named Stanley.<sup>31</sup> Here, on the boundary between the Chipewyans and the Wood Crees, he labored successfully until he returned to England in 1863. Before he left he had built a rectory and school, and a church was nearing completion. The school was a boarding school with 30 regular and 40 occasional students as well as evening classes of adults.<sup>32</sup> The work had increased to such an extent that a second ordained missionary was sent to the station in August 1861 when the Rev. T. T. Smith set out for Stanley.<sup>33</sup> Because of its location on the edge of the Chipewyan country, Stanley station acted as a starting point for the work among Chipewyan Indians.

At Cumberland itself the Rev. John Hunter labored with good results from 1844 until 1855 when he moved to the charge of St. Andrew's parish. He built a parsonage and a church at Cumberland, completing the latter

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30. R. L. D. A. Hunt Diary, July 30th, 1850

31. S. O. R. Minutes of the Corresponding Committee, June 9th, 1853

32. Nor' Wester v 2, number 4, May 15th, 1861

33. Nor' Wester v 2, number 12, August 1st 1861

just in time for the Bishop to consecrate it, with the name of Christ Church, on June 30th 1850. After successfully launching the new station to the north, Hunter looked around for another likely spot for an out-station. With the consent and support of Bishop Anderson, he sent out an Indian catechist, John Humphible,<sup>34</sup> on August 19th 1850 to begin an out-station at Moose Lake,<sup>35</sup> about 100 miles south east of Cumberland. In the summer of 1851 the Rev. Henry Budd made a tentative visit to Népowewin, about 300 miles west of Cumberland, a little below the junction of the North and South Saskatchewan Rivers.<sup>36</sup> The following year he began work there as a resident missionary and continued to be connected with this station throughout the episcopacy of Bishop Anderson. At Cumberland, the Rev. Henry George succeeded Archdeacon Hunter for two years from 1855 to 1857<sup>37</sup> when in turn, he was succeeded by the Rev. A. E. Watkins. The latter remained for just over five years,<sup>at</sup> which time he returned to England, and was succeeded by the Rev. J. A. Mackay<sup>38</sup> in 1863.

The work at Fairford was begun in 1844 by the Rev. Abraham Cowley who remained in charge of the station until 1853 when he moved to the Indian Settlement at Red River.<sup>39</sup> The Fairford station suffered a

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34. Also spelled Umpherville or Umferville

35. Intelligencer December 1850 p 480

36. S. O. R. Minutes of the Corresponding Committee, December 10th, 1851

37. S. O. R. Minutes of the Corresponding Committee, October 31st, 1855

38. S. O. R. Minutes of the Corresponding Committee, December 14th, 1863

39. S. O. R. Minutes of the Corresponding Committee, December 28th, 1853

serious setback during the winter of 1852-1853 when a flood destroyed the parsonage and school.<sup>40</sup> By this time however a considerable number of Indians were living around the mission and the ruined buildings were replaced with their help. Cowley was succeeded at Fairford by Rev. Mr. and Mrs. W. Stagg who remained in charge of the mission at the time of the Bishop's departure in 1864.

During the season of 1851-1852 Cowley made a missionary tour to Berens River, Shoal River and Fort Pelly.<sup>41</sup> Schools were subsequently started on Berens River and Shoal River, but the former was apparently given up when Stagg moved to Fairford, and the latter was moved in 1859 to a more favorable location at Duck Bay.<sup>42</sup>

Westward along the valley of the Assiniboine the parish of St. James' was begun in 1850 by the Rev. W. H. Taylor, and the parish of Headingley by the Rev. G. O. Corbett in 1852. In the following year under the leadership of Archdeacon Cockran, a settlement was begun at Portage la Prairie, and in the years which followed the intervening space between Headingley and Portage la Prairie steadily filled up with families who migrated from the Red River.

