THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

THE INFLUENCE OF RELIGION ON EDUCATION FOR NATIVE PEOPLE IN MANITOBA PRIOR TO 1870

by

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TO ELAINE, MY WIFE

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Finally I must give much credit to my dear wife Elaine, who typed and helped proof read the first two drafts of the thesis. Her continued co-operation, patience and understanding made this study possible.

Arthur Rempel.

ABSTRACT

The intention of this thesis is to present an illustration of the influence of religion on education for Native people in Manitoba prior to 1870, and a narrative of its beginning with the coming of the Selkirk Settlers to Red River in 1811 and subsequent fifty-nine years of development until 1870, the year Manitoba entered Confederation. The approach is generally chronological. Following a discussion of the aboriginal religious beliefs and their system of education before white contact, the emphasis of the narrative shifts to the beginning of white influence on the aborigine and the efforts at Native education by the three white Christian denominations - Roman Catholic, Anglican and Methodist.

The successes, failures, animosity and bigotry of the missionaries are pointed out and an attempt is made throughout to trace the development of white education among Native people and the scope of the curriculum taught by the missionaries. Some mention is also made of the relationship between the Hudson's Bay Company officials and the missionaries.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I. THE PROBLEM

Occasion for the study

This thesis is an attempt to present an account of the influence of religion on education for Native people in Manitoba prior to 1870.

The area under consideration was and still is the home of the Native population residing within it since pre-historic times. Regionally, their homes were spread out unevenly over this whole area which today is known as Manitoba - from the historic shores of the Hudson Bay to the North, to the junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers to the South and scattered along the western boundary of this province. In this geographic rural setting, the Natives were intent upon pursuing their way of life and upon preserving that way for their children. Spatially, they were widely scattered but in many other ways they had common bonds - spiritual, social and economic to name but a few. The Natives of this region formed but a small part of the total web of Canada's

Native and national mosaic; nevertheless, they were probably the real heros in the opening up of the West, for without the skills, knowledge and wisdom of these people, the early explorers, traders, missionaries and settlers would not have fared so well.

The beginning of the nineteenth century was a memorable one for the Natives of the area which today constitutes Manitoba. It marked the beginning of white educational efforts in this region. Initially, this affected only a small percentage of the Indian population, but as the Selkirk settlement became established so did the Roman Catholic Church and the Church of England, with their education and missionary programs. From this point on and until the early 1950's, there was a Native educational system which, with a few exceptions, was in the hands of the missionaries. It vitally affected the Native population but they had no part or say in any decision making. It was operated and controlled by the churches and the curriculum had as its main objective to evangelize the aborigine, and to introduce him to formal education. The missionary through his efforts introduced a life comletely new and foreign to the Natives and a new set of values. Cardinal sums it up when he says:

> In the old days the Indian peoples had their own system of education. Although the system was entirely informal and varied from tribe to tribe or location to location, it had

> one great factor going for it - it worked. The Indian method, entirely pragmatic, was designed to prepare the child for whatever way of life he was to lead - hunter, fisherman, warrior, chief, medicine man or wife and mother. . .
>
> The arrival of the white brought into the Indian world different values, different concepts of life that gravely disrupted the social institutions of the Indian. The missionaries, in particular, introduced two critically important institutions - religion and formal education. The introduction of these institutions to the Indian heralded a new era, drastically changing the old way of life. The missionaries promulgated a completely foreign culture with values which in many cases, generations later, still are foreign to the Indian.[1]

During the last four years the writer of this thesis has become keenly interested in Native education - first as a teacher of Native students and, second, as a citizen and resident of a Native community. The writer's interest lies especially in the religious influence on education for Native people which has induced him to attempt a study that deals with the era when it all began prior to 1870 when the territory which today is recognized as Manitoba was not yet in Confederation. It is his earnest and sincere desire that such an effort might lead to a more complete understanding of Native education for the period

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[1] Cardinal, Harold. The Unjust Society: The Tragedy of Canada's Indians, p. 52. Edmonton: M.C. Hurtig Ltd. Publishers, 1969.

covered; and better to understand contemporary problems in Native education in Manitoba through a knowledge of the first white educational efforts among Native people.

Purpose of the Study

The main purpose of this study is to present an account of the influence of religion on education for Native people in Manitoba prior to 1870. In scope it is to be limited mainly to a study of the development of educational efforts among Native people by the Roman Catholics and the English-speaking Protestants. A chapter will be devoted to the Roman Catholics and one each to the English-speaking Protestants, namely, the Anglicans and the Methodists. Specifically, the aim will be twofold:

(1) To trace the beginning and development of white education for Native people in Manitoba prior to 1870 by the three religious groups involved - Roman Catholics, Anglicans and Methodists.

(2) To illustrate that religion was the dominating factor in the education of Native people at the hands of the missionaries, whose motives for education were clearly influenced by the Christian religion.

Importance of the Study

This study has merit in that no previous study has been made of the influence of religion on education for Native people in Manitoba prior to 1870. It also has the

value of helping the writer and the reader better to understand not only the period dealt with in the thesis but also contemporary problems in Native education in Manitoba through a knowledge of the first educational efforts in Manitoba by Europeans. The writer of this study is of the opinion that many current frustrations and disillusionments experienced by Native people in today's society stem from the period of history considered in this study. It is hoped that this study will serve as a useful history of the successes and failures fashioned by the Europeans in their educational efforts with Native peoples for the period and area under consideration.

Procedure

Chapter I, the introductory chapter, will be followed by a review of related literature in Chapter II. To effectively appraise the educational efforts among Native people by the white religious organization prior to 1870, requires some background information. For this reason a brief survey is given of the aboriginal way of life prior to white contact and the coming of the first Europeans. This background information will be provided in Chapters III and IV. Chapter III will concern itself with aboriginal education and religion before white contact. Chapter IV will be a consideration of the beginning of white influence; that is, the coming of the explorers, traders,

missionaries, fur companies and settlers with their foreign educational philosophy and religious ideology. Chapter V deals with white educational efforts at Red River prior to 1818. Chapter VI will concern itself with the Roman Catholic Church and its missionary and educational efforts in Manitoba prior to 1870. Chapters VII and VIII respectively provide a similar account of the Anglican and Methodist educational and missionary efforts amongst the Native people. Chapter IX, the final chapter, will give a general summary and conclusion of the study with attention being drawn to the salient points of the study.

Methodology

In this study the writer will employ historical methodology. First, a survey will be made of work that has been done related to this topic. Second, reference will be made to primary sources to present the problem. It will probably include the making of some value judgements, for the historians work goes beyond merely recording events. When value judgements are made, a personal bias cannot be avoided.

Sources

It is the writer's aim to use primary sources of information wherever possible. The writer has visited the libraries of all major institutions available to him

and, in some instances, has obtained pertinent details from records, minutes, diaries and other readings, thereby achieving the writer's aim. Of special value for their wealth of information were the Rupert's Land Archives, the Provincial Archives, the St. Boniface Archives, and the Grey Nun's Archives. Of value also were the facts and information gathered at various times through discussions and interviews with people well informed about the period in question.

For background information the writer had to rely almost exclusively on secondary sources. No written record exists of the pre-history aboriginal people. The coming of the first white influence to Manitoba, however, has been widely researched and written about.

A list of all the primary, secondary and unpublished sources will be found in the bibliography appended to this thesis.

Limitations

There are several limitations to this study. The writer is aware of the restrictive nature of his topic; this choice, however, has been deliberate. This thesis is to be a study of the influence of religion on education for Native people in Manitoba prior to 1870 because this

is but one of many areas where the Europeans put their religious ideologies and educational philosophies into practice. From these early white efforts among Natives there developed a distinct religious and educational pattern that existed to the mid-nineteen-fifties.

Securing a proper historical perspective is another limitation. This stems from the nature of the topic in question. There is so much history of this period not recorded, which, had it been recorded, no doubt would somewhat change the overall picture. Further, much criticism, evaluation and re-evaluation of past and present policies of Indian education by the Natives themselves as well as many other groups and agencies, has made the nature of the topic in question a sensitive one. The writer, nevertheless, has attempted to treat this subject objectively in order to be as unbiased as possible.

Additional restrictions have been imposed by lack of adequate source materials in some instances.

II DEFINITION OF TERMS

Indian, Aborigine, Metis, Half-breed, Native, Esquimaux

When Columbus discovered America, he named its inhabitants "Indians". This term, although patently a misnomer, is still commonly used to identify the aborigines that Columbus came in contact with in North America.

The term 'aborigine' is used by archaeologists and anthropologists to identify an indigenous inhabitant such as the Indian of North America as contrasted with an invading or colonizing people such as the Europeans were to the New World.[1]

The Esquimaux, like the Indians, are aboriginal to North America. This race has inhabited the Arctic coasts from Greenland to Alaska. In Manitoba the Esquimaux frequented Churchill and York Factory.

As Europeans began migrating to the New World and came in contact with the Indians or aborigines, intermarriage between white and Indian took place. The offspring of such 'mixed' marriages was first known as 'half breed'; later, the term 'metis', a synonym to the word 'half-breed' was used in reference to these people.

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[1] Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary. Springfield, Massachusetts: G.&C. Merriam Company, Publishers, 1971.

The name 'Native' will refer to all the above terms and will in many instances be used inter-changeably with them in this thesis.

Education

The term 'education' in today's society, generally refers to formal institutional education. That is, formal education is an effort to do explicitly and systematically what family and community had long accomplished in an undifferentiated fashion before society became as complex as it is today.[1] Webster's dictionary defines education as the act or process of being provided with knowledge, skill competence, or usually desirable qualities of behavior or character or by being so provided especially by a formal course of study, instruction or training.[2] Education has also been defined as the process of "bringing up" young persons with reference to social station, kind of manners and habits required, and calling or employments.[3]

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[1] The International Encyclopedia of Social Science, p. 512. The Macmillan Company & The Free Press, 1968, Volume IV.

[2] Websters Third New International Dictionary, p. 723, Springfield, Massachusetts: G. & C. Merriam Company, Publishers.

[3] The Oxford English Dictionary, Oxford: Clarendon Press, Volume III.

For the purpose of this thesis the term 'education' will be defined as the act or process of providing either formally or informally, systematically or unsystematically, knowledge, skill, competence, or usually desirable qualities of behavior or character in a given society.

In the case of aborigines before white contact, one would say that education was of informal, unsystematic nature. Their school was the total life experience - the home, nature, the community and the environment whether physical, social or political. Formal institutional education was introduced to the New World by the Europeans. In Manitoba, prior to 1870, it was the white religious groups who introduced formal education.

Manitoba

The name is used to designate the geographical area within the present boundaries of Manitoba, since prior to 1870 Manitoba was not in Confederation. Its present boundary was not extended to the sixtieth parallel until 1912.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

To the writer's knowledge the topic chosen for this thesis is one which, to date, has not been submitted to research. Much literature, however, has been written in related areas. It is the purpose of this chapter to review the published and unpublished sources, which the writer consulted to provide the background information for this study.

Most literature reviewed was in one way or another correlative with Manitoba's early educational and religious history and therefore relevant to the study. The writer in no way presumes to have reviewed all existing related sources, for they appear inexhaustable.

The writer has chosen to review the literature under two headings:

1. Literature related to the aborigine of North America prior to European influence.

2. Literature concerned with the early history of Manitoba, especially as it pertains to education and its development.

I. LITERATURE RELATED TO THE ABORIGINE OF NORTH AMERICAN PRIOR TO EUROPEAN INFLUENCE

Many books and articles dealing with the North American aborigine prior to European influence have been written. The authors of this literature, in most instances archaeologists, anthropologists and ethnologists, were highly qualified and capable of the task. Among some of the authors that the writer consulted are John Collier, Martin Quimsby, Ernest Seton, Elsie Clews Parsons, John Maclean, Robert H. Lowie, Lewis Spence, Diamond Jenness, Frank W. Hodge, Pierre-Jean DeSmet, John D. Hunter, Henry Kelsey and Arthur T. Adams.

One writer who treats Indian culture extensively in his book The Indians of the Americas is John Collier. An examination is made of the American Indian cultures from pre-historic times to the end of the nineteenth century. It is a fairly comprehensive account and concludes with a summary and prediction. The author is quite critical towards the white American population over their treatment of Indians.

A history of the American Indian has been written in considerable detail by Martin Quimsby and Collier in Indians Before Columbus. This work is well documented and gives twenty thousand years of American Indian

history as revealed by archaeology. The book was written as an introductory course in anthropology, and the authors have succeeded in writing it in a simplified form which any layman or student can understand. This writing can be of great value to the student of Indian history.

The volume that will be of consideratble interest to its reader is Ernest T. Seton's The Gospel of the Redman, 1948. It is a compilation of records of Indian thought and culture. Seton did years of research before compiling the book. There are two sections to the book - white expression of Indian thought and Indian expression of Indian thought. Among the Indians interviewed were such great men as Chief Standing Bear, a Sioux; Sunflower, a Sioux lecturer; and Walking Eagle, an Ojibway lecturer.

Seton believes that the Indian example and precept are what the world needs today above any other ethical teaching. Most important, according to Seton, was the Redman's spiritual message which was least understood. Garrick Mallery, the leading Smithsonian authority of his day, and one of the people interviewed by Seton says:

> The most surprising fact relating to the North American Indians, which until lately had not been realized, is that they habitually lived in and by religion to a degree comparable with that of the Old Israelites under the theocracy. This was sometimes ignored, and sometimes denied in terms, by many of the early missionaries

> and explorers. The aboriginal religion was not their (the missionaries) religion, and therefore was not recognized to have an existence or was pronounced to be Satanic.[1]

The quotation to a certain extent conveys the message of the book - white man has traditionally chosen to misunderstand the Indian. The book is well documented and vividly expresses Indian thought and ideal of life.

Another account of American aboriginal life is contained in a book entitled American Indian Life, edited by Elsie Clews Parsons. It is a compilation of a series of articles written by a group of scholars in the field of American Indian life. The book gives a thorough picture of Native American life. Through the medium of the intensive and special coloring of each tribal civilization the author succeeds in bringing out the common elements of Indian culture and society.

A story of Indian languages and customs of the Plains has been traced in Canadian Savage Folk: The Native Tribes of Canada by John Maclean. Much of what is said is based on the author's own personal experience with Indians in the mid-nineteenth century. Specifically, an examination of the Indian languages and customs is made. The writer

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[1]Seton, Ernest T., The Gospel of the Redman, p.1. Seton Village, Sante Fe, New Mexico, 1948.

of this study takes offence to the word "Savage" in the title. It suggests a distinct bias, namely White superiority, a fact that the discerning reader will notice. Maclean was encouraged by the work of the Protestant missionaries as they labored among the Indians. He says:

> The Protestant missionaries who went among them labored hard to teach them the doctrines of the Christian religion, and they were encouraged by their efforts by the change in the lives of the people.[1]

Maclean seems to take a position which is prevalent among writers of aboriginal history, namely, that through White influence and educational endeavors, the "Savages" were enlightened. On the whole it is a book that is well-written and supplies the reader with a great deal of valuable, first-hand information.

A source of considerable value to the writer was the book Indians of the Plains by Robert H. Lowie. The theme of the book is the culture of the Plains Indians from the time of their discovery until their virtually complete assimilation of the white man's ways. It was written by Lowie at the request of, and for, the American Museum of Natural History; he was well qualified to write

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[1] Maclean, John, Canadian Savage Folk: The Native Tribes of Canada, p. 2, Toronto: William Briggs, 1896.

on a topic dealing with the Plains Indians. Harry L. Shapiro of the American Museum of Natural History wrote:

> There is, in my opinion, no one as qualified to help us do this as Robert H. Lowie, the author of this book. During his curatorial association with the American Museum of Natural History, he carried on a series of brilliant and painstaking studies of the Plains Indians: subsequently as Professor of Anthropology at the University of California he has lectured about them; and throughout his long and outstanding career he has constantly thought about them. He is the authority. I feel very fortunate that he has consented to do this book on the Plains in the present series on the life of the American Indians that the American Museum of Natural History is planning to issue.[1]

Shapiro's comment illustrates Lowie's expertise on the subject. The writer highly recommends this book for its thorough treatment of Indian culture.

A very valuable study of North American aborigine myths and legends is that of Lewis Spence. This volume, entitled The Myths of the North American Indians, is a survey of representative myths and legends of the Indians of North America. Chapter One deals with the divisions, customs, and history of the Indian Race. The remaining seven chapters treat their mythology and legends. The

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[1] Lowie, Robert H., Indians of the Plains, preface. New York, McGraw-Hill, 1954.

book furnishes the reader with a general view of North American Indians' mythologies, accompanied by valuable historical and ethnological information.

A most careful and accurate writer on the aborigines of Canada is Diamond Jenness, an anthropologist, ethnologist and scholar. During the time that he served as chief ethnologist for the National Museum of Canada he investigated many of the Indian tribes from the Atlantic to the Pacific and in the Arctic. His book, The Indians of Canada, is a comprehensive and authoritative statement valuable to both specialist and layman. It was prepared for the National Museum of Canada and appeared under bulletin number sixty-five. It proved to be so popular that several reprints of the book have been exhausted. Jenness treats virtually every aspect of aboriginal life. The reference to education and religion as it pertained to this people was most useful to the writer. In the writer's estimation this volume is one of the most informative available and proved very useful in this study.

Another valuable source written by the same author gives a detailed account of ancient Indian education. This bulletin,[1] entitled "The Ancient Education of the

[1]Jenness, Diamond, "The Ancient Education of the Carrier Indian", in the Annual Report for 1938 of the National Museum of Canada, Dept. of Mines, Bulletin No. 62, Ottawa, 1928.

Carrier Indian" deals specifically, as the title suggests, with the Carrier Indians of the West Coast. Mention is also made of how religion affected the education of the young.

Another book of considerable value to this study is one by Frank W. Hodge, called Handbook of Indians of Canada. A concise account of education, both secular and religious, is given and contributes a good deal of information on Canadian aborigines. Other sources of information on the aborigine of North America, which the writer feels should be mentioned, are those written by Pierre-John DeSmet,[1] John D. Hunter,[2] Henry Kelsey,[3] and Arthur T. Adams.[4] The utility of their letters,

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[1] DeSmet, Pierre-Jean, Life, Letters and Travels, edited by Chittenden H.M., and Richardson, A.T., p. 939, New York, 1905, Vol. iii, 1064.

[2] Hunter, John D., Memoirs of a Captivity Among the Indians of North America, London, 1823.

[3] The Kelsey Papers, p. 13, The Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa: F.A. Ackland, Printers to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1929.

[4] Adams, Arthur T., Editor. The Explorations of Pierre Esprit Radisson, p. xxiv. (From the original manuscript in the Bodleian Library and the British Museum), Minneapolis: Ross and Haines, Inc., 1961.

memoirs, and papers is that they supply a fairly comprehensive and detailed record of first-hand activities with the Indians. These men were probably the first White men that the aborigines came in contact with and therein lies the importance of the literature. None of these sources, however, deal specifically with Native educational practices.

II. LITERATURE CONCERNED WITH THE EARLY HISTORY OF MANITOBA ESPECIALLY PERTAINING TO EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT.

Among the principal authors who have written on the early history of Manitoba as it relates to missions and education are, Adrian G. Morice, Joseph J. Hargrave, Gun and Tuttle, Alexander Ross, Alexander Begg, William J. Healy, John West, Sarah Tucker, Archibishop Tache, Frank H. Schoffield, George Bryce, Holly S. Seaman, Sidney E. Lang, Margaret McWilliams, Adam Mercer, James M. Reardon, Mrs. Frederick C. Stephenson, Sarah Gould, John Maclean, Grace Lee Nute, Thomas C. B. Boon, and Dr. Cornelius J. Jaenen. Combined, these works give a general history of early Manitoba covering most aspects of settlement, missionary endeavors and educational efforts. There are more recent histories of Manitoba; such as William L. Morton's Manitoba, A History, that deal with some aspects of exploration, settlement and

political development in Manitoba. For the purpose of this study they are rather general; however, they do provide an excellent source of bibliographical information. Several of these works can be classified as primary source material and may be used for serious research in this study.

More than half a dozen unpublished works have been written in the form of theses and dissertations. Among the scholars having done such research are: George M. Newfield, Edward D. Simms, Sanford S. Harvey, John E. Lysecki, Keith Wilson, Herbert J. Vallery, Mary S. Norton, Leslie A. Glinz, William Fraser, Katherine A. Pettipas and William H. Brooks. These sources were of particular value to the writer for the purpose of this study not only as they related specifically to education and religion but that they included valuable bibliographical information.

PUBLISHED MATERIAL

Adrian G. Morice in his History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada has written in considerable detail the history of Catholic education up to 1910. He has made use of original documents in the possession of the Catholic church authorities and the work is therefore of great value. Though the work is well documented a definite Catholic bias can be detected and may be considered

a weakness of the book.

A good account of Manitoba's early history is contained in the book entitled Red River by Joseph James Hargrave. The references made to education and actual conditions are contemporary. It appears that Mr. Hargrave does not permit his own feelings to interfere with the controversial matters of the times such as the transfer of the Red River territory to Canada.

A former Provincial Librarian, Mr. William J. Healy, has gathered a collection of reminiscenses from women who remember early life at Red River and edited a book called Women of Red River. Within this volume reference is frequently made to early education. It is very personal in the sense that first-hand information is given by a variety of people.

An exclusive study by Archbishop Tache, entitled A Page of the History of Schools in Manitoba During Seventy-Five Years, written in 1890, stresses the growth of the Catholic schools. This is written by a man who made great contributions to Catholic educational development and is an invaluable record.

Sidney Lang, a former Provincial Normal School instructor and High School Inspector has written a very

valuable study of educational history in Manitoba. The study was prepared for the series of twenty-three volumes, Canada and its Provinces which was edited by Shortt and Doughty.[1]

A general history of the Province of Manitoba outlining some of the principal educational development is Manitoba Milestones, 1928, by Margaret McWilliams.

A well-written educational history is done by Frank H. Schoffield, whose account dates to 1913. In the study the important part taken by the Catholics in Manitoba's educational development is spelled out. The book, entitled History of Manitoba, is well-documented and impersonally and judiciously written.

Placing historic events of importance is the pamphlet Manitoba, Landmarks and Red Letter Days, 1610 to 1920. It can be used as a check.

The earliest account of Protestant educational activities at Red River is given by John West in his journal of the Red River Colony (1820-1823)[2]. Rev. John

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[1] Lang, S.E., "History of Education in Manitoba", Canada and its Provinces. Vol. xx, pp. 417-447, Toronto: T. & O. Constable & Co., 1914.

[2] West, John. 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, London: L. B. Seeley & Sons, 1824.

West was the first superintendent of schools west of the Red River. This makes his story of the origin of Protestant schools a primary source of reference.

Another story of Anglican activities has been recorded in the study, Life of Archbishop Machray, written in the early nineteen-hundreds by his nephew Robert Machray. An historical sketch, it is based on preserved records which were found in St. John's College Library, University of Manitoba.

A short account of the first establishement of Christanity in Rupert's Land by the Church Missionary Society is Sarah Tucker's book entitled, The Rainbow in the North, 1853. This volume has a personal touch and the information contained within is primary reference material.

The volume entitled, The Red River Settlement: Its Rise, Progress and Present State, 1856, by Alexander Ross is an eye-witness account of life at Red River. Educational activities at Red River are dealt with extensively, especially as they pertain to the Anglicans. There seems to be prevalent a definite Protestant bias. Mr. Ross also reveals strong personal feelings in regards to qualifications of missionaries and the education of Indians. He says:

> Any man with simply a knowledge of books, and utterly destitute of experience in Indian life, is, of all men, the most unfit to be entrusted with the civilizing and evangelizing of Indians; but more especially to be placed at the head of an Indian mission. . . The missionary must keep a watchful eye on all changes, aspects, and appearances; he must confine his converts to a purely religious education, till the truths of the Gospel have fairly taken root, and a desire for instruction has been widely diffused.[1]

James Michael Reardon's book, George Anthony Belcourt, Pioneer Catholic Missionary of the Northwest, 1803-1874, is a biography of a pioneer Catholic missionary who spent seventeen years (1831-1848) with the Indians in what now is The Archdiocese of St. Boniface. Belcourt, in Reardon's view, did yeoman service among the aboriginal Indians, and taught his priestly contemporaries and successors to read, write and speak the Chippewa language. Belcourt was forced to leave this mission because of his attitude towards the alleged monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company.

James Reardon had access to one-hundred and sixty-one of Belcourts letters in writing this biography, all of which are primary sources of information about the

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[1] Ross, Alexander. The Red River Settlement: Its Rise, Progress and Present State, p. 316-317. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1856.

missionary and his activities. This volume is also well documented and serves as an excellent source for reference.

An account of one century of Canadian Methodist Missions is given by Mrs. Frederick C. Stephenson in her book entitled One Hundred Years of Canadian Methodist Missions 1824-1924. It is well written from a literary standpoint and contains a great wealth of information. It served as a useful guideline to the writer as he researched Methodist missionary activities in the northwest.

Inasmuch, written by Sarah Gould, is a Handbook which sketches the beginnings of the Church of England in Canada in relation to the Indian and Esquimaux Races. The Handbook has been compiled with a three-fold purpose:

> To combine, and present in one volume, certain information and considerations concerning the beginnings of the Church of England. . .
>
> To provide a text book for use in the work of Summer Schools and Mission study classes.
>
> To present certain aspects of the missionary situation now confronting the Church in relation to the Native races. . .[1]

The Rev. Dr. John Maclean's volume entitled Vanguards

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[1]Gould, Sarah, Inasmuch. Toronto: 1917, p. vii.

of Canada gives a history of more than a dozen Methodist missionaries to the Indians in Canada. In a concise form, Maclean gives the reader a glimpse of the trials and triumphs of these men in their work as missionaries. Among the men whose history appears in this book are, James Evans, Henry B. Steinhauer and Kahkewayquonaby, of the Six Nation Indians and Shawundis, the Ojibway orator. It serves as a good source of information into Methodist missions in Canada.

One of the most valuable and informative sources to the writer was Grace Lee Nute's, Documents Relating to North-West Missions, 1815-1827. This volume contains close to one-hundred transcripts relating to the north-west, which serve as primary source material. On page xi of the Introduction Nute writes:

> The documents cover a brief period - from 1815 to 1827. They tell the story of the resumption of Catholic missions among the Indians of the North West of that day... Their efforts have been the aura of romance and adventure about them, and they have been studied and reported again and again... Joseph Norbert Provencher, Severe Joseph Nicolas Dumoulin, Thomas Ferruce Destroismaisons, and several others, . . were the missionaries whose letters and reports fill this volume, along with the letters of the two men whose vision and statesmanship made the whole venture possible, Thomas Douglas, Earl of Selkirk, and Joseph Octave Plessis, Bishop of Quebec. . .

There is perhpas no man more qualified and capable

than Thomas C. B. Boon[1] to write a history of the Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land and its dioceses from 1820 to 1950. His book, The Anglican Church From the Bay to the Rockies, published in 1962, is such a history. At the time of the writing of this volume he was the archivist of the Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land. This volume was of great value to the writer of this thesis not only for its excellent information on related sources, but also for its emphasis on the development of Indian mission work in the north-west. Boon, in the Preface to the book writes:

> I have tried to place some emphasis upon the development of the Indian work, which was indeed the original objective of the Anglican Church in Rupert's Land... I have tried to do justice to the men and women who have built up the Church in missions and parishes, and to revive a recollection of these pioneers, to whose devoted work we now owe so much. I have also tried to draw particular attention to the translational work of the early missionaries, a remarkable achievement that has been such an effective instrument in the spread of the Gospel, and to the founding and progress of our educational institutions...

Another book, entitled These Men Went Out is a compilation of a series of articles that Thomas Boom wrote

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[1] The Rev. Thomas C. B. Boon is retired and lived in the town of Selkirk, Manitoba, at the time of the writing of this thesis.

for the Winnipeg Free Press on Anglican Church history. Each article is about a person with historical significance in the north-west. One article fittingly was written about John West, the founder of the Red River Mission. He concludes the volume with a chronological table of events for the Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land to 1904.

Pioneers and Early Citizens of Manitoba is a volume that was compiled by the Manitoba Library Association in 1971. It provides a comprehensive biographical source of Manitoba pioneers and early citizens. Included are the names of those individuals who lived in Manitoba from its beginning to 1919, who made a significant contribution to the life of the province.

"Foundations of Dual Education at Red River 1811-34" was written by Dr. Cornelius J. Jaenen for the Manitoba Historical and Scientific Society in 1965. This paper traces and examines the origins of the dual confessional system of Education in the Red River Settlement. It is based on primary research and is excellently documented. The author takes a hard and critical but objective look at the religious denominations who monopolized education in Manitoba during the period in question.

UNPUBLISHED MATERIAL

A very thorough study which presents an account of the development of education in the province of Manitoba is Keith Wilson's PH.D. dissertation entitled, "The Development of Education in Manitoba", 1967. It assesses the influence of religious, political, social, and economic factors and is useful to the writer in that it provides a complete educational history of Manitoba and an excellent bibliographical source on early education.

Another interesting investigation is that by Herbert J. Vallery, entitled, "A History of Indian Education in Canada", 1942. This thesis is a thorough study of Canadian Indian education. The story of Indian education in Canada is examined from the first contact between white people and the Indians, which developed from the year 1600 to 1942. The study appears to be critical of the white efforts at educating the Indians. He comments:

> . . . The story of Indian education in Canada must begin with that disastrous contact between the White races and the Indians. . . We shall find that Indian education is closely interwoven with the work of religious organizations, and the various churches. . . we must remember that the education of the Indians by the Whites, attempted a breaking-down of the hundreds of years of the Indian culture civilization, religion, and education.[1]

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[1]Vallery, Herbert J. "A History of Indian Education in Canada", pp 15-16, unp. M.A. Thesis, Department of History, Queen's University, 1942.

Mary A. Norton has written an M.A. thesis on the history of missions in the north-west entitled, "Catholic Missionary Activities in the Northwest 1818-1864", 1930. It describes the conditions of, and feelings towards Indian and Metis education. Accented too heavily are the deplorable conditions prior to the missions and the christianizing of the pagans. Many journal passages are included and it is therefore useful for serious research.

A research paper of great value for this study was George Melvin Newfield's B.Ed. thesis entitled, "The Development of Manitoba Schools Prior to 1870", 1937. It is a thorough study of all primary and secondary sources in the field of Manitoba's early educational history that were available at that time. It has an excellent source of bibliographical information related to early Manitoba education.

A complete description of the assistance of the Hudson's Bay Company to educational enterprises in the West has been given by Sanford S. Harvey in his M.Ed. thesis, entitled, "The Part Played by the Hudson's Bay Company in Western Canadian Education, 1821-69", 1955. This study tests the hypothesis that the Company provided significant support for education in Western Canada during the period 1821-69. The investigation is centered nearly

completely on this half century because prior to 1821 the Company never exercised the monopoly which its charter had given it, and, in 1869, it relinquished its monopoly and government to Rupert's Land. Harvey, using authoritative sources of evidence, shows that the Company did support education in the West in many forms which are roughly grouped into two main types: intangible forms of support and tangible forms. The thesis was of much use to this study.

John Edward Lysecki in his M.Ed. thesis entitled "Education in Manitoba - North of 53", 1936, has made a valuable contribution to educational research in Manitoba. First, he surveys such things as the historical, economic and social background of the terrain to help understand the growth of education. Second, the incoming of the missionaries to Northern Manitoba and the establishments of missions and mission schools for the Indians are traced. These institutions were the fore-runners of the Indian Day Schools that are dealt with to 1936. Also covered is the history of public and private schools in Northern Manitoba to 1936. This thesis had relevance to the topic under investigation.

A study by Eldon F. Simms, "A History of Public Education in Manitoba From 1870 to 1890 Inclusive," 1944.

pertains especially to elementary and secondary educational developmemt in Manitoba during these two decades. A brief review is made of the educational beginnings prior to 1870. An examination is also made of the school provisions and educational philosophies existing at the time of the formation of Manitoba as a Province. References in this study include excellent primary source material, consisting of newspapers, statutes and documents.

A fairly thorough study of education in Manitoba is the PH.D. thesis by Leslie Albert Glinz, entitled, "The Development of Public Secondary Education in Manitoba", 1931. It specifically deals with public secondary education and is possibly the most complete study related to Manitoba public secondary education. The beginning of secondary education at Red River is briefly surveyed although prior to 1870 these schools were not public schools. For the purpose of this study it is rather general.

An M.A. thesis entitled, "A History of St. John's College, Winnipeg", 1966, was written by William John Fraser. The abstract, which gives an excellent summary of the thesis, states:

> The purpose of this thesis is to present a thorough discussion of the origins of St. John's College, and a narrative of its subsequent one hundred years of development,

> dating from its establishment by Bishop Robert Machray in 1866. The approach is generally chronological. Following a discussion of the College's origins as the outgrowth of mission schools, the Red River Academy, and Bishop Anderson's St. John's College, the emphasis of the narrative gradually shifts towards the relationship between the College and the University of Manitoba. Financial difficulties experienced over the years are pointed out and an attempt is made throughout to trace the changes in the teaching staff and in the scope of the curriculum.

"A History of the Work of the Reverend Henry Budd Conducted Under the Auspices of the Church Missionary Society 1840-1875" is a study done by Katherine Ann Pettipas in 1972. The thesis investigates and analyses the missionary activities of Henry Budd, a Cree Metis, who was in the service of the Church Missionary Society during the years 1837-1875 in the Cumberland District. The main emphasis of the thesis is on the mechanics of proselytization in the north-west as conducted by Henry Budd. The author reveals a personal dislike towards the Christian missionaries' policy of deculturation of the Indians.

A study entitled "Methodism in the Canadian West in the Nineteenth Century", 1972, was done by William Howard Brooks. The thesis treats Methodist missionary activities in western Canada from an institutional point of view and traces the various branches of the Methodist

church which came to western Canada. One chapter deals specifically with Indian missions and its failure.

The importance to this study of the literature reviewed in this chapter cannot be over-emphasized by the writer. First, the literature helped build a broad base and background from which to work. Second, it provided a comprehensive collection of bibliographical references, including both primary and secondary sources.

Of special value to the writer have been the unpublished theses review in section two of this chapter. Besides supplying a collection of bibliographical references, they have provided various techniques, skills and models of scholarly writing.

CHAPTER III

ABORIGINAL RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND THEIR SYSTEM OF EDUCATION BEFORE WHITE CONTACT

The aborigine of North America, commonly called Indian, has for more than twenty-thousand years managed to live and exist in a harsh, seasonally changing environment in which modern man, were he placed in a similar position, would probably perish within a short while. The secret of his survival has been the process of learning, more commonly known as education. From generation to generation there was passed on to the young every shred of knowledge about how to find food, how to track game, how to fight, how to worship, how to find a way through a forest, and how to survive. In a slowly changing environment, the imparting of knowledge and learning through a redimentary system of education made sense. Education as imparted by mother nature, supernatural forces, tribal leaders and parents was practical to the lifestyle and the very existence of the group. Its utilitarian value is why education was an unquestioned function over the many centuries. The purpose of this chapter is to look briefly at these people's religious beliefs and their system of education.

Much theorizing has been done on the origin of the North American Indians, a subject upon which a great deal also has been written. It is not necessary that the origin of Indian people should be discussed here other than to say that migration was probably from Asia by way of the Bering Strait and that most archeologists believe it was near the close of the last glacial period, within the Pleistocene epoch, somewhere between fifteen and twenty thousand years ago. It is generally believed that the number of Indians in America north of the Rio Grande River never exceeded four-hundred thousand but the divisions amongst them were numerous. All over the continent were countless tribes each having a distinct name and held together with some degree of cohesion. In Canada, scattered from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the Arctic to the boundary of the United States, were more than fifty tribes. Eileen Jenness has conveniently classified them into seven geographic groups.

(1) Algonkian Tribes of the Eastern Woodlands.
(2) Iroquoian Tribes of the Eastern Woodlands.
(3) The Plains' Indians.
(4) The Pacific Coast Indians.
(5) The Plateau Indians of British Columbia.
(6) The Mackenzie and Yukon River Indians.
(7) The Esquimaux of the Arctic coast, the shores of Hudson Bay, and the Labrador peninsula.[1]

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[1] Jenness, Eileen. The Indian Tribes of Canada, pp. 5-7, Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1966.

Settling in pre-historic Manitoba and remaining there to this day were numerous members of the Algonkian family. These included the Saulteaux (Ojibway) and the various tribes of Crees, distinguished according to the place of abode by the names of Swampy, Wood or Plain Crees, who lived in the swampy country and wood-clad district around the Manitoba lakes to Hudson Bay and on the plains to the south and west. Living in the south-western Manitoba prairie region were the Assiniboine (Stoney) tribes from the great Sioux nation in the United States, known as the Plains Indians.[1] The Chippewyans, from the Athabaskan family, and the Esquimaux lived in the northern regions of Manitoba. There may have been others of whom no written record exists.

Contrary to popular belief, these various aboriginal groups in Manitoba were as different from each other in their language, philosophy, culture and social structures as are white ethnic groups and nationalities different from one another. The different Indian tribes, however, did have some common traits, such as similar religious beliefs and forms of education, just as the multiple groups of the white race have common features. Religion illustrates this point quite well. Christianity with its numerous forms of Protestantism and Catholicism is the

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[1] Ibid., p. 5.

dominant religion in the predominantly white-populated western world, and supposedly serves, with some exceptions, the spiritual needs of all the different racial and ethnic groups. Similarly, with some exceptions, the many different Indian tribes had a religion (with its variations) that was as common amongst them as is Christianity (with its variations) to Christendom.

One of the first things that strikes an observer of these primitive peoples is the way in which supernaturalism pervaded and intruded into every sphere of their life.[1]

> . . . the Indian interpreted the phenomena of nature in spiritual terms, projecting his own mentality into the processes he saw at work around him. Spiritual forces akin to those in his own being caused the sun to rise and set, the storms to gather in the sky, the cataract to leap among the rocks, and the trees to bud in the springtime.[2]

Writes Father de Smet of the plains' tribes:

> All these Indians believe in the existence of a great Spirit, the Creator of all things. . . they think this great medicine pervades all air, earth and sky; that it is omnipresent, omnipotent, but subject to be changed and enlisted on their side in any undertaking if the proper ceremonies and sacrifices are made. It is the author of both good and evil

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[1] Lowie, op. cit., p. 155.

[2] Jenness, Diamond, The Indians of Canada, p. 171, Ottawa: Queens Printer, 1955. (Hereafter, "Jenness" will be used in reference to this book).

> according to its pleasure, or in accordance with their attention to their mode of worship. . . Power is its attribute, and its residence is supposed by some to be in the sun.[1]

The Indian, it seems, did not distinguish between the animate and inanimate. Every object surrounding him was instinct with life, and a habitat for the forces of evil and good. The trees, the winds, the rivers, all possessed life and consciousness in his eyes. It was believed that if the spirits in these objects in nature were rightly solicited they were often placed at the service of man. The desire of most Indians was to obtain in secret some tutelary bird, thing or animal which could be called upon for assistance in time of trouble.[2] Nature to the Indian was no harmonious whole controlled and swayed by scientific principles, but a chaos of causeless effects, the meaningless play of capricious ghosts. He investigated, not because he never doubted, but because all events were supernatural miracles.[3] Little hope was entertained for the uncertain hereafter. Religious help and guidance were sought for in the present life only and with full consciousness of the limitations

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[1]DeSmet, op. cit., p. 939.

[2]Jenness, op. cit., p. 167.

[3]Spence, Lewis, The Myths of the North American Indians, p. 97, London: Spottiswoode, Ballantyne & Co. Ltd.

of their own knowledge and power. The mysterious forces surrounding them were summoned in order to obtain all the blessings that they desired during their lifetime.[1] Various forms of meditation were practiced to obtain their desired ends.

> All tribes firmly believed that prayer combined with fasting and ceremonial purity exercised a powerful influence on the unseen world, particularly if the suppliant was at the age of adolescence. . .[2]

All Indians desired visions, the purpose of which was to provide the means whereby the mysterious forces could be used to prevail against the difficulties of the environment. To obtain such a guardian spirit, boys and sometimes girls, under the direction of parents and relatives, passed days and even months in partial solitude, waiting upon the spirits for their good favour.[3]

Dances and festivals also played a great part in the life of the Indians. At these events the drums and rattles were used in accompaniment to songs. As Lowie puts it:

> Songs accompanied drumming and rattling at dances and ceremonies. Altogether they formed an important part of native life. For instance, some tribes at least regarded them as an indispensible, if not the most important, element of supernatural revelations.[4]

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[1] Jenness, op. cit., p. 167.

[2] Ibid., p. 175.

[3] Ibid., p. 175.

[4] Lowie, op. cit., p. 153.

The medicine men played a very important role as the mediator between the tribe and forces of the visible and invisible realm. Their influence on the tribe depended much on the strength of the individual personality. Sometimes medicine men were both the spiritual and political leaders of the tribe. It was believed to be within the power of certain medicine men to invoke the aid of the spirits causing death to enemies.[1] The spirits were also invoked in time of sickness. During the great smallpox epidemic of 1781-82, a Cree told David Thompson.

> What little we could spare we offered to the Bad Spirit to let us alone and go to our enemies. To the Good Spirit we offered feather, branches of trees, and sweet smelling grass.[2]

It is important to realize at this point that the religious beliefs of these aborigines intimately affected their way of life. The process of teaching and learning, greatly influenced by religion, provided him with a way to survive in a hostile and relatively unchanging environment.

To twentieth century man, it would seem that the aboriginal people's way of worship was of chaotic character.

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[1] McClean, op. cit., p. 443.

[2] Thompson, David, David Thompson's Narrative, p.337, ediдted by J.B. Tyrell; The Champlain Society, Toronto, 1916.

It must be understood, however, that their whole culture was pervaded with the supernatural. Their birth, their economic pursuits, their social obligations, and virtually every aspect of life revolved around the spiritual. To these Indians life and nature was mysterious, supernatural and controlled by forces of good and evil. Nature was their school, their life, and they were the children of nature. Only in this context can their system of education be considered.