In 1850, the same year that Philip Kennedy and John Humphible began their work at Islington and Moose Lake, another Indian catechist, Charles Pratt, began a station at Fort Pelly on the upper waters of the

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40. S. O. R. Minutes of the Corresponding Committee, June 9th, 1853

41. S. O. R. Minutes of the Corresponding Committee, June 7th, 1852

42. S. O. R. Minutes of the Corresponding Committee, January 10th, 1860

Assiniboine.<sup>43</sup> Two years later the Rev. Charles Hillyer was associated, with Pratt, in this effort to approach the Indians of the plains. For several years he did valuable work among them by accompanying them on buffalo hunts and visiting them in their tents.<sup>44</sup> After the death of his wife in August 1856, Hillyer returned to England and withdrew from the Diocese.<sup>45</sup>

Hillyer's place in the Fort Pelly district was taken, in 1857, by the Rev. Henry George in association with Archdeacon Cockran at Portage la Prairie.<sup>46</sup> The Rev. James Settee was moved from Red Deer's River to Fort Pelly and Mr. George started a new station on the White Mud River at a place afterwards called Westbourne, in honor of John West. As the result of this location of the Rev. George so near Portage la Prairie, the Fort Pelly station was transferred back to the superintendence of the Fairford station under the Rev. Mr. Stagg.<sup>47</sup> In 1863 Stagg and Settee made a journey westward to investigate the possibilities of a further extension of missionary effort in that direction "but the incessant fighting between the Crees and the Blackfeet had driven them back."<sup>48</sup> This condition, plus the large amounts of liquor which were increasingly used in the Indian trade, in those southern regions, made the work more and more difficult, and in 1863 Settee abandoned Fort Pelly and moved northward to Swan Lake.<sup>49</sup>

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43. Intelligencer November 1851 p 255

44. S. O. R. Minutes of the Corresponding Committee, June 7th, 1852,  
July 26th, 1854.

45. S. O. R. Minutes of the Corresponding Committee, October 21st, 1857

46. Ibid

47. S. O. R. Minutes of the Corresponding Committee, February 8th, 1861

48. Stock - History of the C. M. S. v.3 p 330

49. S. O. R. Minutes of the Corresponding Committee, January 12th, 1864

In the summer of 1861 an attempt was made to begin a mission station at the Roseau River near Pembina. The operation was attempted at the invitation of the Indians of the region, and a Mr. Barnard was appointed to the task.<sup>50</sup> By August however, the attempt had been abandoned because of the hostility of the neighboring Indians.<sup>51</sup>

The port of entry for Rupert's Land, on Hudson's Bay, was at length supplied with an Anglican missionary in 1854 when the Rev. William Mason was appointed to York Factory.<sup>52</sup> He had come to Rupert's Land originally, in 1840, as an English Wesleyan missionary and joined the Church of England in 1854. The following winter the poor state of his health forced him to seek rest and medical care at Red River, but by the summer of 1855 he was on his way back to York again. Mason was a valuable asset to the Anglican work because of his familiarity with the Indians of the Hudson's Bay region. He was<sup>a</sup>/competent Cree scholar and during the years 1858 to 1862 he was recalled to England to complete the translation and printing of the Bible in Cree.<sup>53</sup> In 1862 Mason returned to York and through the beneficence of an English laymen, Mr. Gardiner was able to be placed at Churchill. For one brief year all four stations on Hudson's Bay and James' Bay were filled, but on September 17th 1863,<sup>54</sup> Gardiner returned to England and was not expected back until 1865.<sup>55</sup>

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50. S. O. R. Minutes of the Corresponding Committee, February 18th, 1861

51. Nor' Wester v 2 number 13, August 15th, 1861

52. S. O. R. Minutes of the Corresponding Committee, July 26th, 1854

53. S. O. R. Minutes of the Corresponding Committee, October 21st, 1857,  
May 16th, 1860.

When Bishop Anderson returned to England in 1864 it was hoped that Mr. Mason might come in to fill the duty at St. John's, but owing to a severe illness he was unable to leave York. In this situation the Rev. T. T. Smith was called in from English River leaving that station and the Cumberland district under the joint care of the Rev. Henry Budd senior, and the Rev. J. A. Mackay.

Perhaps the most spectacular extension of the missionary work in Rupert's Land was that undertaken by Archdeacon Hunter in 1858. During his period of service at Cumberland, Hunter had been acutely aware of the need for the extension of Protestant missions to the north and west, from his station. In 1851 he wrote to the Parent Committee of the C. M. S. urging the need for such a step.

"Indians from Isle-a-la-Crosse and Athabasca are still crying to us to come and help them . . . The Church of Rome has her agents zealously at work amidst these promising Indians . . . The priests are before us pre-occupying the ground . . . May God . . . give us men and means to carry the sound of the Gospel, not only to Athabasca, but down the mighty McKenzie, and again up the Saskatchewan, among the vast tribes of the plains!"<sup>56</sup>

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54. Intelligencer November 1863 - Recent Intelligencer

55. S. O. R. Minutes of the Corresponding Committee, May 2nd, 1864

56. Intelligencer November 1851 p 256

In 1857 Hunter again proposed an advance to the Mackenzie River area, and this time with the full support of his Bishop. By some mischance, Sir George Simpson failed to send the necessary authorization to Red River to enable Hunter to proceed to Mackenzie River with the Portage la Loche brigade. Nevertheless, Hunter set out with them on Sunday June 6th 1858 with only the assurance of transportation as far as Norway House.<sup>57</sup> This was particularly annoying when authorization had been granted for two Roman Catholic priests to proceed by the same brigade to the same area.<sup>58</sup> However on the first afternoon of his journey Hunter's brigade met Sir George Simpson who verbally authorized the Archdeacon's trip and assured him that he would find written authority at Norway House.

Hunter spent the winter of 1858-1859 at Fort Simpson, Mackenzie River. In September he visited Fort Liard, and the following spring he went on to Fort Norman and Fort Good Hope. Archdeacon Hunter returned to Red River in the summer of 1859 and his place was taken, as previously arranged, by the Rev. W. W. Kirkby.<sup>59</sup> With his wife and family Kirkby took up his residence at Fort Simpson, Mackenzie River, as his permanent station. Three years later he was joined by the Rev. Robert McDonald, and together they travelled throughout the whole of the Mackenzie River

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57. Intelligencer - September 1859 p 208

58. S. O. R. Minutes of the Corresponding Committee, May 26th, 1858

59. Stock - History of the C. M. S. v 3 p 324

area.<sup>60</sup>

Apart from the British and Foreign Bible Society and the S. P. C. K., which supplied textbooks and copies of the scriptures, the only other Anglican missionary society which took part in the work of Indian missions was the S. P. G. In 1862 they undertook to pay for the work of the Rev. Thomas Cook who established a station at Fort Ellice or Beaver Creek.<sup>61</sup> During the summer of 1850 the Rev. William Cockran had paid a visit to this spot in an effort to establish a C. M. S. mission but he had met with no success. In the succeeding years a few settlers had begun to appear in the district and the Metis, Rev. T. Cook, was appointed to minister to the Indians, half-breeds, and the few English of the district.<sup>62</sup>

In all of this missionary extension Bishop Anderson played an essential role as the guiding force and the support, without which the efforts of individuals would fail. Throughout his episcopate the Indian missions were the work nearest to his heart. In his first letter to the C. M. S. from Rupert's Land he had said that, "to the Indians especially I feel that I am sent."<sup>63</sup> His subsequent interest in, and work for them, bore out the truth of this assertion.

At the first meeting of the Corresponding Committee conducted by Bishop Anderson's successor, Robert Machray, a minute was passed recording

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60. Ibid p 325

61. Pascoe - S. P. G. Digest p 179

62. Ibid

63. Intelligencer December 1849 p 177

their recognition of Bishop Anderson's contribution to the work of Indian missions.