Existing hand in hand with the North American aborigine's religious beliefs was a system of education for children. Every child was entitled to a home, food, upbringing, and education.[1] As mentioned in the previous paragraph, the school was nature and all the things within it. The elements of education were language, song, dance, ceremonial, craftsmanship, ascetic discipline, fighting and the chase. All of these, including language, were sustained unwritten tradition, and the tradition was communicated through the generations by systematized but unstructured education. Education began at childbirth and was aimed toward and carried out from adolescence in the individual and the crisis of sacred cermoney in the

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[1] Seton, op. cit., p. 32.

group.[1] As a baby, the child was the center of family interest. The child was considered to be a gift of the Great Spirit. At ten, training became more vigorous. Boys would shoot small game, rabbits, squirrels and performed other tasks. Girls escaped most of this physical training but received thorough instruction in all domestic duties.[2] Tucker says:

> The education of the boys consists merely in training them to the management of their horse, and the use of the bow, the gun, or the war club. Their first essays in the art of destruction are against the beautiful butterflies or humming birds that flutter round them, or the grasshoppers beneath their feet. By degrees, they suffered to engage with nobler enemies, till they are though worthy to accompany their fathers to hunt the deer and buffalo, or to a savage conflict with their enemies.[3]

Just how important religion was in the educational process within the Native society is illustrated by Seton. He says:

> It is a mistake to think that the Indian child receives no higher instruction. This, however, is effected by moral suasion alone, and physical punishment is extremely rare. . . At about fifteen years of age the Indian boy undertakes a solitary fast and vigil, during which his totem or medicine spirit is supposed to instruct him regarding his future career.

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[1] Collier, John, Indians of the Americas, p. 36, New York: W.W. Norton, 1947.

[2] Jenness, op. cit., p. 152.

[3] Tucker, Sarah, The Rainbow in the North, p. 9, London: James Nisbet & Co., 1897.

> At about thirteen years of age the girl undergoes a like test which signalized her entrance into womanhood.[1]

The period of the child's life was indeed a solemn occasion, for it was at this time that the totem of medicine spirit instructed him on his future. This crucial time of life was regarded as mysterious and dangerous. The future depended much on how the spirits guided, directed and instructed at this time in the adolescent's life.

Generally, two curricula were recognized in the educational system of the aborigine - one secular and one religious.[2] The secular course was a type of training preparing the boys and girls for the various tasks of life. The religious training prepared the children for and familiarized them with the spiritual or religious realm. The boys and girls were taught early the religious observances of their particular tribe. On quiet winter evenings the older folks would narrate some tradition, folk-tale, legend or scared myth of the distant past, and point out the moral of the story with reference to the conduct of the children during the preceding hours.

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[1] Spence, op. cit., p. 74.

[2] Monroe, Paul, A Cyclopedia of Education, p. 414. Vol. 3, New York, 1912.

Most legends explained natural phenomena - the rustling leaves, the moaning winds, the twinkling stars. Others told of terrible monsters that were supernaturally endowed. Wherry says:

> An extensive mythology about monsters of the land and sea was popular among all of the tribes in the West. Many of these stories are told today where some of the ancient traditions are still observed. Wise old men, some of them shamans, held their aboriginal audiences spellbound, and the aura of the supernatural permeated every daily activity. Supernatural influences permitted such dangerous creatures to exist and also guided the Indians in their conflicts with the monsters.
>
> American Indians were, at the same time, realists and mystics. It was obvious to them that they needed to employ bravery and imagination to overcome natural phenomena which they could not explain. Every stone, bush, lake, stream, hill, valley, animal, and each of the elements was imbued with the supernatural. Mysticism enabled the Indian to maintain his perspective amid unexplainable realism.[1]

The following legend illustrates a mystical monster:

> Lurking throughout the central part of the Pacific Northwest coast were giant serpents, harbingers of everything that is evil. Some had a head at each end with enormous teeth and long tongues.
>
> The Hai-et-lik of the Nootka country could shed his scales and become very slippery when attacked. Lightening flashed from the eyes in the Hai-et-lik's single head. . .

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[1] Wherry, Joseph H. Indian Masks and Myths of the West, p. 113, New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1969.

> Most terrible of all monsters in the region, however, was the two-headed Sisiutl, who roamed the lands. . . He was supernatural, impossible to kill without strong spirit power, and was four feet in diameter and seldom less than twenty feet long. Often in league with Thunderbird, who also made lightening and thunder with his eyes and wings, respectively, Sisiutls were at home either on land or in the sea. At each end of the body was a head, and in the middle was a human face proving supernatural soul power. Looking at a Sisutl could cause instant death. The creature could escape by shrinking instantly into small size.
>
> Even larger was the related two-headed Tsi-a-kish, who swallowed large canoes and whale hunters. One time an Indian encountered a monstrous Tsi-a-kish. Fortunately the man was a shaman and was immune to the lightening bolts because he had strong guardian spirits whose songs he knew. When the Indian sang his spirit songs, the Tsi-a-kish disintegrated and an entire tribe was released from captivity inside the monster.[1]

Such legends as this one and other similar legends struck fear in the hearts of children and were sometimes referred to in warning them at a violation of some taboo or custom would bring about fearful consequences at the hands of such monsters.

This chapter has given the readers a general picture of the ways of the aborigines in western Canada before the White man appeared. The unstructured beliefs of these Natives, however, strong as they were, could not withstand the impact of European civilization with its structured

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[1] Ibid., p.137-140.

Christian ideologies. The early missionaries and settlers derided and condemned their dreams, visions and other spiritual activities as foolish illusions, or as traffic with the host of Satan. European trappers, traders and missionaries disregarded with impunity the regulations and taboos that had for untold centuries been scrupulously observed and branded as idle superstition the things that had been held most sacred from the remotest antiquity.[1] Slowly and gradually over the years the Natives who came in contact with white civilization by way of traders, missionaries and settlers became Christianized, at least nominally. Today the Natives no longer practice or cling to the 'traditional' educational system and religious beliefs, although it is said that some of the older people in the remote areas of our province still remember when such was the case.

Most writers who have made a special study of the Canadian aborigines acknowledge that the Indian is a religious being. He had distinctive religious beliefs that fitted an unstructured theological system and a definite system of education which was deeply influenced by religion. Education and religion were practical to

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[1] Jenness, op. cit., p. 182.

the Indian life-syle and served a vital function in his survival.

CHAPTER IV

THE BEGINNING OF WHITE INFLUENCE

Manitoba, the home of the aborigine since pre-historical time, was discovered by the white man in search of the North West Passage. These early explorers were followed by fur traders, missionaries and settlers. With them they brought the religious ideologies of the Western World. Europeans realized that man's life on this earth was brief and regarded the earthly career as a training-school for the life hereafter. They sought in religion a guide to the thought and conduct that apparently offered the best preparation for the hereafter. Christianity taught them to weigh all earthly things in the balance of eternity, and to forego many things that appeared desirable here and now for a greater good in eternity. The Indians, as mentioned in Chapter III, entertained little hope in the uncertain hereafter. They sought from religion help and guidance in the present life alone, with full consciousness of the limitations in their own knowledge and power. In order to obtain during their mortal span all the blessings that their

hearts desired, they summoned to their aid the mysterious forces surrounding them. These two religious philosophies were not compatible and thus the aborigines were objects of evangelization at the hands of the missionaries.[1]

Supplementing the Western World religious ideologies were two underlying educational philosophies inherited from Eastern Canada - French Catholic and English Protestant educational thinking.

French Catholic educational thinking, according to Simms, was "based on the religious and racial traditions of Old France, and hardened in the vigorous strife to maintain privileges conferred by the Quebec Act."[2] The French element at Red River favoured separate denominational schools fashioned after the schools in Quebec as another means of preserving their religious and racial entity. On speaking of the Church's position on education Father Morice says:

> But everybody knows that, in the eyes of the Catholic Church, the child being the father of man, his education must of all necessity be on a religious basis, and the

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[1] Ibid., p. 167.

[2] Simms, Eldon Franklin, "A History of Public Education in Manitoba from 1870 to 1890". p. 10, Unpublished M.Ed. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1944.

> State's only right in the matter is to see that he does not get an education that might ulteriorly prove detrimental to the welfare of society.[1]

This statement seems to indicate that in the eyes of the Catholic Church, religion and education were inextricably linked. The instructions that the first Catholic missionaries at St. Boniface were given further illustrates the point:

> The missionaries shall take a special care of Christian education among youth, and for this they shall establish schools and catechism courses in the localities which they may have occasion to visit.[2]

Clearly then, Catholic educational philosophy had religion as its basis and first priority. The development of Catholic education in Manitoba was to follow along these lines.

The English-speaking groups represented "the religious and racial ideals of eighteenth century and early nineteenth century England. Calvinistic Scotland and Puritan New England".[3] A characteristic of the English way of life during this time was still a devotion of

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[1]Morice, A.G., History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada, p. 222, Toronto: Musson, 1919.

[2]Morice, op. cit., p. 221.

[3]Woods, D.S., "History of Education in Canada", p. 74, Review of Educational Research, National Educational Association, Washington, D.C., October, 1936.

religion as an essential aspect of education. The problem of secular state education had come up during the fight for political reform but there was never any serious deviation from sectarian control of schools.[1] Such a pattern of education was followed by the Protestants who came to Red River.

Just how strong the religious motive was in the educational thinking of the first Anglicans in Manitoba can be seen by the view John West took in building the school in 1822. It was to him a "Protestant landmark of Christianity in a vast wilderness of heathenism and general depravity of manners".[2] Of the Indians he stated: "the primary object of teaching them was to give them a religious education".[3] The Protestant philosophy of education like that of the Catholics was orientated on a religious basis with the instruction of religion as the first curriculum priority. This pertained especially to Native education.

It is also noteworthy to point out that education in the Western World was primarily in the hands of the

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[1]Eby, Frederick, The Development of Modern Education, p. 542, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1934.

[2]West, op. cit., p. 27.

[3]Ibid., pp. 90-91.

religious establishments in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Out of this developed the missionary-teacher concept and practice in education, a factor so important in the development of the White educational system at Red River and its outreach to the aborigines in Manitoba territory.

Although the initial European influence on the Natives way of life came with the discovery of Manitoba by explorers in search of the North-West Passage, the influence that directly affected Native religion and education did not come, however, until fur trading became the main economy in Manitoba. With the fur trade came the setting up of trading posts which had a direct bearing on the economic welfare of the Natives. Little did these people realize that the white man whom they traded with was introducing a competitive economic system foreign to the Native culture. Ultimately, this system made the Indian almost totally dependent on the fur trading companies in pursuit of a livelihood.

The fur trade also directly challenged the traditional Native moral and religious values as the "Standing Rules and Regulations" of the Hudson's Bay Company of 1836 verify. They would appear to be a reiteration of the acknowledged customs of the years. Included in

these rules and regulations were regulations for the promotion of moral and religious improvements which went thus:

> That for the moral and religious improvement of the servants, and more effectual civilization and instruction of familes attached to the different Establishments, and of the Indians, that every Sunday divine service be publicly read, with becoming solemnity, once or twice a day, to be regulated by the number of people and other circumstances, at which every man, woman and child resident, will be required to attend, together with any of the Indians who may be at hand, and whom it be proper to invite.
>
> That in course of the week due attention be bestowed to furnish the women and children such regular and useful occupation as is suited to their age and capacities, and best calculated to suppress vicious and promote virtuous habits.
>
> As a preparative to education, that the mother and children be always addressed and habituated to converse in the vernacular dialect (whether English or French) of the Father, and that he be encouraged to devote part of his leisure hours to teach the children the A.B.C., Catechism, together with such further elementary instruction as time and circumstances may permit.
>
> That Chief Factors, Chief Traders and Clerks, in charge of Districts or Posts, be directed to take proper measures for carrying these Regulations into effect, among the Company's Servants, families and Indians, attached to their respective charges.[1]

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[1]MacKay, Douglas, The Honourable Company: A History of The Hudson's Bay Company., pp. 371-373, Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1936.

According to Thomas C. B. Boon many of the men in the employ of the Company were genuinely pious and "contributed something towards opening the way for the Christian Gospel".[1] As the fur traders and Hudson's Bay Company employees were influential in changing the traditional Native way of life, so the missionary-teachers were influential in changing the Natives' traditional religious beliefs by introducing a system of church sponsored education. These newly introduced elements of white society to the Native culture were to prove devastating to the life-style of the aborigine.

The wealth of furs in central and northern Manitoba was discovered by Pierre Esprit Radisson and Sir des Medard Chouart Groseillers between the years 1659 and 1661.[2] In New France and Old France these two men were considered to be illegal fur traders and failed to obtain financial assistance for a fur trading expedition in Hudon Bay. After going to England and presenting

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[1] Boon, T.C.B., The Anglican Church from the Bay to the Rockies, p. xiv, Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1962.

[2] Adams, Arthur T., Editor, The Explorations of Pierre Esprit Radisson, p. xxiv, (From the original manuscript in the Bodleian Library and the British Museum). Minneapolis: Ross and Haines, Inc., 1961.

their case to Prince Rupert, he outfitted them with two ships to undertake a fur trading expedition into the Bay. As a result of this successful fur trading expedition King Charles II granted the Charter of May 2, 1670, which established the Hudson's Bay Company. The Charter gave Prince Rupert and others associated with him, the exclusive trading rights in the watershed of the Hudson Bay, which included what today is Manitoba. It was from this point on that the traditional way of the aborigines was destined to change as more and more traders came in contact with the inhabitants of the isolated Indian communities in search of furs.

In its initial stages, the Hudson's Bay Company was content to remain at the mouths of the huge rivers draining into Hudson's Bay as the Indians co-operated with the traders by transporting their furs to the trading posts. When the French traders, however, began penetrating into the interior and intercepting furs, the Hudson's Bay Company was forced to follow suit if it was to maintain its monopoly. It was perhaps for this reason that the Hudson's Bay Company sent out Henry Kelsey in 1691-92 to travel inland beyond the Hayes River in search of furs. This was the beginning of a long competitive struggle for furs between the French and English. On this trip it is thought that Kelsey reached the Swan River

Valley and witnessed and described a buffalo hunt, the first to be seen by a white man.[1] He is believed to be the first white man on the pairies.

Other white men to appear shortly thereafter were Sieur Pierre Gaultier de Varennes LaVerendrye and his sons. They began an overland search for the Western Sea in 1731 which continued until 1749 when the father died. This was an expensive proposition and to help defray expenses, fur trading was carried on and trading posts were established. As early as 1739, Fort Paskayac (The Pas) was built by one of LaVerendrye's sons and from here furs were diverted from the English.[2] Many other French traders began going into Hudson's Bay territory in search of furs. One Joseph La France passed The Pas and by way of the Saskatchewan and Nelson Rivers reached York Factory in 1742.[3]

So vigorous was the French competition for furs in

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[1] The Kelsey Papers, p. 13, The Public Archives of Canada. Ottawa: F.A. Ackland, Printer to the Kings Most Excellent Majesty, 1929.

[2] Burpee, Lawrence, Pathfinders of the Great Plains, pp. 92-93, Toronto: Glasgow, Brook and Company, 1914.

[3] Seaman, Holly S., Manitoba, p. 14, Winnipeg: 1920.

the interior that the Hudson's Bay Company continued to dispatch men into the interior to increase trade. In 1754, Anthony Henday was sent inland. After 1763, servants of the Company frequently went with the Indians to trade and discourage trading with the French. In 1774 Cumberland House was built to divert trade from the French. By the early nineteenth century, this inward penetration by English and French traders had led the way for the first established colony in Manitoba at Red River. That is, traders with the backing of the fur companies established trading posts. The trading posts usually became small permanent settlements in which lived the traders, their families and other people, many of whom were Natives and who preferred to live near a supply depot such as the trading posts provided. Red River was such a place and was chosen because of its strategic position - the junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers. As more and more settlers came, the trading posts, especially Red River, became the focal points around which the early settlers located for varied reasons -- companionship, safety and supplies.

The competition for furs between the French and the English was enhanced by the Seven Years War. The war between the to European antagonists brought with it a lasting racial and religious bias and prejudice, especially

in North America. In 1763, by the Treaty of Paris, France ceded to Britain all territory of the areas of conflict in North America. This incident had a direct bearing on the fur trade. The French trading activities disappeared from the West but in their place came the English and Scottish merchants accompanied by Canadians with headquarters in Montreal. These merchants employed the coureurs de bois and voyageurs who had been trading under the French regime.[1] In 1783-84, this group of traders founded the North West Company with its headquarters in Montreal, and which brought the French voyageurs from Quebec to the West. The North West Company soon extended all the way to the Pacific Coast and became a formidable rival to the Hudson's Bay Company. These French employees of the newly formed company penetrated the great rivers, which drained into the huge Manitoba lakes and Hudson Bay. They brought with them the French language and French Catholic traditions. Many of them inter-married with the Indians and together with their descendants founded a settlement along the banks of the Red River called The Forks. Thus there were present in this area in 1812, prior to the coming of the first Selkirk settlers, the Indians and the half-breeds or Metis, a body of people whose

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[1]McWilliams, Margaret, Manitoba Milestones, p. 29, Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1928.

language was French and whose roots stretched back to French Catholic Quebec.[1] The primitive mode of life of these people gave them little desire for and no means for formal education of their children.[2] Underlayed by a heavy coloring of Indian blood, they had something of an Indian outlook of life.[3]

The activities of the newly formed North West Company forced the Hudson's Bay Company to go inland and establish a post for every opposition post. This was a major factor in the breakdwon of the aborigines' traditional way of life. From here on "it was the white man, not the supernatural beings of the old-time Indians' world, who now controlled many of the necessary and desirable things of life. . ."[4] Increasingly more and more adjustments had to be made by the Indians, for the presence of so many traders had a demoralizing effect on them, and the practices that some of these traders were to follow were not always honorable.[5] The introduction of liquor into the trade and competitive trading practices by rival traders were most demoralizing

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[1]Morice, op. cit., p. 72.

[2]Simms, op. cit., p. 4.

[3]Woods, D.S., Education in Manitoba, p. 4, Winnipeg: Economic Survey Board, Province of Manitoba, 1938.

[4]Jenness, op. cit., p. 182.

[5]McWilliams, op. cit., p. 30.

to the Native people.

For approximately thirty seven years (1784-1821) the two companies, side by side, traded for furs with the Indians. The rivalry for furs was so fierce that it hindered intitial efforts in the establishment of the Selkirk settlement.

In 1811, Lord Selkirk obtained the cession of 116,000 square miles of land known as Assiniboia, on which he pledged to establish a settlement.[1] That same year, the first settlers arrived at York Factory. In August, 1812, Miles Macdonell and a group of men reached Red River. There was already a small settlement at Red River. Most of the inhabitants had a mixture of French and Indian blood and made trading and buffalo-hunting their livelihood.

Establishing a settlement at Red River proved to be extremely difficult for Lord Selkirk and his settlers. Continued hostilities suffered by the four contingents of settlers between 1812 and 1817 at the hands of the North West Company and the Metis people was most frustrating and discouraging. In 1817, however, order was restored when Lord Selkirk arrived with his mercenary

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[1]Gunn, Donald and Tuttle, C.R., History of Manitoba, pp. 61-63, Ottawa: McLean, Roger and Co., 1880.

soldiers, the des Meurons. This made way for the beginning of a permanent Selkirk settlement at Red River.

Rivalry continued to exist though between the Selkirk Settlers and the Metis, who sided with the North West Company. Government interference was called for by the Hudson's Bay Company officials to resolve the problem. Mr. Edward Ellice, a resident at Red River and partner of the North West Company, sought to have the two companies united and through his tireless efforts the two fur trading companies were amalgamated in 1821, under the name of the Hudson's Bay Company.[1] As a result of this union many of the employees were retired, for one company did not need as many men as two. These retired men, along with their families, settled in the Red River colony and added to the population already at Red River.

A large portion of this increase was of the English-Protestant faith and tradition. The English and the English-Metis tended to settle on the west side of the Red River, today known as Winnipeg, while those of the French and French-Metis Catholic faith and tradition settled on the east side of the Red River, today

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[1] Mercer, Adam, The North-West: Its History and Its Troubles, p. 145, Toronto: Rose Publishing Co., 1885.

known as St. Boniface and St. Vital. There were also the Indians residing at Red River; most of them, however, resided in communities away from Red River throughout present day Manitoba territory.

From its inception then, Manitoba was a multi-cultural and multi-racial region. The different racial and cultural groups allied along one of several Christian religious lines, namely, Roman Catholic or one of two Protestant sects, the Church of England and the Presbyterians. This was the setting in Manitoba at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER V

WHITE EDUCATIONAL EFFORTS AT RED RIVER PRIOR TO 1818

The year 1811 was eventful in the history of the Native population residing at Red River and the surrounding areas. An agreement had been reached between the Hudson's Bay Company and Thomas Douglas, Earl of Selkirk, whereby he obtained a huge tract of land that included much of present day Manitoba. This historic land transaction was to have a far reaching consequence on the Native inhabitants living there; namely, the introduction of white society with its Christian oriented educational system. Why Selkirk came, is a question that has been the subject of much historical research. Ross says that:

> For various reasons, therefore, we and many others here are of opinion, that Lord Selkirk's object was the good of the natives, and theirs alone. . . namely, the civilizing and evangelizing of the natives; so that into whatever hands its government fell, he would have attained his end.[1]

The writer of this thesis feels that Ross' position is well supported by two pamphlets that Selkirk himself wrote on the subject - one <u>On the Civilization of the Indians in</u>

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[1] Ross, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 19.

British America and another called Observation on a Proposal for Forming a Society for the Civilization and Improvement of the North American Indians within the British Boundary.[1] These pamphlets plead for Native schools, especially industrial schools, and for the permanent settlement of the Indians. He asked parliament "to authorize the governor of Canada to fix by proclamation the limits for the use of the Indian nations".[2] That one of Selkirk's underlying motives, then, was for the "civilizing" and evangelizing of the Indians seems to be quite obvious in the judgement of the writer.

In the same year, 1811, the first contingent of Selkirk Settlers arrived, accompanied by a Catholic priest, Charles Bourke, and one Mr. McRae whom Selkirk intended to use as a supervisor of schools and not as a teacher. To Macdonell he wrote:

> If McRae remains at the settlement he can examine the school from time to time to see that it is properly conducted; or at any rate he can give the Schoolmaster the necessary instructions for carrying it on. . ."[3]

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[1] Jaenen, Dr.C.J., "Foundations of Dual Education at Red River 1811-34", Transactions of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, Series III, No. 21, 1965, p. 36.

[2] Bryce, G., Manitoba: Its Infancy, Growth, and Present Condition, London: 1882, p. 138.

[3] Oliver, E.H., Ed., The Canadian North-West, Its Early Development and Legislative Records, Ottawa: 1914, Vol. 1, Selkirk to Miles Macdonell, June 12, 1813, p.53.

However, a school failed to materialize under McRae's supervision for "Macdonell could not get along with McRae; besides there was no school for McRae to supervise".[1] Charles Bourke, the Catholic missionary, returned on the next vessel. In a letter to Selkirk, Macdonell wrote that Bourke "was only an encumbrance" to him, and that he was "irregular and eccentric in his conduct as a clergyman" and that another priest was essential.[2] It appears that Macdonell was a devoutly religious man with a genuine concern for the spiritual needs of the settlement and consequently could not tolerate the "irregular and eccentric" conduct of Father Bourke. Thus, the endeavour for a teacher and missionary to serve the first contingent of Selkirk settlers failed.

Miles Macdonell, the governor of the colony, however, took immediate further steps to bring a missionary to Red River. An excerpt of a letter to Bishop Plessis from Macdonell shows how anxious he was to have a permanent Catholic missionary at Red River:

> . . . You know, Monseigneur, that there can be no stability in the government of States or kingdomes (sic) unless religion is

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[1] Jaenen, op. cit., p. 36.

[2] Macdonell to Selkirk, July 4, 1812, in the Selkirk Transcripts, 2:413 in the Public Archieves of Canada.

> made the corner stone. The leading motive of my first undertaking the management of that arduous tho (sic) laudable enterprise was to have made the Catholic religion the prevailing faith of the establishment, should Divine Providence think me a worthy instrument to forward the design. The Earl of Selkirk's liberal mind readily acquiesced in bringing out along with me the first year a priest from Ireland. Your Lordship already knows the unfortunate result of that first attempt.
>
> Our spiritual wants increase with our members: we have many catholics from Scotland and Ireland, and besides those Canadians already with us, we are to have a vast accession from here. There are hundreds of free Canadians wandering about our colony who have families with Indian women, all of whom are in the most deplorable state for want of spiritual aid. A vast religious harvest might also be made among the natives round us, whose language is that of the Algonquins of this country, and who are very tractable and well disposed considering the corrpution of morals introduced among them by opposition traders in the free indulgence of spirituous liquors and other corruptive habits.[1]

Norton says that Miles Macdonell had a conversation with Bishop Joseph Octave Plessis, Bishop of Quebec, in the fall of 1815, in which he recommended that a missionary priest be sent to Red River.[2] This is verified in a letter from

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[1] Archives de 1 Archeveche de Saint-Boniface (hereafter cited as A.A.S.B.), Correspondence de Divers Officiers, No. 2, Macdonell to Plessis, April 4, 1816, p. 6; also English translation printed in G. L. Nute, ed., Documents Relating to Northwest Missions, 1815-1827, Minneapolis, 1942, pp. 4-5.

[2] Norton, Sr. Mary Aquinas, "Catholic Missionary Activities in the Northwest", M.A. Thesis 1930, University of America, Washington, p. 19.

Selkirk to Bishop Plessis dated the same day and place as Macdonell's letter to Bishop Plessis. It seems probable that Macdonell and Selkirk were in conversation about a missionary for Red River and agreed to make a joint appeal to Bishop Plessis in this regard.

In an excerpt of the letter Selkirk writes:

> . . . I have been informed by Mr. M. Mcdonell (sic) late governor of the settlement on Red River that he had some conversation with your Lordship last autumn, to recommend that a missionary should be sent to that country, to give spiritual aid to a great number of Canadians who have established themselves there, and who lead a wandering life, in the manner of the savages, with whose women they have formed irregular connections. I am fully persuaded of the infinite good which might be effected by a zealous and intelligent ecclsiastic among those people, among whom the sense of religion is now almost entirely lost. It would give me very great satisfaction to co-operate to the utmost of my power in so good a work; and if your Lordship will select a suitable person to undertake it, I can have no difficulty in assuring him of every accommodation and support which your Lordship may judge necessary.[1]

Four days later, Bishop Plessis was in possession of the letters from Macdonell and Selkirk and seemed elated over the prospect of a missionary establishment at Red River. In his letter to Selkirk he comments:

> . . . Nothing could flatter me more nor accord more completely with my own wishes than the proposals that Your Lordship has had

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[1]Selkirk to Bishop Plessis, April 4, 1816 in the Selkirk Transcripts, 7:2164 in the Public Archives of Canada. Also English Translation in Nute. op. cit., p. 6.

the goodness to make to me. I wish with all my heart to begin the civilization of the poor people of every nation scattered over the immense region between Lake Superior and Hudson Bay. It was in that expectation that I planned first to go myself. After certain representations were made to me, I decided to send priests there. There is one here, Mr. P.A. Tabeau, a Canadian, who is admirably fitted for this mission. He will be able to take advantage of Mr. Macdonell's canoe, in conformity with your wish, and to travel with him as far as Red River. A robust physique, a strong character, a remarkable intelligence, enthusiasm, and good will are all qualities possessed by this ecclesiastic that will be favorable to the undertaking. Being wholly unwordly he plans only the salvation of souls and the sweet pleasure of seconding Your Lordship's excellent proposals in favor of poor creatures whose vice must increase in proportion to their profound ignorance of God and of religion.

This first trip will be, properly speaking but a tour of observation. Mr. Tabeau will be asked to get all firsthand information possible on the dispositions, customs, and characters of the people, their habitat, the means of getting them together, of giving them spiritual aid, etc. Only after he had made his report can we take further steps and arrange definitely for the establishment of a stable mission. I hope that he will return to this place before the end of September.

Whatever be the outcome of an undertaking whose success rests only with Divine Providence, it will be equally as honorable and consoling to Your Lordship to have concurred to faithfully and with such good grace in the performance of a project that has in view the securing for your young colony, as well as for the nomadic people around about, of the most precious advantage to which mankind can aspire on this earth.[1]

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[1] Letter of Bishop Plessis to Lord Selkirk, Quebec April 8, 1816, Selkirk Papers, Seves M 739, 2177-2178 (transcript) English translation of letter in Nute., op. cit., p.8.

It is clear from the Bishop's reply in the above correspondence that the establishment of a resident priest at Red River was not in his immediate plans. It appears that Father Pierre Tabeau was first to make a reconnaissance journey into the Red River area for the purpose of collecting information regarding the customs, disposition, and character of the inhabitants of that area. Macdonell's appeal for a Catholic missionary was followed up by a petition from the settlers at Red River in 1817. It was supported by twenty-two heads of families and deliviered to Montreal by Samuel Gale.[1] Early in 1818, Plessis wrote Gale:

> Sir, I have received from Mr. de Lothiniere the petition that you have had the goodness to transmit to me from the residents of Red River. No one is more convinced than I of the incalculable (sic) benefits that might result from the establishment of a permanent mission in that place, which up to now has been abandoned to all the disorederes that ignorance and irreligion foster. I have decided to second with all my power such a laudable enterprise and one to which you have decided to lend such active assistance.[2]

This petition seems to have been the cue that Bishop Plessis need for in 1818, the Bishop appointed three men to Red River who began the Catholic mission at Red River in the

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[1] Jaenen, op. cit., p. 37.

[2] Nute, op. cit., p. 24, Plessis to Gale, February 11, 1818, pp. 24-25. (Original in Quebec Archiepiscopal Archives, hereafter cited as Q.A.A.).

North West.

The Protestants, like the Catholics, also determined to establish a mission and educational work at Red River. Their efforts, however, in founding a mission were not successful until 1820. As early as 1812, Francis Swords was sent by the Hudson's Bay Company to be schoolmaster at the Forks. In 1814, the Governor reported:

> Ten of the people whose terms are expired to go home in the ships; none of them would settle on land. One of them is Francis Swords, who came from Sligo in 1812 to be schoolmaster. But being quite unfit for the duty and a troublesome fellow among the people, I judged it best to get rid of him.[1]

A Scottish Presbyterian named John Matheson assumed the duties of schoolmaster in 1815. The Governor in his journal says:

> Jan. 10, 1815 -- Engaged John Matheson, Jr. for schoolmaster, the school for the present kept at the Old Huts, which are to be immediately in repair.
>
> Jan. 14, 1815 -- John Matheson, the schoolmaster, came up with his wife to the school house.
>
> Mon. Jan. 16, 1815 -- Our school began today.[2]

It appears that Macdonell had been approached by the settlers

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[1] Newfield, op. cit., Macdonell to Selkirk, September 9, 1814, p. 35.

[2] Ibid., p. 12.

for a clergyman and a schoolteacher. He says:

> Before I left the Forks in January, a steady young man, John Matheson, was got to keep school, for which I promised him a yearly salary of twenty-five pounds, besides all the charges for the scholars. The people in general sent their children and appeard well satisfied in this respect.[1]

This early attempt by Macdonell to gain the Protestants a school was suddenly disrupted when on June 18, the Nor' Westers attacked the settlement and John Matheson migrated to Upper Canada along with Miles Macdonell, who was taken to Montreal for trial.[2]

Another schoolmaster, George McBeth, arrived with the fourth contingent of settlers, but he did not impress Governor Semple, who had replaced Macdonell, and thus his career as a teacher was abruptly ended. He did, however, teach on board ship during the crossing and English Bibles were used as textbooks.[3] Arriving with the 1815 settlers was a man, James Sutherland, who also may be classified as a missionary and teacher. He was an elder of the Church of Scotland, authorized to baptise and marry. Years later, John Polson, who came with Sutherland in 1815, made this remark:

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[1] Ibid., p. 34.

[2] Jaenen, op. cit., p. 39.

[3] Scholfield, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 127.

> I knew the old Catechist Sutherland, who came with the settlers instead of Mr. Sage, a minister who was to have come with us, but who remained behind because he wanted to have another year finishing his studies. The catechist was invested with authority to marry and baptize. He had a family. . . Mr. Sutherland, the catechist, was a very fine man, and a very good man in the opinion of the settlers.[1]

The Protestants' attempts at early education and mission work, like those of the Catholics', were unsuccessful. They did not establish a permanent mission and school until the arrival of John West in 1820.

During these intital efforts by the Protestants and Catholics to establish a school, the Hudson's Bay Company was also inquiring of the Governor about their role in education at Red River. A letter dated May 8, 1816 said:

> . . . We shall be anxious for your report as to the books or tracts you would wish to be sent for the purpose of religious instruction and we are desirious for your opinion as to the prospects of success in civilization and converting to Christianity the children of native Indians.[2]

Obviously the Hudson's Bay Company officials also had in

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[1]Bryce, op. cit., p. 161.

[2]Archives of the Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land (Hereafter cited as A.A.R.L.), Carton A. No. 1008, Extract from letter to Robert Semple, May 8, 1816, p. 3.

mind a Native school system whereby they would be evangelized and "civilized".

The situation in the colony during its first decade remained unfavourable for any educational or missionary enterprize. During these years the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company were locked in a bloody combat . Not only was this a conflict for furs but one along racial and religious lines. Jaenen says that:

> . . . From the foundation of the colony at Red River there is evidence that the French Canadians resented the Conquest, the opposition of the Hudson's Bay Company to the Montreal based North West Company, and the fact that membership in the British Empire seemed to prevent the establishment of a Catholic hierarchy in British North America. . .[1]

Gradually, however, with the coming of W.B. Coltman[2] and Selkirk to the Colony to investigate and with the arrival of the de Meurons, order was restored.[3] After the union of the two fur companies in 1821 there were no more bloody conflicts at Red River. The establishment of missions by the Catholics and Anglicans, however, was to bring a new kind of conflict, that of religious animosity, which brought with it religious competition and bigotry. Wilson says:

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[1]Jaenen, op. cit., p. 41.

[2]Colonel W.B. Coltman headed a commission of enquiry into the problems at Red River.

[3]Ibid., pp. 40, 41.

> . . . religious competition was a very real thing to both Catholic and Protestant leaders. Both parties, to a large extent saw education as a means to religious indoctrination and both were conscious of the need to compete with the other. . . closely akin to religious competition lies bigotry.[1]

Provencher and West, the respective founders of the Catholic and Protestant missions at Red River illustrate their attitude one towards another by the comments they made. Provencher writing of West says:

> He has, it is said, ample means for working evil, which I hope he will not resort to; that is to say he has the possibility of drawing money for his maintenance of his school. God grant that his doctrine may not take root in the hearts of the Indians.[2]

West, commenting on the motives of the Catholics, had this to say:

> Nor can I imagine that the system taught by the Canadian Catholic priests will avail anything materially in benefitting the morals of the people; they are bigotted to opinions which are calculated to better the human mind, to cramp human exertion and to keep their dependants in perpetual leading strings. . . I thank God that I am a Protestant against such idolatry and ecclesiastical tyranny.[3]

As a result the Native people, the rightful owners of the soil, were the victims of much religious confusion. They

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[1] Wilson, op. cit., pp. 70, 71.

[2] Ibid., p. 71, Provencher writing of West.

[3] Ibid., pp. 71, 72. West writing of Provencher.

were caught in the vicious circle of proselytism and had to make the choice between their traditional beliefs, or those of either the Protestants or Catholics.

To illustrate this point, the writer refers to the reactions of an old Indian chief in 1842 over the activities of the Anglican missionary, Abraham Cowley, at Partridge Crop (Fairford) and Father Darveau, the Catholic missionary at Baie des Canards (Duck Bay). Talking to Father Darveau about the differences in creeds which the Christians preached the chief said:

> You tell us there is but one religion that can save us, and that you have got it; Mr. Cowley tells us that he has got it: now which of you white men am I to believe? I will tell you the resolution I and my people have come to; it is this -- when you both agree and travel the same road, we will travel with you; till then, however, we will adhere to our own religion; we think it is best.[1]

White pressure ultimately gave the Indians little choice other then to give up their own indigenous religious practises.

The mission schools were to be the institutions used to change the way of the Natives to either Catholicism or Anglicanism, and the work of the missionaries with the two opposing creeds, was to be a difficult and sensitive one,

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[1] Ross, op. cit., p. 292.

especially since the example set by the average white was extremely poor. The day following his arrival at Red River, Provencher wrote Bishop Plessis, and made this comment.

> It can be said without hesitation that there commerce with the whites, instead of advancing them towards civilization, has served only to drive them away therefrom, because the whites have spoiled their morals by the strong drinks of which the natives are extraordinarily fond, and they have taught them debauchery by their bad examples. Most of the employees have children by women whom they afterwards send away to the first newcomer. . . All the clerks and bourgeois likewise have squaws, and, what is worse, no more care is taken of the children born of these would-be marriages than if they had no souls.[1]

Further, in a letter to Bishop Plessis, Dumoulin laments the harmful role that liquor plays in the work of converting the Indians. The chief obstacle he wrote:

> ... was the wretched custom established in the country of intoxicating the natives when anything was wanted of them. The colony did it with no more scruples than the Company. In the conventions made with the Indians for the purpose of extinguishing their title to the land, one of the chief clauses was that the colony should yearly furnish them with a stipulated amount of rum; so that they had much more than was necessary for them to get drunk.[2]

Tucker on commenting about the Indians says:

> Low was their state when first visited by Europeans, but a still deeper degradation

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[1]Nute, op. cit., p. 158, Provencher to Bishop Plessis, September 13, 1818 (Original Q.A.A.).

[2]Morice, op. cit., p. 135. A letter from Dumoulin to Plessis: Pembina, 5th January, 1819.

> awaited those among them who, when the territory was claimed as British territory, came in contact with so-called British Christians.[1]

Writing about the young servants of the Company she says that they were:

> . . . without any fixed religious principles, . . . for instead of shining as lights among their heathen neighbours they led them into depths of thicker moral darkness. . .[2]

Jaenen says that the arrival of European soldiers and Swiss settlers at Red River, "did little to improve the cultural level of the small community".[3]

The above comments illustrate that a great portion of the white population which had migrated to Manitoba territory up to 1818 were of low morals, unscrupulous and licentious. The missionaries, who took upon themselves the challenge of converting the Natives to one of two Christian creeds and of teaching them in the whiteman's ways were to face many trials and difficulties. One such difficulty, among others, stemmed from the white man himself who, supposedly Christian, ironically failed to set a Christian example and contradicted the teachings of the

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[1] Tucker, op. cit., p. 13.

[2] Ibid., p. 15.

[3] Jaenen, op. cit., p. 41.

missionaries. This was a definite hindrance to the conversion of the Native people and left them puzzled. Reported scandals of missionaries, or rumours thereof, would lead to further Native bewilderment.[1]

Cardinal says that "our forefathers, with possibly a few exceptions, never understood the white man".[2] The Natives, because of this white inconsistency, were the prey of much mental anguish and turmoil. Despite the many negative aspects which the missionary teachers encountered in taking education to the original inhabitants of the area now known as Manitoba, many positive educational achievements were to be accomplished.

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[1] See page 229.

[2] Cardinal, op. cit., p. 39.

CHAPTER VI

CATHOLIC EFFORTS AT NATIVE EDUCATION

First white efforts at Native education in Manitoba territory began with the arrival of the Catholic missionaries at Red River in 1818. The appointment of Messrs. Provencher and Dumoulin to establish the Saint Boniface Mission at Red River was made April 10, 1818, by Mgr. Plessis, the Bishop of Quebec, whose jurisdiction extended over all the Dominion of Canada.[1] Father Joseph Norbert Provencher and Father Severe Joseph Nicolas Dumoulin were also to be missionaries of the entire north-west with their principal residence on the Red River near Lake Winnipeg. Bishop Plessis' announced their appointment thus:

> Know all men by these presents that as a result of a desire long entertained to carry to the Indian nations of that part of North America situated to the north and west of the two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada the knowledge of the Gospel as the most certain means of hastening their civilization, and encouraged in this important work by the wish and zeal of His Excellency, Sir John Sherbrook, governor in chief of these provinces in the name of His Brittanic Majesty, we have named and appointed Messrs. Joseph Norbert Provencher and Severe Joseph Nicolas Dumoulin, both priests of our diocese, to the end that they may betake themselves in the office of missionaries into

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[1] Tache, Archibshop, A Page of the History of the Schools in Manitoba During 75 Years, p. 1, Winnipeg: 1893.

> the said part of North America. . . for the fulfillment of their mission, and that we have determined that their principal place of residence shall be on the Red River near Lake Winnipeg. . . and that their sole object will be ever to work for the maintenance of peace between brothers and for the santification of souls redeemed by the blood of Jesus Christ. . .[1]

The content of this announcement confirms that the Catholic authorities were of the opinion that the "civilization" of the Natives would most readily be accomplished by educating and evangelizing them. Mgr. Plessis specifically instructed Messrs. Provencher and Dumoulin as to the priorities and objectives of the mission at Red River. His personal instructions to the missionaries clearly bear this out and are spelled out as follows:

> Instruction for. . . missionaries assigned to the Indian country situated to the north and west of Canada.
>
> 1. They are to consider the first object of their mission to be to reclaim from barbarism and the disorders that result from it the Indian nations scattered over that vast country.
>
> 2. The second object is to carry assistance to delinquent Christians, who have adopted there the customs of the natives and who live licentiously, forgetful of their duty.
>
> 3. Persuaded that the preaching of the Gospel is the most certain means of obtaining these happy results, they will lose no occasion for inculcating its principles and maxims, whether

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[1] Nute, op. cit., pp. 56-58. Open letter of Bishop Plessis, Quebec, April 20, 1818. Original in A.A.Q. Also in Colonial Office Records, Series Q. 148 I, 25-29 (transcript), Canadian Archives.

> in their private conversations or in their public offices.
>
> 4. In order to make themselves most speedily of use to the natives of the regions to which they are sent, they will apply themselves from the moment of their arrival to the study of the Indian languages and will endeavor to reduce them to rules, so that grammer may be published after a few years of residence.
>
> 5. They will prepare for baptism, with all possible speed, the infidel (Indian) women who live as concubines of Christian men, in order to substitute legitimate marriage for those irregular unions.
>
> 6. They will apply themselves with particular care to the Christian education of the children, establishing for that purpose schools and catechisms in all the settlements that they shall have occasion to visit.
>
> 7. In all spots that are outstanding, whether from position, or from the fact that voyageurs pass there, or that the Indians gather there, they will take care to plant high crosses, as an indication that these several places have been taken possession of in the name of the Catholic religion.
>
> 8. They will repeat often to the people to whom they are sent that the religion strictly prescribes peace, good behaviour, and obedience to the laws both of state and church. . .[1]

That the main object of the Catholic missionaries was to educate and evangelize the Natives of the north-west

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[1] Selkirks Papers, Series M. 746, 4818-4821 (transcript); Bishop Plessis' instructions to Provencher and Dumoulin, Quebec, April 20, 1818. Also in Nute, op. cit., pp. 58-61 and Colonial Office Records, Series Q. 148, I, 260-263 (transcript), Canadian Archives.

seems very obvious to the writer. The method of implanting Catholiscism in that region involved a "we arrived here first" policy and by planting high crosses as signs that a particular place had been "taken possession of in the name of the Catholic religion".[1]

The missionaries appointed to Red River met in Montreal, where they were joined by the young ecclesiastic, Mr. Edge. He was to accompany them to Red River and was assigned to assist in the instruction of catechism and to take charge of the mission school.[2] The three missionaries left Montreal for Red River on May 19 and arrived at Fort Douglas about five o'clock on the evening of July 16, 1818. The arrival of missionaries at the Forks seems to have created some excitement in that area. On returning to Rainy Lake from Red River, a North West Company employee, who had witnessed the arrival of the priests at the Forks, reported in a communication:

> You will be surprised to hear that we have now no less than five priests in the country, three of whom are gone to preach the Gospel amongst the settlers of Red River and convert the Natives preparatory to their entering the regions of the Blessed, and I am sure you will join me in wishing them all the success due to this laudable and enterprising spirit.[3]

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[1] Op. cit., (see point seven).

[2] Nute, op. cit., p. 73, Bishop Plessis to Selkirk, Quebec, April 27, 1818.

[3] Jaenen, op. cit., p. 43, W.F.Wentzel to Lt. John McKenzie, August 14, 1818.

The Red River location, placed under the patronage of St. Boniface, was to be the site of the first Catholic mission, a central location from which they would establish other mission stations.[1] Lord Selkirk generously endowed the newly formed mission with a seigneury of twenty square miles at the mouth of the Seine River on the east side of the Red, nearly opposite to the mouth of the Assiniboine. To the west side of the Red was added a piece of land fifteen chains square.[2]

The number of Natives residing at Red River at the time of the missionaries' arrival numbered approximately eight hundred, of whom three hundred and fifty resided at the St. Boniface site and the remainder at Pembina.[3] Also present in the surrounding areas were scattered camps of nomadic Natives. The writer has not been able to obtain an estimate as to their number.[4] Also residing at Red River was the white minority, consisting chiefly of the Selkirk Settlers and the fur company employees.

The first point in the instruction given the missionaries to Red River by Bishop Plessis was the preaching and

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[1] Bulletin de Soc. Historical, St. Boniface, (B.S.H. S.B.), Vol. III, 18-20, 29f.

[2] Morice, op. cit., pp. 98-99.

[3] Ibid., p. 120.

[4] Norton, op. cit., pp. 28-29.

teaching of the Gospel to the Natives, and compiling of grammers and dictionaries of their languages. In accordance with the instructions, the missionaries intitial educational and evangelizing efforts were to be directed mainly at the Native population settled at the Forks and Pembina. They were easy to follow and close at hand. It seems to have been an integrated situation, where the Indians, the Metis and a very small number of white, were objects of the Catholic missionary outreach. From the moment of their arrival the priests began instructing and baptizing the children with whom they came in contact. The question of conversion with whomever they met was always dominant with the missionaries. . .[1] Two months after their arrival they had already made sizeable gains for the Catholic Church -- seventy-two children had already been baptized, one of whom was a little Saulteaux girl who died shortly after.[2] They were always about their business, preparing the "children for their admission into the church, and instructing the Indian women with a view to baptizing and marrying them".[3] In a letter Provencher wrote to a personal friend one cannot help but notice the spirit of optimism he had in regards to Native education

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[1]Norton, op. cit., p. 30.

[2]Morice, op. cit., p. 104.

[3]Loc. cit.

at Red River. "Our Bois Brules", he comments, "give us great hope, they are easily taught, they are generally intelligent, they will learn to read in a short time. . ."[1] Father Dumoulin seemingly shared Provencher's optimism pertaining to Native education. In a letter to Bishop Plessis he said:

> Up until the present we have not found any Indian or Metis who has refused to receive instruction; they are all willing, without, however, appearing greatly to desire it. . .[2]

The Pembina Mission

Not too long after their arrival, the missionaries turned the bulk of their attention to Pembina. During the Fall of 1818, the majority of the Natives migrated to Pembina, which was located approximately sixty miles south of the Forks along the Red River. This practice seems to have developed out of circumstances, characteristic of the Native way of life - survival. That year clouds of grasshoppers had swarmed over the colony at Red River and left most of the crops in ruination.[3] To avoid starvation, the Natives moved to Pembina, a site that was close

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[1] A.A.S.B., Documents Historiques, No. 5, Provencher to Dionne, September 10, 1818, p.2.

[2] Ibid, Lettres de M.S. Dumoulin, No. 8, Dumoulin to Plessis, Sept. 10, 1818, p. 23.

[3] Morice, op. cit., p. 104.

to the great buffalo range, and in recent years it had been easier to get provision there, since Pembina was the main supply depot for Fort Douglas.[1] Provencher writing to Plessis made the following comment on Pembina.

> Buffaloes, are not far away ordinarily and living is easier than at Fort Douglas, where provisions are scarce, because they have to come from Pembina... it looks as though Mr. Dumoulin will spend a part of the winter there. . .[2]

It would appear from the above comment, that Pembina had not been in the original plans of the missionaries that first year.

A few days prior to his departure for Pembina, Dumoulin in a letter to Plessis, expressed very personal feelings about his commission to preach and teach the Gospel to the Indians. He stated:

> I only fear that you have placed too much confidence in me, for I do not yet feel that I possess that true apostolic zeal that is ready to make the greatest sacrifices, and to be contented, for example, with the life of the Indians. This course seems to be necessary for the present, for otherwise it will be very difficult to learn their language, and hence to teach them. Until the present time we have been of use only to the people of the colony, and we see only those Indians who come to the fort from time to time; thus you see, it is even difficult to learn the language. However, I hope this winter to have some

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[1] Norton, op. cit., p. 28.

[2] B.S.H.S.B., Vol. III, p. 30, Provencher to Bishop Plessis, August 30, 1818.

> Indians in the neighborhood of Pembina, and I shall take advantage of this to learn their language.[1]

Father Dumoulin's comments in the above letter seem to indicate that the missionaries made a distinction between the Indians and half-breeds. They did not separate the two, however, and their objective was obviously similar for both - to educate and christianize them in the ways of the Catholic Church.

Father Dumoulin was of the opinion that the government should put forth an effort to congregate the Natives in villages in which churches, schools and houses should be erected. Such a policy and action would greatly facilitate the "civilizing" of the Natives through education and evangelization. At such villages, agricultural methods could be taught and thus hopefully the Native would settle down to a sedentary way of life. Dumoulin believed that unless this policy was followed, it would be very difficult to educate the Indian.[2] This recommendation was not accepted by Bishop Plessis. The Bishop was of the opinion that the gathering of Indians into villages would not be beneficial to them, unless the missionaries were given complete control and

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[1] A.A.S.B., op. cit., Lettres de M.S. Dumoulin, p. 15, Microfilm R.R. II - 113, p. 7, Dumoulin to Plessis, September 10, 1818.

[2] Nute, op. cit., p. 29, Letters of Father Dumoulin to Bishop Plessis, Red River, August 30, and Sept. 10, 1818.

authority over the Natives by the government, and that they would be segregated from the whites.[1] The rational behind such reasoning has left the writer somewhat baffled.

On September 13, 1818, Messrs. Dumoulin and Edge left the Forks for Pembina.[2] Upon their arrival, the missionaries lost little time in erecting a temporary chapel and school. In November, 1818, Provencher reported to Bishop Panet on the progress of educational endeavours at Pembina, and commented on their long range expectations. Commenting on the Pembina school he stated:

> . . . it progresses but slowly, the children being too irregular. They come, for the most part, from parents who live entirely by the hunt, and are thus obliged to follow them out on the prairies. . . They would be especially valuable for supplying candidates for the priesthood. . .[3]

In a letter written to Bishop Plessis a few months later, Dumoulin's "educational progress report" seems considerably more encouraging than Provencher's. In the letter to Bishop Plessis, dated January 5th, 1819, Dumoulin wrote:

> I am wintering at Pembina; I have many more people here than the Vicar General

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[1] A.A.S.B., op. cit., Registre B, Correspondences avec les Eveques du Quebec, Plessis to Dumoulin, June 30, 1819, p.17.

[2] B.S.H.S.B., op. cit., Vol. III, Provencher to Plessis, September 13, 1818, p. 16.

[3] Ibid., Vol. III, Provencher to Panet, November 24, 1819.

> has at the Forks; the people all come here because the buffaloes are near. . . Mr. Edge maintains the school at Pembina; he already had sixty pupils, and would have nearly eighty if the buffaloes would come nearer. The little bois brules are extremely intelligent; some of them are proving to be very apt pupils; need is already felt here of having some sisters, or nuns; Mr. Edge is putting himself to a great deal of trouble for the instruction of everyone.[1]

Since the conversion of the Indians was the dominant question with the missionaries, especially as they found them so open to instruction, the progress at Pembina was encouraging to them. The missionary establishment at Pembina, however, also faced numerous obstacles. The nomadic way of life of the Indians and their inclination to liquor were perhaps the two greatest impediments to their instruction. Instructing the Indians also meant leaving the settlement and to learn their language.[2] In Norton's words:

> This could not be accomplished at the fort. Was this the right thing to do when probably no more than ten lodges could be visited in the two weeks, while, at the same time, about one hundred and fifty persons would be deprived of hearing Mass at the settlement.[3]

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[1] A.A.S.B. op. cit., pp. 35-38, Lettres de M.S. Dumoulin, No. 11, Dumoulin to Plessis, January 5, 1819.

[2] Norton, op. cit., p. 30.

[3] Ibid., p. 30.

Father Dumoulin submitted this question along with other special problems to Bishop Plessis for advice and decision.[1] Eight days later Dumoulin forwarded another communique to Bishop Plessis, the contents of which gives some insight as to the school curriculum and the missionary's plans for the chapel:

> The following are the things that would be particularly useful to us this spring. I am going to ask on behafl of Pembina first; a censer, a monstrance, some small alter-ledge cloths, some images, some rosaries, some small crosses, some catechisms, a great many primers, a bell of fifteen to eighteen pounds, some mathematics and physics textbooks, a frontal, a small traveling outfit of robes, a few books of sermons. . . a holy-water basin, and some chant books; I already have a little bois brule who can read his notes. . .[2]

That winter the buffaloes ranged at a greater distance from Pembina than usual, resulting in the Native children being unable to attend school at Pembina. Dumoulin resolved this situation by recruiting a young man by the name of Lagasse. He was a well-educated young man who had come West and after failing in a business venture had accepted the teaching position among the freemen of the prairie at Dumoulin's request. Lagasse was provided with a dog team which was to

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[1] Ibid., p. 30, Letter of Father Dumoulin to Bishop Plessis, Pembina, January 4, 1819.

[2] Nute, op. cit., p. 189, Letter of Father Dumoulin to Bishop Plessis, Pembina, January 12, 1819. Also in Bulletin de Soc. Historical, St. Boniface III, 33, 36.

carry himself, his supplies and effects to the Indian encampments. There he was to instruct the nomadic Natives.[1] Thus began the first school on the prairie. Within three months, three schools had been established - one at St. Boniface, one at Pembina and one on the prairie.[2] In the opinion of Dumoulin, Lagasse was a great success as a teacher amongst the Natives. In a letter to Bishop Plessis, Dumoulin among other things lauds the young Lagasse:

> Since this young man did not know what to do this fall, I advised some of my freemen to engage him as a teacher for their children; and he has gone to spend the winter in the camp, where he has more pupils than Mr. Edge and is, in a way, more successful; so that he will teach perhaps as many as fifty people this winter. He has about forty children, and nearly half of them will know the short catechism by Easter. I am extremely well pleased with that school; several will know how to read by spring; what makes it even more valuable is the fact that none of these children would otherwise have been able to receive any instruction during the whole winter, since the buffaloes have remained so much farther out this year than usual.[3]

The educational achievements of the missionaries at Pembina were highly commended by Bishop Plessis. He advised the missionaries, however, to put a greater emphasis on

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[1] Norton, op. cit., p. 31.

[2] Jaenen, op. cit., p. 46.

[3] A.A.S.B., op. cit., Letters de M.S. Dumoulin, No. 14, Dumoulin to Plessis, February 14, 1819, p. 48.

educating the children in the Settlement rather than catechizing those out on the prairies. His reason for this advice to Provencher clearly is indicative of why the Catholics were so zealous in establishing schools in the Indian territory. Commenting on Edge's school at Pembina, Provencher says:

> This object is more to be sought for the mission than the teaching of the catechism. He can attend to that in odd moments. . . We must be thinking of producing candidates for the priesthood and you know how long the road is from the alphabet to the study of theology. . . I am banking heavily on the intelligence of the little bois brules, not only for the catechism but also for later teaching. . .[1]

With regards to the priesthood, his wishes were not to be realized. Neither during the lifetime of Provencher nor during that of Tache, his immediate successor, was there ever a Native elevated to the Catholic priesthood in the Canadian West.[2] From the standpoint of higher education, however, many Natives succeeded.

In the Fall of 1820 Father Provencher and William Edge left Red River for Quebec. The former to report on western missions and then return, while Edge would not return.[3] A few days before their departure Father Thomas

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[1] A.A.S.B., Registre B, No. 2, Plessis to Provencher, January 6, 1819, pp. 708. Also in Nute, op. cit., pp. 183-184.

[2] Morice, op. cit., p. 124.

[3] Norton, op. cit., p. 34.

Destroismaisons and Mr. J. Sauvez arrived at Red River to take over the work - Father Destroismaisons at St. Boniface and Sauvez in Edge's school at Pembina.[1] Father Dumoulin was to spend part of that summer and fall at Hudson's Bay. Dumoulin, in his letter to Bishop Plessis, does not give a reason for his trip to Hudson's Bay.[2] For the greater part of the winter of 1820-1821, Father Destroismaisons joined Sauvez at Pembina. There he studied the Chippewa language. Nearly all the Natives residing at St. Boniface had gone to Pembina that winter in search of game on the prairies. The school begun by Mr. Edge was continued by Sauvez.[3] Father Dumoulin reported to Plessis in Quebec:

> Mr. Sauvez conducts the school very regularly; he has six pupils who are studying elementary Latin and French grammer, and about ten others who are learning to read and write. In two weeks we are going to give them a public examination, which all notables will be invited to attend. . . After the examinations I am going to spend three weeks or a month with the Indians; please Heaven that I may know their language when I come back. Meanwhile we now and then get hold of their children, whom we try to have them bring here to receive baptism. Many of them refuse. However, it is possible with very little to win over these poor blind people. . .[4]

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[1] B.S.H.S.B., op. cit., Vol. III, p. 45.

[2] Ibid., III, 42, 45; Letter of Father Dumoulin to Bishop Plessis.

[3] Norton, op. cit., p. 35.

[4] B.S.H.S.B., op. cit., Vol. III, Dumoulin to Plessis, Pembina, January 6, 1821.

Two months later Dumoulin addressed Andrew Colville on a matter pertaining to the Pembina mission which gives the reader a picture of the development of the Pembina mission:

> This mission is composed of a considerable part of the Red River colony. The number of these residents is, perhaps, as many as five hundred men, women and children. A large number have houses and have made gardens in so far as they are able. The church here will be ready in a week. There is a regular school. Captain Matthey can give you an idea of the progress that the children have made in it. On the church land we have already built two other buildings, and I should like also to build another house for a school.[1]

In 1821, Mr. Sauvez was asking Provencher for more school supplies - some grammers, Epitomes, and other school books as well as devotional books.[2] In October of that same year, Mr. Sauvez makes a further request for school books. These request are indicative of the curriculum in Sauvez's school at Pembina. Provencher appears most anxious to supply Sauvez's needs. In a communique to Plessis he asks:

> If you happen to meet some priest who finds himself overloaded with books, be they either of history, or of devotion, I shall willingly accept them for the Red River mission, which does not have a sufficient number.[3]

Father Dumoulin continued his efforts at persuading the Indians

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[1]Nute, op. cit., p. 290, Letter to Colvile from Dumoulin Pembina, March 29, 1821.

[2]B.S.H.S.B., op. cit., Vol. III, Provencher to Plessis Yamachiche, June 14, 1821, p. 40.

[3]A.A.S.B. op. cit., Microfilm RR I-32, Provencher to Plessis, October 1, 1821, p. 10.

to give up their nomadic way of life and to settle in villages where they could be reached and where churches and schools could be established.[1] Father Dumoulin was determined. Five months later he again wrote to Bishop Plessis, this time with a new plan:

> I have a new plan that I feel might be of benefit to this mission: the Indians of this region are accustomed to being won over with gifts rather than logic. It would be much easier to get them to live in villages, and to civilize and teach them, if we had some advantages to offer them. . . Would it be possible to send by Hudson Bay some of the many presents that are given to the Indians of Lower and even Upper Canada. . .?[2]

Father Dumoulin was granted some dispensations for the Pembina mission.[3] Both Father Dumoulin and Mr. Sauvez were highly in favour of having the Natives adopt an agricultural way of life and in developing agriculture within the region. Besides being daily occupied with teaching Native children, Sauvez, in 1821, planted a garden with various seeds which were plentiful in the colony that year.[4] That same year, Father Dumoulin involved the Chippewa Indians in agriculture. Much to

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[1] Ibid., Lettres de M.S.Dumoulin, p.70, Microfilm RR II-151, p. 8. Dumoulin to Plessis, Pembina, January 6, 1821.

[2] Ibid., Lettres de M.S. Dumoulin, p. 81, Microfilm RR II - 158, p. 8, Dumoulin to Plessis, June 5, 1821.

[3] Loc. cit.

[4] A.A.S.B., op. cit., Lettres de la Cie d'Hudson et des Missionarires de la Riviere Rouge, Mr. Sauvez to Father Raimbault, Pembina, May 28, 1821, p. 246.

Dumoulin's delight, the Indians had settled in groups of four small villages to sow grain.[1]

The mission at Pembina was, seemingly, flourishing greatly. Church services were held, converts were gained, the school was making progress, agriculture was introduced, and now, according to Father Dumoulin, some Indians were beginning to settle down.

In the summer of 1821, Mr. Dumoulin informed Bishop Plessis of his achievements:

> I baptized fifteen adults today, and tomorrow I shall perform three marriages. The pews of the church of Pembina were sold yesterday, yielding two hundred and thirty-six pounds and fifteen shillings income to the church of this mission. . . We have on the Pembina register 326 baptisms, 56 marriages, and 31 burials. On Whitsunday we shall say Mass in the church for the first time. . . I have succeeded this year in getting a good many Indians to plant; they have settled in small villages. . .[2]

The continuance of this "successful" missionary venture at Pembina was suddenly in jeopardy. In the Fall of 1818, the Canadian-American boundary had been established as the 49th parallel degree of latitude by British and United States officials. It was suddenly revealed that Pembina was south

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[1] A.A.S.B., op. cit., Lettre de M.S. Dumoulin, p. 89, Microfilm RR II - 169, p. 8, Dumoulin to Plessis, August 10, 1821.

[2] Ibid., Lettres de M.S. Dumoulin, p. 81, Microfilm RR II - 158, p.8, Dumoulin to Plessis, June 5, 1821.

of this boundary, on American soil. Already during the summer of 1819, Bishop Plessis mildly warned and discouraged Mr. Dumoulin of becoming overly zealous at Pembina:

> It seems evident by all reports that the establishment at Pembina will prove better than that at the Forks, but. . . a treaty between England and the United States of which perhaps you are ignorant since it was agreed to only on October 20, 1818, gives to the latter all lands south of the 49th degree of latitude, from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains. . . it is probable that Pembina is south of it. . . That ought to moderate your zeal.[1]

Since the question of the civil jurisdiction of Pembina was unsettled, however, the mission work at Pembina had continued.

Another problem of greatest importance to the Red River mission had arisen over the death of Lord Selkirk on April 8, 1820. This had prompted a change of attitude of the Hudson's Bay Company towards Catholic missions in the North-west. The Company was not in favour of extending the Catholic faith in the North-west.[2] Father Provencher, the vicar-general at Red River, had left for Quebec in August 1820, to report on the progress of the mission and also to attend to problems which the Pembina crisis

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[1] A.A.S.B., op. cit., Registre B. Correspondences avec les Eveques du Quebec, Plessis to Dumoulin, June 30,1818,p.17.

[2] Norton, op. cit., p. 37.

and the death of Selkirk had created.[1] The conditions, such as they were, prompted Bishop Plessis to inform Dumoulin of his advice and opinions on the Red River mission.

He wrote in regards to the mission:

> The longer I consider the matter the more I am convinced that it will be necessary that this mission shall produce its own evangelical workers to succeed those who are laboring there at the present time. For that reason you ought to be taking thought for the formation of a class of chosen children, outstanding for their intelligence and for their inclination towards piety. Confide them to the care of Abbe Sauvez. . . My advice would be that this work of education should be undertaken at St. Boniface rather than at Pembina, which it may be necessary for us to abandon. According to a map of 1817 that I have just consulted, this station appears to me to be thirty minutes south of the forty-ninth degree of latitude.[2]

Father Dumoulin was now convinced that Pembina was on American soil.[3] On August 7, 1822, Bishop Provencher[4] returned to Red River. John Halkett, the brother-in-law of the late Earl of Selkirk, had visited the Forks and

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[1]Morice, op. cit., p. 112.

[2]Ibid., Plessis to Dumoulin, Quebec, April 10, 1821.

[3]Norton, op. cit., p. 38.

[4]While in Quebec, Father Provencher received his appointment as Bishop with Juliopolis as his titular see and was consecrated May 13, 1822.

Pembina during his absence, but had taken his departure fifteen days before the return of Bishop Provencher. Halkett, however, had left a letter for delivery to Bishop Provencher on his return in which he insisted upon the complete evacuation of Pembina. Halkett was of the opinion that the Pembina settlement had scared away the buffalo from near the Forks and that no grant of land or legal title would be given for Pembina.[1] In a letter to Provencher he added:

> It was certainly much to be wished that the Roman Catholic mission had not extended itself so soon into that country under the circumstances of the Red River settlement but that the great expense incurred by it at Pembina ought to have been rather laid out in the improving and rendering more comfortable their present residence and possessions at the Forks and in encouraging the cultivation and peopling of their large property at that place and in adding by that means to the strength and prosperity of that community.[2]

That Pembina would have to be evacuated seemed evident by now. Father Dumoulin was greatly disheartened by this turn of events; he did, however, accompany the Natives to the prairie that fall and winter of 1822-1823. Mr. Sauvez had already resigned as schoolmaster of Pembina and returned to Montreal. Late in the fall of 1822, Father Dumoulin reluctantly informed the settlers that

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[1] B.S.H.S.B., op. cit., Vol. III, p. 75.

[2] A.A.S.B., op. cit., Lettres de la Cie d'Hudson et des Missionaries de la Riviere Rouge, Mr. Halkett to Provencher, Forks, Red River, July 20, 1822, p. 107.

Pembina would have to be evacuated by the spring of 1823. With the closing of the Pembina mission, the missionary returned to St. Boniface. He remained until July of 1823, when he departed for Montreal, never to return to Red River. Itinerant missionaries, however, continued to visit the Natives at Pembina periodically even though the school and chapel were closed.[1] In January, 1823, Bishop Provencher journeyed to Pembina to encourage and advise the residents of that area to relocate in the vicinity of the Forks. A few heeded the Bishop's advice and settled at the Forks. The majority, however, migrated to the Assiniboine, then called the White Horse Plains, which was approximately fifteen to twenty miles west of the Forks. This migration resulted in the founding of Grantown, later to be known as St. Francois-Xavier. Still others moved to the southern end of Lake Manitoba and founded St. Laurent.[2]

The Pembina Mission was again restored in 1849 by Father Belcourt, the veteran missionary to the Indians. The site of the revived mission establishment was to be Pembina Township, Pembina County, known as St. Joseph Parish.[3] The first official report of the mission is

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[1]Norton, op. cit., pp. 42-44.

[2]Morice, op. cit., p. 118.

[3]Reardon, Michael, James, George Anthony Belcourt, Pioneer Catholic Missionary of the Northwest, 1803-1874. p. 104, St. Paul: North Central Publishing Company, 1955.

found in the Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory for the year 1849 (p. 120).

> A new mission has been opened at Pembina in the Diocese of Dubuque where there is a settlement of about 500 half-breeds from the Red River. It is about 600 miles northwest of the Falls of St. Anthony and promises to increase rapidly.[1]

The Natives of Pembina, remnants of the first Catholic mission in the north-west were described in the Minnesota Pioneer of January 23, 1850 as:

> . . . improvident, care-free people of picturesque appearance, their dress half between that of white and Indian. They wore wild-looking fur caps, pants secured round the waist by a belt and deerskin moccassins. Their complexion is swarthy, their hair and eyes black. Their language is an impure French though all probably speak Indian.[2]

These same people are further described in "Mayer and the Treaties of 1851:[3]

> . . . hunters and trappers, the buffalo being the favorite object of their pursuit. The women produce the most beautiful garnished work of beads, porcupine quills and silks, with which they adorn leather coats, moccassins, pouches, saddles, etc., . . . Pembina is the most northern settlement of any consequence in the United States.[4]

Bishop Provencher had been most co-operative with

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[1] Cited in Reardon, op. cit., p.106.

[2] Cited in Reardon, ibid., p. 102.

[3] Cited in Reardon, ibid., p. 102, from Minnesota History, Vol. 22, St. Paul, 1941, p. 149.

[4] Loc. cit.

Mr. Halkett's plan of abandoning the Pembina post. The Bishop, however, viewed the plan of relocating the Natives at the Forks with some pessimism, and proposed a Lake Manitoba site as an alternative to the Forks for their settlement. The Bishop, in a letter to Halkett, writes:

> I agree with you that it would have been better to have hastened building at the Forks instead of Pembina, but at that time it would have been impossible to do so on account of lack of provisions, which were very difficult to obtain at the Forks . . . I wish that they could be assembled not far from the Forks, in a place where they could farm and hunt for a living while waiting for the soil to furnish them a livelihood. Lake Manitoba, which I have seen, might serve as a place for realization of this project, I am told. You can be the judge of the matter since you have been there, for I doubt if we shall succeed in getting them to go to The Forks. I should be glad to know your opinion on the plan. . .[1]

In his reply to the above letter, Halkett vividly expresses dissatisfaction over the lack of progress made by the Catholic Mission at the Forks. It seemed to be this failure at Red River of the Catholic mission on which he based his decision of not permitting a new settlement on Lake Manitoba. He wrote:

> I may. . . without hesitation take upon me to answer that part of your Lordship's letter containing the suggestion respecting Lake Manitoba. In the present state of the Red River colony it cannot be permitted that any new settlement be

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[1] A.A.S.B. op. cit., Lettres de la Cie d'Hudson et des missionaries de la Riviere Rouge, Plessis to Halkett, Forks, August 10, 1822, p. 111.

> made on the country bordering upon that lake.[1]

Mr. Halkett also expressed his annoyance over the lack of development of the Roman Catholic mission at Red River to Bishop Plessis of Quebec. He also seems to question the missionaries competence at decision making. Among other things he wrote:

> . . . I may also be permitted frankly to express my opinion, that the Roman Catholic Mission at the Red River, having so long left unfinished their church at the Forks, having permitted their intended house of residence there to continue incomplete and dismantled to the present moment, having established no schools, nor attempted any improvement or settlement of the extensive grant of lands given them by Lord Selkirk, they ought never have set about building and completing a distant church and residence at Pembina. The measure which they thus hastily and prematurely adopted has unfortunately tendered (sic) to unhinge and disperse the Red River population, and it has evidently served but to encourage half-breeds and others to continue in that idle and disorderly mode of life. . .[2]

Undoubtedly Messrs. Halkett and Provencher had different criteria where-with success was measured. It would appear that in the eyes of the missionaries, souls won to the Catholic faith was the ultimate in success, whereas the secular people conceived success as the erection of schools, church buildings and the successful settlement

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[1] Ibid., Halkett to Provencher, August 30, 1822, p.118.

[2] Nute, op. cit., p. 368, Halkett to Bishop Plessis, August 26, 1826.

of the land grants made to the mission.

St. Boniface Mission

At the Forks, not too much was done initially in the way of education for the Natives. The missionaries' first concern was for the provision of some sort of habitation, in which to pass the winter. Provencher, always keeping Plessis informed, wrote:

> Our land contains a sufficiency of firewood and has prairies back of it. Lumber is scarce, at least that of good quality. We are going to start to build. A chapel is the most pressing need, because there is no convenient place where everyone can gather. The location of the chapel is fine. . . There are no Indians here at present. Everyone seems pleased at our arrival, and all seem anxious to benefit by our instruction.[1]

Several weeks later, in a letter to Selkirk, Provencher further commented on the building and other plans:

> We are in the process of building a house as our lodging for the winter as well as for our chapel. I left the building of the chapel for next year. . . We are lodged in Fort Douglas, where we occupy the second floor of a house, which serves for home and chapel . . . We hope to make the most of the people who inhabit this region; they seem desirous of profiting by our attentions and instruction. At least, for our part, we shall do all in our power to make good Christians of them.[2]

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[1] B.S.H.S.B., op. cit., Vol. III, Provencher to Plessis July 21, 1818, p. 26.

[2] Nute, op. cit., p. 137, Letter to Selkirk from Provencher, August 14 & 27, 1818.

The facilities that first winter were neither adequate to run a proper school, nor were there sufficient school supplies. The missionaries, however, were busy preparing young and old for the admission of the church, and instructing the Indian women with a view to baptizing and marrying them.[1] The first efforts at educating the Natives appear to have been of the religious nature only, that is, a purely "religious" curriculum. According to the missionaries, the Natives were very open to instruction. A few days prior to leaving for Pembina, Dumoulin reported:

> Up until the present time we have not found any Indian or metis, who has refused to receive instruction; they are all willing. . . The brules that we have taught so far generally show much intelligence and desire to learn. . .[2]

Selkirk also appears to be optimistic about the educational prospects at Red River. To Plessis he wrote:

> . . . the verbal account that I received from Mr. de Lorimier when he arrived here, informs me that the inhabitants, and especially the old Canadian voyageurs and their metis families, evidenced an excellent disposition to profit by the instructions of the missionaries; and that the Indians also showed that respect that causes one to believe that they also will be disposed to listen.3

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[1]Morice, op. cit., p. 104.

[2]A.A.S.B., op. cit., Lettres de M.S. Dumoulin p. 15, Mf RR II-113, p.7, Dumoulin to Plessis, September 10, 1818.

[3]A.A.S.B., op. cit., Lettres de la Cie d'Hudson et des Missionaries de la Riviere Rouge, Mr. Selkirk to Plessis, Octover 17, 1818, p.45.

The prospects of educating the Native children appeared good at the outset. The missionaries also realized that in order to educate the Indians, the White population would also need to be reformed. In writing to Provencher, Bishop Plessis reminded him that "to lead the black one to God we must begin by reforming the white one".[1]

Provencher was left alone at Fort Douglas after the departure of Edge and Dumoulin to Pembina. "He was now more aware of the need for schooling because, Dumoulin and Edge having gone to Pembina, he was in charge alone at St. Boniface".[2] In January, 1819, he wrote to Plessis, that "If we had some nuns for the instruction of the girls, they would already find work to do."[3] Father Provencher continued by himself at the Forks and spent the winter of 1819-1820 at Pembina with Dumoulin and Edge, returning to Fort Douglas at Easter time, 1820.[4] In August, 1820, Father Destroismaisons and Sauvez arrived at Red River to replace Provencher and Edge who returned East. Father Destroismaisons, who replaced Provencher, went to Pembina

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[1] A.A.S.B., op. cit., Registre B. Correspondences avec les Eveques du Quebec, Plessis to Provencher, Jan.6, 1819, p.2.

[2] Jaenen, op. cit., p. 45.

[3] B.S.H.S.B. op. cit., Vol. III, Provencher to Plessis, January 15, 1819, p. 32.

[4] A.A.S.B., op. cit., Lettres de M.S. Dumoulin, p. 59, Mf RR II-127, p.8, Dumoulin to Panet, January 30, 1820.

for the greater part of the winter of 1820-1821, and spent most of his time studying the Chippewa language. Only a few people remained at St. Boniface during the winter as most were out on the prairie in search of game.[1]

The educational efforts and successes were very limited at the Forks during the first few years and Halkett, perhaps, was justified in his complaint over the mission's shortcomings at Red River.

In August, 1822, Provencher, now titular Bishop of Juliopolis, returned to St. Boniface, and brought with him a young seminarian, Jean Harper, who was immediately put in charge of education at St. Boniface. The school was indeed very small. Provencher, in reporting to Plessis, said:

> The school is not much at the present time. The people have no food and are obliged to seek it wherever they can. There are two children that show some promise. One of them is a metis and is very talented according to Mr. Dumoulin. . .[2]

The two promising children were Senecal, a French Canadian and Chenier, a half-breed. Bishop Plessis, encouraged with the two potential scholars, sent books for them the following

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[1] Norton, op. cit., p. 35.

[2] B.S.H.B., op. cit., Vol. III, Provencher to Plessis, August 11, 1822, p. 75.

year.[1] Both Harper and Provencher continued to teach at St. Boniface while Father Destroismaisons helped at St. Boniface and made several trips to Pembina following Dumoulin's departure.[2] At St. Boniface Harper taught the elementary and collegiate subjects while Provencher taught the more advanced subjects.[3] Jaenen says that, "in a sense, it is correct to say that the classical college was founded in 1823."[4] This classical college today is the renowned St. Boniface College. Its first two students were Senecal and Chenier.[5] In June, 1825, Provencher reported to Plessis and made this comment on the state of schools at St. Boniface.

> He (Harper) is still carrying on the work of the school and doing well, but it does not produce many hopeful specimens. . . I am still without a girls school; old man Nolin, whose daughter is burning with desire to consecrate herself to God, obstinately prevents her.[6]

Father Morice gives us some insight as to the curriculum at the St. Boniface school under Harper and Provencher. Besides the religious training, students received Latin

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[1] Jaenen, op. cit., p. 48.

[2] B.S.H.B., op. cit., Vol. III, Provencher to Plessis June 1, 1824, p. 92.

[3] Jaenen, op.cit., p. 48.

[4] Loc. cit.

[5] Morice, op. cit., p. 124.

[6] B.S.H.S.B., op. cit., Vol. III, Provencher to Plessis, June 12, 1825, p. 100.

and classical instruction under Provencher, with Harper teaching the collegiate course.[1] A letter from Provencher to Plessis gives us further information as to the nature of the curriculum taught in St. Boniface. He wrote:

> He is (Harper) still assiduously carrying on the work of the school, though it is supplied with but few talented pupils. This winter he sent to me for Latin two lads of fair ability, one of them ten years old and the other thirteen. My two other scholars have thus far studied all of the Epitome, De Viris Illustibus, Cornelius Nepas, four books of Quintius Curtius, the four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, and half of the Imitation; they are beginning to understand versification, have covered a summary of geography and are now copying belles-lettres, in order to be able to study them this summer. I am pushing them as much as possible in order to be able to make use of them. God grant that they may not slip away from me.[2]

Before too long, they did "slip away" from him. The two students, in whom Provencher had placed so much hope and success for a future career with the Church, were a disappointment. In August, 1825, Provencher informed Plessis that:

> The two scholars (Senecal and Chenier) on whom I was somewhat basing my hopes last year are hopeless this year; one has gone since January, the other, though still here, is entirely unfitted for the church. Those

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[1] Morice, op. cit., p. 419.

[2] B.S.H.S.B., op. cit., Vol. III, Provencher to Plessis, June 1, 1825, p. 92.

> that are coming after them are still young and but little advanced. . .[1]

Two months later, Provencher reported that "Victor Chenier, my other pupil, left a week ago to join his father at Pembina. He had decided a long time ago not to become a priest. . . seeing that there was nothing to hope for him, I sent him to . . . his father."[2] Severe setbacks such as these made the efforts at education very frustrating indeed. Despite these trials the missionaries kept on, always striving to educate, instructing children and adults in the ways of the Church. During the winter of 1826, despite tremendous material shortages, the school was carried on and the girls were introduced to weaving. Provencher, writing to Plessis in February 1826, commented:

> Our school is still going, but there are few pupils. Our Canadians and the other Catholics are so poor that it would be necessary to make expenditures beyond our means in order to get children. All these folk are too dependent on the prairie for their livlihood, which keeps them from planting as much as they ought, and upon the store to clothe them, with the result that the women, knowing nothing about cloth-making and the other things that serve to clothe, take but little trouble to learn. This winter I began to have our farmer's wife, who is a Canadian, teach the girls of the school to work flax and wool. . . They are succeeding fairly well. . . In place of sheep's wool they make cloth out of buffalo hair. . .[3]

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[1] Ibid., June 12, 1825, p. 100.

[2] Ibid., August 8, 1825, p. 106.

[3] Ibid., February 2, 1826, p. 109.

Poverty was a great hindrance to the missionaries. Year after year, the harvest was poor which caused the people to migrate to the hunting and fishing grounds. Provencher wrote of this "chronic misfortune" with Panet:

> Our colony is not living any too well this winter, for there was practically no harvest. Most of the people have been compelled to emigrate to the fishing grounds, for the buffalo hunt has failed completely this winter, after having yielded fairly well during the summer. I hope no one will die of hunger. . .[1]

School at White Horse Plains

During the fall of 1827, Harper went to the White Horse Plains to work among the Natives there. He built a chapel and organized an all girls class for those unable to go to St. Boniface.[2] The following year he obtained a young clerk to instruct a class of boys.[3] In June, 1828, Harper journeyed to York Factory, where he ministered to the Indians.[4]

In 1828, hope rose again when it was reported that there was at the College in St. Boniface one advanced student who seemed headed for priesthood and "who was of great usefulness in teaching others his mother tongue

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[1] Ibid., Provencher to Panet, January 31, 1827, p.115.
[2] Ibid., June 18, 1828, p. 122.
[3] Ibid., June 6, 1829, p. 127.
[4] Morice, op. cit., p. 128.

Cree."[1] The school, with Boucher as teacher, was somewhat less than outstanding:

> There are few pupils and the master scarcely appears suited to keeping it on a sound footing. This gentleman seems to me to be little suited for these isolated places. He possesses no firmness, little ingenuity or resourcefulness, speaking a great deal and reflecting afterwards, if indeed he reflects at all. He seems to have to me succeeded but little in his classes: at least he cannot write his language, and on top of that he has a high opinion of himself.[2]

In 1829, Provencher proposed to shave the head of this young Metis candidate, and when the latter refused to enter the priesthood, Provencher proposed that he take over the school from Boucher who had discharged his duties.[3]

In August, 1830, Provencher returned to Lower Canada soliciting alms for his missionary diocese. Before he left, however, he was much encouraged by the coming of Angelique Nolin and her sisters to St. Boniface. Miss Nolin, a Metis, organized the first school for girls in St. Boniface,[4] and within six months her efforts were meeting with evident success.[5] Miss Nolin was the "first fruit"

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[1] B.S.H.S.B., op. cit., Vol. III, Provencher to Panet, June 18, 1828, p. 121.

[2] Loc. cit.

[3] Jaenen, op. cit., p. 49.

[4] Morice, op. cit., p. 126.

[5] B.S.H.S.B., op. cit., Vol. III, Provencher to Panet, June 6, 1829, p. 125.

as a teacher of any success from the Catholic schools. She spoke the Indian dialects fluently and remained at this school until 1834 when she went to Baie St. Paul as a teacher. While Provencher was in Lower Canada he proposed that Harper assume the position of superintendent of education.[1] Harper did not accept this position as he had decided to return to Canada.[2] Harper was succeeded by Poire and then by Thibault.[3]

The Establishment of Baie St. Paul Mission

During the first decade of educational efforts at Red River by Catholic missionaries nothing in the way of education had been done exclusively for the Indian. All Native education was integrated; that is, the few schools in existence accommodated all students whether Metis, Indian or White. When Provencher returned to Red River from Lower Canada in July of 1832, however, he brought with him a young zealous missionary from Ste. Martine, Quebec, who was to change this. The new missionary, Father Belcourt, who had aspired to be a missionary at Red River, began working exclusively amongst the Indians in Manitoba territory.[4] Father Belcourt immediately took up the study

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[1] Ibid., July 23, 1831, p. 131.

[2] Loc. cit.

[3] Wilson, op. cit., p. 52.

[4] Reardon, op. cit., p. 16.

of the Algonquin language at the village of Oka, in Canada, under the direction of the Sulpician missionaries. A close affinity or kinship exists between the Chippewa tongue of the Red River Valley and that of the Algonquins.[1] On April 27, 1831, Bishop Provencher and Father Belcourt left Oka for the Red River, arriving on June 19, 1831. Belcourt's primary purpose was the evangelization of the Indians, a mission at which he toiled for fifteen years. Belcourt was one of three priests at the Red River Mission, the others being Fathers Boucher and Harper. His first assignment was to the cathedral to assist Provencher in parish work and to learn the Indian language fluently.[2] He soon became intimately acquainted with it and through research and study discovered the principles of the language, which he wrote and had printed in 1839. He also compiled a French-Saulteaux dictionary which gave the etymology of each word, and the composite particles. He was the first missionary at Red River to teach the Indians in their native tongue, and was assigned till 1847 the task of teaching the Indian language to the missionaries who came to St. Boniface.[3] In a sense he was the first teacher of linguistics in Manitoba. Bishop Provencher was anxious

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[1] Ibid., p. 18.

[2] B.S.H.S.B., op. cit., Vol. III, p.133, B.

[3] Reardon, op. cit., p. 31.

that Belcourt occupy himself initially only in the study of the Indian language in order that he might devote himself entirely to their conversion to Christianity.[1] In 1832, after becoming proficient in the Indian language he selected a place approximately sixty miles west of the Forks, as the river flows, on the Assiniboine River, to begin his mission. He told the Indians there that he would begin his work among them the following spring.[2] In this respect Belcourt wrote:

> The principal religious meetings of the Chippewa take place in the spring about the time when all plants begin to awaken from their long winter sleep, renew their life and commence the bud. The ticket of invitation is a piece of tobacco sent by the oldest person of the nation, indicating the place of rendezvous to the principal persons of the tribe.[3]

On July 11, 1832, Bishop Provencher, writing to Father Cazeau said that Belcourt had gone on a mission "among the savages", sixty miles west of St. Boniface, to a place where the "savages" were accustomed to congregate in considerable number. He added that "the odour of his perfume would bring others quickly."[4]

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[1] B.S.H.S.B. op. cit., Vol. III, Provencher to Panet, July 23, 1831, p. 131.

[2] Reardon, op. cit., p. 33.

[3] Cited in Reardon, ibid., p. 33, Also in House Executive Document, No. 51, I Session, Serial 577, 1849-50.

[4] B.S.H.S.B., op. cit., Mf RR LV-3, p. 11, Provencher to Cazeau, July 11, 1832.