"The Committee desire to place on record their deep sense of the devotion with which the late Bishop of Rupert's Land laboured for the cause of Christ in this Diocese. But more specially they wish to express gratitude for the warm interest he took in the Missions of this Society and for the untiring love with which he exerted himself on their behalf. Mainly by his efforts the Society has been induced to extend their Missions till they have reached their present Magnitude."<sup>64</sup>

#### B - EDUCATION

When the Rev. David Jones established the Red River Academy in 1833 there existed in Rupert's Land what could be described as a backlog of students for such an institution. Moreover the isolation of the Settlement served as a guarantee that prospective students in the country were not likely to go elsewhere unless their parents could afford to accompany them. As the years progressed however, the supply of students began to diminish. This was so because the initial backlog of pupils was soon drained off, and also because of the lack of suitable openings in the territory which required people with the type of higher education offered by the Academy.

At the same time, that income was falling, expenses were gradually rising and in March 1848 John Macallum made a dismal forecast for the future of his school. "Even at present the receipts border so closely on the line of expenditure, that I recently predicted to my friend,

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64. S. O. R. Minutes of the Corresponding Committee, December 28th, 1865.

Mr. Finlayson, that 1849 would probably toll the funeral knell of the establishment."<sup>65</sup>

October 5th 1849 tolled the funeral knell, if not of the establishment, at least of its proprietor. According to his wishes Macallum's executors offered the establishment first of all to Bishop Anderson who felt impelled to accept. In his first Charge delivered on December 27th 1851, the Bishop referred to his acquisition with obvious enthusiasm. "To it in anticipation of the future, I have given the name of St. John's Collegiate School. . . after the apostle of whom we think today."<sup>66</sup>

Under Mr. and Mrs. Macallum the boys' and girls' departments had been conducted conjointly at the Academy. Owing to the suggestions of parents and the disciplinary problems experienced, in recent years with the girls' department, Bishop Anderson decided to temporarily suspend its operation until such time as he could arrange to set it up as a separate institution. During the interval at least two of the girls were sent out to board and pursue their studies elsewhere. On October 26th the Rev. Robert Hunt wrote in his diary that his wife was going to "receive two young ladies into our house to board and instruct them at the Bishop's request, they having been at Mr. McAllum's school and his Lordship not knowing what else to do with them."<sup>67</sup>

With the help of Macallum's former assistant, Mr. Lumsden, the Bishop carried on the boys' department until the arrival of Mr. Pridham

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65. P. A. B. C. ROSS LETTERS D. Ross from Rev. J. Macallum, March 15th, 1848

66. Bishop Anderson Charges and Sermons - Primary Charge p 42

67. R. L. D. A. - Hunt Diary, October 26th, 1849.

in 1850. He then acquired the large stone house which the Rev. William Cockran had built at St. John's and in it in the following year, with Mrs. Mills as headmistress, he opened St. Cross Ladies' School.

The Bishop pursued a vigorous policy with regard to education in his two schools and taught many classes himself. He offered scholarships and collected a Diocesan library in connection with St. John's. Just before his visit to England he organized a board of Trustees for St. John's as guardians of the property and the Diocesan library.<sup>68</sup> But all his efforts were in vain and the institutions steadily diminished in size and strength.

As the colony steadily emerged from its former isolation those who could afford to send their children to such schools as St. John's and St. Cross, began to take advantage of the improving means of communication and sent their children to better equipped schools in Canada.<sup>69</sup> At the same time the fur trade was waning in the territory and the opportunities of employment for educated people were lessening with it. Unconsciously or otherwise, the Bishop also aggravated the situation by making St. John's into a C. M. S. School. Probably with the best of intentions he introduced annual C. M. S. scholarships into the school and admitted Metis and Indian students to St. John's for both academic and theological training. But when Jones had established the school one of the reasons for its immediate success had been his recognition of the