Writing to Cazeau in regard to this mission assignment on August 3, 1832, Father Belcourt stated that:

> Next spring I go to stay with the naked Indians of the greater part of this country, Crees, Assiniboines and Chippewas. They already call me father. I have been to see the place where I shall build, sixty miles from here. I must go to teach them catechism next spring. That will make me work. Try to send a missionary who is not so lazy as the others to learn their jargon and thus be able to do his work. To hear them speak their three languages reminds one of the grunting of hogs in a mudhole.[1]

Father Belcourt was somewhat revolutionary at this new mission station concerning the method of converting the aborigines.[2] He was of the opinion, unlike Dumoulin, that the domestication of the Natives was a pre-requisite to their evangelization.[3] He believed that "if one does not help the infidels to get out of their misery by conforming to the usages of civilized life he is beating the air by pretending to instruct them."[4] Shortly thereafter, in 1833, he began his mission; however, a band of Sioux Indians from the South attacked the village for no apparent reason, other than that they took pleasure in

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[1] Ibid., Mf RR, LV-52, Belcourt to Cazeau, August 2, 1832, p.1.

[2] Also see Ross, op. cit., Chapter 19.

[3] Reardon, op. cit., p. 34.

[4] Cited in Reardon, ibid., p. 36.

marauding the Canadian aborigines. In a letter of July 11, 1834 to the Bishop of Quebec from "Prairie-au-Fournier", Belcourt said:

> The Bishop decided that it would be better to build in a safer place and that is why I am writing from Prairie-au-Fournier on the left bank of the Assiniboine where he built a house, thirty by twenty, to serve as school and residence. Yesterday morning I left my tent in which I had lived since spring. . . I teach catechism to a group of twenty catechumens of all sexes and ages. I am sure my work will increase on the return of the savages who are on the first hunt and among whom are several catechumens. As a result of last summer's instruction I baptized three adults. During the month I have had three baptisms at my headquarters and several others on my trips, all children of pagens. Moreover, I have baptized two male Chippewas, one of whom, given up by the medicine man, was able to continue the chase next day which so strengthened his faith that he speaks as an apostle among the infidels. . .[1]

The mission's new location was approximately ten miles west of White Horse Plains, (now, St. Francois Xavier) and was named Baie St. Paul. This new location comprised a tract of land five miles by two miles, donated by governor Simpson who was interested in Belcourt's mission.[2] At this new location Father Belcourt built a chapel, houses for the Indians and a residency for himself. A yoke of

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[1] B.S.H.S.B., op. cit., Lettres de M. Belcourt, p.27, MF RR II-14, 15, p. 27, Belcourt to Signay, July 11, 1834.

[2] Reardon, op. cit., p. 36.

oxen, a plow and fifty hoes were provided by Bishop Provencher for the Indians who it was hoped would settle in the place. Belcourt also began teaching the Indians how to cultivate the soil as well as the arts of "civilized" life, while not forgetting to instruct them in the tenets of the Catholic faith. The log chapel was twenty feet square with the Indian cabins, surrounded by small farms, close to the chapel.[1] In the fall of 1834, Belcourt claimed that his experiment was justified since thirty Indians had sown grain and reaped a harvest.[2] Also, in the year 1834, a school was begun at Baie St. Paul. Miss Angelique Nolin, herself a Native from Pembina, educated in the east and who spoke the Indian dialects fluently, was secured as the teacher. She, along with Father Belcourt, prepared the text book, the grammer and a dictionary of the Chippewa language.[3] The results of the mission work at Baie St. Paul fell far short of Father Belcourt's expectations. Reardon, in commenting with respect to the mission stated:

> The social degradation of the savages had an effect on his work. The tendency of the converts was to revert to the level

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid., p. 40.

[3] Ibid., p. 41.

> of the tribe. Many of the baptized returned to their former way of living and were christians only in name. . .[1]

Belcourt, however, was optimistic. A letter to Father Cazeau verified such optimism:

> My instructions are given twice daily from one end of the year to the other since I came among the Chippewas. The grace of God is spreading among them . . . Some Chippewas made a journey of seven and a half months to get information about what they would have to give up and to practice if they became christians. After a long talk they departed full of admiration and were satisfied, saying they would return in a year or two with all their relatives and settle here and receive instruction. . . Others, angry about these plans, wanted to drive me away, but were laughed at when they proposed it and found I was aware of it. . .[2]

In the spring of 1838, Father Belcourt went to Rainy Lake to investigate the possibility of establishing another mission there. During his absence, Father Poire took his place at Baie St. Paul. Belcourt returned from his mission on June 14 and attempted to open another mission at Wabassimong (White Dog) but this venture did not succeed. In August, 1838, he returned to Quebec, a desire that had for several years been in his heart. Upon

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[1] Loc. cit.

[2] B.S.H.S.B., op. cit., Mf. RR, IV-62, Belcourt to Cazeau, June 25, 1836.

returning to Quebec he was made pastor of Pointe Levis.[1] Before too long, however, he desired to return to his mission among the Indians at Baie St. Paul. In a letter to Father Cazeau dated December 23, 1838, he wrote:

> When I think of the poor Chippewas who await me with great eagerness next spring and who are preparing a fete for my return, and try to realize how they feel, in the depth of their souls, when they learn that I am not coming back, I know they will say they have been deceived. I feel inside of me something that tells me I am out of place here, that I shall not die here, but be buried among the Chippewas in the spot I showed them. . .[2]

During this time, Belcourt made a request to return, a request that was granted. In Quebec, Archbishop Signay was anxious to find students willing to learn the Indian language and to offer themselves to the work of the Indians but he found none.[3] There seems to have been friction at Red River between Provencher and Belcourt. While Father Belcourt was at Pointe Levis, a letter from Bishop Bourget of Montreal to Bishop Turgeon of Quebec throws light on this matter:

> . . . from the letters the Bishop wrote me and from conversations with him, as well as from letters written to me by

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[1] Reardon, op. cit., pp. 45-46.

[2] Cited in Reardon, op. cit., Belcourt to Cazeau, December 23, 1838, p. 47.

[3] Ibid., p. 47.

> Father Belcourt, I am led to believe that this charge was due solely to Father Belcourt's wish to have his own way in everything. . . Father Belcourt thinks that in order to convert the Chippewas it is necessary above everything else to erect a church; the Bishop on the contrary, maintains it is necessary to begin by making christians. In his letter of July 25 the Bishop says that Father Belcourt wishes to erect a mission without going to the trouble of having christians, and wants to build a chapel to make converts, whereas he should have converts before building.[1]

Father Belcourt was the subject of another letter a few days later, this one from Bishop Provencher to Bishop Turgeon. The comments made about Father Belcourt clearly reveal that all was not well at Red River. Says Provencher:

> Like others I was taken with him in the beginning. The priests who left here have given you the impression that I am a destroyer rather than a builder. They themselves did not do wonders while here, nor anything for the Indians. . . The priests who came here had no intention of remaining. . . Father Belcourt wrote Miss Nolin to get the savages to send a petition to Archbishop of Quebec urging his return. The letter was supposed to be a secret. . . I don't expect Father Belcourt to consult me about anything of his bombastic style of writing. . . You say he should encourage the savages to farm. He has never taken the trouble to do so, nor left his house to encourage them by his presence or his teaching. I have given him all the potatoes and the barley he asked for. . . This year I encouraged them to plant seed or at least fence in their fields and I paid a man to do the work. It is thus he has trained a race of sluggards who expect their missionaries

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[1]Cited in Reardon, op. cit., Bishop Bourget of Montreal to Bishop Turgeon of Quebec, January 12, 1839, p.48.

to do everything for them.[1]

In another letter to the Archbishop of Quebec, dated August 6, 1838, Provencher wrote:

> The salvation of the savages is jeopardized by his departure. . . He will never be a great missionary but he can render good service as a teacher of the language. . . God could not bless a work not done in accordance with the established order. He has done little in his missions except to erect unnecessary buildings. He works like a day laborer and leaves the instruction to Miss Nolin. He is full or projects to publish his grammer but no one on the mission can read and such a book is of no value. . . and yet, withal, no one can replace him.[2]

While at Pointe Levis, Belcourt supervised the printing of his catechism with hymns and prayers in the Chippewa language and the publishing of his Chippewa dialect.[3] He left Quebec for Red River on April 18, 1839, and arried on June 4. He was again at Baie St. Paul on the Assiniboine at the beginning of July. Almost immediately after his return he began on several extensive missionary journeys, preaching to the bands of Indians wherever he found them. He visited such places as Rainy Lake, Fort Alexander, Duck Bay, Lake Manitoba, Wabassimong, Rat Portage, Swan River, Pelican River, Qu'Appelle River

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[1] B.S.H.S.B., op. cit., Vol. III, Provencher to Archbishop Signay, Red River, August 6,1838, pp. 172-4

[2] Loc. cit.

[3] Reardon, op. cit., p. 51.

and The Pas.[1] On November 29, 1840, he wrote to Father Cazeau that he had just completed the visitations of his mission and was very tired.[2] In September, 1841, he met several Swampy Cree Indians at Pelican River, north of Swan River, who listened attentively to what he had to say. "On the 17th he camped on Swan River where he taught the savages and half-breeds, using an illustrated Bible which he found useful as it appealed to the eye. These savages agreed to complete their instructions as soon as a priest came."[3] Belcourt also paid visits to the Indians along the shores of Lake Manitoba and was the founder of Baie des Canards mission. While encamped on the shores of this lake in 1838, 1840, and in 1841, numerous Indians were instructed by him.[4]

Back at Baie St. Paul, the mission work was beginning to suffer. Father Belcourt spent very little time at the mission he had begun. Most of his days were spent travelling to various little Indian settlements. The fate of the Indian missions depressed him. Reardon says:

> The solicitude of all the churches weighed heavily on him. . . The attitude

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[1] Ibid., pp. 54-58.

[2] Loc. cit.

[3] Cited in Reardon, op. cit., pp. 63-64.

[4] Ibid.,p..62.

> of the Bishop who should have been most encouraging, was harder to bear than anything else except the prospect of a continuance of it, and the necessity of funds to meet expenses.[1]

Bishop Provencher seems to have been anxious for the mission at Baie St. Paul to discontinue. In a letter to Archbishop Signay, dated July 1841, he wrote:

> If I did as I wished at St. Paul I would not undertake to repair, much less to complete the chapel. I'd let it be as it is till it falls down which won't be long. . . He intends to finish the basement for an industrial school to make linen from nettles and cloth out of buffalo hairs, without reflecting that he has not the essentials of success - teachers and pupils. He is worse off this year since Angeline Nolin left him. . .[2]

In the fall of 1845, Father Belcourt followed the Natives annual buffalo hunt into the Turtle Mountains and south thereof as their chaplain, during which he said mass daily and taught catechism to sixty children.[3] Just prior to his departure for the hunt he wrote Father Cazeau:

> . . . My school teacher (Miss Nolin) has entered the novitiate and will be a good subject as she speaks Chippewa and Cree to perfection as well as French. She understands English. I'll be alone now and will have no one to leave at my

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[1] Ibid., p. 56.

[2] B.S.H.S.B., op. cit., Vol. III, Provencher to Signay, July 23, 1841, p. 194.

[3] Reardon, op. cit., p. 68.

> mission when I am away. I have asked that a sister and a novice be sent to teach catechism but they are too few for the work even at the Forks, where there are only four sisters and six novices.[1]

After his return from the buffalo hunt in the late autumn of 1845, Belcourt spent the winter at St. Boniface where he again taught the missionaries the Chippewa language. Among his pupils was Father Alexander Antonin Tache.[2] Commenting on Belcourt's instruction at St. Boniface and his teaching abilities Reardon writes:

> Father Belcourt was an excellent teacher when away from Baie St. Paul where material things absorbed his attention. Teacher and pupils rivalled one another in the ardor of work. Classes were held twice a day and serious study filled the rest of the time. Every subject but Chippewa was banned and the progress was rapid. The Bishop's residence, filled to overflowing, was a beehive of industry.[3]

In 1846, he again accompanied the Natives on their annual buffalo hunt to the south during which he taught catechism to one hundred children and baptized fourteen Indians.[4] That same year he had also planned to visit the bands of Indians he had previously visited in various

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[1] B.S.H.S.B., op. cit., Vol. III, Belcourt to Cazeau, September 7, 1845, p. 241.

[2] The Grey Nuns and the Oblates arrived at Red River in 1844 and 1845 respectively.

[3] Reardon, op. cit., p.73.

[4] Ibid., p. 74.

places of Manitoba territory. Time did not permit him to do so; however, Father Belcourt was recalled in 1847 to Quebec because of the role he played in drafting the petition to the British government on behalf of the Natives who, he felt, were persecuted by the Hudson's Bay Company.

In 1845, soldiers had been despatched to warn the Natives that they no longer would be permitted to stage the annual buffalo hunt, keep pelts or use them as medium or exchange and barter except with the permission of the Company. No one could sell or even possess furs unless sanctioned by the Company nor could the missionaries accept furs for religious services or for the church. It was a criminal offence to buy furs from Indians or to possess furs that had not been bought from the Hudson's Bay Company at its own price.[1] Governor Simpson wrote the Archbishop of Quebec demanding Belcourt's recall.[2] Thus, with the returning of Belcourt to Quebec, came the close of the mission at Baie St. Paul.

Commenting on the Baie St. Paul mission, Alexander Ross wrote:

> Mr. Belcourt, with other priests to assist him, from time to time, laboured here for a number of years very zealously

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[1] Ibid., p. 79-80

[2] Ibid., p. 84.

> so far as the use of books went; but this was all. It is no wonder, therefore, that he laboured without results. Religion alone had no attractions in it for hungry savages. Rather than cling to it as good, they turned from it as an evil. Had there been one or two good practical farmers attached to the mission, they would have done more real good in keeping the Indians together. . . When the Indians had anything to eat, they heard mass, sent their children to school, and attend church; but the moment a new supply of food was required, they dispersed in all directions, according to their usual habits, leaving Mr. Belcourt to read and pray alone, and months frequently elapsed before they could again be reassembled... After fifteen years' experience, therefore, the mission was broken up, the church demolished, and the houses abandoned. The Indians, thrown back again upon their native woods and plains, were as wild and ignorant as ever. . .[1]

At a later date, however, the people remaining at the settlement of Baie St. Paul were moved to a new settlement known as St. Eustache and which was nearby.

Duck Bay and The Pas Missions

The place of Baie des Canards or Duck Bay was first visited in 1840 by Father Belcourt. Morice says that "Belcourt . . . inaugurated it during the first week of October, 1840 . . . by the erection of a large cross".[2] Writing

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[1]Ross, op. cit., p. 287.

[2]Morice, op. cit., p. 161, St. Paul's Mission, November 29th, 1840.

to Father Cazeau on November 29, 1840, he mentions that "during his visit to Duck Bay he heard the confessions of seven Metis and thirty-three savages and baptized several infants under seven years of age".[1] That winter, Provencher assigned Duck Bay to Father Thibault; he did not get there however, as he went on a mission to the Athabasca country.[2] During the spring of 1842, Father Darveau was sent instead of Thibault to inaugurate his ministry at Duck Bay.[3] Morice comments:

> The young missionary was pained to see that an Anglican clergyman, the very first who moved a foot on behalf of the Indians since the departure of Mr. West in 1823, was starting in the neighborhood an opposition station, which contributed not a little to bewilder the natives and make uncertain their line of conduct they should adopt.4

While there "he spent his time in instructing such Indians as would listen to him."[5] After the brief stay at Duck Bay, Darveau, according to Reardon:

> . . . repaired to Le Pas, . . . where the savages were accustomed to assemble. Here he encountered a non-Catholic catechist named Henry Budd, a full-

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[1] Cited in Reardon, op. cit., p. 56.

[2] Ibid., p. 57.

[3] Reardon, op. cit., p.61.

[4] Morice, op. cit., p. 162.

[5] Ibid., p. 176.

> blooded Indian, consumed with hatred of the missionary and of Catholicity, who convinced the Indians that Father Darveau was a "windigo", one possessed of an evil spirit and a messenger of Satan. The Indians, misled by such teaching, decided to kill the priest.
>
> Father Darveau spent five weeks at Le Pas and planted a cross on the site of the church he proposed to build. He baptized forty-five persons. . . He promised to come back next year. . .[1]

Darveau returned to St. Boniface and again left for Duck Bay in the month of March, 1843. After a brief stay at Duck Bay where he again instructed the Indians before he left for The Pas in June, 1844.[2] It is on this journey to The Pas that he met with death. In a letter to Archbishop Signay, Provencher comments on the tragedy:

> People have come from the end of Lake Winnipeg to tell me that Darveau has been drowned, as well as the two men he had with him. He had left this place (St. Boniface) during the month of March, so that he might have some time to instruct the Indians at Duck and proceed, on the breaking up of the ice, to Le Pas, a mission he opened last year. . .[3]

Morice claims that Darveau was murdered by a Muskegong Indian with the name of Shetakon, "the missionaries

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[1] Reardon, op. cit., p.61

[2] Morice, op. cit., p. 179.

[3] Cited in Morice, op. cit., pp. 173 - 174. Provencher to Signay, July 29th, 1844.

unfaithful servant of the preceeding summer".[1] Father Belcourt, however, believed that Darveau's death was an accident. Writing from Baie St. Paul to Father Cazeau on August 25, 1845, Belcourt says:

> Perhaps you have heard a rumour current here that Father Darveau was murdered by savages. Don't believe it - I know all the savages of that locality. I have conversed with them on the subject. I have viewed the scene of the accident and I assure you the report is not true.[2]

Attempts were made to continue the mission at Duck Bay after Darveau's death, but it was abandoned in 1850. In a letter to Cazeau, Father Belcourt "relates about a trip he made to Duck Bay and Le Pas a few months after Father Darveau's death to stir up the neophytes and cathechumens and provide for the continuation of the work."[3] In 1845, Lafleche also visited the ill-starred post of Duck Bay. There he taught and catechized a band of Indians for two months with little success.[4] In 1850, Father Bermond unsuccessfully tried to evangelize the Saulteaux at Duck Bay. He made an attempt to relocate them on Lake Manitoba but:

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[1] Ibid., p. 179.

[2] Cited in Reardon, op. cit., p. 62.

[3] Cited in Reardon, op. cit., p. 62, Belcourt to Cazeau, St. Paul des Saulteaux, October 25, 1844.

[4] Morice, op. cit., p. 204.

> the old animus instilled in their minds was persisting, and it is said that, on one occasion, Father Bermond's life was even in danger with them.[1]

The missions at Duck Bay and The Pas befell the same fate as that at Baie St. Paul; that is, they also fell into a state of decay. All three missions had been good footholds for the Catholics but now were reduced to almost nothing.[2] Any attempts at instruction of the Natives in these missions were all of a religious nature, preparing children and adults alike for admission to the Catholic Church. Typifying a missionary's activities among the Indians are comments found in Father Thibault's letter to Provencher.

> The zeal of these poor Indians to hear the word of God and learn how to serve Him is extreme. . . Day and night they were busy repeating the prayers and instructions. Hence I left them with a knowledge of the Our Father, Hail Mary, the Creed, and the way of reciting the beads. . . All understood and can explain the chief points of the Catholic Ladder.[3]

After the closure of the missions at Duck Bay and Baie St. Paul, the missionary activities to the Indians in Manitoba territory were curtailed for a while. Part of

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[1] Ibid., p. 230.

[2] Reardon, op. cit., p.66.

[3] Cited in Morice, op. cit., p. 199, Thibault to Provencher, Lake Ste. Anne, December 23, 1844.

the reason was an acute shortage of priests, who it appears were reluctant to come to the north-west. In 1844, Provencher had only four priests at his disposal, one of which would return to eastern Canada the next year. The other three priests devoted their lives exclusively for the salvation of the Indians in the west.[1]

The Oblates

In 1845, Provencher succeeded in obtaining the Oblates of Mary Immaculate to come to Red River. "They were by profession missionaries to the poor."[2] The first two to arrive were Rev. Casimir Aubert and Rev. Alexander Antonin Tache. Tache succeeded Provencher as Bishop in 1853. "For the next seventeen years not one secular priest was to come to the west who did not soon after join the ranks of the Oblates".[3] Lysecki says that:

> The Oblates went among the Indians of Western Canada and opened missions and schools. The latter almost always formed part of the priest's undertakings among the Indians. Today in Northern Manitoba, wherever Catholic Missions are found, they are in charge of Oblate priests.[4]

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[1] Ibid., p. 187.

[2] Ibid., p. 190.

[3] Ibid., p. 195.

[4] Lysecki, John Edward, Education in Manitoba - North of 53, M.Ed. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1936.

The establishement of Catholic missions in Northern Manitoba was again zealously persued in the 1880's when Bishop Charlebois began schools in The Pas and other northern points. Missionaries such as Belcourt and Darveau, were the forerunners of these northern mission stations. Back in St. Boniface, Provencher, according to Newfield was "the self made head of a regular school system comprising teachers of both sexes."[1] Father Thibault had taken over the teaching responsibility from Provencher, who looked after administrative and supervisory duties. In 1838, a School of Industry was organized. For this purpose:

> The Hudson's Bay Company authorized a grant of one hundred pounds to the mission, an allowance of tea, sugar and other luxuries, and payment of the salaries of two women brought by the Bishop from Quebec in 1838 to teach the colonists the art of weaving, on condition that the mission furnish them with board and lodging. This latter arrangement continued in force until the factory with all its contents was destroyed by fire on March 21, 1839.[2]

And thus the initial efforts at an industrial school were ruined.

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[1] Newfield, George M. The Development of Manitoba Schools Prior to 1870. M.Ed. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1937, p. 51.

[2] Reardon, op. cit., p. 26.

The Grey Nuns

In 1843, one year prior to the coming of the Oblate to the west, the Grey Nuns came to Red River after Provencher appealed for help. They were to be remarkably successful in their role as educators. Bishop Provencher was authorized by Mgr. Bourget to ask the Sister of Charity (or Grey Nuns) to come to Red River, and on October 2, 1842, he made this request to Sister Superior, Elizabeth Forbes McMullen, and drew up the contract.[1] In the contract between the Catholic Church at Red River and the Grey Nuns, Provencher stated:

> For several years I have hoped to procure religious people in order to give the girls a solid education in religion and in other branches, which had formerly been given by the mothers of the families, to encourage industry, to be able to weave cloth and sew, for the women of Red River are ignorant of this, for they never had any means to learn.[2]

The first four sisters to arrive were, Marie-Louise Valade, Marie-Eulalie Legrave, Anastasie-Gertrude Coutlee and Marie-Edwigie LaFrance. The Grey Nuns were to set up school for all segments of the population and within a few weeks

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[1] Extrait des Archives de la Maison Provinciale, des Soeurs Grises de Saint-Boniface, (Hereafter E.G.N.A.S.B.) Accord entre Monseigner Provencher et les Soeurs Grises, 2 Octobre 1893. (Translated).

[2] Loc. cit.

of their arrival Sister LaFrance was operating an elementary class of girls. Sister Lagrave gave musical instructions and Coutlee had a class of boys.[1] The enrollment of students of Native ancestry was high. "Fifty-four girls, mostly half-breeds of Cree, Saulteaux or Sioux extraction, attended classes in the old stone house occupied by the Sisters."[2] The Grey Nuns carried out their educational work until the turn of the century and had up to one-hundred boys under their instructions.[3]

A letter written by Sister Superior Valade to Mother McMullen, and the Sisters in Montreal gives the readers an insight into the sisters' activities. She commented:

> The school goes well. Our children learn and profit from the instructions that we give them. There are some small ones of four and five years that can recite their prayers and catechism marvelously. When I examine them, they are proud to reply to the question I ask, also I cannot leave them without rewarding them to some degree. They are also very regular in assisting the officials of the parish. We have the custom to distribute to those who do not know how to read, the rosary in order for them to understand the Mass. . .[4]

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[1] Tomorrow's Past, ed. by the Canadian College of Teachers, Manitoba Chapter, Winnipeg: 1971, p. 13, Article written by Anne M. Loutit.

[2] Ibid., p. 13.

[3] Ibid., p. 14.

[4] E.G.N.S.B., op. cit., Soeur Valade A'Mere McMullen November 23, 1846.

The Grey Nuns were soon to extend their teaching and benevolence beyond Red River. The Pembina Natives, who had chosen to relocate at White Horse Plains after 1823, were now established. At the demand of Bishop Provencher, Father Destroismaisons vistied them three years later in 1828, and Father Harper constructed the first church.[1] In 1834, Governor Simpson, who seems delighted with the new settlement wrote:

> . . . upwards of Fifty families of Half-breeds and Freemen. . . have commenced their agricultural operations on a small scale and received every facility we could render . . . The Catholic Mission enters warmly into this plan; they have much influence over those people and Mons. Picard the priest is to be established among them this summer so that I trust the plan will be attended with beneficial effects and meet your honor's approbation.[2]

As early as 1829, the mission at White Horse Plains had been placed under the patronage of St. Francois-Xavier.[3] Three years later, Rev. Charles Edouard Poire began his ministry there, and, by 1834, he had decided that the mission should be permanent.[4] Poire left in 1837. Belcourt and some of his colleagues, namely Fathers Thibault and Boucher, however, appear to have made periodic visits to

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[1] Ibid., La Prairie du Cheval Blanc - St.Francis Xavier.

[2] MacLeod, M.A. & Morton, W.L., Cutbhert Grant of Grantown, Toronto: 1963, pp. 88-89.

[3] Norton, op. cit., p. 44. Dumoulin to Plessis.

[4] Morice, op. cit., p. 141.

the mission until Lafleche took over in the late 1840's. With the arrival of the Grey Nuns in 1844, the St. Francis mission became one of their first targets. It was not until 1850, however, that the Sisters of Charity went to St. Francois-Xavier. Mother Valade returned from her first voyage to Canada, in 1850, with a couple of recruits.[1]

The presence of the sisters at St. Francois-Xavier was urgent. Monsignor Provencher, who above all wanted to give a Christian education to the young, made himself useful to Mr. Lafleche, then priest of the district and aksed Mother Valade to send two sisters to the White Horse Plains to teach school children of both sexes. Mother Valade and her counsellors agreed to this request. Sisters LaGrave and LaFrance accepted the responsibility of opening the mission without resources, saying pleasantly: "It is up to us to go since we are more used to the fatigue and privations than our younger sister." [2]

On November 5, 1850, "strong in devotion and in charity, our two sisters left the house of St. Boniface, where their work was beginning to pay off, to go and give themselves to this first foundation outside of St. Boniface".[3]

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[1] E.G.N.S.B., op. cit., an article entitled, "La Prairie du Cheval Blanc-St. Francois Xavier."

[2] Loc. cit.

[3] Loc. cit.

Upon arriving, they lodged themselves in the ancient presbytery built by Mr. Poire, the first resident priest. Their classes were almost immediately filled up with children anxious to see the sisters who were called "the women of the prayer. . ."[1] "They learned therefore to speak, read and sing in French since most of them knew nothing but the Cree and Saulteaux".[2] Mr. Lafleche also confided in them the care of the sacristy and the presbytery and like veritable girls of Mother d'Youville, the sisters, since the start, visited the poor and nursed the sick back to health. In a nation of missions, the priests, often absent, counted on the sisters to take their place. Perhaps the sisters from St. Francois-Xavier deserved the title of "small vicars" that the missionaries found pleasing to give them.[3] Here is what Mother Valade wrote to the Mother House on the following 25th of November:

> On Nov. 5, our sisters went to take possession of the school of White Horse and started the task of teaching the Metis and savages from around. . . On the 20th of November they had 24 children at school. Our sisters got a little bored in their new home, but now they are quite pleased. I hope they do some good, at least they will discourage the wolves who introduced themselves in this part of the country.[4]

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[1] Loc. cit.

[2] Loc. cit.

[3] Loc. cit.

[4] E.G.N.A.S.B., op. cit., Sister Valade to Mother House, St. Boniface, November 5, 1851.

And so, in 1850, the first house of Grey Nuns was opened outside of St. Boniface. During more than a century they devoted themselves to the task of educating the children of the parish of St. Francois-Xavier, most of whom were of Native ancestry.

The Grey Nuns extended their work to numerous other locations. In 1844-45, Sr. LaGrave and a small girl opened a small school at River Sale (St. Norbert) and instructed twenty-four boys the basic tenets of the Christian faith. In 1857, St. Norbert was formally organized as a parish the first father being Rev. Lestanc. On December 29, 1858, two nuns, Sisters Laurant and Dandurand, began instructing there. The sisters had a class of approximately sixty children of both sexes and mostly Metis.[1]

On September 18, 1860, Sisters Connelly and L' Esperance opened a mission in St. Vital. The educational work there was carried on till 1886.[2]

Soon after that, classes were opened at St. Charles, west along the Assiniboine. There, approximately forty pupils were taught, not by nuns but by two ex-pupils of the

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[1] E.G.N.S.B., op. cit., Album commemorating the Grey Nuns arrival in St. Norbert.

[2] Ibid., Pamphlet: Ecole De Saint Vital, 1844-1944, written by Sister Mary Guichon in 1944.

Sisters of Charity, Mademoiselle Adeline Dauphinais and Mlle. Marie Riel, sister of Louis Riel.[1]

Bishop Tache, as time went on, became convinced that a Catholic school should be established on the west bank of the Red River. Governor McTavish and his wife gave support and material assistance in obtaining a building and on May 1, 1869, Ecole Sainte-Marie was opened, not far from Fort Garry. Here instruction was given in English by Sisters MacDougall and Saint-Therese. "It was Ecole Sainte-Marie, established by the Grey Nuns, which evolved into the present St. Mary's Academy."[2] The Grey Nuns were lauded for their quality of instruction at Red River and surrounding area. Two men, Mr. S.J. Dawson, head of a party of civil engineers from Upper Canada and the man for whom Dawson Road is named, and the Earl of Southesk, were impressed with the quality and level of instruction provided by the Grey Nuns. Mr. Dawson, in 1858, commented:

> The Grey Nuns. . . devote themselves to the instruction of children of mixed origin and the effects of their zeal, piety and unfailing industry are manifest in the social improvement of the race for whose benefit they are content to lead a life of toil and privation.[3]

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[1] Tomorrow's Past, op. cit., p. 17.

[2] Loc. cit.

[3] Cited in Tomorrow's Past, op. cit., p. 16.

During the eighteen fifties and sixties other small settlements developed "crude" educational systems. In 1859, at Pointe-des-Chenes or Oak Point, later known as Ste. Anne, instruction was begun among the Metis living there.[1] Another village, which had education introduced at that time was Lorette where Mm.Jean Baptiste Gauthier, of that community was teaching. She comments:

> I taught the children in the daytime and in the evening the married people. After five years at Lorette we moved to Ste. Anne where we were for ten years. And then we came back to Lorette. All the time I continued teaching.[2]

Many other small settlements that were newly formed and inhabited by people with Indian blood in their veins, began developing some forms of education prior to 1870 - St. Laurent is but one example. The teachers were usually priests or sisters and if not, the person was probably the product of education in a convent or mission school.

The Catholic missionaries were dedicated, zealous and persevering. It is difficult not to admire the religious people for their efforts whether or not it was in the best interests of the Natives of that particular time in history. Alexander Begg, in eulogizing the priests for

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[1] Morice, op. cit., p. 281.

[2] Cited in Healy, op. cit., pp. 117-118.

the educational efforts writes that:

> . . . the Catholic priests experienced many difficulties and being poor. . . What they lacked in means, however, they made up for by zealous perseverance, and gradually they made their way midst drawbacks and disappointments.[1]

Catholic efforts at Native education in the north-west prior to 1870 were clearly motivated by religion. Foremost in the missionaries educational plans and activities was the conversion of Natives to Roman Catholicism.[2] Bishop Plessis also realized the importance of producing candidates for the preisthood and for this purpose the classical college at St. Boniface was founded. Ironically, not one Native, converted to Catholicism in the entire north-west ever became a Catholic priest.[3] The writer was unable to discover why this was the case.

The missionaries also encouraged the Natives to settle in villages in pursuit of agriculture for a livlihood. Even in the village experiment, the religious motive was uppermost. To have Natives living a sedentary life in villages would facilitate their conversion through the establishment of churches and schools.[4] The curriculum of

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[1] Begg, Alexander, History of the North-West, Volume I, Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Co., 1894, pp. 281-282.

[2] See pp. 78-79.

[3] See p. 94.

[4] See pp 96-97.

the Catholic missionary school system was heavily weighted in religious indoctrination and the teaching of agriculture and European domestic skills. Obviously, the religious motive was first and foremost in any efforts that the Catholic missionaries put forth in Native education for the period and area in question.

One could probably say that from a missionary standpoint the Catholic Church was to a certain extent successful in their endeavors at Native education. The majority of the Natives, however, who were exposed to Catholic religious indoctrination and teaching would likely disagree.

CHAPTER VII

ANGLICAN EFFORTS AT NATIVE EDUCATION

Protestant interest in extending missions to Manitoba territory prior to 1870 was first shown by the Anglicans. The Church of England was sparked by the Evangelical movement at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Two Church societies supported by the Anglican Evangelicals - The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, formed in 1698, and The Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, formed in 1701 - were supplemented in 1799 by the formation of the Church Missionary Soceity.[1] This organization, whose program of propagating the Gospel extended throughout the world, became vitally interested in what now is Manitoba during the second decade of the nineteenth century. With the arrival of the Roman Catholic Church in Rupert's Land and the urgency with which the Hudson's Bay Company looked for a missionary to serve Protestant interests there, the doors were open to the Church Missionary Society in 1820 to extend their work to Hudson Bay Territory.

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[1] Fraser, William John, A History of St. John's College, Winnipeg, M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1966, pp. 3, 4.

According to Jaenen, the stimulant which activated Protestant missionary zeal towards the aborigines of Manitoba territory was the appointment of Catholic missionaries to Red River on April 20th, 1818.[1] One month later the Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, in a letter to James Bird, Chief Factor at Fort Douglas, expressed its concern over the inactivity of the Protestants in religious matters at Red River. They were extremely anxious to forward to Bird the views of those religious societies which were already established for the purpose of civilizing, educating and converting to Christianity Native Indians.[2] The Committee requested information on several matters and commented on activities of the societies in regard to Native education.

> The Committee would wish to be informed if any and what instances have occurred and under what circumstances any Indians have become reconciled to the habits of civilized life.
>
> Have any children of wild Indian parents become civilized and under what circumstances?
>
> Could the parents of Indian children be prevailed on to permit their children to be civilized and educated, would they allow them to be placed in Schools for the purpose, would

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[1] Jaenen, op. cit., p. 52.

[2] A.E.P.R.L., Carton, A., Folder 1008, Committee to James Bird, May 20, 1818, p. 98.

> they be satisfied with occasionaly visiting the children and could any number be so placed out and what would be the annual expense of clothing and feeding each child?
>
> The societies might be induced to send out Missionaries and School Masters if a sufficient number of children of the native Indians could be prevailed on to send their children but in no other case could the funds be applied.[1]

It would appear that in an effort to get religious personnel to Red River the honourable Company[2] looked to missionary societies, whose objective was to civilize, educate and convert Indians to Christianity. The Committee of the Company seemed to have been of the opinion that if enough Indian children could be persuaded to attend school, one of the societies would be induced to send out missionary teachers.[3] The Committee expressed the hope that such missionary teachers would serve, not only the Natives, but the people associated with the Company and the families of settlers:

> It would be of great importance to the families of settlers and inhabitants of the Bay if this plan could be sufficiently extended that they might have the

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[1] Loc. cit.

[2] The term "honourable Company" or "Company" refers to the Hudson's Bay Company in this thesis.

[3] A.E.P.R.L., Carton A., Folder 1008, Committee to James Bird, May 20, 1818, p. 98.

> advantage of religious instruction and education which such establishment might furnish under proper regulation but the first object must be the number of children of Native Indians who could be received for the purpose of civilizing and education.
>
> It is probable that this plan would be most likely to succeed in the neighbourhood of the Red River.[1]

The above correspondence also indicates that the Hudson's Bay Company Officials in London were in agreement with the policies of the religious societies; namely, that the priority of such an educational establishment would be the "civilization" and education of Native children.

In 1820, John West responded to an invitation of the Hudson's Bay Company to become chaplain to the Red River Settlement located in Rupert's Land and owed his appointment to "the joint efforts of the manager of the Company in London and the Church Missionary Society".[2] The Committee of the Company announced Rev. West's appointment thus:

> We have engaged the Reverend Mr. West to go out as clergyman of the Red River Settlement, and he will also afford such religious instruction and consolation to the servants of the Company as the nature of the country and other circumstances may permit. He

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[1] Loc. cit.

[2] A.E.P.R.L., Holcombe, Rev. J.J., Ed., Mission Life. Vol. VII - Part I, London: W.Wells Gardner, 1876, p. 1.

> purposes to establish and superintend Schools at the Settlement for the education of the youth of both sexes, which will be an advantage and convenience to our servants who may send their children there for education in place of their coming to this country at a much heavier expense. And you will make proper arrangements for his performing divine service during the short time he may be at York Factory. . .[1]

It is of interest to notice in the above announcement that no specific reference was made to Native people, rather, it seemed to be preoccupied with the settlers at Red River and the servants of the honourable Company. Mr. West, an ardent supporter of the Church Missionary Society,[2] to the contrary, clearly pointed out his obligations to the "native Indians" in writing about his instructions and responsibilities:

> In my appointment as Chaplain to the Company, my instructions were to reside at Red River Settlement; and under the encouragement and support of the Church Missionary Society, I was to seek the Instruction and to ameliorate the condition of the Native Indians.[3]

The writer, although not suggesting that this discrepancy had any significance at the time, does suggest, however, that possibly therein lay the seed for future conflict

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[1]A.E.P.R.L., Carton, A., Folder 1108, Committee to William Williams, May 25, 1820, p. 186.

[2]Boon, T.C.B., The Anglican Church From the Bay to the Rockies, Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1962, p. XV.

[3]John West, op. cit., p. 1

between Governor Simpson, the settlers and John West.[1]

John West set foot on North American soil at York Factory on August 15th, 1820.[2] Accompanying him from England was the schoolmaster, George Harbidge.[3] Shortly after landing at York Factory, Rev. West began pressing his policy of "instructing the Natives" into action. He wrote:

> Observing a number of half-breed children running about, growing up in ignorance and idleness; and being informed that they were a numerous offspring (sic) of Europeans by Indian women, and found at all the Company's Posts, I drew up a plan, which I submitted to the Governor, for collecting a certain number of them, to be maintained clothed, and educated upon a regularly organized system. . .
>
> I visited several Indian families, and no sooner saw them crowded together in their miserable looking tents, than I felt a lively interest, as I anticipated, in their behalf. . . I felt that it was peculiarly incumbent upon me to seek to ameliorate their sad condition, as degraded, emaciated, and wandering in ignorance. . . it appeared to me, that a wide and most extensive field, presented itself for cultivation in the instruction of the native children. With the aid of an Interpreter, I spoke to an Indian called Withaweecapo, about taking two of his boys to the Red River colony with me to educate and maintain. He yielded to my request; and I shall never forget the affectionate manner in which he brought the eldest in his arms, and placed him in the canoe on the morning of my departure.[4]

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[1] See page 173.

[2] Ibid., p. 12.

[3] Boon, op. cit., p.7.

[4] John West, op. cit., pp. 12, 13.

Before Mr. West left York Factory some efforts were made by Company officials at discouraging him from attempting to "civilize" the Natives. In his journal he stated:

> I was told of difficulties, and some spoke of impossibilities in the way of teaching them Christianity on the frist rudiments of settled and civilized life; but with a combination of opposing circumstances, I determined not to be intimidated, nor to "confer with flesh and blood", but to put my hand immediately to the plough, in the attempt to break in upon this heathen wilderness. . . it appeared to me, that a wide and most extensive field, presented itself for cultivation in the instruction of native children.[1]

Mr. West's number one priority from his outset at Red River appears to have been the evangelization and "civilization" of the Indians within and beyond the community of Red River. In a lengthy and judiciously written paper to the Church Missionary Society he outlined a proposal for promoting instruction among the Indians in Hudson Bay Territory. It was on the basis of this proposal that "the sum of 100 pounds was accordingly placed at Mr. West's disposal for the year 1820, to enable him to make trial of his proposed plan."[2] This proposal

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[1] Ibid., p. 14.

[2] A.E.P.R.L., Church Missionary Society Proceedings for 1819-1820, p. 219, (hereafter cited as C.M.S. Proceedings).

would seem to indicate that Mr. West not only had some knowledge of the Indians in Hudson Bay Territory and their ways but also had grandiose plans in "civilizing" the Native people through a systematic plan of education. Among the more important and enlightening aspects of the proposals are the following excerpts:

> In the Territories of the Hudson's Bay Company, an Establishment for the Instruction of the Indians might be formed with a prospect of more extensive success, than in any other part of the British Dominions in North America. . . numerous tribes are to be found, some of which are in circumstance highly favourable to their progress in civilization.
>
> . . . no effectual progress can take place in the civilization of the Indian, unless it be made by a whole tribe together; or at least by such a number as may form a society among themselves, and, by the effect of mutual example, preserve the improvements which they have acquired.
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> . . . The Indians who inhabit the territories of the Hudson's Bay Company are almost all wandering tribes or scattered families, that subsist entirely by hunting and fishing, and have no fixed habitations. . . To a set of people in this state the most important of all improvements would be, to make them apply to the cultivation of the ground, so that they might obtain a less precarious supply of provisions. This improvement naturally leads to the establishment of fixed habitations. . .
>
> . . . two different plans may be proposed. One is, to employ Missionaries to live among the wandering Indians, to gain their confidence, and to take every opportunity of persuading them to adopt the practices which are of most importance to their welfare. The other method is, to establish a School, in which Young Indians may be

instructed; and then sent back among their parents and friends, to practise the arts which they have been taught.

A combination of these two methods would certainly be more effectual, than either of them by itself. In some centrical situation, where provisions can be most easily procured, a School should be established for the instruction of the Youth; and, at the same time, opportunities may be found to impress on the Tribes at large, a sense of the importance of the objects recommened to them. . . Men, who obtain the benefit of instruction, will probably become leading men in their respective tribes; and their example may, therefore, have a very extensive effect.

In the education of these Indians, the course of instruction must be very different from that of an Ordinary School; and should approach more to the system of a School of Industry, in which agriculture and the mechanic arts must be among the principal objects.

. . . It is of great importance that the Young Men, who are educated at the proposed Establishment, should be conspicuously superior to those who have not had the benefit of instruction. They must not, therefore, be allowed to forget those accomplishments of savage life, without which they would be despised; they must be sent back, possessed of as much dexterity in hunting and fishing, as their companions; and their additional acquirements should be such as are most likely to be valued. Reading or writing will gain but little credit to one of these Young Men: but if he has learned to mend a gun, he will be highly respected in his tribe; and others will become ambitious of obtaining the same opportunities of improvement.

The English Language should be a primary object: both as it will serve as a vehicle for farther instruction; and as it will furnish a common medium of communication between the Indians of different nations.

To the study of English, may perhaps be added a little of reading and writing, with the first elements of arithmetic; but these

> are object of secondary consideration, and it may be a question, whether it would not be more prudent, to defer for some time any attempt to introduce this course of instruction. It must be kept in mind, that, among these Indians, the Youth are scarcely accustomed to the smallest degree of restraint from their parents; and it would hardly be possible to make them submit to that sort of control, which is exercised over Children in our Schools.
>
> . . . management of such an Institution will require talents of a very different class, from those of an Ordinary Schoolmaster. Much of the success of the plan will depend on its being entrusted to a man fully qualified for the task; and the salary ought, therefore, to be liberal. A knowledge of the languages spoken by the Indians in these Territories would be a desirable qualification. . . A man who is zealous in the undertaking may soon acquire a sufficient acquaintance with these dialects; and, in the mean time, he may have the assistance of subordinate teachers, who are familiar with the Indian languages.
>
> . . . The Children of the Company's European Servants cannot be received as free scholars, on the proposed establishment; but considerable advantages may arise, if a School for their instruction be connected with the Indian Establishment. Most of the Children of half-blood are acquainted both with the English Language, and with the dialect of some Native Tribe; so that they may save a great part of the expense of interpreters. . .[1]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 368-372.

The above proposals are indicative of considerable long-range planning and thought on the part of John West in regard to Native education in North America. Since he was the only Protestant missionary in the north-west in 1820, the plan whereby missionaries would live among the wandering Indians and teach them in the white man's ways could initially not be adopted.

Rev. John West adopted the method whereby "the North-American Indian of these regions would part with his children, to be educated in white man's knowledge and religion".[1] This in essence was the beginning of Indian residential schools in the north-west. The fact that Mr. West succeeded in fetching Withoweecap's two boys[2] to Red River from York Factory was very encouraging to him. He considered that he bore a pledge from the Indian that many more children would be sent to the planned educational establishment at Red River, to be formed in British Christian sympathy and British liberality, for their education and support. It is noteworthy to point out that in his Journal Mr. West was preoccupied with the gathering of Native children for his school; hardly did he mention his responsibilities

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[1] John West, op. cit., p. 15.

[2] They were later baptized as James and John Hope.

[3] John West, op. cit., pp. 14, 15.

as a chaplain to the Company and the settlers. At Norway House, on his way to Red River, John West succeeded in obtaining another boy for education at Red River. He was the son of a deceased Indian and a half-breed woman.[1] West immediately began teaching the three Indian boys in the way of Christianity. He writes that he taught the boys the morning and evening prayer -- "Great Father, bless me, through Jesus Christ".[2] Rev. West adds that:

> May a gracious God hear their cry, and raise them up as heralds of his salvation in this truly benighted and barbarous part of the world.[3]

His prayer was granted as all three boys grew up to be outstanding citizens in the north-west. James Hope was baptized on July 21, 1822, and John Hope was baptized a year later. Their Baptismal Entry Numbers at the old St. John's Cathedral in Winnipeg are 200 and 273 respectively. Both boys went to the Church Missionary School and were capable of reading the New Testament and repeating the Church of England Catechism. When they grew up, they entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company.[4] James Hope was reported as being at Red Deer Lake in 1853, instructing twenty-five children. . .[5]

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[1] Ibid., p. 16, This boy was later baptized as Henry Budd.

[2] Ibid., p. 17.

[3] John West, op. cit., p. 17.

[4] Boon, op. cit., p. 5.

[5] Arctic Correspondence, Hudson's Bay Record Society: Appendix, p. 399. Biography of James Hope.

There is some evidence that James and John Hope carried the Gospel into the Mackenzie River district.[1] Henry Budd was also baptized on July 21, 1822. Eighteen years later he became "the first native catechist and teacher at The Pas, and ten years after that, the first native deacon to be ordained by the first Bishop of Rupert's Land."[2]

Upon his arrival at the Forks, on the 14th day of October, West took up his abode at Fort Douglas, and there was no Protestant manse, school house, or church.[3] Mr. George Harbidge, the schoolmaster, took up his residence in an old repaired log-house about three miles below the Fort, where he began teaching between twenty to twenty-five children.[4] While Harbidge was teaching, Rev. West was experiencing difficulty in evangelizing the Natives, a factor which further motivated him to establish an educational institution for the Native children. He commented:

> I endeavoured to explain to them simply and faithfully the nature and object of that Divine ordinance; but found great difficulty in conveying to their minds any just and true ideas of the Saviour. . . This difficulty produced in me a strong desire to extend the blessing of education to them: and from this period it became a leading

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[1] Boon, op. cit., p. 204.

[2] Ibid., p. 6.

[3] John West, op. cit., p. 22.

[4] Loc. cit.

> object with me, to erect in a central situation, a substantial building, which should contain apartments for the schoolmaster, afford accomodation for Indian children, be a day-school for the children of the settlers, enable us to establish a Sunday School for the half-caste adult population. . . I became anxious to see such a building arise as a Protestant land-mark of Christianity in a vast field of heathenism and general depravity of manners, and cheerfully gave my hand and my heart to perfect the work.[1]

He planned to proceed with the erection of such an educational institution the following spring in spite of more discouragements. On May 10th, 1821, he wrote:

> The plains have been on fire to a considerable extent for several days past, and the awful spectacle is seen this evening, through the whole of the northern, and western horizon. Idle rumours prevail that the Sioux Indians will attack the Settlement; which unhappily unsettled the minds, and interrupt the industry of the colonists. But none of these things move me, in carrying on my plans and making arrangements to erect a substantial building, sixty feet by twenty. The Red River appears to me, a most desirable spot for a Missionary establishment, and the formation of schools; from whence Christianity may arise, and be propagated among the numerous tribes of the north.[2]

The initial progress that the children made in the little log school under Harbidge was satisfactory in

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[1] Ibid., p. 26, 27.

[2] Ibid., p. 58.

the opinion of Rev. West. On one occasion after having visited the school he commented:

> I went to the school this morning. . . and was much pleased at the progress which they had already made in reading. . . I distributed to those who could read a little book, as a reward for their general good conduct in the school.[1]

A few months later he recorded that:

> . . . more than one hundred of them assembled at the Fort for divine service; and their children from the school were present for public examinations. They gave general satisfaction in their answers to questions from the "Chief Truths of the Christian Religion, and Lewis's Cathechism. . . .[2]

This elementary school "established by Rev. West at Red River for the instruction of a few Indian boys was the germ whence originated all the Protestant schools and colleges in Manitoba at the present time.[3] Schools were recognized by the Church Missionary Society to be the most promising means of promoting the instruction of the Natives in the Territories of the Hudson's Bay Company,[4] and Mr. West was doing his utmost to bring them into his school. In the Journal which was forwarded to the Church Missionary

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[1] Ibid., p. 29.

[2] Ibid., p. 59.

[3] Gunn and Tuttle, op. cit., p. 201.

[4] C.M.S. Proceedings for 1821, p. 213.

Society, he repeatedly made reference to his frequent intercourse with the Indians, and to the favourable manner in which he was received by them.[1]

Rev. West made two missionary journeys in 1821 - the first one in January to Qu'Appelle followed by a second one to York Factory in August. The purpose of these journeys was to afford religious instructions and consolation to the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company and other inhabitants of the settlement.[2] His Journal, however, reveals that he was primarily concerned with obtaining Indian children for his school. The following excerpt from it illustrates one of the numerous occasions on which the missionary successfully obtained Indian children for this school as a result of his missionary journeys. On his return from Qu'Appelle in January, 1821, West recorded:

> As we were starting the next morning I observed a fine looking little boy standing by the side of the cariole, and told his father that if he would send him to me at the Settlement by the first opportunity, I would be as a parent to him, clothe him, and feed him, and teach him what I knew would be for his happiness, with the Indian boys I had already under my care.[3]

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[1] Ibid., p. 212.

[2] John West, op. cit., p. 30.

[3] Ibid., p. 41.

In May of that same year, Rev. West wrote:

> By the arrival of the boats from Qu'Appelle on the 25th, I received the little Indian boy. . . Thus was I encouraged in the idea, that native Indian children might be collected from the wandering tribes of the north, and educated in "the knowledge of the true God, and Jesus Christ whom he both sent".
>
> Every additional Indian child I obtained for this purpose, together with the great inconvenience of having no place appropriated for public worship, gave a fresh stimulus to exertion in erecting the proposed building.[1]

On June 4th, 1821, John West again revealed optimism in regards to the proposed Indian boarding school as he wrote:

> I have already some Indian Boys under my charge, with the promise of many more by their Parents, when I have an establishment for their reception. . . I am directing all the industry which I can command, in building a School 60 feet by 20 -- partitioning off each end for a Schoolmaster and a Hunter -- as an Establishment for them. . .[2]

The boarding school for the Indians did not materialize that year. In late November, 1821, Mr. West reported:

> I have been greatly disappointed in not having the building so far finished, as to have accommodated the schoolmaster with a residence, . . . He is now resident with the Indian boys, at the Post which formerly belong to the North West Company.[3]

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[1] Ibid., p. 59.

[2] C.M.S. Proceedings for 1821, p. 371.

[3] John West, op. cit., pp. 71, 72.

The following year, more Indian boys came to his school. In May, 1822, his Journal recorded:

> By the arrival of the boats from Qu'Appelle, I received another little Indian boy for admission into the school; and felt encouraged in the persuasion, that should we extend our travels among the Indians, and make known to them our simple object in visiting them as Missionaries, many probably among the different tribes who traded at the Company's Posts, would be gradually led to give up their children for education.[1]

In the same passage, he throws some light on the curriculum development at the school and spells out the primary object for teaching Indian boys:

> I had now several under my care, who could converse pretty freely in English, and were beginning to read tolerably well, repeating the Lords' prayer correctly. The primary object in teaching them, was to give them a religious education; but the use of the bow was not to be forgotten, and they were hereafter to be engaged in hunting. . . As agriculture was an important branch in the system of instruction, I had given them some small portions of ground to cultivate. . .[2]

Shortly hereafter, in June 1822, Rev. West clearly expressed optimism in his educational endeavour when he wrote:

> The axe, . . . is laid to the root of the tree, in the establishment of schools, as the means of instruction and of diffusing Christian knowledge in this moral wilderness; and we may anticipate the hope that numbers will arise to

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[1] Ibid., p. 91.

[2] Ibid., p. 95.

> enjoy what they are capable of feeling, the endearments of social life, as well as of moral and religious education.[1]

His second trip to York Factory took place in the late summer of 1822. He came in contact with the Indians at "Pinaymootang" (Partridge Crop):

> I left the colony. . . on the 22nd, on my annual visit to York Factory, taking the route of Manitoba Lake. . . A tribe of Indians, who traverse this part of the country, have gardens in which they grow potatoes and pumpkins; . . .[2]

Mr. West was of the opinion that the Indians here under the superintendence of a Missionary would soon "become so far civilized, as to promote the formation of a school among them for the education of their children".[3] Abraham Cowley went to that neighbourhood in 1842 and began a church and school. Later it was renamed "Fairford" after the town of Cowley's birthplace in Gloucestershire, England.[4] On this trip Rev. West gained another pupil for his school when within about fifty miles of York Fork, two Indians paddled their canoe to the side of the boat and requested that he would take a little boy who was with them under his charge.[5] Shortly thereafter, while at York

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[1] Ibid., p. 97.

[2] Ibid., p. 97.

[3] Loc. cit.

[4] A.E.P.R.L., Stock, Eugene, History of the Church Missionary Society, Vol. I, London: 1899, p. 364.

[5] John West, op. cit. p. 98.

Factory he "obtained a little boy and girl from an Indian tent" to accompany Elizabeth Bowden, the newly arrived teacher to Red River.[1] Miss Bowden had been recruited for the purpose of instructing Native girls at Red River.[2] George Harbidge was married to Elizabeth Bowden on October 22, 1822, and they continued to look after the school until their return to England in 1825.[3]

Harbidge's request for materials will englighten the reader as to the school's curriculum:

> N.B. By another year, we shall stand in need of a quantity for part I of the Sunday School Union Spelling book; Sunday School Hymn books (Silver Street, as we have them already in use); slate pencils; strong sewing needles, various sizes, strong thread, white and black; netting needles and worsted, buttons; two pr. large scissors, etc. etc. And it would be much to the benefit of the Institution to send cloth, blankets, soap, and other necessary articles for the use of the children.[4]

West, greatly encouraged at the progress made by the girls, reported:

> The little girls, I observed, would be taught to knit, and make articles of clothing to wear, like those which white people wore; and all would be led to read the Book that the Great Spirit had given to them. . .[5]

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[1] Ibid., p. 100.

[2] Ibid., p. 103.

[3] Boon, op. cit., p. 7.

[4] A.E.P.R.L., Mission Book, Incoming Letters, 1822-1833, Harbidge to Secretary, July 1823, p. 14.

[5] John West, op. cit., p. 103.

Thus, Native children continued to flow into the mission school. Upon passing Chief Pegowys'[1] encampment, where Netley Creek enters the Red River, on his return from York Factory he assured the Chief through the aid of an interpreter that:

> . . .many, very many in my country wished the Indians to be taught white man's knowledge of the Great Spirit, and as a proof of their love to them, my countrymen had told me to provide for the clothing, maintenance, and education of many of their children. . .[2]

Mr. West seemed to make a special effort at obtaining girls for the school to learn European domestic skills:

> . . . a poor Indian widow with five children, asked me to admit two of the boys into the school, which I immediately did, and particularly wished her to leave the two girls also, one about six and the other eight years of age; but she would not comply with my request.[3]

There is also some evidence of adult education being carried on at the mission school establishment and as West wrote: "Several adult married Indian women attended the Sunday School, with many half-caste children to be taught to read and to receive religious instruction. . ."[4]

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[1] Ibid., p. 62. Chief Pigewis was "the chief of the Red River Indians.

[2] Ibid., p. 103.

[3] Ibid., p. 142.

[4] Ibid., p. 130.

There was also much religious dissention between the Catholics and the Anglicans. A development, based on rumours centered around religious animosity, led to circumstances that seemingly convinced Rev. West that children obtained for the mission school should henceforth come from beyond the colony:

> I was informed the Catholics were prejudicing her mind against the school; and that some of the women of that persuasion had told her, that I was collecting children from the Indians with the intention of taking them away to my country. This idea was spread amongst them, and an Indian calling at my residence told me that he would give his boy to the school, if I would not leave them. . . In vain did I tell him, that in going home to see my wife and children I should be glad to return and bring them with me, to assist me in teaching. . . He was not satisfied and took his boy away. . . The Saulteaux woman took her two boys away clandestinely, saying, as I was afterwards informed, that "they would be all the same as dead to her, if what she had heard was true,". . . These circumstances, convinced me that it would be far better to obtain children for the school, from a distance than from the Indians in the immediate neighbourhood of the colony, as all those children who were under our charge, and whose parents were more remote, soon became reconciled to restraint, and were happy on the establishment. This desirable object might soon be obtained by visiting the different tribes of Indians, more especially were there a powerful interest excited in favour of the Native School Establishment at Red River, by the officers at the different trading Posts.[1]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 143, 144.

He never had the occasion to pursue this policy as shortly hereafter he left for York Factory not to return. Nine days prior to his final departure from Red River Rev. West reported on the progress that had been made:

> I have been adding two small houses to the Church Mission School, as separate sleeping apartments for the Indian children, who have already made most encouraging progress in reading, and a few of them in writing. In forming this Establishment for their religious education, it is of the greatest importance that they should be gradually inured to the cultivation of the soil, and instructed in the knowledge of agriculture. . . I have allotted a small piece of ground for each child. . . It is through these means of instruction that a change will be gradually effected in the character of the North American Indian.[1]

Rev. West also accomplished the establishing of a church building during his stay at the Forks. He wrote:

> I considered it as a small point gained, to have a public building dedicated to religion, whose spire should catch the eye both of the wandering natives and the stationary colonists.[2]

On June the 10th, 1823, John West departed for York Factory. He was to spend his last two months on North-American soil amongst the Esquimaux people in what is today northern Manitoba. Reverend West, on his 1822

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[1] Ibid., pp. 150, 151.

[2] Ibid., p. 156.

journey to York Factory, had met an Esquimaux by the name of Augustus, who had accompanied Captain Franklin on the Northern Land Expedition.[1] Rev. West wrote of him:

> He often came to my room, and interested me with his conversation in English, which was tolerably well understood by him, from the instructions he had received during his travels. He belongs to a tribe that annually visits Churchill Factory, from the northwest; and often assures me, that "Esquimaux want white man to come and teach them. . .[2]

Mr. West also met with the officers of the expedition at that time:

> I have had much pleasure in meeting with Captain Franklin and Dr. Richardson, of the Northern Land-Expedition; and rejoice in their testimony in favour of educating the Native Children. They have promised to call at the Church Missionary House, and have expressed much interest in behalf of the Esquimaux Indians. These have been the frequent subject of our conversation; and there appears a good opening for establishing a School among them, about 150 miles north of Churchill, in Hudson's Bay. If practicable, I hope to visit one of the Chiefs, next Spring, before my return to England; he is supposed to be very desirous of having a White Man to instruct his Tribe. I shall rejoice if I can make any arrangement for the benefit of this interesting race.[3]

After his arrival at York Factory, what was to be his last trip there, he immediately made arrangements for fulfilling his mission to the Esquimaux.[4] Accompanied by

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[1] Ibid., p. 98.

[2] Loc. cit.

[3] C.M.S. Proceedings for 1822-1833, p. 192.

[4] John West, op. cit., p. 185.

an Indian they set off on their expedition to Churchill on July 11th,[1] 1823, and arrived there ten days later.[2] At Churchill, accompanied by his interpreter Augustus, he met numerous other Esquimaux leaders. While visiting an Esquimaux family with the name Achshannock, West had Augustus, who could write a little, demonstrate his skills:

> I gave him my pencil, that the others might see what I wished to teach the Esquimaux children, as well as to read white man's book, which told us true of the Great Spirit. . . The woman immediately caught up her little girl about five years of age, and holding her towards me manifested the greatest delight, with Achshannook, at the wish I had expressed of having the Esquimaux children taught to write and read the book.[3]

On another occasion, West spoke to an assembly of Esquimaux through his interpreter Augustus:

> . . . I spoke true, I did not come to their country, thinking it was better than mine, nor to make house and trade with them, but to enquire, and they must speak true, if they would like white man to make house and live amongst them, to teach their children white man's knowledge and of the Great and Good Spirit who made the world.[4]

Rev. West also visited Esquimaux several hundred miles north of Churchill and had plans of building schools amongst them:

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[1] Ibid., p. 159.

[2] Ibid., p. 167.

[3] Ibid., p. 173.

[4] Ibid., p. 177.

> . . . from the best information I could obtain, that the first attempt to form an establishment on the shores of the Bay, to educate the children of the Esquimaux, should be made at Knapp's Bay, as called by the Esquimaux, Aughlinatook.[1]

On his return from Knapp's Bay, Rev. West, had a conference with the Esquimaux of Seal River, about fifty miles north of Churchill, on the subject of teaching their children:

> I invited to my tent seven of the oldest men among them; and repeated to them the questions which I had put to the whole of them before. They expressed the same feelings in favour of instruction and a hope that I was not afraid to come to their country. . .[2]

Thus, Rev. West left the Esquimaux at Seal River on August 10th with the prospect of establishing an educational system amongst them in the future. He arrived at York Factory on August 18, and made final preparations for the departure to England. Here he met the Rev. Mr. Jones, his successor and fellow-labourer, who was on his way to Red River, and to whom he committed two more Indian boys of the "Chepewyan" tribe.[3] Just prior to his departure he made a recommendation on how to carry into effect the moral improvement of the country:

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[1] Ibid., p. 179.
[2] Ibid., p. 185.
[3] Ibid., p. 191.

> . . . it would be desirable that schools should be established at the Company's chief depots; where it is presumed provisions might be obtained, for the support at least of a limited number of the half-caste children. . .[1]

On September 10th, Rev. West embarked on board the ship Prince of Wales on her return to England.[2] Among the final words of his Journal were these:

> I have no higher wish in life, than to spend and be spent in the service of Christ, for the salvation of the North American Indians. . . A sanguine hope is entertained that several native Indian children from different nations will be added to the number of those already upon the Church Mission School established at the Red River.[3]

It is again evident from Mr. West's parting words above that his primary concern was the evangelization of Indians and that many of their children might be brought to the mission school for that purpose.

Rev. West planned to return to Red River after a brief furlough. In the words of the Church Missionary Society Committee:

> The Rev. John West is expected home in the latter part of this year, in order to fetch his family; his separation from whom,

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[1] Ibid., p. 192.

[2] Ibid., p. 193.

[3] Ibid., p. 210.

> for several years, with the view of laying the foundation of a mission to those wandering tribes, is a satisfactory pledge that his heart is engaged in the cause in which he has embarked.[1]

Contrary to his plan and desire, Rev. John West never did return to the mission in Hudson Bay Territory, which foundation he laid. During his incumbency he had fallen in disfavour with the Company servants and the Protestant settlers who lived at Red River.[2] It would appear that Governor Simpson, and some of his chief factors along with the settlers, were not satisfied with the services provided by the Rev. West as the chaplain to the Company servants and as clergyman to the settlers at Red River; in their opinion he had been too concerned with Native education. Although the Committee of the Company in London, which was responsible for recruiting Rev. John West, appears to have been in agreement with Rev. West in that his"first object must be the number of Native children of Native Indians who could be received for the purpose of civilization and instruction,"[3] the Company servants in Hudson Bay Territory, according to Rev. West felt that he carried this policy too far. He wrote:

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[1]C.M.S. Proceedings for 1822-1823, p. 191.

[2]The Protestant settlers were mostly Scottish and Presbyterian of faith.

[3]See pp. 148-149.

> It was. . . 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, as to the extent to which it might be carried. Though a few conversed liberally with me on the subject, there were others 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.[1]

Rev. West, however, had not been sympthetic with the views of those chief factors and traders so concerned and had failed to see or heed the "warning". He recorded:

> My reply to the contrary was, that if Christian knowledge were gradually diffused among the natives throughout the vast territory of the Hudson's Bay Company. . . it would best promote the honour and advantage of all parties concerned in the fur trade, and which I was persuaded was the general enlightened opinion of the Directors in London.[2]

The reply had been a direct challenge to the interests of the honourable Company, and Governor Simpson looked unkindly at anything that would threaten or disrupt the profitable fur trade. Simpson became reputed for taking precautionary measures whenever necessary, in order to guard and protect. the fur trading interest of the Company he served.[3] Further jeopardizing Rev. West's position with the Company personnel

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[1] John West, op. cit., p. 92.

[2] Loc. cit.

[3] The dismissal of Father Belcourt and James Evans for challenging the Company illustrates the point (see pages 128 and 238.)

had been his attempt at trying to introduce more sobriety and piety through the curbing of Sunday trading, drunkeness, and the use of liquor in trading.[1] As a result of their conflict with Rev. West, Governor Simpson and the chief factors anxiously sought the missionary's dismissal.

The Protestant settlers at Red River had been unhappy with the Anglican missionary since his arrival and were also anxious to have him removed for a minister of their own faith. Ross wrote:

> . . . the disappointment of the settlers was aggravated, and their suprise increased, by the arrival of a minister, not of their own persuasion, as had been promised, but a missionary of the Church of England. . . Mr. West's appearance was rather the signal of discord than of consolation amongst them, and to this hour it has produced nothing but religious strife and animosity. . . the Scotch meanwhile being assured that he would soon leave the colony. . .[2]

In 1824, while Rev. John West was on furlough in England, Governor Simpson succeeded in having him dismissed.[3] The Church Missionary Society notified David Jones of the incident:

> Circumstances have arisen to dissolve Mr. West's commission with the Hudson's Bay Company. This occurrance will deprive

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[1] Jaenen, op. cit., p. 60.

[2] Ross, op. cit., pp. 53, 54.

[3] Jaenen, op. cit., p. 60.

> you of the immediate prospect of having a fellow labourer immediately associated with you.[1]

Thus, it would appear that Governor George Simpson and the chief factors would not tolerate anybody commissioned to Hudson Bay Territory whose interests conflicted with their own.

Albeit it is not the purpose of this thesis to investigate or dwell on the policy of the Hudson's Bay Company in relation to missions, a brief comment for clarification would be of merit. When Rev. John West was recruited as a missionary to Red River, a priority, according to the Committee of the Company, was for him to obtain "Native Indians who could be received for the purpose of civilizing and education."[2] In pursuing this policy, however, Rev. West subsequently "excited the fears of some of the chief factors and traders, as to the extent to which it might be carried".[3] There seems to have been a contradiction. The writer suggests that Governor Simpson and those under his authority were in agreement with the Committee of the Company in London, in regard to supporting Native education, as long as it would not be injurious to the fur trade.

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[1] A.E.P.R.L., Mission Book, Incoming Letters 1822-1833, Pratt to David Jones, March 10, 1824, p. 10.

[2] See page 149.

[3] See page 173.

Rev. West, however, pursued "the extension of knowledge among the Natives, and the locating them in agricultural pursuits",[1] with too much vigour in the opinion of the Company servants. They were threatened by the possible consequences that such a policy might have on the fur trade. Further, Rev. West, touched by the Evangelical movement of his time,[2] was perhaps too fundamental and evangelical in his preaching, which had on occasions been directed at questionable Company practices.

Governor Simpson and those under him were willing to support a missionary in his educational endeavors but only if he would not conflict with the aims and policies of the Company, and in their opinion Rev. West had been guilty of this. They succeeded in having him dismissed. The Presbyterians, who had been dissatisfied over the fact that the missionary was an Anglican supported the Rev. West's dismissal.

Whether there existed a conspiracy to remove the Rev. John West from Red River is questionable but the scant evidence available would seem to support the conspiracy thesis.

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[1] Loc. cit.

[2] See page 146.

The remainder of Mr. West's life was spent at the Parish of Chettle in Dorsetshire, England.[1] His interest, however, seems to have remained with the Indians of North America. In 1829, he submitted a plan[2] to Sir. George Murray, Secretary of the Colonies, for promoting civilization and improvement of the North American Indians within the British territory. In this plan, he suggested that seminaries or schools should be established where Indian children should be taught both academic and religious subjects as well as industrial arts and crafts. He also pointed out the importance of staffing such institutions with well-qualified people. Another recommendation was to go to the tribes in the wilderness to establish schools and industry amongst them.[3]

Reverend John West should be duly recognized as the founder of Protestant education for Native people in the north-west. As the first Protestant missionary to the Natives of the north-west, he had as his primary object the education of Native children, hoping thereby "to ameliorate their sad condition."[4]

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[1] Boon, op. cit., p. 21.

[2] See Appendix I on page 290.

[3] A.E.P.R.L., Carton A., Folder 1002, John West Files, West to Murray, Nov. 30th, 1829.

[4] John West, op. cit., p. 1.

Upon arriving in Hudson Bay Territory he closely observed the Native children and realized that a most extensive field presented itself for their educaton. West immediately drew up a plan for the instruction of Native children which he submitted to the Governor of the honourable Company. This plan called for the collection of a certain number of Native children at Red River to be maintained, clothed and educated. This was the beginning of the Indian residential school in the north-west.

The missionary also wrote a lengthy and judiciously written paper to the Church Missionary Society in London on promoting instruction among the Indians in Hudson Bay Territory. Many of the proposals therein are still relevant and striven for in the twentieth century. Rev. West recognized, as many do today, that a curriculum for Native schools must be different from that of the white school. He recommended that industrial arts, agriculture, mechanic arts and the English language should be among the principle objects of instruction among the Natives. Rev. West also recognized that the teachers and administrators would need among other things, special training, be knowledgeable in the Native languages and have cross-cultural awareness.

Besides establishing the first Indian residential school at Red River,"the primary model of the modern Indian

residential school",[1] Rev. West made several missionary journeys during which he recruited Native children for the school and preached the Gospel of Christ. Several of the Native pupils recruited by him became servants of the Anglican Church[2] to their own people, one of West's original objectives.

From a missionary view-point John West's accomplishments in Native education could probably be termed as "a success". What achievements would have been made in Native education, had he remained at Red River, is a subject for speculation.

In the meantime the services of the Rev. David T. Jones had been secured by the Church Missionary Society for the Red River Mission. He accordingly left England in June, 1823, and met John West at York Factory. After spending three weeks together there, Mr. West departed for England and Mr. Jones proceeded on his way to the Red River settlement and arrived there in October, 1823.[3] Shortly after his arrival he wrote:

> I shall wait with great anxiety to hear in the Spring of the arrangements made subsequent to Mr. West's statements relating to our future plans; as everything in regard to missionary exertion, is, I may say in a state of stagnation

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[1] Boon, op. cit., p. 21.

[2] See Appendix K on page 296.

[3] A.E.P.R.L., M/S No. 4504, Rev. Jacob Anderson Article, April 3, 1813.

> at present, with the exception of attending our little school. . .[1]

The Church Missionary Society thus recorded Mr. Jones' beginning at Red River.

> . . . immediately on his arrival on the sphere of labour occupied by his predecessor; and met with countenance and support therein, from Governor Simpson, at York Factory; from Governor Pelly, of Fort Douglas, at the Red River Settlement; and from the respective councils. Mr. Jones had himself a seat in the Council at Fort Douglas; but resigned it, on feeling that its duties interfered with his proper work as a Missionary.[2]

Reverend David Jones not only received personal support and approval from "the ruling class" in Rupert's Land but was also promised their "best assistance"; he was further assured their co-operation in sending Native children to the missionary school at Red River. In August, Governor Simpson was about to visit the country west of the Rocky Mountains, and thus wrote to Mr. Jones from York Factory:

> Our Council are most anxious to meet the views of the Church Missionary Society; and if you will only give us the hint in what respect we may further their wishes, you shall have the benefit of our best assistance. We shall be enabled to send

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[1]Church Missionary Society Collection, Provincial Archives (hereafter cited as C.M.S.C.), Journal of David T. Jones, MF A92, a letter from Rev. Jones to D. Coates, Esq. Fort Douglas, Oct. 30, 1823.

[2]C.M.S., Proceedings for 1824-25, p. 192.

second church had been begun by David Jones at Image Plains, six miles north along the river from the first church on the present site of St. John's Cathedral. This second church was known later as the "Middle Church". Today, however, it is called St. Paul's.[1] St. John's became known as the "Upper Church" shortly thereafter.

Mr. Garrioch gave an encouraging account of the growing seriousness toward Christianity of the Natives at Image Plains where Mr. Bunn was engaged as school teacher.[2]

Indian boys continued to arrive at Red River. In 1825, four Indian boys from Port Nelson River together with two other sons of Indian chiefs from the Columbia district came to the school.[3] While Christian education was carried on, habits of industry were also being formed among the Natives. On this subject Jones wrote:

> The Indians boys are hard at work, breaking up a very sturdy piece of ground for an enlargement of their gardens. . .
>
> Several Indians, young men from 15 to 20 years of age, have been very urgent lately to be admitted into our establishment; they say, that their parents want them to leave off the Indian life; and that they would work in the day and learn to read

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[1] A.E.P.R.L., M/S No. 4504, Rev. Jacob Anderson Article, April 3, 1913.

[2] C.M.S. Proceedings for 1825-26, p. 136.

[3] Ibid., p. 137.

in the evening.[1]

On another occasion, Mr. Jones wrote:

> Mr. Ross told me, in reference to the parents of the boys brought to Red River School, that they were very indignant when at first, at the instance of Governor Simpson, solicited their giving up of their sons; and asked him if they "were (sic) looked upon as dogs - willing to give up their children to go they knew not whither; "but when he told them that they were going to a Minister of Religion to learn how to know and serve God, they said he might have hundreds of children in an hours time". . .[2]

The Indian School at Red River continued to expand under William Garrioch (1825-1830). In the 1826-1827 incoming reports of the Church Missionary Society it is recorded that William Garrioch had under his charge 15 Indian boys and four Indian girls and numerous half-breeds. The Society reports that more Native children could be obtained if only they had the means:

> The Indian Boys and Girls are maintained by the Society; and there would be no difficulty in increasing their number to any extent, were the means of obtaining subsistence for them less precarious.[3]

The report goes on to give the average Sunday School attendances at the Upper Church, for the year ending June 1, 1827, as 67, of whom most were natives.[4] Of these, five communicants

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[1] C.M.S.C., Journal of David T. Jones, MF, A92.

[2] Loc. cit.

[3] C.M.S. Proceedings 1826-27, p. 132.

[4] Loc. cit.

were shortly thereafter usefully employed as Sunday School teachers at the Lower Church - two boys and three girls.[1]

The school for Indian boys at Red River, however successful, did not meet with the encouragement which had been desired by the missionaries. Cockran reported that they had been taught to read and write, and to learn portions of Scripture and Hymns. He complained, however, of their inattention and "the lack of Divine grace in their hearts".[2] Of their industry he favourably wrote:

> I do not see better Boys in the Settlement, for executing manual labour quietly and properly, than ours. Our wheat this year, and likewise the barley and potatoes, have been very much overrun with weeds; and we employed the Boys to pluck them out: this gave us an opportunity of proving their industry. They weeded all our crops, twice; and while they were thus employed they were very cheerful and diligent. When I called them out of the school in the morning, after the dew was off, to go and weed, they always came very willingly, and never absconded during the day; except, when the heat was very intense, the smallest of them would leave me slyly, and hide themselves.[3]

A third church was established in 1826 by William Cockran and was approximately eight miles down the river from the Middle Church, at a point on the Red River called

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[1] Ibid., p. 133.

[2] C.M.S. Proceedings 1828-29, p. 132.

[3] Ibid., pp. 132, 133.

"Grand Rapids". At the outset, the services were held in Cockran's house and later in the school house. On May 7th 1832, however, the church which now had been completed was formally dedicated to St. Andrew; soon thereafter, it became known as the "Lower Church".[1] It was from the Parish of St. Andrew's that the Rev. Cockran in 1831 began working among the Indian approximately twelve miles downstream. The chief of the Saulteaux and Cree Indian bands who gathered there was the same Pegowys who had been the friend of Lord Selkirk and John West.[2]

During the summer of 1828, Rev. Jones returned to England. While on furlough he was married and returned to the Red River Settlement in November of 1829.[3] Mrs. Jones relieved her husband "of all secular and domestic cares which as the household, including schools, amounted to seventy or eighty persons. . ."[4] Mr. Cockran, after their return, began devoting most of his time at St. Andrews where he began a day school on November 27, 1831, with William Smith as the schoolmaster. In February, 1832, he began what might be called an industrial school by introducing six wheels into the school for spinning flax.

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[1] A.E.P.R.L., M/S No. 4504, Rev. Jacob Anderson Article, April 3, 1913.

[2] C.M.S.C., Diary of Rev. W. Cockran, MF A77.

[3] Boon, op. cit., p. 27.

[4] Tucker, op. cit., p. 67.

Governor Simpson informed Colville on this school when he wrote:

> I have likewise been endeavouring to establish a school of interest, for the purpose of teaching boys and girls to spin and weave, and have so far succeeded that 6 spinning wheels and 3 looms will be in operation this season, giving employment to 24 children. Cockran takes the management of this school.[1]

THE FOUNDING OF INDIAN SETTLEMENT

Mr. Jones and Mr. Cockran were both desirous to extend their labours to Pegowys' Indians. Hitherto, the missionaries' ministry had been mainly directed at the Europeans and half-breeds at the Forks, with the exception of the Indian School begun by John West. They were of the opinion that such a mission might be greatly promoted by settling a few Indian families at a place known as Sugar Point just above the present town of Selkirk[2] who might not only receive Christian instruction but become the channel for communicating to the Indians in surrounding areas.[3] Thus in 1831, Cockran succeeded in convincing some of the Indians to settle at Sugar Point and commenced the Indian Settlement.[4] After one year, the Sugar Point site

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[1]Letter from George Simpson to Andrew Colville, May 15th, 1833, in the Selkirk Transcripts, p-8500, Provincial Archives.

[2]Boon, op. cit., p. 39.

[3]C.M.S. Proceedings for 1828-29, p. 133.

[4]A.E.P.R.L., M/S 1104, H Gerald Wade Papers.

was considered to be unsuitable and the project was moved approximately four miles downsteam, close to where Cook's Creek flows into the Red River.[1] With the erection of a church in 1836, the Indian Settlement became the Parish of St. Peter's. The first schoolmaster at the Indian Settlement was Joseph Cook, son of Chief Factor William Hemmings Cook, who devoted the rest of his life to the instruction and betterment of these particular Indians.[2]

Shortly after the founding of the Indian Settlement a policy of segregating the white and Indian school children was adopted by the Anglican missionaries. The Indian children from the educational establishment at the Forks were transferred to the school at Indian Village. The event that prompted this move was the establishment of the Red River Academy which was duly opened in 1833. Ever since David Jones came to Red River, his ambition had been to set up a boarding school for sons of Hudson's Bay Company officials and traders.[3] During the winter of 1832, Rev. Jones corresponded with Governor Simpson to set up such a school, "for the moral improvement, religious instruction and general education of boys; the sons of gentlemen belonging to the fur trade".[4] George Simpson in a letter

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[1] Boon, op. cit., p. 34.

[2] Loc. cit.

[3] Fraser, op. cit., p. 12.

[4] Ibid.

to Andrew Colville referred to this correspondence:

> I have been corresponding all winter with our Factors, Traders and Clerks about Jones's boarding school and am in hopes it will succeed, although my expectations were much damped in the fall by an awkward affair that took place, which for the time made the thing very unpopular, no other than one of the Boarding School Misses getting with child by an Indian lad who served in Jones's kitchen.[1]

This incident seemingly proved highly embarassing to the officials of the Company and the missionaries.

In 1832, Rev. David Jones decided to transfer the Indian children from the boarding school at the Forks to the Indian Settlement. In a letter to Simpson, Rev. Jones gave two reasons why he pursued such a course.

> . . . in such an establishment as is now projected the children would be entirely apart from the other natives of the country and would have no opportunity of speaking any other language other than the English language. . .[2]

Sometime between the summers of 1832 and 1833, most Indian children were transferred to the Indian Settlement. In August, 1832, William R. Smith, who had replaced William Garrioch as teacher at the Mission School at the Forks, reported:

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[1]A Letter from George Simpson to Andrew Colville, May 15, 1833, in the Selkirk Transcripts, p-8500, Provincial Archives.

[2]A.E.R.P.L., Mission Book, Incoming Letters 1822-1833, David Jones to George Simpson, 1832.

> . . . I find pleasure in assisting to convey the truth of the Gospel to the poor Indian children. . .
>
> I have 17 boys now in the Establishment and six girls; they are composed of different tribes. . . Speaking of them generally, they are much the same as boys of their own age throughout the Settlement. . . some of them learn with quickness. . . and are in general able to read much sooner than they can understand the English language and this in some measure accounts for their inattention to us, while we are speaking or explaining the Scriptures to them. . .[1]

In this same letter he also goes on to write that the Indian children will be removed to the Indian Settlement. In another letter of over a year later he thus wrote to the secretary:

> I have very little more to say concerning the schools than I wrote to the Society last August. I then mentioned that the Indian children on the establishment were about to be removed about 16 miles lower down the settlement to the school of Industry: they have left me, and are now under the superintendence of the Rev. W. Cockran at that place. But I am happy being able to state that I have a few Indian children yet remaining who are out door scholars. . .[2]

Henceforth, the instruction of Native children would be carried on away from the Forks, namely at the Indian

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[1] C.M.S.C., W.R. Smith Journal, MF A92, W.R. Smith to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, Aug. 18, 1832.

[2] Ibid., Dec. 18, 1833.

Settlement and, at later dates, at various points throughout Northern Manitoba. Nevertheless, numerous students with Indian blood in their veins received higher education at the Red River Academy. Alexander Kennedy Isbister, the half-breed son of a Hudson's Bay Company officer, who received an M.A. degree from Edinburgh in 1858 and whose fortune was used to institute the Isbister Scholarships in Manitoba, is but one example.[1]

The Indians at Indian Village[2] seemingly were quite anxious to have a school established within their settlement. On October 24, 1832, Cockran reported on the inquiry made by the chief about a possible school for his people; "He inquired whether it was likely that a school would be established in the neighbourhood for the instruction of the children".[3] Cockran replied:

> Most assuredly, said I; it is for that same purpose that we advise the Indians to settle. We cannot communicate instruction to the Indians while they live a wandering life; neither would they do any honour to religion if they were instructed, as long as they live in this erratic manner. . . Whenever there is as many children collected as to appear worth the attention of a Schoolmaster, a room would be built where the children would assemble everyday to receive

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[1] Fraser, op. cit., p. 16.

[2] The same as "Indian Settlement".

[3] C.M.S.C., Rev. W. Cockran Journals, MF. A77.

> instruction. And I hope we shall not only need a School for the young, but a church for the adults.[1]

Less than a year later, William Cook was hired to instruct at Indian Village and immediate progress was made. On July 11, 1834, Cockran recorded the attendance for the school at Indian Village to be 35 day scholars and 44 Sunday School scholars.[2] Two weeks later, Cockran thus wrote:

> To the Indians at this station we have given the greatest share of the assistance that we have had at our disposal, because they have separated from the savage horde, and are conforming in a certain measure to Christian principles. They send their children to School, some of them abstain from fishing on Sunday, and attend Sunday School.[3]

The chief of the Indian Village continued to support education. On August 14, 1835, he made a speech in favour of the school and, desired them to follow his example. He had two children at the school. . .[4]

Cockran periodically examined the Indian children under William Cook's instruction, and had regular religious meetings at the school house. During the Fall months,

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[1] Loc. cit.

[2] Loc. cit.

[3] Ibid., Cockran to the Secretary, July 24, 1834.

[4] Ibid., p. 83.

school was suspended so that the children would be at liberty to watch the crop and drive off the birds. He also employed the children to help with the harvest. On August 20, 1835, Cockran wrote:

> Commenced our barley harvest. Had for reapers some of the children of the Indian settlement. Some of the boys and girls are now so far civilized as to hire themselves to reap by the day or by the week. This I consider as a proof of their improvement. The Indian children in their own state cannot be induced to labour.[1]

The Indian Settlement continued to grow in population. Not all Indians in the vicinity, however, were willing to settle down and give up their way of life and beliefs. On one occasion, while Cockran rode from Indian Village to the Lower Establishment, he spoke with some Indians encamped in the vicintiy. He wrote:

> I was anxious to persuade them to set about a reformation, and send their children to school. Two men told me that they had long followed their own ways and were still intending to continue in them and therefore thought I ought not to trouble them so often about the same thing. . .[2]

Many other, however, followed the invitation of Cockran to settle at the Indian Village. After 1836, an additional school was built at the Indian Village to accommodate all

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[1] Ibid., Cockran to the Secretary, Aug. 20,1835, p. 166.