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68. Bishop Anderson - Charges and Sermons - Third Charge p 44

69. Bishop Anderson - Charges and Sermons - Fourth Charge ep 49

class prejudices and distinctions which existed in the country. In his proposals to Governor Simpson, Jones specifically stated that the school was to be completely independent of the C. M. S. and open for the sons of the gentlemen of the fur trade.<sup>70</sup> Since Jones made the proposals at the instigation of the gentlemen at Fort Garry it was evident that these were reasons why many of them refused to patronise the mixed school begun by West. It was not likely that these prejudices had died out by the time that Bishop Anderson assumed the proprietorship of the Academy. The combination of these factors with the opening of river navigation by the Anson Northup in 1859 resulted in the closing of St. John's for the remainder of the Bishop's episcopate.

With regard to the other schools of the Settlement, they were operated on the model of the English parish schools. The textbooks "were published by the S. P. C. K., and were the same as those used in England at that time."<sup>71</sup> These schools offered an elementary instruction in "the three r's" to which were added copious amounts of the Bible and the Church Catechism. The majority of these schools received considerable support from the C. M. S., but even with this help, such education, because of the scattered nature of the Settlements was more expensive than it ought to have been.

Bishop Anderson summed up the situation very well in his Primary Charge. "To the schools of the settlement I bear willing and conscientious testimony. They are very numerous, more so than the population would

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70. P. A. M. Copy of a letter from Rev. D. Jones to George Simpson Esq.,  
May 8th, 1832

71. Garrioch - First Furrows p 129

require, were it not that the houses are built only on the bank of the river and chiefly on one side. A solid, substantial, and scriptural education is thus afforded. There is no excuse for any child growing up without instruction as in each school there is a proportion of free scholars, through the liberality of the Church Missionary Society."<sup>72</sup>

This situation continued to be substantially true throughout the entire period in which the church parish school system was in vogue in the country and Bishop Anderson did nothing to disturb it.

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72. Bishop Anderson - Charges and Sermons - Primary Charge p 41

### CONCLUSION

Bishop's Anderson's work as the first Lord Bishop of Rupert's Land was not spectacular, but it was constructive and laid a sound basis for his successors. Under his guidance the various parish records of vital statistics were collected and filed, and the church services and buildings of the Diocese were regularized according to the laws of the Church of England. On the vexed question of the Presbyterian claims to the Upper Church and property, he bore the brunt of the battle for the Anglicans and finally succeeded in hammering out a compromise. Amidst many difficulties and discouragements he succeeded in erecting Rupert's Land's first Cathedral of St. John. Due largely to his driving energy the missionary efforts of his Church were extended until they reached the Arctic Circle. The Diocese which contained five clergy when he arrived was left with twenty-three, the majority of whom were engaged in the work of Indian Missions.

In the realm of self-support, despite his earnest efforts, he was less successful. With the Indian missions self-support was obviously impossible for the Indian had to be supplied with everything when he decided to offer himself as a candidate for civilization. But whether in the Indian mission or the Red River parish, the missionary simply did not have time to both produce his livelihood by labour and carry out his spiritual duties as a clergyman. To make up for the lack of the former he

required money wherewith to purchase his supplies. At this time there was very little money circulating in the country and it was scarcely possible or practical to transport contributions in kind from a Red River parish to an Indian mission.

When Bishop Anderson entered the Red River in 1849 Rupert's Land's only institution of higher learning was about to close its doors. Due almost entirely to the efforts of his Lordship the Academy was revived as St. John's Collegiate School and St. Cross Ladies School, and did useful work in the country for another ten years. To encourage education he enlarged the number of subjects studied at St. John's by the addition of various languages, and several branches of higher mathematics. He offered two scholarships annually and urged his brighter pupils to go abroad and to take university training if possible. He formed a reading club and began the formation of a library which was originally intended as a college library. But all was in vain. Even the formation of a Board of Trustees for St. John's failed to create a broad enough basis of desire and interest and in 1869 St. John's closed its doors for the first time.