[2] Ibid., May 31, 1837, p. 270.

the children - one for the Saulteaux and the other for the Muscaigo.[1]

On the state of education in 1837, Mr. Cockran wrote:

> When we reflect on the Schools, two of which are in the Rapids' Congregation, and two at the Indian Settlement, there we see upward of 200 children learning the first principles of the Christian Religion, from our Catechisms and the Scriptures. These would have grown up in the errors of Heathenism, had not Christianity laid hold of them, to lead them to the knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus, and, through it, to the True God, the Author of every good and perfect gift. These are to become the salt of Christ - to season this Heathen land - to purge it from the guilt of Heathenism - and to consecrate it as a temple to the True God, when they have grown to manhood.[2]

During October of that same year, Rev. W. Cockran received an order of supplies for the schools at the Indian Settlement. The items included in the order gives the reader a general picture of the curriculum in use at the school:

50 Spelling Books, Part I.
50 Spelling Books, Part II.
50 Scripture Reading Books, Part I.
50 Scripture Reading Books, Part II.
100 Assembly's Catechisms.

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[1] A.E.P.R.L., M/S 1101, From a booket entitled "general information inserted in all the letters home" by John Smithurst.

[2] C.M.S. Proceedings 1837-1838, August 2, 1837, pp. 52, 53.

100 Church of England Catechisms.
50 Sunday School Hymn Books.
100 Slate Pencils.
1 doz.black lead pencils.[1]

Also included in this order was a variety of cloth and other such items useful for the industry of the girls.

During the Fall of 1837, Mrs. Jones died suddenly after giving birth to a child. David Jones continued his work for another year and then decided to return to England.[2] On August 9, 1838, Mr. Jones paid his last visit to the Indian Settlement. On this final visit an incident occured which is of interest. He wrote:

> I addressed them in regard to some enemy having sent abroad a report that I was leaving the country in disgust with the Indians and natives in general. After this the old Chief Pigwys, stepped into the aisle, and said, "you have spoken to us as you always do, as a father would to his children; I wish all would listen to you. I send by you a letter to the Missionary men in England; tell them not to forget me: I want the Word of life to be always spoken in my land. . ." another Indian, seemingly taking the lead among the Muscaigoes (Swampy Crees), got up and spoke the same purpose. . .
>
> Mr. Jones is now going to leave us. Mr. Cockran is talking of leaving us. Must we turn to our idols and gods again? or must we turn to the French Praying-Masters for protection and assistance, where a good few of our children and relations are gone to?. . .[3]

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[1] C.M.S.C., Rev. W. Cockran Journals, MF A77, Cockran to Secretary, Octover 25, 1837.

[2] Boon, op. cit., p.34.

[3] C.M.S., Proceedings for 1838-1839, pp. 125, 126, Diary of Rev. D.T. Jones, August 9, 1838.

With the departure of Rev. Jones all four churches were left in the charge of Rev. W. Cockran.[1] Before too long, however, the Rev. John Smithurst was sent out to Red River as a chaplain to the Hudson's Bay Company. He arrived at Lower Fort Garry on September 20th, 1839. It appeared that Rev. Smithurst was at first destined to Cumberland House, where the Church Missionary Society, as a result of communications with the Hudson's Bay Company, was disposed to promote a mission station.[2] A letter from Chief Pegowys to the Secretary also bears this out. He wrote:

> Our friends - when we asked you to send us a Praying Master, we did not expect you would order him to go to another place, but to come here with us; but we hear from the Hudson's Bay Company Traders that the missionary you mentioned in your letter is going to Cumberland; but in your letter you tell us the missionary is coming to us, we therefore intend to keep him here. We thank you for him; and we shall take particular care to do as he tells us. . . We find the Word of God good: and we intend to follow it to the end of our lives.[3]

Upon arriving at Red River Rev. Smithhurst discussed his own future work with Rev. W. Cockran. He spent the first weekend helping Cockran with the church services

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[1] A.E.P.R.L., M/S No. 4504, Rev. Jacob Anderson Article, April 3, 1913.

[2] Boon, op. cit., p. 46.

[3] C.M.S. Proceedings for 1839-1840, p. 112.

at St. Andrew's and the Indian Settlement.[1] Shortly thereafter, Smithurst paid an official visit to the Governor, and of this account he wrote to friends in England:

> Having been made fully acquainted with the state of things I declined acting according to instructions given me in London. The Indians had applied for a Missionary and had been told in a letter via Canada that I was coming to them. I could therefore see no justice in disappointing their expectations and depriving them of a teacher, so necessary in their present circumstances in order to watch over them till they are thoroughly grounded in the faith. I told the Governor I must decline living at the Fort or taking the two Upper Churches: I purposed fixing myself at the Indian Settlement in the house built for me by Mr. Cockran and should devote my undivided attention to the Indians. . . The consequence is, I am no longer Chaplain to the H.B.C. but simply a Missionary.[2]

Thus, in the Fall of 1839, John Smithurst relieved Cockran from the exclusive charge of the Indian Settlement.[3]

Shortly after his appointment to the Indian Settlement, he gave an account of the place, the nature of it and the extent of his missionary district:

> The Indian Settlememtn was commenced in 1832 and has now increased to 50 Indian Families who are all fixed in comfortable

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[1] Boon, op. cit., p. 47.

[2] A.E.P.R.L., M/S, 1101-20C, John Smithurst Papers, "General Information in all Letters home."

[3] A.E.P.R.L., M/S 1104, H. Gerald Wade Papers.

log houses having each a small farm annexed for the purpose of raising grain and potatoes to supply their families with provision during the winter. The cottages are scattered along the banks of the river over a space of three miles. At the lower extremity is situated the Saulteaux School and in the centre is the Church, my residence and the Muscaigo School...

I preach on a Sunday morning at the Church Grand Rapids which is 13 miles from my own residence. The congregation is on an average about 300 and are very regular and attentive. Communicants 140. The people here are mostly half-breed -- that is the children of European fathers and Indian mothers. They all understand English, consequently the Service is wholly in that language. I preach at the Indian Settlement in the afternoon. The congregation about 250 always very attentive. As about two thirds of the congregation understand English the whole of the Church Service is read in that language, but the lessons are translated into Indian by my Interpreter . . .

On the Monday, Tuesday, Thursday and Friday evenings, I have lectures at the Mascaigo Schoolroom. So that you see I have ordinary 8 services in the week. I have also to visit the two schools, there being 98 Indian children in them, and 156 children and adults in the Sunday School, more than 50 of whom can read with ease and fluencey in the Sacred Scriptures. Is it not to be hoped that this is a leaven that will spread till the whole Indian Population of this country shall become Christian, for remember that but a very few years ago they were all running wild in the woods as ignorant as the beasts they hunted.[1]

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[1]A.E.P.R.L., M/S 1101 - 20C, John Smithurst Papers, "General information in all the letters home", by John Smithurst.

During Rev. Smithurst's incumbency at the Indian Settlement, it prospered greatly in converts, students and even materially. To the Bishop Mountain in Montreal he wrote that "the patches of cultivated land show very promising crops of wheat, barley and potatoes".[1]

In the summer of 1844, Bishop Mountain visited Red River. The bishop was anxious to see the Indian Settlement. The Sunday of his visit there he confirmed 204 native converts at St. Peter's and remarked in his Journal that there could have been 1000 candidates were it not for the buffalo hunt.[2] He wrote thus about the Indian Settlement in his memoirs:

> To come upon such a settlement, and to see the Indian children all decently clothed, with their books in their hands, and in their deportment in school or church incomparably more quiet and reverent than I ever saw in an equal number of white, after having come freshly from the naked or ridiculously tricked-out, and often dirty, heathens. . . does indeed fill the mind with the most thankful emotions. . .[3]

Mr. Smithurst continued to labour at the Indian Settlement until 1851. Mr. W. Cockran replaced him and for the first time went to reside among the Indian people on a permanent basis until he was replaced by Abraham Cowley in 1857.[4]

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[1] Loc. cit.

[2] Cited in Boon, op. cit., pp. 56, 57.

[3] Ibid., p. 46.

[4] A.E.P.R.L., M/S 1104, H. Gerald Wade Papers.

Abraham Cowley had been his assistant at St. Peter's since 1854. Prior to Smithurst's departure, the Year-book of Missions reported on the Indian Settlement:

> This Station exhibits the result of the first attempt, on the part of this Society, to change the habits of the wandering Indians, and to bring them statedly within reach of the ordinances of the Gospel. The experiment has been eminently successful. The whole settlement presents the aspect of civilization; and the danger which the Missionary now fears that which arises from prosperity.[1](sic)

HIGHER EDUCATION

Anglican efforts at higher education began at the Red River Academy in 1833. After Jones' departure, John Macallum became headmaster of the Academy.[2] Alexander Ross in his book, The Red River Settlement, points out that the Academy had no appeal for the ordinary person, as "that seminary was exclusively for the children of the Governor, Deputy-Governors and Chief Factors, the great nabobs of the fur trade".[3] John Macallum died on October 3, 1849, the same day that David Anderson arrived in Red River as the first Bishop of Rupert's Land.[4] The Church Missionary

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[1]A.W.P.R.L., Hoole, Elijah, The Year-Book of Missions, p. 264, (London, no publishing date given).

[2]Fraser, op. cit., p. 16.

[3]Ross, op. cit., p. 132.

[4]Fraser, op. cit., p. 18.

Society saw in Anderson an effective means of implementing its programme, one of which was the training of Native catechists, and ultimately, a Native clergy to work with the Indian.[1] On May 25th, twelve days before Anderson left England for Red River, the Committee of Correspondence of the Society resolved among other things for the establishment of a "Church Missionary Seminary in Rupert's Land for the education and training of native teachers under regulations to be agreed upon between the Committee and the Bishop".[2] Under this resolution, John West's plans for the establishment of a missionary training centre and college for the education of a Native clergy would be fully realized.[3] Out of this evolved St. John's College, which brought two dominant purposes of education, the missionary and the academic, under the same roof. "Both Indians, supported by the Church Missionary Soceity, and the fee paying sons of settlers and Hudson's Bay Company officials attended the school".[4]

The curriculum taught was weighted toward the study of classics and languages. "They may in some future day," the Bishop contended, "be able to analyze more clearly

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[1] Ibid., p. 19.

[2] Cited in Boon, op. cit., p. 65.

[3] Fraser, op. cit., p. 20.

[4] Ibid., p. 22.

the framework and structure of the Indian tongues, from a deeper insight into the principles of comparative grammer".[1] In 1850, Bishop Anderson instructed the Indian catechist, Henry Budd, who was preparing for the deacon's examinations. The examinations consisted of one on the Articles, one in Church History and one on the Evidences, in which he would be required to sketch an outline of a sermon based on a Biblical text.[2]

"The role of St. John's as a theological college", says William Fraser, "was unparalleled in the Northwest."[3] He continues:

> Unlike the Church of England, the Roman Catholic Church made no attempt to train a native clergy in its classical school, St. Boniface College, but relied on Eastern Canada and France for its supply of priests. Of the twenty clergymen whom Bishop Anderson ordained between 1849 and 1864, nine were born in the Northwest. . . Four, Henry Budd, Sr., James Settee, Henry Cockrane, and Henry Budd, Jr., were pure blood Indians. While the others, Thomas Cook and three future Archdeacons, Robert MacDonald, Thomas Vincent, and John A. MacKay, were half-breed sons of Hudson's Bay Company employees.[4]

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[1] Anderson, David, Notes on the Flood at Red River 1852, (London, 1852), p. 6.

[2] Ibid., p. 67.

[3] Fraser, op. cit., p. 27.

[4] Loc. cit.

In the writer's estimation the above statement is not a fair one. The Catholics did attempt to train a Native clergy in St. Boniface College but were not as successful as the Anglicans.[1] St. John's closed in 1859 and Bishop Anderson blamed the School's decline on lack of community interest in classical education.[2] Most students now moved to Samuel Pritchard's private school, The Elms, at St. Paul's.[3] St. John's College however, re-opened after the arrival of Robert Machray in 1865, who replaced Anderson as Bishop of Rupert's Land. Fraser writes that, "just prior to his departure, the new Bishop was instructed to . . . re-establish a training centre for a native ministry".[4] The college re-opened on November 1, 1866. A good percentage of the students enrolled were of Native origin and supported by the Church Missionary Society. They were taught academic subjects and theology.[5] Three Indian boys, in addition to their regular course of studies, were in the Warden's junior divinity course.[6] Some of the

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[1] Senecal and Chenier are but two illustrations. (See p. 102).

[2] The Nor'Wester, February 14, 1860.

[3] Fraser, op. cit., p.29.

[4] Ibid., p. 33

[5] A.E.P.R.L., Mission Book, Incoming Letters, J. McLean to Prebendary Venn, April 16, 1867.

[6] Ibid., February 4, 1867.

Native students at St. John's College were to play a vital role in the development of the Indian work in the north-west which was indeed the Anglican Church's original objective in Rupert's Land.[1] It was only fitting that the first of the many Native students to devote their lives to the Anglican Church for the development of the Indian work in the west was John West's first Native student, Henry Budd.

EXTENSION OF NATIVE EDUCATION BEYOND RED RIVER

Prior to 1839, the Church Missionary Society had limited its operations to the Red River. The Society, however, had promised to post a missionary at Cumberland House and John Smithurst urged it to keep this promise.[2] The expansion by the Church Missionary Society into the Cumberland District was also supported by the Company. Governor Simpson seems to have wanted the Indians moved away from the Red River Settlement. Katherine Pettipas, in her thesis, contends that the Indian Settlement had been a means whereby the Natives would be attracted away from the Red River Colony.[3] Shortly thereafter, however,

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[1] Boon, op. cit., Preface to his book, September 1, 1962.

[2] C.M.S.C., Rev. J. Smithurst Journals, MF A78, Smithurst to the Secretary, November 15, 1839.

[3] Pettipas, Katherine Ann, Henry Budd: A Native Victorian Missionary in Rupert's Land, 1840-75, M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1972.

Simpson insisted that the Indian Settlement at Netley Creek should be discontinued.[1] He also made proposals to the Society in London for the establishment of the Cumberland Mission as a replacement for the Indian Settlement, but Cockran and Smithurst adamantly refused to desert the Indians at the Settlement.[2]

In 1840, the Native catechist, Henry Budd, was chosen for the position of catechist and schoolmaster for the first Anglican inland mission.[3] Prior to his appointment to Cumberland House, he had been in charge of the Day school at the Upper Church. He embarked on his journey on June 21st with his wife and mother. His stay at Cumberland was very brief. Because of the hostility displayed by the traders at the Cumberland House Fort, the mission station was removed to The Pas.[4] The Indian band located there initially was not friendly towards Budd. The only man that showed any degree of hospitality was John Turner, who was considered to be the 'father' of The Pas band.[5] Henry

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[1] C.M.S.C., Rev. W. Cockran, Journals, MF A84, Cockran to the Secretary, October 23, 1834.

[2] Pettipas, op. cit. p. 42.

[3] Ibid., p. 46.

[4] C.M.S.C., Rev. J. Smithurst Journals, MF A78, Budd to Secretary, November 2, 1840.

[5] Pettipas, op. cit., p. 69.

Budd's primary concern was the establishment of a school for both the children and the adults. By the summer of 1841, he had already thirty day scholars in his school. In 1842, John Smithurst visited The Pas station. The Mission Life records his visit thus:

> . . . Mr. Smithurst, was anxious to administer the sacrament of baptism to any who in his opinion were properly prepared. He was astonished at the large number of candidates who presented themselves. . . (he) baptized thirty-eight adults and forty-nine children and infants.[1]

Henry Budd frequently corresponded with his "spiritual father", John West, who was then serving at Chettle Rectory in England. In one such letter, dated August 13th, 1843, the reader gets a brief glimpse of Budd's actvities and aspirations at the mission station in The Pas:

> I am here, at the same place still, where I wrote you last from. This makes me three years at this place. . . we are quite alone. . . nobody but Indians around us. . . I recollect I informed you last year that the Rev. J. Smithurst of R.R. payed me a visit and baptized as well as married a number of Indians. . . There are about sixty persons more, between young and old, who were all wishing to have been baptized to the faith. . . I am looking forward with earnest expectation when I shall have the blessings of seeing a Clergyman from England for this station. The Indians here are for the most part, very ignorant, as it respects the knowledge of

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[1] A.E.P.R.L., Mission Life, Vol. VIII, p. 2, A History of a Mission in Rupert's Land.

> the true Lord. . . Our school children are very desirous of being taught to read the Holy Scriptures. . . They are making some progress therein, and the old, who are presently under my instructions, are I should humbly trust, growing in the divine knowledge . . . I have found the books you sent me profitable indeed.[1]

In September, 1844, the Reverend James and Mrs. Hunter came to The Pas with Budd assisting him, and took over clergical duties there. Another Native missionary, James Settee had been helping Budd, prior to the Hunter's arrival. The Sunday after their arrival "sixty-seven more Natives and adults and children, were baptized."[2]

Hunter's first impression of Budd's School was unfavourable. He criticized the school severely for its' lack of discipline, untidiness and lack of system of instruction.[3] After Hunter's arrival, he adopted promptness and discipline in the school. Pettipas wrote thus about the school:

> Strict hours were held from nine in the morning until noon, and again from two until four in the afternoon. The three R's were balanced with the rote learning of catechism, scriptural readings, and hymns. Although Hunter was well known for his work with Cree translations, he persisted in teaching English in the school,

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[1]A.E.P.R.L., 1002 Carton A, Budd to West, August 13, 1843.

[2]A.E.P.R.L., Mission Life, op. cit., p. 2.

[3]C.M.S.C., Reverend J. Hunter Journal, MF A78, Cumberland Station, September 8, 1844.

> hoping that it would one day replace Cree.
>
> The idea of self-support was promoted through the employment of the school boys about the mission while Mrs. Hunter taught the older girls how to make shirts and frocks.[1]

By 1845, the mission consisted of three main buildings: the sleeping quarters for the girls which also served as the kitchen, the building lodging the boys which also was used as the schoolroom and chapel, and the house in which the Budd and Hunter families were lodged. The mission buildings were completed by 1853.[2] In the latter part of the 1840's, the Church Missionary Society Year-book of Missions optimistically reported on the progress of the mission:

> Attendance on public worship, during the winter, from 70 to 80, in the spring, when the Indians arrive from their hunting-grounds, often 200; baptized during the year, 65 adults and 75 children; 1 day-school; scholars, 24 boys and 23 girls, being an increase of 16 during the year.
>
> A great part of the Liturgy has been translated into the Indian language by Mr. Hunter, assisted by Mr. Budd.
>
> The Indians in this part manifest an earnest desire for instruction.
>
> The Missionary has been earnestly solicited, by Indians in other parts of

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[1] Pettipas, op. cit., p. 88.

[2] Ibid., p. 83.

> the district, for Christian instruction. One Indian and his family came a distance of about 400 miles, in order to obtain it, having previously sent two of his sons to the school; another Indian, from the same place, having also sent two of his daughters.[1]

In 1848, Hunter acquired the aid of a Miss Campbell who had been educated at Red River[2] as another school teacher. In 1850 Budd along with James Settee returned to Red River where Budd was ordained as a minister at St. Andrew's that same year in December and James Settee was elevated to the deaconate.[3] Budd returned to The Pas station in 1851. That same year another schoolteacher was engaged for the school in the person of Peter Erasmus, a Native.[4] In 1857, Thomas Cook and his wife replaced Peter Erasmus as teachers.[5]

Numerous steps were made by the missionaries at The Pas to establish out-stations to reach the hinterland Native population. In 1850, John Humperville was engaged as a catechist for Moose Lake, and Philip Macdonald, a schoolteacher, in the following year.[6] Henry Budd wrote

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[1] Hoole, op. cit., p. 264.
[2] Pettipas, op. cit., p. 89.
[3] Ibid., p. 94.
[4] Ibid., p. 93.
[5] Ibid., p. 125.
[6] Ibid., p. 93.

about the founding of the Moose Lake Station in his Journals:

> The Moose Lake Station was commenced in August 1850 when the Rev. James Hunter sent John Humperville to commence forming the station to instruct the Indians and prepare them for Baptism and also to have a school with the children.
>
> . . . When I came past Moose Lake in the winter month of January, and visited the Station again this Spring in May, it was easy to observe how very eager the people of the Fort were for instruction, and how very desirous that their children should read God's word.[1]

Progress was seemingly being made at the Moose Lake Mission. On the 2nd of August, 1853, John Humperville writes:

> . . . It is pleasing to see the happy changes that have taken place in their lives. . . They are studying . . . the doctrine of God their Saviour in all things, and are making rapid progress in Divine Knowledge. . . Every evening I hold prayer meetings, at which time I deliver a short discourse. . .[2]

Although plans had been made for the establishment of a school, Budd was rather pessimistic over the future of the site. Pettipas wrote about the situation:

> The younger men in fear of the elders, refused to openly express any leaning towards the new faith. Ostracism by the heathen (sic) majority served as an effective deterrent for any candidate to Christianity, and in many cases, won back

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[1] C.M.S.C., Henry Budd Journals, MF A83, August 1st, 1851.

[2] Ibid., Humperville to Venn, MF A97, August 2nd, 1853.

> those who had been connected and baptized.[1]

The Shoal River band, with its principal leader, Spreadwing, was visited by Budd in 1851. This band also showed a resistance to the Christian missionaries. To ward off the missionaries, the medicine man of the band initiated some new religious rites:

> Among other new rites which they have invented, they have brought a Scalp over from beyond Fort Pelly, and have for some days been singing war-songs, and dancing with the Scalp, over the grave of an Old Indian who died sometime ago.[2]

James Settee made several more unsuccessful attempts to establish a mission amongst Spreadwing's band in 1854. The failure of the missionaries' attempt to establsh a mission was partly due to the wandering nature of the band.[3]

In 1852, Henry Budd briefly left his work at The Pas and made a reconaissance journey to Nepowewin where he intended to establish a new mission station. He did not, however, take up this task until 1857. The Pas Mission had been in charge of Henry George since 1854, the year Rev. Hunter returned to England. Henry Budd spent the next

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[1] Cited in Pettipas, op. cit., p. 98.

[2] Ibid., p. 99.

[3] Loc. cit.

ten years at Nepowewin. He returned to the Devon or Cumberland Mission in 1867.[1] During the decade of Budd's absence four different men had been responsible for the duties at The Pas Mission -- Rev. H. George (1875-60); Rev. E. Watkins (1860-63); Rev. J. Mackay (1864-65); and Rev. T. Smith (1866-67). Prior to Budd's departure for Nepowewin in 1857, the mission at The Pas seemingly flourished In 1854, Hunter met Rev. J. Ryerson in York Factory. Both were waiting for the ship to take them to England. Sarah Tucker records comments that Ryerson made of the Cumberland Mission at The Pas:

> It is one of the most interesting and successful missions in Rupert's Land. The Indians in this mission are perhaps in advance of any others, in the knowledge of the arts and sciences, and I am told many of them are most exemplary and devoted Christians.[2]

On his return to Cumberland in 1867, Budd, however, seems to have been discouraged at the state of the mission. He commented over the lack of progress made among the Indians during his absence:

> They have followed too much, the old way of living, forsaking their houses and farms and taking to the hunting furs and living on the Chase. They are much

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[1] The Pas Mission was first called Cumberland and later Devon Mission.

[2] Tucker, op. cit., p. 149.

> poorer now. . . However they are resolved to try and redeem the time they have lost. . .[1]

Rev. Henry Budd spent the remainder of his life at The Pas working with his own people. He died in 1875 at the mission and lies buried on the Christ Church cemetery.[2]

Approximately two years after the initiation of the Cumberland Station by Henry Budd, William Cockran obtained the services of Abraham Cowley to begin a station at Partridge Crop (Fairford). The Catholic activities in the Lake Manitoba area seemed to have motivated Cockran somewhat in sending a missionary there:

> The influence of the Church of Rome has been, for some years, extending in this direction; but as the Indians of Manitoba Lake, who are of the Saulteaux Tribe, expressed a desire to embrace Protestantism rather than Popery, it was considered advisable that this desire should be gratified, and that some effort should be made to publish, in its fulness and simplicity, the truth as it is in Jesus.[3]

Mr. Cowley left Red River on May 11, 1842, in order to select a site and to establish the mission. On May 24th, he wrote:

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[1]C.M.S.C., Rev. H. Budd, Christ Church, Devon, to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, August 7, 1868, MF A84.

[2]The Manitoba Library Association, Ed., Pioneers and Early Citizens of Manitoba, Winnipeg: Peguis Pub., 1971, pp. 34-35.

[3]C.M.S. Proceedings for 1842-1843, p. 297.

> I have now determined on a site for the Mission. I have endeavoured to secure a suitable place for farming, abounding with wood, and adjoining a good fishery. We at once commenced cleaning the ground, and planted some potatoes, which we brought with us, to preserve seed for the next year.[1]

Mr. Cockran observed in a letter from Cowley dated August 9, 1842:

> This establishment is to be conducted on the same plan as the Indian Settlement. A school is to be opend for children, as soon as they can be collected; and the Indians who may be disposed to locate are to be assisted in building their houses, and are to be taught agriculture. . .[2]

Rev. Abraham Cowley was soon provided with a catechist in John Garrioch. The Saulteaux tribe at Fairford was rather indifferent to Christian instruction at first and tenaciously held on to their own relgion. As of 1845, none of them had yet expressed their belief in the Gospel, although most, if not all, of them had occasionally attended public worship.[3] In the same letter to the Secretary dated November 26th, 1845, Cowley wrote:

> In a temporal point of view, the case is a little brighter. Our success, through God's blessing on the farm, seems to have determined the Indians more and more to agriculture. In addition to this, we begin

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[1] Ibid., p. 298, cited from Cowley Journal, May 24, 1842.

[2] Ibid., p. 297.

[3] The Yearbook of Missions, op. cit., p. 265.

> to present somewhat the appearance of a village.
>
> Our school, too, is flourishing. During the fall, a great number of Indians pitched their tents, and remained about us; not one of whom refused to allow his children to attend school daily.[1]

Rev. Cowley and his wife laboured at Fairford until 1854, after which they were transferred to the Indian Village at Red River. They remained there throughout the 1860's in charge of St. Peter's parish. With the departure of Cowley from Fairford, the mission was placed in the charge of William Stagg, who was to remain there for the next eleven years. The Fairford Mission under Stagg made considerable progress as a statistical return for 1857 reveals::

117 Native Christians
113 Baptized
36 Baptized this year
24 Native Communicants
2 Native teachers - 1 catechist and 1 schoolmaster
1 Boy's and girl's day school
46 Scholars - 26 boys and 20 girls
8 Boarders
16 Youth under instruction in classes[2]

Rev. Stagg was also busy paying missionary visits to outlaying places, in the hope of establishing new mission stations. For January 27, 1860, his Journal recorded that during the previous year, he visited such places as Manitoba

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[1] Ibid., Cowley to Secretary.

[2] C.M.S.C. William Stagg Journals, MF A97, Stagg to Secretary, January 13, 1858.

Post, Duck Bay, Jack Head on Lake Winnipeg and Berens River.[1] At Duck Bay a school had been established in 1859, under what appears to have been considerable Catholic opposition. Stagg wrote:

> I visited Duck Bay last month, and I am thankful to say that our young friends in charge of our school there have been doing what they could for the benefit of the Indians and others. The priests of Red River had sadly prejudiced the minds of their followers.[2]

Rev. Stagg, in 1861, informed the secretary of his weekly routine at Fairford:

> Our weekly routine is:
> Sabbath - Morning and Evening services with with school between services.
> Everyday - Morning and Evening Prayer (morning prayer in our house, evening prayer in the School Chapel).
> Monday - Prayer meeting at noon.
> Tuesday and Friday Evening - Adult Class.
> School every day except Saturday.[3]

In 1861, the whole of the old Hudson's Bay Company district of Swan River was placed under the direction of Rev. William Stagg at Fairford. With these added duties, James Settee was sent to assist Stagg.[4] In 1865, however,

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[1] Ibid., Stagg to Rev. Chapman, Secretary, January 27, 1860.

[2] Loc. cit.

[3] Ibid., February 15, 1861.

[4] Boon, T.C.B., These Men Went Out, Toronto: Ryerson Press, p. 197.

William Stagg was recalled to England on account of his health. He left Fairford in May of that year and left the mission under the charge of the Native minister, the Rev. James Settee, with injunctions that he should itinerate amongst the out-stations, which were under the care of native catechists.[1] The Rev. David Hale took up the duties at Fairford in 1866, and James Settee was transferred to a new station at Scanterbury the following year. Rev. Hale seemingly experienced many trials at Fairford. Concluding a report to the Secretary in April 1868, he wrote thus:

> I have endeavoured to give you some sketch of the condition of the Fairford Indians, and of my work among them. I should be glad if I could send you a more encouraging and interesting report. There cannot, however, be a very large amount of interest in the report of one who is inexperienced, and ignorant of the native language and ways of thought.
>
> A measure of success has attended our labours, for which I thank God and take courage. Our Sabbath services have been, generally speaking, well attended, and the attendance at our adult evening school and the Indian vocal classes has been, on the whole, good and encouraging. I cannot, though, speak very hopefully of our day school, in consequence of the difficulty we experience in getting the same children for more than a few days of instruction.[2]

At Scanterbury, James Settee was in a location where

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[1] C.M.S. Proceedings for 1865-66, p. 197.

[2] Ibid., Proceedings for 1869, p. 114.

its inhabitants showed considerable interest to the work of the missionary. In a letter to the Secretary dated January 3, 1868, Settee wrote thus:

> My Lord Bishop of the Diocese and the Correspondent Committee transferred my labours to this station. . . Directly after landing I had to get some hay and then wood for building the house. . . I finished a school before winter had set in. . .
>
> The inhabitants here have sent in a Petition to the Bishop desiring him to favour them with a Chapel to be built for them. . . You must understand this is a new place, everything has to be done. My Indians attended to instruction very well, the young all prefer learning the English. I have books, both the Ojibway and Cree dialects but they do not want to learn them.[1]

During the 1860's, York Factory also received an Anglican mission station. To York Factory came the annual Hudson's Bay Company ships upon which the Missionaries depended for their supplies. Missionaires coming through York Factory came in contact with the Indians in that vicinity and many were baptized into the Christian faith. A desire for a permanent missionary at York Factory led to the coming of Rev. W. Mason, a co-worker of James Evans, who joined the Anglican Church in 1854.[2] Rev. Mason, with his headquarters at York Factory had two principal out stations, Churchill to the north and Severn to the South. Considerable progress

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[1]C.M.S.C., James Settee Correspondence and Journals, MF A95, Settee to Secretary, January 3, 1868.

[2]Lysecki, op. cit., p. 31.

was made in converting the Natives. Reporting to the secretary he wrote:

> Our Christian Indians continue to hold fast their profession, and I trust are making progress in the divine life, setting an example, in many respects, which even Europeans would do well to imitate. . .[1]

The Indians around Churchill, mostly Chipewyans, and the Esquimaux who visited that place in summer, got their own mission at Churchill in 1863. Supposedly, Rev. Gardener, while at York Factory in 1860, was visited by a few Chipewyans from Churchill,he recorded:

> We suppose we are never to hear the word of God. The white men have promised us a minister for many years, always saying there is one coming soon, but we have not seen him yet. We are dying fast, and do not know where we are going, and there is no one to tell us what will become of us after death.[2]

The work at Churchill was largely left to Native teachers, with Rev. Mason as their overseer.

Another mission was opened in the spring of 1855 at Fort Alexander by Henry George. Although he only stayed two months, April and May, considerable success was achieved in establishing a school. Henry George recorded in his Journal that he had as many as nineteen students,

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[1]C.M.S. Proceedings for 1865-66, p.204.

[2]Cited in Lysecki, op. cit., p. 32.

mostly of Native origin, attending his school at Fort Alexander in 1855.[1] George was succeeded by Henry Cockran, in 1856, who taught school at Fort Alexander until he was priested in December of 1859.[2] There seems to be no immediate record of who taught at Fort Alexander after Henry Cockran was priested. In the minutes of the Corresponding Committee of the Church Missionary Society of May 2nd, 1864, there is reference to the appointment of the Reverend Robert Phair to Fort Alexander. Apparently some misunderstanding arose with the Parent Committee in England, which doubted the wisdom of Phair's appointment so close to Red River. Nevertheless, Rev. Phair remained at Fort Alexander until 1874.[3]

Henry George was priested on June 1, 1856, and was in charge of the Cumberland Mission the following three years. From 1859 to 1865 he was incumbent of the Westbourne parish in the White Mud River Valley, where considerable contact was made with the Indians. In 1865, George transferred to St. Mary's at Portage la Prairie, succeeding his father-in-law, Archdeacon Cockran.[5]

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[1] C.M.S.C., Henry George Journal, kept at Fort Alexander for the months of April and May, 1855, MF A87.

[2] Boon, op. cit., p. 386.

[3] Ibid., p. 384.

[4] Ibid., p. 85.

[5] C.M.S.C., Henry George Journals, MF A87.

By 1870, the year the Province of Manitoba entered Confederation, the Anglican Church, led by the spirit and zeal of its missionaries, had spread into all directions of present day Manitoba territory. The development of the Indian work was its original objective in Rupert's Land, a work that was begun by John West in 1820. Their main concern of the Indian work was that the Indians would be "civilized" and evangelized according to white man's ways. Concerning the Indian, West frankly stated that "the primary object of teaching them was to give them a religious education".[1] The Anglicans, like the Catholics, Wilson wrote: "saw education as a means to religious indoctrination".[2] He further states that "the influence of religion was seen in the motivation for education, in the establishment and support of schools, in the curricula of these schools, and in the stimulus to further educational development".[3]

John West had planned for the establishment of a seminary in which to train Native teachers.[4] This became

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[1] John West, op. cit., p. 27.

[2] Wilson, op. cit., p.70.

[3] Ibid., p. 93.

[4] See p. 201 and Appendix I on p. 290 .

reality with the founding of St. John's College, a theological seminary. The missionaries saw the benefit of training a Native clergy working amongst their own people:

> . . . they are acquainted with the habits and language of the Indians, and are accustomed to the privations and hardships incidental to the country, they are the best qualified to be employed as agents for the conversion of the Indians.[1]

Pettipas, labelling the missionary as a "proselytizer" says that "in the final analysis, the climax of the work of the proselytizer was in the institutionalization of a Native Church with self-supported native pastors".[2]

> . . . 'the euthanasia of a mission' takes place when a missionary, surrounded by well trained native congregations, under native pastors, is able to resign all pastoral work into their hands, and gradually to relax his superintendence over the pastors themselves, till it insensibly ceases; and so the mission passes into a settled Christian community.[3]

The Anglican missionaries had the satisfaction of seeing many of their Native scholars enter the Church as catechists, teachers, deacons and priests without whose dedication the mission work would have been seriously handicapped.[4]

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[1] C.M.S.C., Rev. J. Hunter, Annual Report for the Year Ending July 31, 1853, Christ Church, Cumberland, MF A91.

[2] Pettipas, op. cit., p. 15.

[3] Cited in Pettipas, ibid., p. 15.

[4] See Appendix K on p. 296 .

To conclude this Chapter, the words of William Cockran in his last letter home seem fitting. In the writer's judgment, they best express the underlying motives and objectives of the Anglican Missionaries coming to Rupert's Land:

> I have advocated civilization because it is the origin of knowledge, social virtues and domestic and national happiness. Barbarism is the parent of ignorance, vice and misery. I have advocated religion, for godliness is profitable in all things, having the promise of life that now is, and that which is to come. I have advocated the necessity of giving the Indian an English education. To think and express their thoughts in English that they might amalgamate with the English, and cultivate their social feelings, which enable men to understand the Christian religion.[1]

From a standpoint of objectives attained, the Anglicans were more successful in their missionary endeavors among the Natives of the North-west than their Roman Catholic counterpart. Many of their converts became scholars who entered the services of the Church as catechists, teachers, deacons and priests. This of course had been one of the original objectives of John West, the founder of Protestant education among the Natives in Hudson Bay Territory.

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[1] C.M.S.C., Rev. W. Cockran Journals, MF A77, Cockran to Secretary in London, August 3rd, 1865.

CHAPTER VIII

METHODIST EFFORTS AT NATIVE EDUCATION

Missionaries who represented a second Protestant denomination, the Methodists, arrived in the north-west in 1840. They were sent out by the British Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. Another branch of Methodism, the Canadian Methodists, who had long been established in Upper Canada, could not take up the Indian work in the north-west, as the mission work among the Indian tribes in Upper Canada was a sufficiently large task. For this reason the Wesleyan Methodists rather than the Canadian Methodists came to the north-west.[1] The missionaries were invited to come to Hudson Bay territory by the officials of the Hudson's Bay Company. It is recorded in the Minutes of the Missionary Committee for January 15, 1840, that:

> The proposal of the Hudson's Bay Company that the Society should send Missionaries into their territories has been laid before the Committee by the Rev. Dr. Alder.[2]

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[1] Brooks, William H., Methodism in the Canadian West in the Nineteenth Century, Ph. D. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1972, p. 3.

[2] Methodist Missionary Society Committee Minutes, (hereafter cited as M.M.S.C.M.), MF A 251, (Extracts) July, 1814 - July, 1851, p. 113.

The Committee resolved:

> That the Secretaries be authorized to select and prepare immediately to send to the Hudson Bay Territory three Missionaries according to the proposal made by the Company through their officers George Simpson Esquire and Capt. Drew on their interview with the officers of the Society on the 14th instant.[1]

Thus, in 1840, the British Wesleyans opened a mission in the Hudson Bay Territory. The Missionaries were to act as official chaplains for the settlers at the various posts where they were stationed[2] and to begin operations for the "civilization" of the Indian tribes in the vicinity. The British Wesleyan Magazine for March, 1840, announced the appointment of the missionaries:

> North American - Hudson Bay Territory: the Rev. G. Barnley, W. Mason, and R.T. Rundle embarked at Liverpool by The Sheridon for New York, on March 16th, on their way to the territory of the honourable Hudson's Bay Company, to commence missionary operations among the settlers and native tribes of that vast region of North America, under the protection and chiefly at the expense of the Company, whose proposals to the Society have been of the most honourable character.[3]

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[1] Loc. cit.

[2] Woodsworth, James, Thirty Years in the Canadian Northwest, Toronto, 1917, p. 24.

[3] Cited in Stephenson, F.C., One Hundred Years of Canadian Methodist Missions, p. 83, Toronto: The Missionary Society of The Methodist Church, 1925.

The Company undertook to bear the expenses of maintenance and travelling and forwarded 100 pounds towards the outfit and travelling expenses from England of each missionary.[1]

A fourth missionary, James Evans with his wife and daughter and two young Ojibway Native missionaries, Peter Jacobs and Henry B. Steinhauer, arrived in Hudson Bay Territory in 1840 from Upper Canada, as part of the same contingent. Mr. Evans, who had worked for some years as an Indian missionary in Upper Canada, was put in charge of the work and made chairman of the new District in the north-west with headquarters at Norway House. William Mason was stationed at Rainy Lake in present day Ontario and was responsible for several stations including Fort Alexander. Appointed as his assistants were Peter Jacobs and Henry Steinhauer. The other two missionaries, George Barnley and Robert Rundle were stationed at Moose Factory and Rocky Mountain House respectively.[2]

The main work of the Methodist missionaries was similar to that of their Catholic and Anglican counterparts - to establish churches and schools and to convert the Indians to Christianity, not necessarily in that order

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[1] M.M.S.C.M., Dr. Alder reporting to the Committee, February 12, 1840, MF A 251, p. 117.

[2] Stephenson, op. cit., p. 83.

In 1840 Dr. Alder, the Mission Secretary, thus wrote to Rev. William Mason: "May He give you the souls of many of the aborigines for your hire and seal of your ministry".[1] The teaching of religion was to be one of the primary functions of the schools and achievement was measured by the amount of Scriptures the child was able to read and understand. James Evans saw Norway House as an excellent strategic position wherefrom to carry out the missionaries' objectives. He realized the opportunity that location afforded of reaching the many Indian tribes throughout the North.[2] Shortly after his arrival in August, Evans with the help of the Indians, built a school, church, mission house, and approximately twenty homes for Indian families.[3] Rundle who had arrived in June wasted no time in his missionary assignement; before going to Rocky Mountain House, he had baptized seventy-nine Indians at Norway House who were the nucleus of the new church built by Evans.[4] The new mission village was called Rossville in honour of Donald Ross, the chief factor at Norway House.

While in Upper Canada, James Evans had invented a syllabic system which would give the scriptures to the Indians

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[1] Woodsworth, op. cit., p. 25.

[2] Stephenson, op. cit., p. 85.

[3] Loc. cit.

[4] Ibid., p. 84.

in rather simple form. He had the Indian language reduced to eight consonants and four vowels and an alphabet comprising less than fifty characters.[1] In June, 1841, less than a year after his arrival he wrote:

> The men, women and children at Norway House write and read it with ease and fluency, as do some European gentlemen who speak the language of the Indians in different parts.[2]

In this new field, Evans saw his simple syllabic system as a great evangelistic aid and sought to put it into type. In the words of John Maclean:

> After numerous experiments and difficulties which seemed almost unsurmountable, he cast type from lead taken from tea chests. In the summer of 1841 he had set a font of Indian type, and with an old jackpress used for packing furs he had printed five thousand pages in the Muskego language, and bound a hundred copies of a small volume of hymns of sixteen pages.[3]

With permission from the Hudson's Bay Company, a more sophisticated printing press and type were sent out from London, upon the condition that it would be used only for the purpose of printing religious literature.[4] The limitation

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[1] Provincial Archives, McWilliam Essays, James Evans, Missionary (1801-1846) by John Reid, submitted to the Manitoba Historical Society, 1968, p. 7.

[2] Maclean, John, Vanguards of Canada, Toronto: The Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, 1918, p. 43, (John Maclean was the archivist for the Methodsit Church during the 1820's).

[3] Maclean, op. cit., p.43.

[4] Stephenson, op. cit., p. 86.

was possibly set as a safeguard against commercial rivalry to the Company. The work of providing religious literature for the Natives was now begun in earnest and the influence of the new learning spread far and wide beyond the mission. The Roman Catholic Church and the Church of England missionaries in later years adopted the syllabic system, made translations and published much literature for the Indians who were thus given a tool of education heretofore unknown.[1]

The missionaries, as a result of Evans' linguistic skills, were able to teach the Indian children to read and write in the English and Indian languages. The teacher at Norway House, Thomas Hassel,[2] who was a Chippewyan by birth, spoke Cree, English and French fluently. He reported on the Rossville school as follows:

> The school is attended by nearly sixty pupils about half of whom read and write both English and Indian. The others are spelling and reading easy lessons. Religious truth constitute a large portion of their instruction. The Creed and the Lord's prayer, in both languages, are familiar to all of them, and our own catechisms are repeated by all the more advanced boys and girls. They are improving in their knowledge of arithmetic.[3]

James Evans also began translating and printing the Bible into the Cree language. This gigantic task prompted him to

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[1] Lysecki, op. cit., p. 47.

[2] Hassell was later accidentally shot by Evans, see p. 238.