In the social life of the colony the Bishop played the role of a man of peace. This did not mean that he shrank from danger or force but that he believed more in the use of reason and understanding. In matters of morality he crusaded strongly against the excessive importation of liquor from the

United States. But at the same time he did not allow the fact of such importation to blind him to the great value of the rapid communications which were possible by that route. In the Council he was a consistent supporter of the use of the United States route for mails.

The limitations under which he labored were much more those of time and place than those of personal abilities or shortcomings. When he reached the Settlement in 1849 he found a community almost completely cut off from the rest of the world. The arts and crafts of civilization were not yet essential for existence and in consequence they had but lightly touched many of the inhabitants of the land. The buffalo continued to roam the plains and squatters' rights were the order of the day. By 1864 North-West America was a world wide topic of interest, a place to be visited by scientists and adventurers. International Financiers were speculating on the possibilities of its development. The railway race across the country was inevitable to the minds of inquiring observers. The fifteen years of Bishop Anderson's episcopate covered the greater part of the period of transition from the virtual end of the fur trade monopoly in 1849, to the entry of the Province of Manitoba into Confederation. That Bishop Anderson could play a constructive role during such a period of change and instability was a mark of his true stature as a man.

When he left Red River in 1864 hundreds of people were present to bid him farewell. Had the Rev. Robert Hunt witnessed the occasion and heard the comments he might well have made another entry in his diary similar to that which he made about John Macallum in 1849: "I never knew a man more generally beloved."

## APPENDIX B

DEACONS AND PRIESTSORDAINED BY BISHOP DAVID ANDERSON 1849 - 64

	Deacon	Priest
JOHN CHAPMAN	December 23, 1849 St. Andrew's Church	December 22, 1850 St. Andrew's Church
HENRY BUDD (Sr.)	December 22, 1850 St. Andrew's Church	July 10, 1853 Christ Church, Cumberland
W. H. TAYLOR		December 22, 1850 St. Andrew's Church
THOMAS COCKRAN	June 6, 1852 St. Andrew's Church	December 25, 1853 St. John's Church
JOHN HORDEN	August 22, 1852 Moose Factory	August 24, 1852 Moose Factory
ROBERT McDONALD	December 19, 1852 St. Andrew's Church	June 5, 1853 St. Andrew's Church
JAMES SETTEE	December 25, 1853 St. John's Church	January 1, 1856 St. John's Church
WILLIAM MASON	June 29, 1854 St. John's Church	July 25, 1854, St. John's Church
WILLIAM STAGG	June 29, 1854 St. John's Church	December 24, 1854, St. John's Church
W. W. KIRKBY	December 24, 1854 St. John's Church	January 1, 1856 St. John's Church
HENRY GEORGE	January 1, 1856 St. John's Church	June 1, 1856 St. John's Church

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DEACONS AND PRIESTSORDAINED BY BISHOP DAVID ANDERSON 1849 - 64

	Deacon	Priest
T. H. FLEMING	1857 All Saints' Derby, Eng.	July 11, 1860 Moose Factory
HENRY COCHRANE	August 1, 1858 St. John's Church	December 27, 1859 St. Andrew's Church
JOSEPH PHELPS GARDINER	August, 1, 1858, St. John's Church	August 8, 1858, St. John's Church
THOMAS VINCENT	July 11, 1860 Moose Factory	May 26, 1863 St. John's Cathedral
T. T. SMITH	May 17, 1860 St. John's Church	July 21, 1861 St. Andrew's Church
THOMAS COOK	July 21, 1861 St. Andrew's Church	May 26, 1863 St. John's Cathedral
HENRY BUDD ( JR )	July 21, 1861 St. Andrew's Church	May 26, 1863 St. John's Cathedral
J. A. MACKAY	May 29, 1862 St. Paul's	1864
ROBERT PHAIR	1864	



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