[3] Cited in Lysecki, op. cit., p. 48.

transfer Henry Steinhauer, whose skills served as schoolteacher, interpreter and translator, to Norway House in 1841. In 1843, William Mason also was called to Norway House and appointed as an assistant to Evans.[1] With the help of Mr. and Mrs. Ross, Mrs. Mason, Mrs. Evans and a band of helpers including the talented Henry Steinhauer, who was a Greek and Hebrew scholar, William Mason, Thomas Hassell, the educated Chipewayan, and John Sinclair, alias Matonekesckwawekemow,[2] a clever half-breed, James Evans carried on the work of translating and printing the Scriptures.[3] Maclean's record of this illustrates the people of diverse talents working under the supervision of Evans, without whom the translation of the Bible into Cree could not have been accompliashed:

> John Sinclair translated the Scriptures from Genesis to Esther and from Matthew to The Acts of the Apostles, and Steinhauer from Job to Malachi, and from Romans to Revelation; and the Cree Bible was published by the British and Foreign Bible Society in England in 1861.[4]

The Native missionaries, Sinclair and Steinhauer, who having been trained in white Protestant missionary schools,[5] were the key "instruments" in translating the Bible into

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[1] Stephenson, op. cit., p. 88.

[2] Lysecki, op. cit., p. 57.

[3] Maclean, op. cit., p. 44.

[4] Loc. cit.

[5] Brooks, op. cit., p. 94.

the Cree language.

Evans had great plans for the District under his chairmanship and, from the outset of the work in the north-west, he seems to have realized the importance of a Native clergy. Evans, illustrating the extent of the work, wrote in January, 1843:

> Norway House station includes York Factory, Oxford House, Cumberland House, Bering's (Berens') River, and Nelson River. This mission I have reason to acknowledge with deep humility has been much blessed by Almighty God, and the labours of his servants crowned with signal success. The total number of persons who had been received into the Christian Church by baptism at Norway House and in those parts which I have named, is one hundred and ninety-three, of which seventy-seven are adults. The number of marriages on the register is twenty-seven.[1]

Although much of the information is rather scanty at the moment, it is known that unordained Native preachers and missionaries, after a brief training in the basic principles of Christianity by white missionaries, were dispatched to various Indian villages to serve as teachers and ministers of the Gospel.[2] The white missionaries made periodic "inspection" visits to the various villages served by interim Native preachers. Maclean, commenting on the

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[1] McWilliams Essays, John Reid, op. cit., p. 9.

[2] Lysecki, op. cit., p. 48.

accomplishment of the Methodist missionaries, writes:

> The camps throughout the district were transformed, gambling feasts and dances were discarded, the medicine man's incantations ceased, and peace and joy reigned. Class meetings were instituted, and native leaders were appointed to take charge of them and some of the men of talent became preachers to their brethren.[1]

The fact that most of the Native men serving the Church were unordained also posed some problems. Often when people wanted to be baptized or married, they had to wait for a visit by the attending missionary - the unordained Native clergy were not authorized to baptize or marry. Maclean writes of an instance where the marrying part was uniquely handled by the Native missionary:

> Edward Paupanakis, asked by some young people to marry them, who had no authority for doing so, solved the problem by announcing to the congregation their intention and the ceremony to be performed at the next missionary visit. When the missionary party arrived, Paupanakis in his quaint English explained the "Breach of Promise Marriages".[2]

The successful training, ordination and appointing of a Native clergy to carry on the work was indeed what the Methodists, like the other Christian denominations, desired

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[1] Maclean, op. cit., p. 41.

[2] Ibid., pp. 223-4.

for the Indian missions in the north-west. In the meantime, however, the Native missionary apprentices were of great help to the Mission.

Agriculture and industry was also encouraged among the Indians at Norway House during Evans' incumbency. The introduction of firearms to the Indians had left them in a state of dire misery in the early 1840's. Game had become scarce from overkilling, resulting in the Indians subsisting entirely on rabbits "of which they consumed even the contents of the intestines."[1] This led the missionaries to believe that the Indians should be turned away from their nomadic way of life and become tillers of the soil. Thus, the introduction of agriculture by the missionaries was to complement their primary objective of "saving souls".[2] By 1844, considerable progress had been made towards that end. Evans in that year wrote:

> We expect to harvest this year from four to five hundred bushels of barley, eight hundred to a thousand bushels of potatoes and about a hundred bushels of turnips.[3]

In June, 1845, Evans announced another plan for Norway House:

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[1] Cited in Brooks, op. cit., p.23.

[2] Ibid., p. 23.

[3] Maclean, John, James Evans, Toronto: Methodist Mission Rooms, 1890, p. 185, (hereafter known as James Evans, op. cit.).

> I am anxious to introduce at this mission something like a manual labour school, and have thought of endeavouring to procure some wool, a few wheels and a female to instruct the women and girls to spin. . . I hope that something in the manufacturing of common woolens might be yet accomplished. . .[1]

Six months later, some progress had been made in the development of a manual labour school. William Mason, in a letter to the Secretary in London, dated at Rossville, December 22, 1845, gives a general summary and overview of the state of the Rossville mission, not forgetting to comment on the girls' success in industry.

> I finished meeting the classes and thank God was not called in one single instance to expel, or reprove any of our members. They appear to be progressing in knowledge, righteousness and true holiness. All our meetings are well attended. . .
>
> The number of full and accredited church members is - 110 and one on trial - 1 Chapel, 2 preaching plus 2 assistants, 1 catechist, 2 day school teachers, 1 local preacher, 2 day schools, 62 scholars, Male 31, Female 31, about 200 attend at different times on. . .
>
> The schools are in a very flourishing state and promise at no distant period to furnish native agents whom we trust will hereafter be usefully employed in this great mission field - credit is due to the perseverance and attention which Henry Steinhauer, had paid to the scholars under his care, also to Miss MacKay - whom Mr. Evans brought from Red River last spring to teach spinning to the girls

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[1]M.M.S.C.M., Evans to Simpson, June 10, p. 258, MF A 271.

> and then we must not forget to render our thanks to the Governor Sir George Simpson for the gift of 85 lbs. of wool the first ever spun at Rossville. The progress of the scholars in each school is very pleasing -- 23 read the Bible, 16 are in Arithmetic, 5 are advanced to Song Division, 9 have committed to memory the No. 1 catechism and 8 are learning No. 2. They spell words from 1 to any number of syllables and 12 write a tolerable good hand. After examining them 2 opened the Bible to the 3 ch (sic) of St. John's Gospel. After reading which I asked the following questions. . .
>
> I then endeavoured to explain the nature of the new birth. I was much delighted with the views they gave on the subject.[1] (sic)

However successful, the Rossville mission appears to have been under the leadership of the zealous James Evans, a series of conflicts over various issues between him and the officers of the Company was to bring his service in Hudson Bay Territory to an abrupt end. As Brooks puts it:

> Any zeal the missionaries might have for their work was not to conflict with the aims or rule of the Company. Also, any ideas the missionaries might have about the status or conduct of the Indian insofar as it affected his relationship with the Company, were to be kept to themselves. If a missionary ever felt that he had a Divine Mission among the heathen, subject only to the discipline of the Methodist Church and not subject to the all-powerful Company and the autocratic Sir George, (sic)

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[1] M.M.S.C.M., MF A 272.

severe conflict would be inevitable.[1]

It would appear that any developments at hands of the missionaries took place entirely at the pleasure of the Company.

The first disagreement arose over the Biblical principle of observing the Sabbath.[2] Evans discouraged the Natives from transporting furs on Sunday. Simpson, however, argued that the practice in question was one of necessity in a country where the water routes were open only four months of the year due to the short duration of summer.[3] The Sunday travel issue would frequently re-appear and was merely one of many other disagreements to occur between Simpson and Evans. Sometime in 1843, Evans evidently tried to issue a draft for funds on the Company instead of drawing supplies only, as he should have done. Simpson immediately spelled out the exact nature of the missionaries financial arrangement and carefully explained why Evans' action did not fit normal Company financial policies.[4]

Evans' attempt at changing the Natives' way

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[1] Brooks, op. cit., p. 39.

[2] Maclean, op. cit., pp. 44-45.

[3] M.M.S.C.M., op. cit., Simpson to Evans, June 6, 1843, MF A 272.

[4] Brooks, op. cit., p. 56, Simpson to Evans, July 7, 1843.

of life from a nomadic to a settled one was another point of contention. He wrote:

> I am of the opinion, that unless they can be so situated as to afford the Missionary greater facilities in instructing the rising generation his success must be but partial. Education is well nigh out of the question where the natives retain all their wandering habits, and any attempt to raise them above their former degraded condition under such circumstances is almost hopeless. . .[1]

Evans strove for a permanent change in the habits of the Indians, which would change them from their wandering habits to the pursuit of agriculture and industry. This would "mortally" affect the fur trade. In the words of William Brooks, "Evans looked forward to it and Simpson feared it".[2]

As Father Belcourt had done at Baie St. Paul[3], Evans also challenged the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company by what legal right he commanded a monopoly on the fur trade. Some Indians apparently wanted to assist the Mission with annual donations of fur to it; Simpson, however, disallowed this, fearing that such practice "would tend to make the missions independent of the Company and at the same time reduce its (the Company's) revenue".[4]

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[1] M.M.S.C.M., op. cit., Evans to Simpson, June 10, 1845, MF A 271, p. 258.

[2] Brooks, op. cit., pp. 66.

[3] See page 128.

[4] Brooks, op. cit., p. 67.

The conflict was heightened by two other incidents. One occurred during the winter of 1844-45. Evans, while on an inland missionary journey, accidentally shot his accompanying aide, and friend Thomas Hassell, which caused him to be suspect of murder.[1] The other incident, which led to a trial after which he returned to England, happened in April of 1846. Evans was accused of having sexual relations with Indian girls under his care[2] and with Hassell's widow. Reid stated that:

> Governor Simpson employed "hirelings" to engage illiterate native testimony which was considered more than conclusive to blast Evans' character. The accidental shooting of Hassell is considered nothing less than murder, brought about by Evans in order to establish adulterous relations with his (Hassell's) wife. When he learned of the accusation against him, Evans lost no time in calling a "church trial".[3]

At the trial Evans, whose heart was broken, was completely vindicated of all charges. He returned to England where he died at the age of forty-five, on November 23, 1846, after having addressed a missionary meeting.[4]

The fued between Evans and the Company officials had

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[1] Brooks, op.cit., p. 58.

[2] Ibid., p. 71.

[3] McWilliams Essays, John Reid, op. cit., p. 5.

[4] Maclean, op. cit., p. 45.

far-reaching consequences. Radical changes in policy were made by the Company towards Methodist missions in the north-west:

> . . . Simpson and the officials of the Company decided to take this opportunity to restrict the whole Methodist cause in the north-west permanently and make it merely a static and declining cause entirely subordinate to the Company interest. . . Donald Ross was informed by the Governor that no one must "play the Bishop at Norway House" except Ross himself, who would be, in his capacity as Chief Factor, "prophet, priest and king". Any remaining missionary, such as Rev. Mason, would always be "merely acting under your advice".[1]

The whole incident "brings to light some rather unsavoury activity on the part of the Company. . .[2]

Evans' activities at Norway House were a success from missionary point of view. A village, which contained about three hundred souls, had been established where the Indians lived. Here they were taught the basic principles of Christianity and the arts of "civilization". They had been taught to read and write in their own language, agriculture had been encouraged and even some manufacturing had been attempted. Evans wrote thus about the manufacturing experiment:

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[1] Brooks, op. cit., p. 72.

[2] Ibid., p. 54.

> Several of the girls spin very well and knit stockings and gloves and mittens in a manner creditable to themselves -- straw bonnets and hats they are making, and their attempts are such that Mr. Ross had kindly proposed to open the market next summer and give them encouragement to sell their manufactures. We hope to be able to meet the expenses of the materials out of the profits. . .[1]

After his departure for England, not much is heard of this experiment in manufacturing and things would never again be the same as "Simpson had decided against the success of the mission project."[2]

Following Evans' untimely death in 1846, William Mason and Henry Steinhauer took charge of the Rossville Mission at Norway House. Steinhauer went to Oxford House in 1848 and Mason subsequently joined the Anglican Church in 1854 and transferred to York Factory. By 1848, William Mason would be the only European Methodist missionary remaining in Hudson Bay Territory. His colleagues had not been able to withstand the "anti-missionary" attitude of the Company officials, who wanted the missionarys to "join the other lackeys at the Company's establishments and act as glorified chaplains to the organization."[3]

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[1] M.M.S.C.M., op. cit., Evans to Secretary, March 3, 1846, MF A 272 p. 7.

[2] Brooks, op. cit., p. 72.

[3] Brooks, op. cit., p. 77.

After the Evans affair, the Company officials took every opportunity to work against the missionaries and to lower their prestige before "all classes of people".[1] Despite all of these difficulties, Mason and Steinhauer kept the mission in operation. A statistical report to the Secretaries in London tells the reader the size of the Mission when Mason and Steinhauer took over in 1846:

No. of members now in the Socity....	91
No. on trial.....	17
No. of chapels.....	1
No. of Missionaries.....	1
No. of Day School Teachers.....	2
No. of Sabbath School Teachers.....	4
No. of Local Preachers.....	1
No. of Sabbath Schools.....	1
No. of children in the Day School - Boys - 21, Girls - 21, Total....	42
No. attending the Sabbath School - Boys, Girls and Adults.....	65[2]

In 1854, the Methodist missionary work in Hudson Bay Territory was transferred to the Canadian Conference. This turn of events was partially due to the adverse financial circumstances of the Wesleyan Methodists.[3] Mason did not support this transfer and offered his services to the Bishop of Rupert's Land.[4] John Ryerson from Upper Canada was sent

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[1] Ibid., p. 78.

[2] M.M.S.C.M., Mason to Secretaries, December 15, 1846, MF A 272.

[3] Brooks, op. cit., pp. 84-85.

[4] M.M.S.C.M., Minutes of General Committee, January 18, 1854, p. 153, MF A 251.

out by the Wesleyan Missionary Society as a co-delegate and Deputation to the Wesleyan Missions in Hudson Bay Territory to inspect and to re-organize the Methodist Missions.[1] Accompanying Rev. J. Ryerson on his tour of the Methodist missions in Hudson Bay Territory was Thomas Hurlburt, who took charge of the Rossville Mission from William Mason. The state of the mission as Mason had left it was encouraging, at least in the view of Ryerson. On his visit to Norway House, he visited the Rossville school and described it thus:

> There were sixty-five children present, from five to fifteen years of age; about twenty were writing and reading in the New Testament, several were ciphering, two or three pretty well advanced in the knowledge of arithmetic; they sung very well -- music is one branch of science taught in the school.[2]

Mr. Ryerson continued to describe the village:

> The church is a neat wooden building, one storey high, well seated, and about thirty-five by forty-five feet on the ground; it will accomodate two hundred and fifty persons, and is usually well filled at the public services, especially the eleven o'clock service, with a congregation of exemplary and devout worshippers, who in personal appearance, etc., are in advance of any Indian congregation I ever saw in Canada. In the afternoon, accompanied by Mr. Steinhauer,

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[1] Lysecki, op. cit., p. 52.

[2] Ryerson, John, Hudson's Bay Company, Toronto: G.R. Sanderson, 1855, p. 89.

> I went through the village, and called on every family in it; the most of the houses were clean: the families in them appeared to be comfortable; but the agriculture of the place is far, very far behind what it ought to be. I was told that the village has been going back, in this respect, ever since the late Mr. Evan's time, who indeed was the founder of the Mission, and who, for a number of years, in many ways, was eminently useful among the Indians in this territory. There are about forty houses belonging to the settlement; several of them, however, are some distance from the village. The parsonage is a neat building, and sufficiently large to accommodate any ordinary family; it now needs some repairs; especially a new roof is indispensable. The school house is an excellent building, and of commodious size; a part of it has been partitioned off, and the room occupied for a printing office; this part will now be occupied by Miss Adams and the children of the female school.[1]

Miss Adams, a teacher, was one of Hurlburt's most useful helpers. The Methodist Archivist, John Maclean, wrote of her:

> The devoted school teacher . . . taught a large school during the day and spent her evenings in the training of the mothers and daughters in household duties, and in visiting the sick and needy in their homes. While learning the Cree language in her hours of leisure she gathered the girls of the mission to help her in stitching and binding books. By her energy three thousand copies of one of the Gospels and four Epistles printed on the rude press were stitched and bound, and thus made suitable for circulation among the native tribes of the north and west. A

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[1] Ibid., pp. 90-91.

> precious relic indeed would be one of these old books of the years 1855 and 1856, but it is doubtful if any are now in existance.[1]

Hurlburt returned to Upper Canada in 1857 because of ill health. His work at Norway House was left in the hands of Robert Brooking who had spent the last three years at Oxford House.[2] Brooking, like Hurburt, was to leave Mission in 1860 because of ill heath, after three years at Norway House.[3] He was replaced at Norway House by George McDougall who was appointed chairman of the Hudson's Bay District.[4] Charles Stringfellow, a missionary about whom little is known, followed Brooking at Oxford House in 1857.[5] He remained there until 1864 and moved to Norway House, where he stayed until 1868.

The readers' attention will now briefly be turned to some of the outlying mission stations beyond Norway House. One of the first Indian villages to be visited by the Methodist missionaries had been Fort Alexander. Nothing much, however, was ever established there in the way of a chapel and school. William Mason had been in charge of

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[1] Maclean, op. cit., p. 78.

[2] Ibid., p. 67.

[3] Stephenson, op. cit., p. 93.

[4] Ibid., p. 96.

[5] Maclean, op. cit., p. 79.

that location prior to his transfer to Norway House in 1843, but that was only on an itinerant basis. Peter Jacobs spent a short duration at Fort Alexander and there is some evidence that he taught some children. In a letter to the Secretary, dated at Fort Alexander in May, 1841, he wrote:

> The principle (sic) part of my time during the winter has been occupied in teaching a small school of nine children. Four of them when they left the school, that is when I ended my school could repeat by ear from the beginning to the ends the Church Catechism, and read very well in the new Testament. The other could read and spell well words of four letters and the other two, could read and spell -- ba, be, bi, bo, . . .
>
> I loved these little children very much when I was teaching them to read the word of God for themselves. I have loved them more because Christ said to Simon Peter feed my lambs.[1]

A month later he again corresponded with Robert Alder, the Secretary in London:

> . . . if I am to be continued (sic) in the Mission work, for I plainly see (sic) that, until I shall be ordained (sic) I shall command but very little respect as a Missionary among the heathens, . . . I have two boys that I ought to send to some good school. Peter is eight years and Charles is six years old. I have great confident (sic) in Peter of becoming a great man among his people and Nation, for he is very active boy (sic), and I think he should soon learn any language. . .[2]

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[1] M.M.S.C.M., Peter Jacobs to Secretary, Fort Alexander, May, 1841, MF A 270.

[2] Ibid., Peter Jacobs to Secretary, Fort Alexander, June, 1841, MF A 270.

After his brief stay at Fort Alexander, Jacobs taught at Norway House and then left the Manitoba scene for various points in Upper Canada.

Mason on several occasions visited Fort Alexander. In October, 1841, he wrote of such a visit saying:

> . . . (they) brought their families, saying they were desirous of learning the way to understand life. Here I baptized 28 native children and 7 families who consented to throw their idols away. . .[1]

He also wrote of the Indians being very anxious to cultivate the ground.

Three years later, Mason again journeyed to Fort Alexander for what appeared to be a brief period of instructing the Indians in the Gospel. He wrote to the Secretary of this journey and expressed fear of the priest who had seemingly introduced Catholicism:

> The Lord has graciously opened a door for his gospel. The word to all appearances has taken (I trust) deep root in their hearts. The Devil will be sure to rage and endeavour to overturn the good work and I dread the consequences of the introduction of Popery with all its accompanying evils which will be the certain result if the place be left without a missionary.[2]

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[1] Ibid., William Mason to Secretary, Fort Alexander, October 1841, MF A 270.

[2] Ibid., Mason to Secretary, Fort Alexander, October 1844, MF A 270.

In the same letter he goes on to write that evenings were spent teaching the Gosepl and the importance of a prayer life.[1]

Ten years later, a Methodist mission still had not been established at Fort Alexander. Rev. Ryerson, while passing through Fort Alexander on his deputation journey to the north-west in 1854 wrote to the Reverend Enoch Wood:

> . . . this is one of the most eligible places for establishing a mission and building a Mission Village to be found in the southern department of the Company's territory. . . Fort Alexander is in the centre of a country over which are scattered a great many Indians, who resort to the Fort every year in great numbers. . .[2]

The Methodists, owing to a lack of personnel, failed in subsequent years to establish a mission there, giving way to the Anglicans who sent a missionary there in 1855.[3]

Continuing northwards on his journey, Ryerson also saw great possibilities for the establishment of a mission at Berens River:

> Indians in this region were favourably disposed towards the Christian

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[1] Loc. cit.

[2] Ryerson, op. cit., p. 50, Ryerson to Enoch Wood, July 24th, 1854, Fort Alexander.

[3] See pages 219 and 220.

> religion, and were anxious that a Missionary should be sent to them, and a school established among them for the education of their children.[1]

Here too, like at Fort Alexander, a permanent mission failed to materialize under Methodist efforts.

The mission station at Jackson's Bay or Oxford Bay was opened by the Native, Henry Steinhauer in 1848. It is of interest to note that this mission was established twenty miles away from the Hudson's Bay Company post at Oxford House.[2] Perhaps that is indicative of the strained relations between the Company and missionaries in general. Here Steinhauer, through hard work, laid the foundations of what turned out to be a permanent mission. The school situation there left much to be desired. The first teacher at Oxford House seems to have been a delinquent student, John Taylor by name, who was expelled from St. John's Collegiate School for misbehaviour. Taylor, in a letter to James Ross, dated at Oxford House on September 1st, 1852, writes thus:

> Dear James: I was quite surprised to hear such news of A. Kennedy's, you know James how I behaved whilst at school and so I have tryed to behave better since I left. I believe A.K. said he saw me break a chair etc. It is true when I and James Isbister were playing once we knocked out the seat of an old chair but we did not break it,

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[1] Ibid., p. 75, Ryerson to Enoch Wood, August 10, 1854, Berens River.

[2] Maclean, op. cit., pp. 109-110.

> for we only started the nails, and A.K. was present at the time. I expect that was one of the shameful acts as he calls them, and as for the others they are not worth mentioning. But James I hope you don't believe that I am so bad as to break my master's chairs for nothing. And so I understand that I was removed for bad conduct. I hope not. W. Mason asked me if I would go to Oxford as they had no Schoolmaster there. . . I told him I would go as you want me to go. And now I am here teaching. I have 28 children on my list, but they don't attend regular. If they were all to attend I would have plenty (sic).[1]

In 1854, John Ryerson, on his visit to Oxford House, found the mission buildings still not completed. He was, however, encouraged by the garden that was very satisfactory.[2] Henry Steinhauer left for England with John Ryerson in 1854. After spending half a year in England he returned to Canada and was ordained in London, Ontario. Following his ordination he left for the West, remaining at Lac la Biche and White Fish Lake for the remainder of his life.[3] The Oxford House Mission was now put in charge of Rev. Robert Brooking with the Ojibway, John Sinclair, as the teacher. Writing to Ryerson from Oxford House on December 9, 1854, Sinclair reveals the still sad plight of the school situation there:

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[1]Ross Papers #131-41, John Taylor to James Ross, Oxford House, Sept. 1, 1852.

[2]Ryerson, op. cit., p. 98.

[3]Maclean, op. cit., p. 110.

> Since our arrival at this place we did not keep any kind of school that would benefit the children of this place, because we have not a book to teach them out of. If we should teach them, it would be only to teach them to repeat their lessons by heart which is not the proper means to make them know something. I do beg for them spelling and reading books, Testaments, Bibles, copy books, slates and slate pencils etc., etc. And I also beg for them some kind of musical instrument, that would amuse our children or to start out our tunes (such as accordeon and tune fork).[1] (sic)

During his visit to the north-west, Ryerson also saw inviting fields for mission work at Nelson River House and Churchill. Before departing, he spelled out his missionary philosophy:- one that considered a good Christian educational system as the key to successful missions:

> Day and Sabbath schools are indispensible adjuncts to the missions among the Indians: well qualified teachers are therefore almost as necessary in carrying on missionary work as the missionaries themselves. The schools are in the English language, but the teacher must understand the Indian also, and hence the great necessity of the Society more earnestly directing its attention to the educating and training of suitable persons to be employed as teachers in the schools. I believe that a school on some such plan as the Industrial Schools at Muncey Town and Alderville, should, and might be successfully established in some central place in the Territory. A school for the instruction of children both male and female, in the arts of life, and the rudiments of science, as well as in the principles of the Christian religion

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[1] Ryerson, op. cit., p. 170.

> forms the basis of the most efficient missionary exertions among the Indians.[1]

In 1857, Robert Brooking was replaced at the Oxford Mission by John Stringfellow who remained there until 1864, when he was transferred to Norway House.[2] John Sinclair remained at Oxford House, where some success was later made in agriculture under his leadership.[3]

George McDougall, who took over at Norway House from Brookings in 1860, had some severe criticisms of the Mission in general. Brooks wrote about them:

> (McDougall) noted that the Hudson's Bay Company was still carrying on the rum traffic. Methodist officials like Rev. John Ryerson never seemed to notice thingslike this and always found Company officials very charming. . .
>
> He noted that the Rossville (Norway House) and Jackson Bay (Oxford House) missions had been selected to reach the heathen and not for the quality of their arable land. Accordingly, agriculture was not practical on a large scale. The better land lay to the south and the food supply for the increasing number at the missions was yearly decreasing. At Norway House, everyone, humans and animals, lived on fish of which about 70,000 were needed each year. . . Eventually the source of the fish supply would be destroyed by

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[1] Ibid., p. 127.

[2] Brooks, op. cit., p. 109.

[3] Stephenson, op. cit., p. 113.

> overfishing... All the Indians were gradually drifting south.[1]

The picture that McDougall presented was in sharp contrast to the "idyllic picture presented by Ryerson only six years before".[2]

McDougall also hoped to see the Indians move to the prairies where they could by cultivating land be saved from starvation when hunting, trapping and fishing failed. McDougall was of the opinion that:

> The men who founded the missions were not in quest of farming locations. Their object was to save souls, and the missions were chosen to reach the people.[3]

George McDougall left Norway House in 1864 to work among the Indians in Saskatchewan and bands farther west. He was replaced at Norway House by Charles Stringfellow. In 1868, Egerton Ryerson Young took on the work at Norway House and remained there until 1873.[4]

In 1868, the Methodist mission work in Western Canada was divided into two large Districts: the Red River Settlement and the Rocky Mountain District. This was the beginning

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[1] Loc. cit.

[2] Cited in Lysecki, op. cit., p. 60.

[3] Stephenson, op. cit., p. 111.

[4] Ibid., p. 115.

of Methodist missions among the white settlers of Red River. Most of the missionaries, however, were still concerned with the Indian missions, as there was little white settlement.[1] This was also the first move towards the establishment of a Methodist "institutional edifice"[2] in the northwest which created the machinery for the establishment of Indian Residential Schools in the years following Manitoba's Confederation.

The Methodist missionaries, like the Anglicans, were also very concerned over the proselytizing activities of the Catholic missionaries.[3] The concern over Catholic methods of conversion is expressed by George McDougal in a letter written to Enoch Wood:

> The Papacy, the man of sin, is powerfully represented in this country. There are five priests to one Protestant missionary. They are anti-British in their national symapthies, and if we may judge a tree by its fruit, anti-Christ in their teachings.
>
> Their converts have a zeal, but their fervour prompts them to propagate a system and not a Saviour. By them the Sabbath is desecrated, polygamy tolerated and the Bible ignored. Their churches are the toy shops where the poor heathen get their playthings such as

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[1] Brooks, op. cit., p. 90.

[2] Ibid., p. 125.

[3] Also see p. 246.

> idols, beads and charms and where the Anglo is denounced as no better than a brute beast, or to quote from one of their sermons, "No better than the buffalo that herd upon the plains."
>
> They carry with them large pictures, representing two roads, one terminating in Paradise, the other in a bottomless pit. On the downward track all Protestants are travelling surrounded by demon spirits; while on the other road, throng all Roman Catholics, priests, nuns, etc.
>
> By these baptismal regenerationists the sacred ordinance has been so desecrated that many of the heathen receive it as they would a charm from one of their sorcerers. One of the tricks played by these gentlemen is, when a child is born in a Protestant family a female agent enters the tent, fondles the infant and then, professing to show it to their friends, carries it to the priest who baptizes the babe, but the policy of the missionary has been to avoid all controversy, and simply preach Christ. The very opposite has been the practice of the priest.[1]

Perhaps the deep religious animosity displayed among the white Christian missionaries (Catholic and Protestant) as illustrated in the above quotation, was often an obstacle to the missionaries in teaching the Natives the Christian principles, and a confusion to the latter. Confusing the Natives even more was the Company's "elaborate caste system which provided the backbone of European control" over them and the missionaries.[2]

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[1] Cited in Brooks, op. cit., p. 120, McDougall to Enoch Wood, August 23, 1869.

[2] Ibid., p. 78.

In 1870, after thirty years of missionary labour amongst the Indians in present day Manitoba territory, the Methodists could only boast two permanent mission stations - Rossville (Norway House) and Jackson Bay (Oxford House). Many Indians, however, had been turned to Christianity by the Methodist missionary teachers. Particularly encouraging from the missionary point of view was the fact that many Natives served in the capacity of assistants to the missionaries and were instrumental in carrying out the Christian oriented educational programs amongst their tribesmen.

Among the greatest of Methodist missionary achievements in the north-west was the introduction of the Cree syllabic system. It gave the missionary teachers and their students a new tool of education - the printed word. Pettipas states that:

> The employment of the syllabic system of writing served as a disintegrative factor in the perpetuation of oral traditions, i.e., the communication of legends which reinforced social values.[1]

The printed word thus became a catalyst employed by the missionaries of all denominations in the proselytizing process.

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[1] Pettipas, op. cit., p. 194.

The written literature available to the missionaries of all denominations for the period in question (prior to 1870) was all of the religious nature, for example, the catechism, the Bible, the Book of Common Prayer, scriptural readings, sermons and hymns.[1]

No doubt the majority of the Methodist missionaries made great personal sacrifice, and endured great hardship in bringing religious education to the Natives in the north-west. However dedicated and successful the missionaries were with the task at hand, the confusion and disunity which existed amongst the white missionaries and the Company officials must have caused many a Native to reason as Wulluck Twatt did:

> God has made us different from the white people, and has given us our mode of worship. The white people no doubt have their Religion from God, and the Indians have theirs from the same Being, and each one should keep the Religion God has given them.[2]

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[1] Loc. cit.

[2] Cited in Pettipas, op. cit., p. iv, Wulluck Twat, Thick-wood Cree, (1852).

CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

SUMMARY

Before the coming of the white man to North America the aborigines of this continent, commonly called Indians, had their own processes of learning and methods of education, however rudimentary. Their educational system had utilitarian value in that it facilitated their survival. The Indians were a deeply religious and superstitious people who believed that all of nature was controlled by supernatural spirits and forces whom they called upon for the needs and blessings that they desired. Religious beliefs intimately affected their whole way of life and in particular religion influenced their mode of teaching and learning.

Two unstructured curricula were generally recognized among the Indian people - one secular, and one religious. The secular one prepared the young generation for various tasks in life. The religious curriculum familiarized them with the spiritual world. Combined, the two curricula, entirely pragmatic, were designed to help the child train

for whatever way of life he was to lead - warrior, fisherman, hunter, chief, medicine man or wife and mother.[1]

When the white man came with his dissimilar religous ideologies and educational philosophies, the Indians gradually lost their traditional way of life. The objects of evangelization and teaching at the hands of the missionaries they could not withstand the impact of European civilization with its advanced technology, structured Christian ideologies and educational philosophies.

The first white settlers arrived in Rupert's Land in 1811, approximately one and a half centuries after the first traders arrived. Shortly thereafter came the first Christian missionaries. The main commission of these religious people was to educate, evangelize and civilize the Indian.[2] The first Christian missionaries at Red River were Roman Catholics. Soon after arriving at The Forks in 1818, Father Provencher and Father Dumoulin began organizing schools - one in St. Boniface, the other at Pembina. The course of studies for the Natives included religion, manual labour and agriculture with some classic education for the "intelligent" students. By 1827, four schools had been established under the church; two in St. Boniface, one primary and one for the more advanced pupils in 1823.

[1]Cardinal, op. cit., p. 52.

[2]Not necessarily in that order.

The latter was in fact, if not in name, the beginning of St. Boniface College. Of the other two schools, one was located at St. Francois-Xavier and one among the freemen on the prairie. In 1829, the first girls' school was opened in St. Boniface with Miss Angelique Nolin as teacher. At this school, among other things, weaving was taught which in essence was the introduction of European household skills among the Natives.

At numerous other outlying points, missions to the Natives were started. In 1832, Father Georges Antoine Belcourt came to Manitoba and opened a mission and school at Baie St. Paul (St. Eustache) on an experimental basis. There Belcourt drafted a grammer of the Chippewa language and involved the Indians in agriculture. This mission was abandoned in 1847 when Father Belcourt was recalled to Quebec at the request of the Hudson's Bay Company officials. There was nobody to replace him. Another mission was opened at Baie des Canards (Duck Bay) in 1840 by Father Darveau. Ten years later this mission was also closed down. Belcourt and Darveau today are known as the forerunners of Catholic Indian missions in northern Manitoba.

The arrival of the Grey Nuns in 1844 at Red River proved to be a significant event for Native education.

Shortly after their arrival, they established a school in St. Boniface which had a large enrollment. By 1860, convents had been built at St. Vital, St. Norbert and White Horse Plains. Many Native children received a religious oriented education at these convents. The Oblate Fathers of the Order of Mary Immaculate came to the north-west in 1845. They journeyned among the Indians of Western Canada. In Manitoba, after 1850, northern missions were not again pursued until the 1880's.

The first Protestants to arrive in the north-west prior to 1870 came under the auspices of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Church Missionary Society. John West, an Anglican, came to Red River in 1820 as chaplain to the Hudson's Bay Company. In addition to his duties as Company chaplain, he was appointed superintendent of a missionary establishment at Red River for the Church Missionary Society which included a school with Mr. Harbidge as teacher. Shortly after John West arrived, he became intensely interested and burdened with the material, moral and spiritual welfare of the Native people all around him; so much so that Governor George Simpson and other Company officials became unsympathetic with his grandiose plans for the "civilization" of the Indians. A principle the Rev. John West established at the outset of his mission was that Native children should be placed in a boarding

school located at Red River. Wherever and whenever possible, he gathered Indian children and had them brought to a boarding school he established near the site of the present St. John's Cathedral in Winnipeg. At this school the children were taught the first principles of the Christian religion and agriculture. Mr. West dreamed of training a Native clergy, catechists and teachers who would then go and evangelize and teach their own people. So zealous was the Rev. John West in the development of education for Native people that Governor Simpson of the Company feared the ultimate disruption of the fur trade. Simpson had West dismissed while the missionary was on furlough in England in 1823. John West, nevertheless, had begun what could be termed as a "successful venture in Indian missions in Manitoba". The Reverend David Jones, afterwards assisted by Rev. William Cockran, succeeded Rev. John West. As the years passed by, parishes with schools were organized north along the Red River. By 1844, there were nine schools in the Protestant parishes. The Indian Settlement near East Selkirk was commenced in 1832 and became the Parish of St. Peter's shortly thereafter. This mission at the Indian Settlement was the first attempt on the part of the Church Missionary Society to change the habits and life-style of a whole band of Indians through education and evangelization

from a nomadic one to the pursuit of agriculture. With the advent of the Indian Settlement, most of the Indian children from the boarding school at the Forks were transferred to an industrial school which was built near the Indian Settlement. Henceforth, the Anglicans carried on most education of Native people away from the Forks, where Rev. John West had first begun a school in 1820.

The Anglicans also commenced missionary activity in numerous outlying points of Manitoba territory prior to 1870. During his incumbency at Red River, Rev. John West had made several missionary journeys including one to the Esquimaux as far north as Seal River. He had also visited Partridge Crop on Lake Manitoba where approximately twenty years later Abraham Cowley began the Fairford Mission. One of the most "successful" Anglican missionary endeavors was the station at The Pas. It was fitting that Henry Budd, a Native himself, and one of the first boys in John West's boarding school, was the founding missionary-teacher there. By 1870, the Anglican Church missionaries had expanded to many other northern locations - Churchill, York Factory, Moose Lake, Fort Alexander, Scanterbury and others. The Anglican Church also established a theological seminary in which to train a Native clergy, teachers and catechists, one of the original objectives of John West. The role of St. John's theological college at Red River was unparalleled

in the entire north-west. By 1870, many of the Native people trained in the Church Missionary Society schools and St. John's were in the field, teaching and preaching the Gospel to their own people. John West's plan of a missionary training centre had become a reality in Rupert's Land.

A second Protestant denomination, the Methodists, began its missionary and educational work among the Natives in the north-west in 1840. At the invitation of the Hudson's Bay Company, the Rev. James Evans, Henry Steinhauer, Peter Jacobs and the Rev. William Mason went to Norway House. Norway House was the centre station from which they served York Factory, Oxford House, Cumberland House, Beren's River, Nelson River and Fort Alexander. A highlight of Methodist activity at Norway House was the translation of the Bible into the Cree language by James Evans and his associates. Earlier while in Upper Canada, Evans had developed a Cree syllabic system. It was later adopted by the missionaries of other denominations and successfully utilized in the evangelization and teaching of Indians. James Evans, the chairman of Methodist Missionary activities at Norway House, like John West and Father Belcourt before him, became involved in a serious conflict with the Hudson's Bay Company. The Company officials succeeded in having him dismissed. William Mason and Henry Steinhauer succeeded

James Evans. By 1870, the Methodists could boast only two permanent missionary establishments in the north-west - Oxford House and Rossville, at Norway House. The other locations, such as Berens River, Cumberland House and others, were served by unordained Native lay people and itinerant missionaries. The Methodists, fortunate in having numerous missionaries of Indian ancestry who served as teachers and catechists, had made some encouraging advances in agriculture and industry at Rossville.

CONCLUSION

The first efforts to acquire missionary teachers for the settlement at Red River were made by its founder Lord Selkirk. In his pamphlets[1] he made a special request to the British government for schools, especially schools of industry, and for the permanent settlement of the aborigines. The first settlers also requested schools and Miles Macdonell, the governor of the newly formed colony, tried to oblige the settlers on the matter of education. Thus, the initial appeals for education at Red River came first from Lord Selkirk himself who desired to change the Indian's nomadic way of life to a sedentrary one in the European sense of the word; and second, from the newly arrived European white settlers at Red River who desired to see their own children enlightened through education. In 1818, Selkirk succeeded in recruiting missionaries of the Roman Catholic faith. Two years later, a Protestant minister of the Anglican faith was obtained under the auspicies of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Church Missionary Society. The missionaries, enlisted for Red River from the respective Christian denominations for the purpose of establishing missions, were also to institute mission schools based on the parochial system. The

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[1] See Chapter V.

missionaries and the respective Churches that sponsored them seized this opportunity to entertain what they long had desired to do - to bring the Gospel of Christ to the Indians in the north-west, thus hastening their "civilization."[1]

The main objective of the Churches was to "civilize" the Natives through education and evangelization. Unfortunately for the Natives, this was extremely confusing as both Protestants and Catholics saw this as an avenue of perpetuating their separate creeds. Religious animosity, competition and bigotry, not necessarily in that order, between the Roman Catholics and Protestants[2] often resulted in mass baptisms and confirmations of ill-prepared Native people. A major portion of the curriculum was religious indoctrination.

The Hudson's Bay Company was interested in the education of Native children as well as the white children from the outset of the missionaries' arrival. Their attention, however, was chiefly directed at the half-breed and Indians surrounding the Company posts. The Company officials objected to the type of educational system sought by the missionaries, namely, changing the Indians' way of life

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[1] See pages 85, 86 and 153.

[2] See Chapter 5.

from a hunting one to a sedentary one of agriculture and industry. This would ultimately interfere with their fur trading activities. William Howard Brooks has pointed out that the Hudson's Bay Company only tolerated the aims of the missionaries as long as they did not conflict with Company policy.[1] The experiences of John, West, Father Belcourt and James Evans were but three instances where Company autocracy was illustrated. Both John West and James Evans were recruited at the request of the Hudson's Bay Company; however, the Company did not support their fervent evengelical missionary zeal. Any preaching or teaching that would interfere with practices such as Sunday trading, the use of liquor and a monopoly on furs, was not tolerated by the Company officials. A profitable fur trade was the aim of the Company. The missionaries wanted to save souls and the schools were a means to this end. In the event of a disagreement the Company officials invariably over-ruled the missionaries.

Thus, by 1870, many Natives of Manitoba territory had been subjected to a half century of education oriented towards religion. The curriculum was primarily of a religious nature accompanied with the teaching of agriculture and industry. The Indian was often exposed to two versions

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[1] See page 235.

of religious instruction - Roman Catholic and Protestant. They were perplexed by the doctrinal differences of Roman Catholicism and Protestantism and the poor example set by many of the Christian white traders and Hudson's Bay Company employees, who seemed to undo what the missionaries were trying to teach. Still strong in the mind of the Indian was his own set of religious beliefs and values inherited from his forefathers. White efforts at educating the Indian through religious indoctrination cannot be termed a success in spite of the valiant efforts of missionaries for the period under investigation.

With the exception of a few Natives such as Budd and Steinhauer all of the literature, manuscripts and letters available for the research of this study was written and recorded by white men or by Natives who had been thoroughly indoctrinated by the missionaries. Had the Natives recorded an account of their education at the hands of the missionaries this study would no doubt have been quite different.

A P P E N D I C E S

APPENDIX A

THE SELKIRK TREATY*

In the year 1811, the Earl of Selkirk purchased from the Governor and Company of Adventurers trading into Hudson's Bay, in consideration of ten shillings and certain agreements and understandings contained in the Indenture, a large tract of territory within Rupert's Land described in the Indenture as follows:

"All that tract of land or territory being within and forming part of the aforesaid lands and territories of the said Governor and Company, bounded by an imaginary line running as follows, that is to say, beginning on the western shore of the Lake Winnipec, otherwise Winnipeg, at a point in fifty-two degrees and thirty north latitude and thence running due west to the Lake Winnipegoos, otherwise called Little Wimnipeg, then in a southerly direction through the said Lake so as to strike its western shore in latitude fifty-two degrees, then due west to the place where the parallel of fifty-two degrees north latitude intersects the western branch of Red River, otherwise called Asseniboine River, then due south from that point of intersection to the

*Morris, Alexander, The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba, the North-West Territories, and Kee-Wa Tin, (Toronto: Willing & Williamson, 1880, pp. 13-15).

height of land which separates the waters running into Hudson's Bay from those of the Missouri and Mississippi, then in an easterly direction along the said height of land to the source of the River Winnipic, or Winnipeg (meaning by such last named river the principal branch of the waters which unite in Lake Sagenagos), thence along the main stream of these waters and the middle of the several lakes through which they flow to the mouth of the Winnipec River and thence in a northerly direction through the middle of Lake Winnipic to the place of beginning." The deed is accompanied by a map intended to show the tract of country, and there is an endorsement on the map that as the surveys were not sufficient to ascertain with precision whether, latitude 52° does intersect the river called Red or Assiniboine River, it was agreed, that in case the waters of the Red River, shall on more accurate survey be found, not to extend so far north as latitude 52°, then the west boundary of the tract of land intended to be within the grant, should be a line drawn due north and south, through the post upon the Red River, marked on the plan as "Carlton House".

The Company reserved the right to call upon the Earl to set off one-tenth, however, of the tract for the use of the servants of the Company - and the Earl covenanted, within ten years, to settle within the tract one thousand families,

each of them consisting of one married couple at the least, on pain of revocation of the grant, if on receipt of notice to that effect from the Company he did not, within three years after the receipt of the notice, complete the settlement of the one thousand families.

In pursuance of his obligations, Lord Selkirk, in the autumn of the year 1811, sent out a number of families from the County of Sutherland, in Scotland, who spent the winter at Fort Churchill on the western shore of Hudson's Bay. On the arrival of spring, they travelled thence to the confluence of the Assinboine and Red Rivers, and thus was commenced the interesting settlement of the Red River, which is now included in the Province of Manitoba. It is not my purpose to notice here the eventful history of the Selkirk colonists, and I will only note the fact that in 1836, the Company bought back the whole tract, from the heirs of Lord Selkirk, for the sum of £84,000, the rights of colonists who had purchased land between 1811 and 1836, being respected.

In the year 1817 the Earl of Selkirk, visited his wide domain, and entered into negotiations with the Indian tribes, for the extinction of their title, to a tract of land described as follows:

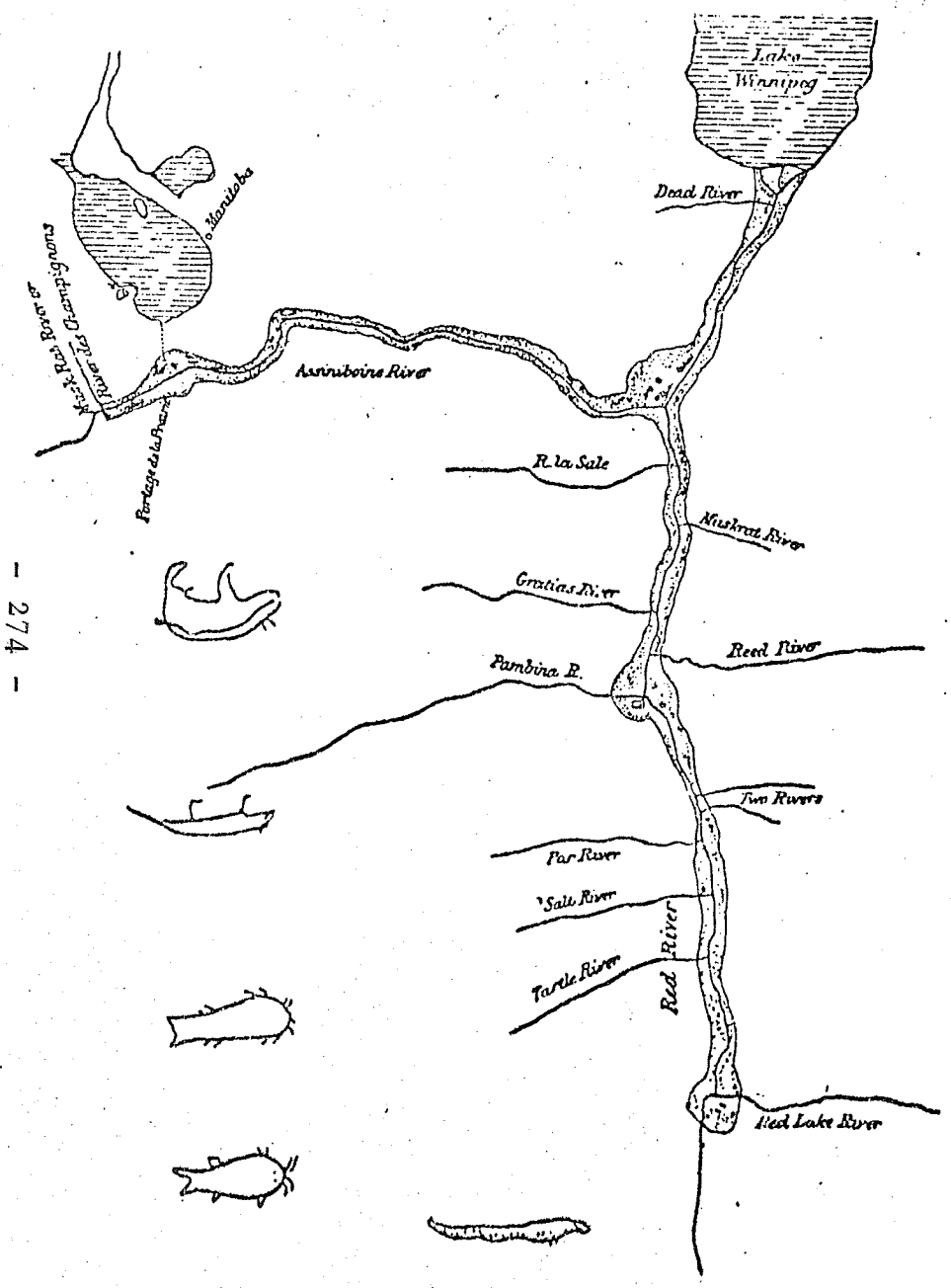
"All that tract of land adjacent to Red River and Assiniboine River, beginning at the mouth of Red River and

extending along the same as far as Great Forks at the mouth of Red Lake River, and along Assiniboine River as far as the Musk Rat River, otherwise called Riviere des Champignons, and extending to the distance of six miles from Fort Douglas on every side, and likewise from Fort Doer, and also from the Great Forks and in other posts extending in breadth to the distance of two English statute miles back from the banks of the river".

The Indians then inhabiting the region described as being of the Chippawa or Saulteaux and Killistine or Cree nations. They were made to comprehend, the depth of land they were surrendering, by being told, that it was the greatest distance, at which a horse on the level prairie could be seen, or daylight seen under his belly between his legs. The consideration for the surrender, was, the payment of one hundred pounds of merchantable tobacco, for each nation annually.

The treaty was signed by Lord Selkirk and by five Indian chiefs, who affixed thereto drawings of the animals after which they were named, by way of signature, a facsimile of which will be found elsewhere. The surrender was to the Sovereign, Lord, King George the Third. The treaty was accompanied by a map which shows that the tract surrendered extended to Grand Forks in what is now United States territory.

MAP I



(Signed) Selkirk

Mache Wkoseah
His Mark
Le Sonnant

Machkadewikonaie
His Mark
La Robe Noire

Kayajieskebinoa
L'homme Noir

Pegowis
His Mark

Ouckidoat
His Mark

Premier

Signed in Presence of

Thomas Thomas

James Bird

F. Matthey Cap:

P. d'Orsonnens Cap.

Miles Macdonell

I. B. Ch. de Lorimier

Louis Nolin Ir.

MAP TO SHOW LANDS AT RED RIVER CONVEYED BY INDIAN CHIEFS TO THE EARL OF SELKIRK IN 1817.

Facsimile from Register "A."

APPENDIX B

MAP II

LOCATION OF THE NATIVE PEOPLES OF THE PRAIRIES IN RELATION TO THE ZONES OF VEGETATION

KEY:

(1) TUNDRA

(2) SUBARCTIC FOREST

(3) NORTHERN CONIFEROUS FOREST

(4) MIXED WOODS

(5) ASPEN GROVE

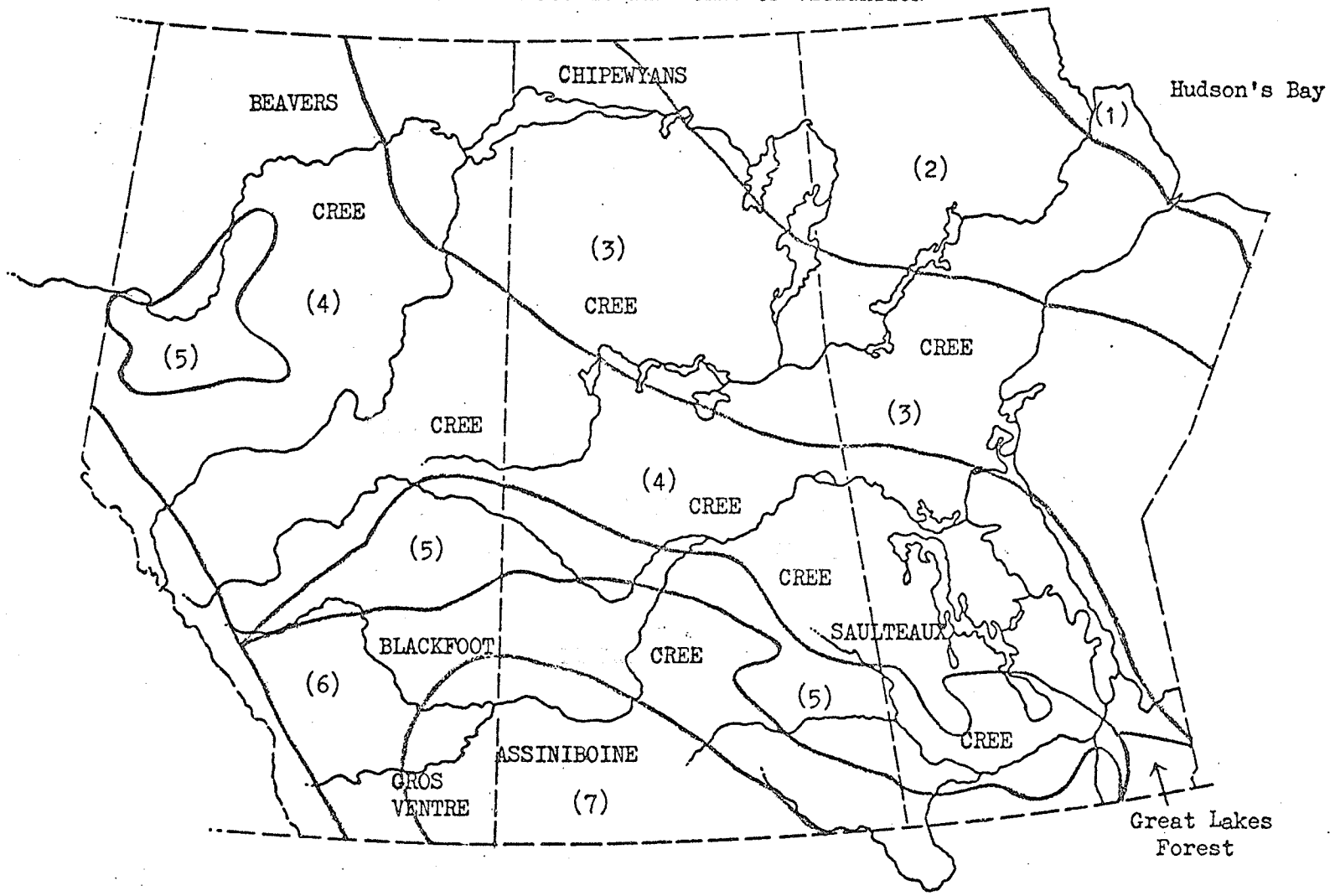
(6) MIXED GRASS PRAIRIE

(7) SHORT GRASS PRAIRIE

MAP II

LOCATION OF THE NATIVE PEOPLES OF THE PRAIRIES

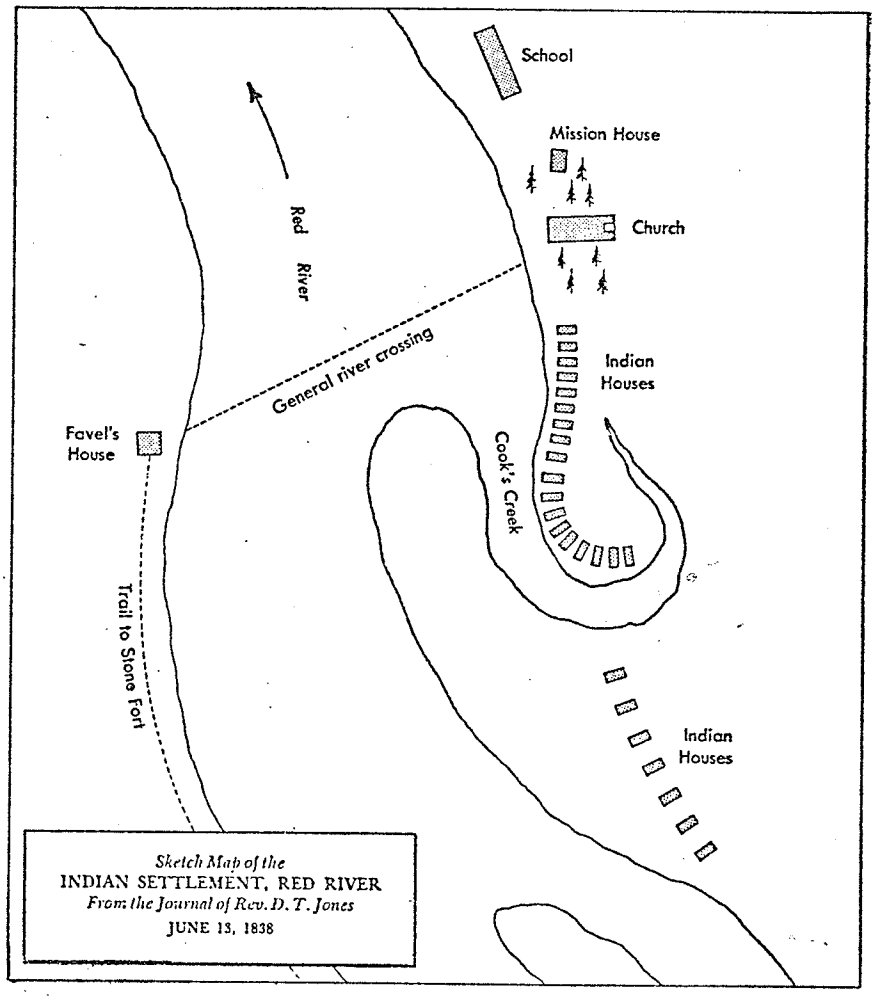
IN RELATION TO THE ZONES OF VEGETATION



APPENDIX C

MAP III

INDIAN SETTLEMENT IN 1838 NEAR THE PRESENT TOWN OF EAST SELKIRK



This map taken from T. Boon, The Anglican Church From the Bay to the Rockies, (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1962).

APPENDIX D

MAP IV

ANGLICAN MISSIONARY ACTIVITY IN MANITOBA

1820-1870

KEY:

A. NORWAY HOUSE

B. YORK FACTORY

C. THE PAS

D. MOOSE LAKE

E. FAIRFORD

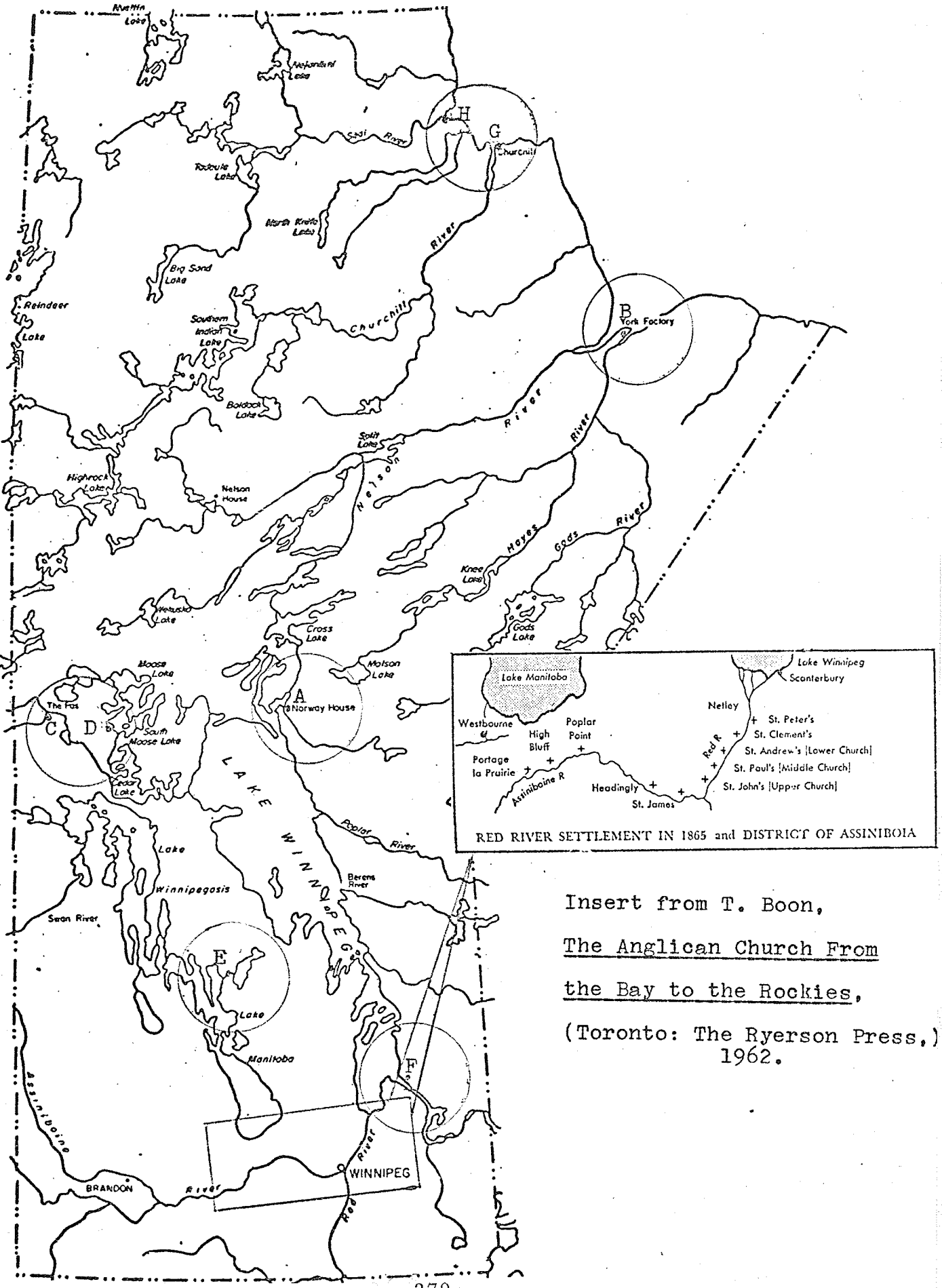
F. FORT ALEXANDER

G. CHURCHILL

H. SEAL RIVER

MAP IV

ANGLICAN MISSIONARY ACTIVITY IN MANITOBA
1820-1870



Insert from T. Boon,

<u>The Anglican Church From the Bay to the Rockies</u>,

(Toronto: The Ryerson Press,) 1962.

APPENDIX E

MAP V

METHODIST MISSIONARY ACTIVITY IN MANITOBA 1840-1870

KEY:

A. NORWAY HOUSE

B. YORK FACTORY

C. OXFORD HOUSE

D. BEREN'S RIVER

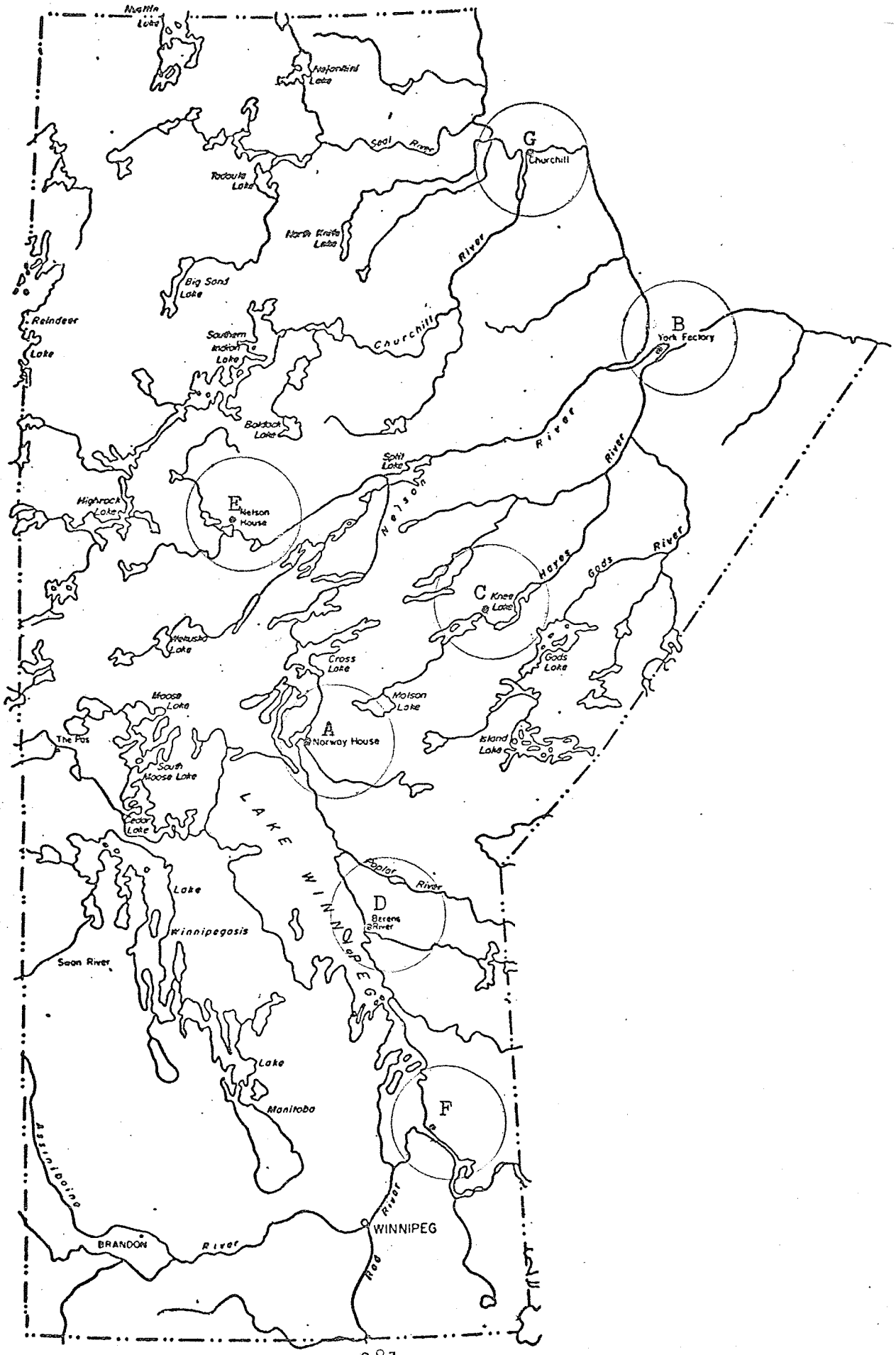
E. NELSON HOUSE

F. FORT ALEXANDER

G. CHURCHILL

MAP V

METHODIST MISSIONARY ACTIVITY IN MANITOBA 1840-1870



APPENDIX F

MAP VI

ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONARY ACTIVITY IN MANITOBA

1818-1870

KEY:

A. THE PAS

B. DUCK BAY

C. ST. LAURANT

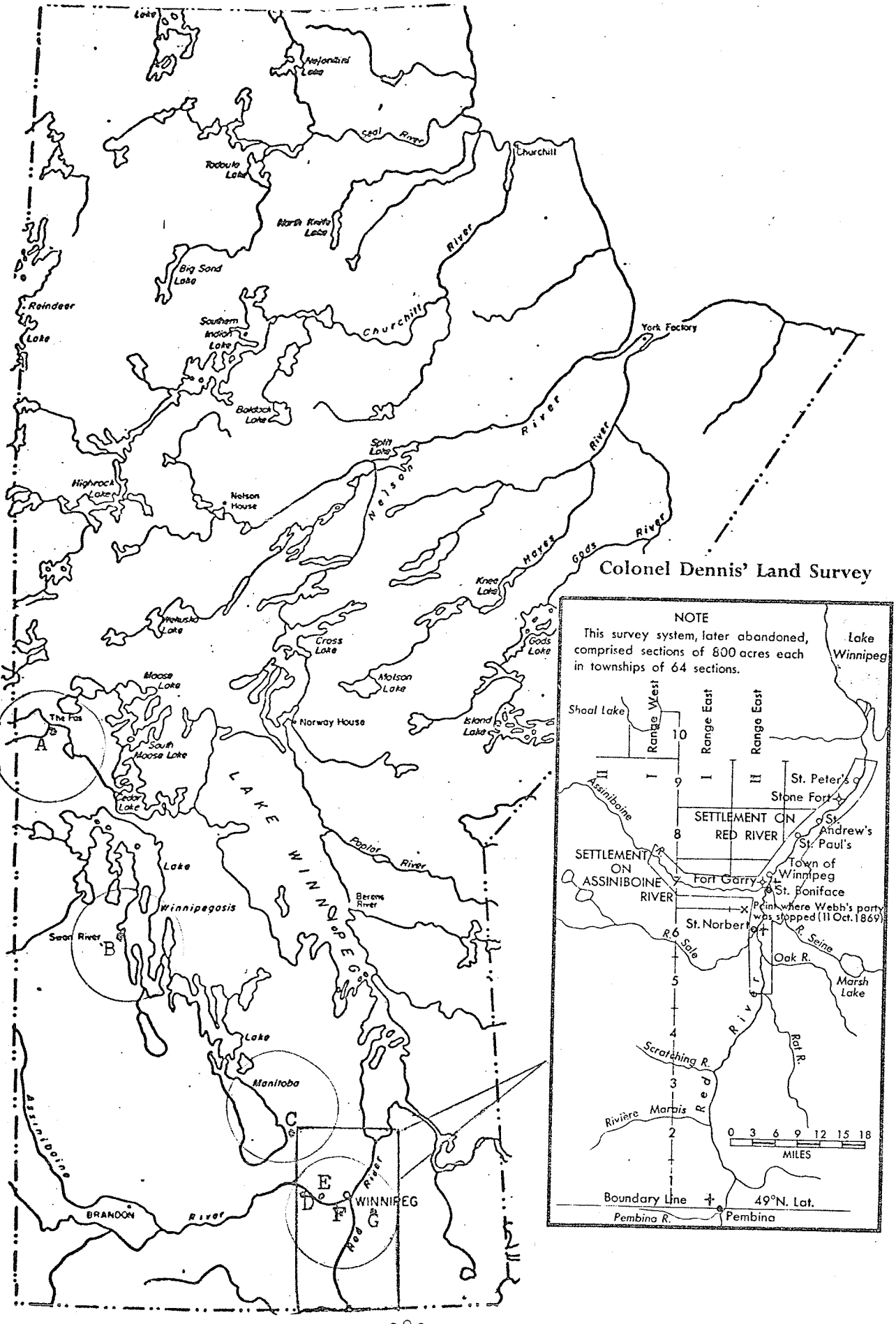
D. BAIE ST. PAUL (ST. EUSTACHE)

E. ST. FRANCOIS-XAVIER

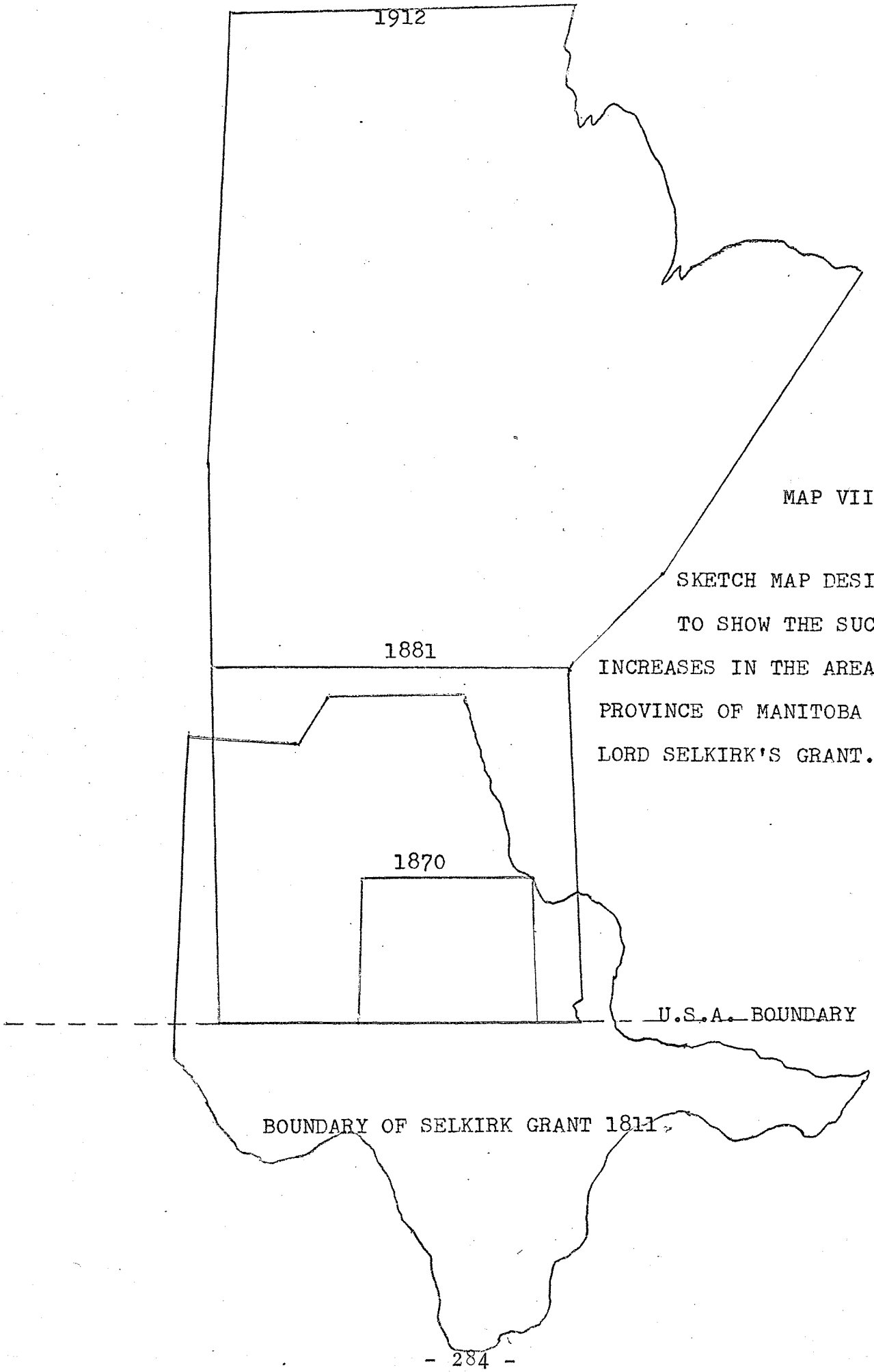
F. ST. CHARLES

G. STE. ANNE

MAP VI
ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONARY ACTIVITY IN MANITOBA
1818-1870



Colonel Dennis' Land Survey



MAP VII

SKETCH MAP DESIGNED TO SHOW THE SUCCESSIVE INCREASES IN THE AREA OF THE PROVINCE OF MANITOBA AND LORD SELKIRK'S GRANT.

APPENDIX H

IV. THE NATIVE PASTORATE AND ORGANISATION OF NATIVE CHURCHES*

First Paper, Issued 1851

Minute upon the Employment and Ordination of Native Teachers

General Principles

The advanced state of missions having rendered it desirable to record the views of the Society upon the employment and ordination of native teachers, the following particulars are given for the information of its missionaries:--

1. In all questions relating to the settlement of a native Church in any mission field, it is important to keep in view the distinction between the office of a Missionary, who preaches to the heathen, and instructs inquirers or recent converts -- and the office of a Pastor, who ministers in holy things to a congregation of native Christians.

2. Whilst the work of a missionary may involve for a time the pastoral care of newly-baptized converts, it is important that, as soon as settled congregations are formed, such pastoral care should be devolved upon native teachers, under the missionary's superintendence.

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*Reverend W. Knight, The Missionary Secretariat of Henry Venn, B.D., (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1880).

3. The native teacher who approved himself 'apt to teach' is appointed to the office of a Catechist. The office of a catechist has been always recognised in the Church of Christ for evangelistic work, his function being to preach to the heathen, and to minister in congregations of converts until they are provided with a native pastor.

4. As a general rule, a catechist should be presented to the Bishop for ordination only with a view to his becoming pastor of some specified native congregation or district. The cases in which a native may be ordained for direct evangelistic work, or while engaged in missionary education, must be regarded as exceptional.

5. Ordination is the link between the native teachers and the native Church. Native teachers are to be regarded after their ordination, as pastors of the native Church rather than as the agents of a foreign Society, or of other independent parties. Their social position should be such as is suitable to the circumstances of the native Church; and their emoluments must be regulated by the ability of the native Church to furnish the maintenance of their pastors. Care must therefore be taken to guard native teachers from contracting habits of life too far removed from those of their countrymen.

6. The attempts which have been made by this Society to

train up native missionaries and pastors by an European education, and in collegiate establishment, having convinced the Committee that, under the present circumstances of missions, native missionaries and pastors may be best obtained by selecting from among the native catechists those who have approved themselves faithful and established Christians, as well as 'apt to teach,' and by giving to such persons a special training in Scriptural studies, in the vernacular language.

7. While any district continues a missionary district, the native pastors located in it are, as a general rule, to be under the superintendence of a missionary or of some other minister, appointed by the Society; until, by the Christian progress of the population, the missionary district may be placed upon a settled ecclasiastical system: it being also understood that the Society is at liberty to transfer a native pastor to the office of a native missionary, and to place him in the independent charge of a missionary district if his qualifications have entitled him to that position.

8. It is desirable that all native congregations should contribute to a fund for the payment of the salaries of native pastors, but that no payment should be made direct from the congregation to the pastor.

9. To encourage native ordination, the Society will continue

to pay to a catechist, who may be presented by them for ordination, the same salary which he received as catechist, as long as the infancy of the native Church may seem to require it; whatever addition may be requisite for his maintenance as an ordained pastor must be supplied from local resources, and, if possible, from native endowments, or the contributions of the native Church to a general fund for native pastors.

10. Regarding the ultimate object of a mission, viewed under its ecclesiastical aspect, to be the settlement of a native Church, under native pastors, upon a self-supporting system, it should be borne in mind that the progress of a mission mainly depends upon the training up and the location of native pastors; and that, as it has been happily expressed, 'the euthanasia of a mission' takes place when a missionary surrounded by well-trained native congregations, under native pastors, is able to resign all pastoral work into their hands, and gradually to relax his superintendence over the pastors themselves, till it insensibly ceases; and so the mission passes into a settled Christian community. Then the missionary and all missionary agency should be transferred to 'the regions beyond.'

Paragraphs 2, 3, and 9 would imply that the infant congregations should be placed under the pastoral care of

a native teacher (catechist), who would be one of the Society's agents, receiving pay from the Society's funds. This was subsequently modified. (See 'Second Paper, paragraphs 8 and 9.) Moreover, paragraph 9 in this first paper arranges that the native pastor should receive part of his salary direct from the Society, but the present regulation is that the whole of his salary should be drawn from the Native Church Fund; the Society's contribution, where necessary, being given in the form of a grant-in-aid to that fund.[1]

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[1] Cited in Pettipas, op. cit., Appendix I.

APPENDIX I

MEMORANDUM FROM REV. WEST TO SIR GEROGE MURRAY*

The following Plan is humbly submitted to His Majesty's Government as mentioned in the accompanying letter "For Promoting Civilization and Improvment of the North American Indians within the British Territory.

No account has hithertoo been obtained, as to their numbers, but geographically considered, they probably amount to some hundred of thousands, as traversing a Country not to be measured by millions of square miles, but only by degrees of latitude and longitude and extending from the Atlantic, to the North Pacific Ocean, and from the boundary line of the United States to the Polar Regions.

1. A Seminary or School should be established in each of the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, for the maintenance and instruction of Indian children of both sexes, -- to be taught English reading (still retaining their own language), Arithmetic and Scriptural Knowledge, and in lieu of agriculture, and the useful arts of civilized life taught the boys, the girls should learn Needle-work, Knitting and

*E.E.P.R.L., M/S 1002, John West Files.

Household work in general.

2. Well-qualified and judicious persons should be sent out, or engaged, to superintend and conduct these schools, or seminaries, which it is reasonable to suppose would afford from time to time, some intelligent and well principled youths of both sexes, to be sent out as teachers to the tribes in the interior.

3. Stations may also be fixed upon in the other British Provinces, and among some of the Tribes in the Wilderness, where it is known competent practical agents may be the means of assisting the Indians in their location, and of establishing Schools of Industry, and Instruction among them under every prospect of the most beneficial and satisfactory results.

The foregoing suggestions are offered under a full persuasion, that the Plan is a practicable one and that the Schools being established by Government would produce the happiest effects on the minds of the Chiefs so that there would be no want of Indian children for admission to the separate Institutions, and also, that it may be carried into effect, without creating any additional burden of expense to His Majesty's Government, but rather to the gradual reduction of the expenses in the Indian Department. A Term, it is humbly conceived, may be most beneficially

and gradually withdrawn from the supposed large amount annually expended for "Presents" to the Indians, and appropriated for the support and operation of the Plan suggested -- and by Government gradually changing their mode of expenditure by giving Implements of Husbandry, seed-corn, &tc., &tc., for encouraging their location, and placing young men on Farms, and in Trades as they came out of their Seminaries and Schools, the Indians would be far more substantially benefitted, and the supposed reduction in their expenses takes place, while at the same time His Majesty's Government would obtain a greater influence on them, as Tribe after Tribe, was reclaimed from a state of wretchedness, and lamentable ignorance in which they now wander through the British Territories, under circumstances of great commiseration.

John West.

Chettle Rectory,
Sarum - Nov. 30th, 1829.

The Right Honble
Sir George Murray, G.C.B.
&ce, &ce, &ce.

p.s. Board of Education to be established framed of native influential Persons who should direct a course of Scriptural Instruction among the B.N. American Indians at the expense of Government.

APPENDIX J

PEGUIS. . . CHIEF OF THE SALTEAUX INDIANS*

In Kildonan Park, just north of the Pavilion, stands a monument to Peguis, perhaps the best known of all Manitoba's Indians. Peguis was chief of the Salteaux who inhabited part of the land in the proximity of the Red River Settlement. He was noted for his friendship for the whites, and particualarly for the Selkirk Settlers.

Before and after the disastrous affair at Seven Oaks, when Governor Semple and a band of Selkirk Settlers were killed, the great influence of Peguis in behalf of the Settlers did much toward the perpetuation of the Colony. It was in great part due to his protection that the survivors of the settlement got safely on their way to Jack River, where they remained for a time.

In 1817, Lord Selkirk, whom the Indians called Silver Chief, held a conference at which Peguis was a signatory to a treaty made with the Indians whereby they released the lands from any future claims. Chief Peguis proudly carried with him, wherever he went, a letter from Lord Selkirk testifying to his great services. The famous letter reads as follows:--

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*"Manitoba Calling", Vol. VII - No. 10, October, 1943.

"The bearer, Peguis, one of the principal chiefs of all the Chipeways or Salteaux of Red River has been a steady friend of the Settlement ever since its establishment and has never deserted its cause in its greatest reverses.

"He has often exerted his influence to restore peace, and having rendered most essential services to the Settlers in their distress, deserves to be treated with favour and distinction by the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company and by all friends of peace and good order."

(Signed) Selkirk
Fort Douglas, July 17, 1817.

This letter was supported later by one written by Sir George Simpson, written on a square of buffalo hide. Peguis was also given a small pension by the Hudson's Bay Company.

The beautiful monument to the memory of Chief Peguis, erected by the Lord Selkirk Association of Rupert's Land in 1923, bears the following inscription:

"In memory of Peguis, Chief of the Salteaux Indians, and in grateful recognition of his good offices to the early settlers. One of the first converts to Christianity of his race; he died in 1864 and his body rests in the old

cemetery of St. Peter's Church, near Selkirk, where he was a devout worshipper.

"Peguis has been a steady friend of the Settlement ever since its establishment, and has never deserted its cause in its greatest reverses. -- Lord Selkirk, 1817."

APPENDIX K

A list of names of some of the Natives who were converted to Protestantism by the missionaries in Rupert's Land* and who subsequently became servants of their respective Church and/or the Hudson's Bay Company:

Henry Budd - Anglican, Cree half-breed, first ordained Native clergyman in Rupert's Land, The Pas.

Henry Budd Jr. - Anglican, Cree half-breed, Nepowewin, ordained clergyman, died of tuberculosis in 1865.

Henry Cockran - Anglican, Saulteaux from the Indian Settlement, the third Native to be ordained. Died at the Jackhead mission in 1898.

Joseph Cook - Anglican, half-breed, catechist and teacher at Indian Settlement.

Thomas Cook - Anglican, half-breed, ordained clergyman, The Pas and Fort Ellice.

Peter Erasmus - Anglican, Saulteaux, school teacher at The Pas.

Thomas Hassell - Methodist, Chippewyan, teacher at Rossville, accidentally shot by James Evans.

James Hope - Anglican, Saulteaux, son of Withewcapo, servant of the Company and missionary-teacher at Red Deer Lake and Athabasca District.

John Hope - Anglican, Saulteaux, son of Withewcapo, servant of the Company and missionary in Athabasca District.

Alexander Isbister - Anglican, half-breed, M.A. University of Edinburgh in 1858.

Peter Jacobs - Methodist, Ojibway, missionary and teacher at Norway House etc.

John A. Mackay - Anglican, half-breed, ordained archdeacon.

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*Prior to 1870 not a single Native convert to Catholicism entered the priesthood in the entire north-west.

Robert McDonald -- Anglican, half-breed, ordained missionary to the Athabasca District.

Edward Paupanakis -- Methodist, Chippewyan, missionary in northern outposts of Norway House.

Chief Peguis -- Anglican, Saulteaux, Chief of the Red River Indians, buried at St. Peter's, See Appendix J.

Charles Pratt -- Anglican, Cree, servant of the Company and later on a teacher and catechist at Qu'Appelle, Touchwood Hills and Fort Pelly.

William George Prince -- Anglican, Saulteaux, boy given to Rev. William Cockran by Peguis, This boy's New Testament is in Rupert's Land Archives.

James Settee -- Anglican, Cree, second Native to be ordained at Red River, missionary at Fairford, Scanterbury, etc.

John Sinclair -- Anglican, half-breed, teacher-missionary at Oxford House.

Henry B. Steinhauer -- Methodist, Ojibway, missionary at Rossville and Oxford House.

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